## Marrou Gains State House

Homer, AK - For the first time since 1982, the Libertarian Party has an elected member in a state legislature, with Andre Marrou's upset victory over an incumbent Republican in District 5-B on the Kenai Peninsula in Alaska. The initial vote count was very close. but despite the large number of absentee votes included after the election, Marrou received 4539, compared to 4483 for Republican Milo Fritz and 2180 for Democrat Chris Martin. This 56 vote margin, which emerged after the December 8 recount in Juneau, gave Marrou the 40.52% plurality he needed to win the seat outright. Under state law, in a three-way race the winner

Marrou's victory, termed "stunning" and "an upset" by area papers, was the result of careful preparation, hard work, solid financing and favorable circumstances, all of which combined to produce the LP's highest partisan office victory in the 1984 elections. Marrou managed even to win the incumbent's home precinct, and his election marks the first return of the LP to the Alaska state house since 1982, when Dick Randolph did not run for re-election in order to pursue his unsuccessful bid for governor, and Ken Fanning lost his seat after his district was reapportioned. Marrou's

victory is unique in another sense: his was the only victory to date where a Libertarian ran with a single challenger from the other two parties. Both Fanning and Randolph ran in races where multiple candidates ran and the top three finishers were elected.

"We were in this thing to win," Marou said after the initial November ballots were counted. "We had the organization, I think the best on the Kenai Peninsula, and we had good financial support." He went on to ex-

## **Special Double Issue**

plain the "secret" to his success, "We've been working on this for two years, we did it with organization, we did it with money, we did it with televi-

Continued page 3



## Tryon Wins By One

Angels Camp, CA - One vote can make a difference. Libertarian candidates don't often have close races of any kind. But rancher Tom Tryon managed to squeak out a one-vote victory in his bid for Calaveras County Supervisor in what is undoubtedly the closest election victory in history for an LP candidate.

After four counts and one audit, Tryon edged out Angels Camp merchant Tony Tyrrell in a 1,309 to 1,308 victory, which was not finally settled until early December. Tryon's triumph in this officially non-partisan race was not final until December 5, five days after he received his certified letter confirming his victory and his opponent did not file a challenge. Along with Placer County Supervisor Erik Henrikson, who was elected during the June primary, Tryon's win marks the second California County Supervisor post gained by an LP member this year, and the first two ever in this state.

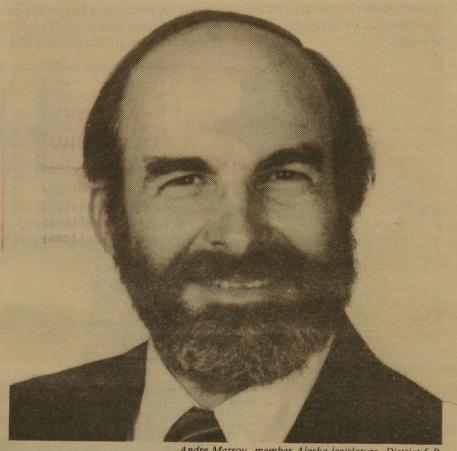
Tryon, 39, nearly lost his one-vote mandate from the outset, when initial Nov. 6 returns showed he was trailing Tyrrell by 20 votes, 1,196 to 1,176. Tryon left the county on business for two days after the election, and called the County Clerk on Friday morning to ask about the absentee votes. With a total area turnout of about 85%, County Clerk Nadine Jackson said she just

didn't feel comfortable with the results in one area and ordered the recount "just on woman's intuition. It was close, but there was something else about it, so I just checked it out."

What she found upon recounting was that a malfunction in the vote counting machinery for the vote cards somehow missed 228 votes, even though it tallied the number of ballots correctly. At that point, they recounted by hand and also counted the absentee votes, which numbered 16. The second count showed a tie at 1,308 to 1,308. Needless to say, this development had Tryon and his supporters, as well as interested LP observers, on "pins and needles" as he seemed within one vote of victory.

A third recount was held and it was noted Tyrrell's vote was overcounted by one vote in Altaville. Then they discovered two uncounted votes in Murphys 2B precinct, but they split evenly for Tyrrell and Tryon. So with the 245 additional votes counted (they also ran all of the ballots through a machine supplied by the manufacturer brought in especially for the occasion), Tryon ended up with a one vote lead. Both parties were cautious until everything was checked and doubled checked. "I never say die until its over," said ultimate loser Tyrrell, who had also sought the same office in 1982

Continued page 2



## NatCom Meets in Salt Lake

Salt Lake City, UT - Members of the National Committee met in Salt Lake City over December 1-2 to evaluate the results of the 1984 elections, set the goals and budget for 1985, hear about the 1985 Phoenix Convention plans, and conduct on-going party business.

Held at the downtown Shilo Hotel on a wintery weekend, members of the host Utah LP, led by Chair Hugh Butler, went out of their way to make NatCom members comfortable. A penthouse cocktail party and buffet gave visitors and Salt Lake City area Libertarians a chance to socialize and enjoy the view of the snow-covered mountains. On Saturday night, Utahns treated NatCom members to a bus trip up the nearby peaks to Brighton Ski Resort, where wonderful home-cooked food, songs and good cheer were enjoyed by all. Several NatCom members reported that the bus trip up and down the icy roads (part of it on foot due to a burnt-out clutch) ranked as the most daring trip they'd ever undertaken in the name of liberty.

After re-arranging the agenda at the start of the meeting, NatCom members first heard from Arizona LP Chair

Peggy Jeney about plans for the Phoenix 1985 LP Convention. scheduled for August 14-18.

Treasurer Dave Walter then reported on the state of the 1984 finances and projected a total year-end budget deficit of \$70-\$80,000, including approximately \$40,000 approved by the NatCom at the July meeting to underwrite ballot access petitioning and legal fees. He also warned of upcoming FEC fines for past trivial violations of burdensome government election finance reporting regulations, despite the fact that significant violations by major party candidates (such as outright lying) are routinely dismissed without penalty.

A report by the Legal Action Committee into the LP of the United States vs. Meese litigation, pursuant to a NatCom Resolution, was narrowly approved after considerable discussion.

Paul Kunberger also reported on the Legal Action Committee's most recent ballot access efforts, all of which proved unsuccessful.

David Bergland gave a report on the 1984 Presidential campaign effort, and

## Issue: Economics

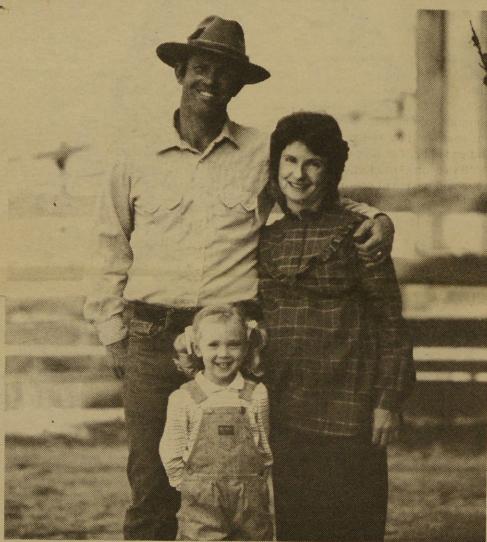
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and lost by only 23 votes that time. But Tryon's one vote margin held after all \* the recounting was done, and the "one that almost got away" due to machine malfunction finally yielded another LP victory. (In case of a tie they would have flipped a coin...)

The election had been a vigorous race, since Tryon had come in second in the June primary (out of four) but no one had received a majority. The Calaveras District 4 Supervisor's race was held in the rugged California gold mining and mountain country, where the main industries are agriculture, skiing and tourism.

Tryon, by contrast, in addition to his door-to-door campaigning, also made three mailings of his "white paper" on land use and related controls, and also distributed flyers to every box in the district. Neither candidate received newspaper endorsements, although the former incumbent endorsed Tryon and the local Sheriff's Association endorsed Tyrrell.

The major issues all boiled down to economics, pure and simple. The district tends to be a strong Democratic registration area. However, Reagan carried the district and the county narrowly endorsed California Prop. 36, (dubbed "Jarvis II" for its resemblence



Newly elected Calaveras County Supervisor Tom Tryon, his wife Denise and their daughter Elizabeth.

Asked about his reaction to the election, Tryon said, "I thought it was a very dramatic race. A lot of people thought about this race and as a result, people are better informed." Tryon's bid cost about \$3,500 to \$4,000, and "I'm glad the election is over," he concluded. He is now looking forward to serving his four-year term, which began with his inauguration on January 7.

Tryon's opponent had five people helping him with his campaign, but Tryon conducted his effort mostly by direct mail and two complete door-todoor canvasses during the race. Described as something of a "joiner" who belonged to numerous civic groups, Tyrrell concentrated on the area high school voters and recent graduates who voted absentee. Tyrrell also conducted a number of community coffees.

to the tax cutting Prop. 13), which failed statewide. Tryon campaigned over three months, although not full time, and felt he had reached all the voters thoroughly by the time of the election.

"I carried all of the poorest areas in the district while Tyrrell carried the richest precincts, which indicated that I reached the working people while he carried the richer, new arrivals who came as tourists and settled," Tryon observed. The major issues were land use regulation and economic growth. "Newcomers generally have a 'drawbridge mentality' which favors land use restrictions. My opponent advocated more taxes, government development programs and creation of 'scenic' and 'historical' districts which would restrict property development and growth."

Agreeing that he got votes from the

people who live in trailers rather than country homes, Tryon said, "you just can't close people out of the system, we have to free up the system and allow entry into the marketplace as widely as possible. This was my main message and theme, whether it concerns land or jobs. I didn't bend at all on the issues," Tryon said, "but if I hadn't been a Libertarian I probably would have won outright in the primary", since his identification as a Libertarian proved a handicap in some instances. Tryon managed to overcome any misconceptions which may have been caused by that

Ultimately, Tryon's free market message won the day, although narrowly, and he concedes "it will be hard to reverse" existing land use controls. But he plans to work hard "to see that it doesn't get any worse." He also notes that "I can work with the other four supervisors readily" and that he expects to work as hard as necessary to

fulfill his obligations.

The job is supposedly only part-time. paying \$15,000 per year, but "it's really full time" due to various committee assignments and meetings which must be attended. The Board of Supervisors meets weekly and oversees an annual budget of about \$16 million.

Tryon's family has historical roots in the area, since his pioneer greatgrandfather was the first Sheriff and Tax Assessor of Calaveras County, which was also made famous by Mark Twain's famous short story about a frog-jumping contest in the early gold rush days. Tryon and his wife, Denise, have one daughter, and another family member is "on the way." Tryon's economic views stem from his degree in that subject from UC Berkeley and his MBA from the University of Chicago. He has a background in finance and banking, but for the past few years has managed the family ranch from his home in Angels Camp.

## NatCom Sets Budget

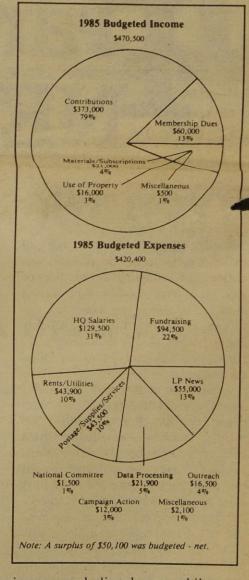
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a resolution thanking Bergland, Sharon Ayres and Jim Lewis for their 1983 and 1984 efforts on behalf of the party was passed by acclaimation.

An extensive discussion was held on the subject of 1985 and future goals, which was based on surveys conducted by John Francis and Dale Hemming, in addition to the efforts of two LP "Goals Workshops", sponsored by NatCom members held in Los Angeles and Salt Lake City in November. NatCom members, State Chairs, candidates and other LP activists had been invited to participate (at their own expense) in three day-long sessions of structured discussion of long-and-short term LP goals and objectives. The draft report of these efforts served as a basis for NatCom discussion and several changes were made during the severalhour-long discussion. (A summary of approved goals is shown elsewhere in this issue.)

Matt Monroe presented the Finance Committee Report, and another lengthy discussion was conducted on the 1985 budget. Several changes were made to the draft 1985 LP budget, which had been prepared earlier by the National Chair, Director and Treasurer. Telephone fundraising revenue was increased and two LP headquarters positions, a Fundraising Manager and secretary, were authorized by the NatCom. Several attempts led by Ed and Alicia Clark to increase the budget to accommodate the LP Goals previously adopted were defeated. A motion to defer the discussion of a parallel "Goals" budget until the Seattle NatCom meeting was passed.

The final budget adopted called for total 1985 income of \$470,500, down about 12% from the record 1984 budget. Expenses were budgeted at \$420,400, with the surplus earmarked for debt reduction. Actual 1984 LP



income excluding loans, while not officially tallied as of press time, was expected to be about \$420,000.

The Outreach Committee gave a report, including a Campaign '84 Report from Jim McKeown, and the Membership Committee reported. A proposal to create a membership category with no dues was ruled out of order due to conflict with LP by-laws and was upheld by a vote, although the matter can be proposed at the



Seated at early December National Committee meeting, from left: Alicia Clark, Ed Clark, Joe Laiacona, Matt Monroe, Ruth Bennett, Bill Evers, Murray Rothbard, Mark Hinkle. Photo by Editorial Services.



## Salt Lake City

From page 2

Convention. Paul Grant discussed the idea of having a full-time National Chair, due to the large demands on the Chair's time. This idea will be referred to the Convention Rules and By-laws Committee. Grant announced that he did not intend to seek re-election as Chair.

Committee reports were also given by the Computer Committee, Mailing List Committee, Letter Project group, Advertising and Publications Review Salt Lake City TV station cameraman covers the NatCom session. Foreground: Blake Huber, Gerry Walsh, Skip Barron Jr., James Agnew. Back row from left: Matt Monroe, Ruth Bennett, Bill Evers, Murray Rothbard, Mark Hinkle. Right row: Bob Lehmann, Leland Webber. Stephen DeLiso, Barbara Karkutt, James Hudler and Dale Heming. Photo by Editorial Services.

Committee, *LP News*, Convention Oversight, a Headquarters Report, and Ballot Access '85 efforts. Bids will also be solicited soon for the 1987 I.P Convention site, to be selected at the next National Committee meeting.

The next NatCom meeting was scheduled for April 19-21 in Seattle, Washington.

## Tonie Nathan Narrowly Loses Race

Eugene, OR - Tonie Nathan, who ran as LP Vice Presidential candidate in 1972 (and was the first woman in US. history to receive a vote from the Electoral College), narrowly lost her race to unseat a two-term incumbent for a position on the Lane County Commission. Nathan received 12,922 votes, for 48.8%, trailing her opponent Jerry Rust by only 638 votes.

In a recent interview with LP News, Nathan explained that she didn't request a recount despite the narrow margin, "I looked at the precincts pretty carefully and knew where our respective strengths were. Based on this analysis, I didn't believe I could pick up the necessary votes and just couldn't justify the expense." Despite this setback, the Commission candidate was optimistic about the outcome, pointing out that she had raised over \$20,000 and ended her campaign in the black.

"Based on post-election analysis, if we would have had one more week we would have won, given the momentum of my campaign," Nathan observed. "There was a lot of anti-Rust sentiment out there and I just needed a little more time to get the message out."

While the race was non-partisan, Rust ran "a very anti-LP campaign" and continually referred to "Tonie's libertarian ideas." Newspaper coverage also repeatedly mentioned Nathan's LP affiliation, although they managed to overlook her opponent's Democratic party membership. Complicating the picture somewhat was the character of her district, which Nathan described as

#### EDITOR'S NOTE

This issue of *LP News* covers November 1984-February 1985. The previously planned Nov.-Dec. 1984 issue was not published due to temporary financial conditions and lack of comprehensive LP election results available.

We apologize to members, subscribers and readers, but these circumstances were beyond our immediate control. We intend to resume our regular bi-monthly publishing schedule in the future.

This issue is an extra-large double issue, which we hope will help make up for our delay.

Mike Holmes, Editor

"a hotbed of no-growth, preservationist thinking, probably the most liberal in the state."

The race, in fact, centered on breadand-butter economic issues, particularly in the wake of the depressed local timber industry and resulting lack of jobs. "Eugene is the forth fastest shrinking city in the U.S.", Nathan noted, "and has gotten something of an anti-business reputation. My opponent personally sued in 1977 to prevent a rezoning which would have allowed Data General build a plant which would have provided over 1000 jobs. He wanted people to forget that." Nathan also questioned Rust's management judgment, noting that the Commission had hired and fired nine administrators in the past eight years.

The race received a lot of attention, including televised joint appearances and coverage by three area TV stations. Nathan also received endorsements by the former mayor of Eugene and a

Continued page 5

## NatCom Adopts Party Goals

The goals listed below are an abbrievated version of the set of goals and objectives adopted by the Libertarian National Committee at the recent Salt Lake City meeting. Complete copies are available from your state chair, National Committee representative, or from the national office.

#### I. Mission Statement

The National Committee adopts the following mission for the National Libertarian Party:

The mission of the National Libertarian Party is to facilitate the development of a Libertarian society in the Unitd States primarily through the political process.

II. Long Term Goals (Prioritized)
The National Committee adopts
the following long term goals:

A. Create a public consensus that supports a Libertarian society in the United States.

- B. Make the Libertarian Party a respected and credible political party.
- C. Cause Libertarian policies to be implemented by government officials (appointed, elected, or hired).
- D. Build a majority party in the United States.

#### III. The National Committee adopts the following as 1985 goals for the Libertarian Party:

- 1. Maintain the Party as a consistent Libertarian organization.
- 2. Create adequate funding sources.
- 3. Take a poll to discover our true strength.
- 4. Hire a first rate political consultant to advise the LP on how to market our principles, and to develop a plan to create a positive, passionate, personal way to sell Libertarian ideas. Utilize available Libertarian public policy research.
- 5. Gain low cost, permanent ballot

- status in as many states as possible in 1985 for the LP.
- 6. Devise a program to develop and maintain 50 strong state parties.
- 7. Develop Leadership in the LP.
- 7A.Encourage state parties to develop campus organizations.
- 8. Organize regional seminars for state and local leaders with suggestions for increasing the number of activists.
- 9. Increase membership by at least 10% a year.
- Appointment of an enthusiastic Campaign '85 Chair to help state and local parties to recruit candidates.
- 11. Increase the number of politically active, knowledgeable Libertarians.
- 12. Elect an adequate number of candidates.
- 13. Run a large number of qualified, persuasive candidates.
- 13A. Encourage and assist local state and national parties to

- identify, by actual survey, political issues already receiving support by a majority of the voting public and through targeted fundraising, initiative, referendum and lobbying efforts, spearhead successful electoral efforts on behalf of those issues.
- 14. Appoint a Chair for Natinal Coordinated Activities.
- 15. Develop a continuous, persuasive Libertarian communication program with the public.
- 16. Develop a strong, positive relationship with the national media.
- 17. Establish a resource and data base available to all state parties.
- 18. Obtain endorsements from outside the movement.
- 19. Change the public's perception of the role of government.
- 20.Start to destroy the "two party" myth. ■

## Hard Work Marrou's Secret

From page 1

sion and a lot of direct mail." Basically hard work and professionalism was the "secret" Marrou conceded, although he also noted that he hammered hard on basic issues, such as the fact that Alaska has the most expensive state government in the nation, which voters began to appreciate later in the cam-

In 1982, Marrou ran against the exact same opponents and got 18% of the vote, a healthy chunk by any standard. His district is also heavily weighted towards officially "non-partisan" or independent voters, with 20% registered Republicans, 20% Democrats, 1% Libertarian and 59% non-partisan. The LP in Alaska couldn't officially register people as "Libertarian" until April 1983 however, so they started at zero. In Marrou's district they now have 1.5%, or 233, out of 16,106 registered voters. "Our Liberarian vote registration doubles every six months," Marrou said in an exclusive LP News interview, "and if it continues at the present rate we will be the largest party in 26 months." Of the newly registered Libertarians, 60% had been non-partisan, 30% were Republicans and 10% were Democrats.

"I found that mainstream political thinking in my district is steadily moving towards the Libertarian position, although the LP label in the beginning of my campaign was more of a hindrance than a help," Marrou said. "But I spent the last two months of the campaign working full time on the race, and during that time, particularly in the last month, voters gradually changed their tune" and became more receptive to his libertarian views. "By the final two weeks, voters were telling me that 'You're obviously the best' of the candidates running," Marrou explained. This support was indicated by the large number of votes Marrou received, the largest of any of the six candidates in the Kenai Peninsula's two races. It was only the third closest of the five Alaskan legislative races which ended in a recount.

Marrou not only campaigned hard but also started early. Because Dick Randolph's results in 1982 enabled the ALP to become an "official" party in Alaska, Marrou was able to run in the June primary even though he was unopposed as the Libertarian candidate. This allowed him to obtain name recognition and discuss issues, and he came in second out of six candidates (3 Republicans, 2 Democrats, one Libertarian) although he trailed Republican Fritz by over 1300 votes in the primary.

While the area has been strongly Republican in the past, and supported Reagan in his re-election bid, Alaska voters tend to be independent-minded and must vote separately for each candidate and measure, since no straightticket voting is allowed. Despite the fact

that Marrou's opponent was a Republican incumbent in a strongly Republican year, many voters were not that happy with the 75-year-old retired physician or his record. Milo Fritz had held two prior terms in the Alaska state house, in addition to the 1983-84 term, but had never won consecutive terms in

Fritz was also unpopular with significant segments of his own party, in part because his abrasive personality led many to feel excluded from his decisions. He tended to vote against the known desires of his constituency and tended to side with the legislature's "majority coalition", which voted itself a whopping pay raise, much to the displeasure of ordinary citizens. They signed enough petitions sponsored by the Alaska LP to force the pay raise to a vote in 1986. Fritz also voted against the popular Permanent Fund Dividend program, which sends each state citizen

Elect

MARROU

Alaska House

former Vice Mayor of Kenai Borough who was also an official of the Alaska Municipal League. A card was sent by a prominent Republican who endorsed Marrou to all 2500 registered Republicans in the District.

Marrou, 45, is an M.I.T. graduate engineer who moved to Alaska several years ago and for several years has been a real estate broker in Homer, where he lives. His business connections and good reputation as well as his stand on the issues also helped him gain the support of fellow realtors and others concerned with economic freedom. In all, his campaign budget totaled \$21,600, with about \$10,000 coming from the state party, the Fairbanks and the Anchorage LP, about \$10,500 coming from personal friends and business supporters, and about \$1,100 donated from in-kind contributions.

This impressive financial support allowed him a rarity in Libertarian campaigns: he actualy outspent his bipartisan opponents, both separately and in total. The incumbent Republi-

can raised about \$15,000, although Elect Elect MARROU MARROU

Alaska House

a yearly check from surplus oil tax funds, and was also known to be wavering on his position concerning gun control. Fritz also had once attacked his constituency publicly in 1974 and angered many local voters with his comment regarding Geraldine Ferraro, that the office of Vice President "was no place for a woman." Incumbent Fritz also once proposed a bill to outlaw chiropractors, which allowed Marrou to successfully appeal for that group's support. Fritz also supported an unsuccessful move to keep Independents off state ballots, despite the fact that 59% of his district's voters were registered as Independents.

Marrou, in contrast, gained support through his past efforts to abolish the state income tax in 1980 and personally collected hundreds of signatures in his district to get the legislative pay raise repeal measure on the 1986 ballot. Andre Marrou also gained attention as one of the three "Prime Sponsors" of the successful Alaskan Transportation Initiative which de-regulated transportation in that state, which carried statewide by 59% to 41%.

The Republican incumbent also angered fellow Republicans by not returning phone calls, answering mail or meeting visitors to his Juneau office. He even at times ignored important Republican party leaders, including an elected Homer City councilman. While Marrou did not receive any newspaper endorsements, he did gain endorsements from a Republican member of the Kenai Borough Assembly, and a

election reports showed he spent only about \$7,000 of that. The Democrat raised about \$4,000.

Alaska House

Of the \$21,600 raised, \$10,150 was spent on TV commercials. These were run on Anchorage TV stations, since they also reach the Kenai Peninsula audience located directly south of Anchorage. About \$6,000 was spent on TV air time and \$4,150 was spent on commercial production. Marrou's campaign produced two 30-second TV spots, which cost from \$57-\$175 per showing. In total, they were shown between 50 and 60 times, mostly in prime time or on the morning "Today Show."

Also aiding the campaign effort was Bill McConkey, a professional political media consultant who has a good success rate in local races, and who assisted with the production of the TV and radio spots and other materials. The campaign materials produced also included yard signs (most of which were stolen, Marrou believes) and numerous direct mail pieces including post cards, "push cards", bumper stickers and several specially produced direct mail cards and letters.

The campaign relied heavily on direct targeted mailings in addition to the TV coverage, and his campaign materials sported an attractive blue and gold motif. In total he mailed out over 20,000 pieces, even though total registered voters numbered only about 16,000. He carefully targeted the mailings, particularly since the Democratic

Continued page 25



### **Nathan Makes** Plans for 1986

From page 3

former County Commissioner. She narrowly lost out for the endorsement of the local Register-Guard newspaper, which lamely concluded that the incumbent was "a known quantity" while Nathan was a "potential loose cannonball on the deck", that she "showed tendencies" of actually being willing to apply her least-government-is-best principles if elected. Nevertheless, she did attract a number of supporters from the community, including influential timber industry businessmen and the support of many area Republicans, who did not field their own candidate. In fact at one point she had to remind some of her young Republican supporters to hand out leaflets rather than discuss libertarian philosophy on the street corners.

Asked about advice for future LP candidates, she noted that she would have started planning and fundraising earlier. "If we had the money earlier, we could have done better with it, particularly in planning our publicity," Nathan noted. She sent out a districtwide mailing to everyone two weeks prior to the election, and had two local political professionals in her campaign. But she said that she "had to let her campaign manager go" during the campaign and ended up trying to run it herself. "You can't do that" she concluded, and strongly advised LP candidates to avoid that situation.

Tonie Nathan's campaign stands out for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the fact that it was a very pleasant exception to the usual LP loss — a close race rather than a massacre. She is also one of the most experienced Libertarian campaigners. In addition to the pathbreaking 1972 VP run, she has run for Congress in 1976 (6%) and for U.S. Senate in 1980 (4.8%, an LP record). While the campaign this year was hard-fought, it wasn't bitter and Nathan notes that her opponent "is a pleasant person." Still, she is considering running for Commission again. "I'm also considering running for Congress again in 1986, if I can get the backing." Given her experience and ever-improving record, if she keeps at it, she's bound to succeed sooner or later.

## **Marrou Wins**

From page 4

challenger was a woman and directed her campaign efforts mainly towards the woman's vote. The largest direct mailing Marrou made was a 9700 piece mailout of a 51/2"x 8" postcard to all registered male Democrats and Republicans, and all registered nonpartisans in the district. A card from a prominent Republican was also sent to 2500 Republicans, endorsing Marrou, and a separate side-by-side comparison with the Republican was mailed to 2500 male Independents in selected precincts. He also mailed to an 800 name internal list, to 175 people in a Realtor group, and to 300 chiropractors and optometrists who had reason to be wary of the Republican. Marrou also mailed to the 800 + signers of the legislative pay-raise repeal petition, which he had personally collected doorto-door early in his campaign. He also was able to mail to LP members in other parts of the state where there were no local LP candidates.

There were six basic themes which were used in all of Marrou's campaign materials. These were, 1) repeal of the legislative pay raise, 2) keeping the Permanent Fund Dividends, 3) formation of a Kenai Peninsula area caucus separate from the Anchorage-based "majority coalition", 4) opposition to any revived state income tax, 5) fighting expensive state government and 6) support for the transportation deregulation initiative also on the ballot. These basic issues were emphasized and re-emphasized throughout the campaign.

Overall, the campaign was "gentle", but Marrou faced an opponent who tried to ignore him as much as possible. He also discovered that the local Republicans were not adverse to dirty campaign tactics like stealing campaign signs and sabotaging campaign meetings. Marrou concluded that Democrats were much nicer than Republicans, particularly after one indicent where an anonymous caller phoned a local restaurant and cancelled an LP wive's luncheon club meeting without the knowledge of the attendees. "Republicans seem to be into suppression of dissent," Marrou observes, "and in their most extreme form become like Nazis. Democrats in their extreme forms become socialists.

Unfortunately, Republican Fritz did not go down to defeat gracefully. Marrou said a month after the election that Fritz never actually conceded defeat, and at one point "threatened to sue" over alleged campaign law violations, although no such allegations were ever made during the campaign. "It takes courage and a little humility to concede", observed Marrou over the Republican's poor sportsmanship. At one point Fritz tried to characterize an elected Libertarian as "an outcast and pariah" in the legislature. He was overheard at one gathering to say that Marrou would be as welcome in the

State House "as King Harod would be at a Jewish well-baby clinic."

Marrou was initially reported to have a 215 vote lead after the Nov. 6 ballots were counted. But due to Alaska's unique absentee voting law, he had to wait 15 days after the election for all of the absentee votes to come in, since they can be cast as late as midnight of the election day if they bear an election dated postmark.

As Andre Marrou noted, "we have three large cities in the district, Kenai, Soldotna and Homer. But when it comes to votes, 'absentee' is the second largest city in the district, with nearly 1500 votes."

His original 215 vote lead dwindled to 25 after the heavily Republican absentee votes were counted. He ultimately won 11 out of 20 precincts, with eight for the Republican and one for the Democrat. Although he was certified as the winner, all votes were impounded and sent several hundred miles away to Juneau to be recounted on December 8, nearly a month after the end of balloting. He ultimately gained a few more votes after the complete recount was finished.

Marrou says he feels the current absentee voting law is unfair, and not just because absentee voters tend to vote for incumbents or recognized officeholders. "In this state, you have a two year limit on voting in elections, or you have to renew or get dropped from the voter roll. However, on absentee voters there is no limitation. You can continue to vote absentee forever if you move, even if it's out-of-state and you never plan to return. I guess you could even re-register elsewhere and continue to vote absentee here." Five to ten percent of the registered voter lists reflect out-of-state residences, and Marrou is considering putting the same two-year limits on absentees as for residents.

The 120 day legislative session started on Jan. 14, and Marrou plans to seek out sympathetic members from other parties in hopes of gaining some support for some of his ideas, although he plans to heed Dick Randolph's advice about not joining any formal coalitions. "I want to be the conscience of the legislature the way Randolph and Fanning were during their terms, exposing scandals and supporting sound measures," Marrou said. Most of his district is concerned about keeping their economic freedoms, and several



Vermont LP member Bill Murray will challenge the incumbent Socialist mayor in the upcoming municipal elections in Burlington, Vermont. Photo by Free Vermont.

#### Fritz Fritzed

Juneau, AK - Defeated former Republican state legislator Milo Fritz announced on Jan. 16 that he was giving up his efforts to have newly elected Libertarian Andre Marrou decertified from office.

Sore loser Fritz had attempted to have the Lt. Governor and Governor unseat Marrou for alleged violations of state election laws. Fritz finally gave up his quest to undo the results of a fair election when the Governor told him he would not reverse the election results and Fritz's efforts to convince House members to refuse to seat Marrou also failed.

of the measures he pre-filed for early consideration concern these issues.

Twenty-four votes are needed in the 40 seat House for a dependable majority, and the election resulted in 21 Democrats, 18 Republicans and one Libertarian. Both parties have called him to seek his support, but Marrou is also going to look into whether he can be defined as a "minority" in the House and be entitled to automatic seats on committees and various special considerations as a "minority" leader.

The ten mesures Marrou intended to pre-file this session concern the following:

--Approving the Liberty Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which would abolish the federal income tax and force the government to divest itself of numerous commercial enterprises.

--Allow citizen-backed initiative measures to address money appropriations as well as other issues, which requires a state constitutional amendment

--Allow private mineral rights to land patented after Alaskan statehood (1959).

--Repeal mineral taxes, chiefly on oil and gas, for minerals extracted, processed and consumed within the state, and eliminate the 8¢ motor fuel tax within the state.

--Change the split on state oil royalties to 50% each for the Permanent and General Funds from the 25%-75% current split. Money in the Permanent fund is re-invested and half of the earnings are distributed to citizens as dividends. Changing the split would also entail upping the earnings dividends to a 75% distribution, which would triple the citizen rebates, (which Continued page 6

## 9 Slated To Run This Spring

Houston, TX - At least nine LP members have been identified as candidates for municipal races this spring, according to reports from around the country. Candidates have been identified in Missouri, Illinois and Vermont, and one LP member has already run for a local school board this year.

LP National Director Honey Lanham made an unsuccessful bid for a seat on the Spring Branch School District board, which turned out to be an unusually heated race due to strong feelings about recent school closings. Two well-funded and organized coalitions emerged and dominated the election returns.

Mary Tenneson is running in the February race for City Council in Kansas City North (Missouri), according to Missouri LP sources. The race is non-partisan, as are all of the municipal races mentioned. She had to gather 300 signatures to be placed on the ballot.

William Murray, 54, will be making his first bid for public office in seeking to become mayor of Burlington, Vermont's largest city, during the March municipal elections. Murray, an executive for a retail firm, said he was fascinated with the situation in Burlington ever since he read about the 1981 election of a Socialist mayor there. When he moved to the city a year and a half ago, he immediately began to attend City Council meetings and has now attended about three dozen aldermanic meetings to date.

He will be one of six candidates running, and Murray is seeking to provide a new vision for the community. His positions will be looking "ten to twenty

years in the future, with emphasis on rolling back government's involvement in many things." The former Air Force veteran holds a business degree from Cornell and plans to emphasize divestiture of city-run enterprises (such as the airport), privatizing city services, providing a solution to sky-high housing costs, and modifying the city's electoral system to eliminate "taxation without representation."

Illinois will be fielding seven LP members for municipal office, including current Roselle Village Trustee and National Committee member Gerry Walsh, who will be seeking a term as mayor on April 2. This nonpartisan election will be for a four-year term, but Walsh will remain a Trustee even if his mayoral bid is unsuccessful. He says the race will be a virtual "dead heat" with incumbent Sandy Birdsall, but Walsh has an edge based upon his support of a tax cut referendum and the Mayor's support of a 5% utility tax passed four months after the last mayoral election.

Also reported to be running is former LP Senatorial candidate Stephen Givot, seeking a position on the Village Board in Barrington Hills, and Tom and Randy Sue Heidenfelder of Palatine, who are seeking seats on the Library Board and the Township Board. Margi Kohls is also running for Library Board in Niles. George Clowes is running for Trustee of the Mt. Prospect Park District, and Jim Young is running an active student-oriented campaign for City Counsel in Normal.

## LP Initiative Results Mixed

Fairbanks, AK/Great Falls, MT -Libertarian Party-backed citizen initiatives in two states showed mixed results in the November elections. The widely publicized Alaska Transportation Initiative (Ballot Measure 3) succeeded overwhelmingly, with a 59 to 41 percent victory over defenders of the Alaska Transportation Commission, which was abolished by the vote. However Montana LP supporters saw their Milk Price Decontrol iniitiative measure shot down in flames, with a 61 to 39 percent "no" vote registered.

These mixed results demonstrate that voter initiatives, when allowed by state naw (fewer than half), are no"magic bullett" for guaranteed political success. While popular measures may gain broad-based support for libertarian policies, Libertarians still face the difficulty of fighting expensive, wellentrenched opponents on many issues.

One might expect that measures to reduce the price of children's milk would prove more popular than, say, measures to open up competition in the transportation industry. Unfortunate-

#### Marrou Sets Goals

From page 5

amounted to \$386 each in 1984).

- -- Disallow state ownership of business (e.g. ferries and railroads) in three years, with voter approval.
- -- Change absentee voting requirements to match resident voting rules, except for students and military personnel.
- --Limit the municipal tax share for mineral royalties to 1/100th of the total and limit the state share of municipal debts. The North Slope Borough can tax up to 1/8 royalty, with no limit on debt. They currently have 3000 residents and have incurred debt equal to \$150,000 per person.
- -- Repeal state funding of political primary elections, which would save the state about \$1 million.
- --Limit consecutive terms in the legislature to a total of eight years.

In addition to these measures, Marrou hopes to submit many other bills and regularly report to the press on his activities. He plans on having one aide and a secretary in Juneau, and having two or three people in his district at all times, including one to handle veteran affairs in conjunction with the federal Veterans Center in Kenai.

In addition to Marrou, three other seats were sought by Alaska LP members. John Davis ran the second most active race, in the Kenai Penninsula district #5-A, and got 22% of the vote. He did not have as much funding and faced tougher opposition than did Marrou. Henry Novak ran a mostly educational campaign in District 1-A and received 4.2%, and Will Darsey got 13% in his Fairbanks area race, where the Republican received over 72% of the vote.

ly, quite the contrary occurred. Instead, the well regarded Alaska LP spearheaded the Transportation initiative effort by getting it on the ballot, but were also relatively wll funded by business interests who foresaw the economic benefits of increased competition and lower freight rates. Conversely, the Montana Mile Price Decontrol effort ran up against the wellheeled dairy interests and were outspent by 1200,000 to \$3,000. Despite the consumerist appeal of the measure, it was largely ignored by Montana's organized labor and "consumerist" groups, and faced a heavy media blitz warning of "milk shortages" and extolling the agrarian virtues of the heavily subsidized dairy farmers.

Both measures were identified with the LP, but the success of the Alaska LP in recent years with initiatives and legislative measures worked far more favorably for the initiative in Alaska than it did in Montana. "In Montana the Libertarian Party label hurt the milk initiative rather than helped," observed Montana LP Chair Clifford Thies. "It was looked upon more as a 'fringe' type of proposal since we were almost the only group to publicly back it. Unfortunatey the well-funded special interests had no problem with money and the initiative didn't lend itself to any special interest support, except for a few grocery companies. We have to be realistic and recognize that sometimes the Libertarian Party label is an obstacle rather than an asset." The Mile initiative lost in every county but

The Alaska Transportation initiative, however, is a radical and farreaching proposal which generated strong support as well as opposition. The measure abolished the Alaska Transportation Commission, which in typical regulatory fashion set quotas, rates, safety rules and insurance standards, and issued "certificates of authority" to operate, costing as much as \$25,000 for new entrants who wanted to enter the business. The newly passed measure also requires insurance or other evidence of financial responsibility for those in the business, prevents municipalities from regulating transportatin, and requires the governor to seek repeal of the federal Jones Act, which requires the use of U.S. flag carriers to move goods between U.S. ports. Freight transportation economics are very important to Alaskans. since both imports and exports from the state must be moved several thousand miles.

Despite the well-known and virtually undispusted economic benefits of deregulation of this type, opposition to the measure was evident, including editorial opposition in the Anchorage Daily Times, which lamented that "abolition would upset big investors and big employers in Alaska". (So much for the fearless free press ...). On

the other hand, the measure received a significant boost when the state Office of Management and Budget (OMB) completed an audit study released in early 1984 which determined that the Alaska Transportation Commission was inadequately staffed, discouraged competition, protected certificate carriers, produced sporadic and inconsistent safety regulation, and provided a low quality of service. The OMB said these problems could be overcome with a larger budget, but that the costs weren't justified by the benefits. The Alaska Libertarians, led by former Chair Dick Randolph, used these results in the campaign and correctly pointed out that the insurance and safety standards were redundent and could readily be handled by State Troopers and the state's Division of Measurement Standards.

While the initiative successes in 1984 were mixed, at least a large number of Montanans were correctly educated in the virtues of de-regulation. Alaskana will be enjoying the benefits of radically reduced government interference in the marketplace for transportation. Under the right circumstances, such as good timing, a good proposal and some wellheeled friends, citizen initiatives can continue to provide an effective means of taking libertarian proposals directly to the voters.

#### Paul Jacob Arrested

North Little Rock, AR - Paul Jacob, former Arkansas LP Chair and vocal draft registration resister, was peacefully arrested on December 6 at the home of his wife and child in North Little Rock.

Jacob had been a fugitive for over two years and had issued a number of public statements announcing the reasons for his principled refusal to register. "I refuse to register. The draft is absolute state control over the individual, it is slavery and I will not assist the government in its attempt to take away my freedom," Jacob announced. Three FBI agents arrested him while he was alone at his residence, but he was quickly released on bond.

The initial trial date was set for January 14, but that was expected to be postponed pending the outcome of a "selective prosecution" case under review by the Supreme Court. Despite government claims to the contrary, over 600,000 young men have failed to register, it is estimated, although only the handful who publicly protest are ever threatened with arrests and prosecution.

Jacob has been the most visible of the libertarian draft registration resisters, and some of his statements have been widely publicized. Jacob is the brother of former LP News editor Katherine Richman, and brother-inlaw to former LP Vice Chair Sheldon Richman.

#### Lookin' Good Livengood!

San Francisco, CA-LP Ballot Access consultant Richard Winger reports that Livengood, Alaska, is the most Libertarian place in the nation. In this small city located about 80 miles northwest of Fairbanks, David Bergland outpolled Walter Mondale in the 1984 election.

In September, 1982, Jacob became one of the first people in the country indicted by a federal grand jury for failing to register. That same month, he was interviewed and quoted in a Rolling Stone magazine interview. He has spoken to various groups and has given a number of interviews, including one to a local Little Rock radio station.

Although he left Little Rock after his indictment, he returned in November, 1983, married Rhonda Allen, and decided to stay permanently.

"I was not living an underground existence", Jacob said in a recent interview, "I saw an awful lot of people". He said he has been a "househusband" in recent months, caring for his 8-month old daughter, Jessica, and doing odd jobs.

Jacob was classified as a federal fugitive during his 27-month absence from government custody, and faces a possible five-year prison term, a \$10,000 fine, or both, if convicted. Asked about their inability to find Jacob even though he wasn't hiding for the past year, the Little Rock FBI office said his case was a "low priority".

Funds are being raised for Jacob's defense, and contributions should be made payable to the Paul Jacobs Defense Fund. Contributions and letters of support should be sent to the Defense Fund, c/o Arkansas LP, P. O. Box 15724, Little Rock, AR 72231. ■

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## Presidential Results Analyzed

Costa Mesa, CA - You may have heard this one before: there's good news and bad news. The bad news is that the Libertarian presidential ticket lost big. The good news is that the bad news wasn't any worse.

Only .25% of the American voting public chose to vote for the Bergland-Lewis ticket in November, about 228,700 out of more than 92.6 million votes cast. This result is down 75% from the 1980 Clark-Koch vote of 922,000, but only about 73% of the electorate was allowed the opportunity to vote for the LP candidates due to severe ballot access restrictions in 12 states. Still, where the LP was on the ballot in both years, its share of the vote dropped by 69%.

There were a number of contributing factors to this result, including a drop-off of total third party votes in 1984 by more than 92% from 1980, and the smallest third party vote total in nearly two decades. Some political analysts, observing that Reagan won re-election by the second largest margin in U.S.

Anderson ended up on only one state ballot (Kentucky) and received 1,500 votes, compared to over 5.7 million in 1980. Even money and name recognition didn't help.

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

On a cost-per-vote basis, the LP did quite well, bettering the 1980 mark considerably and even beating the 1976 effort measured in inflation-adjusted dollars. Depending on what you include in costs, the LP ticket even beat the Democratic ticket on a cost-per-vote basis, \$2.52 vs. \$2.74.

The largest votes for Bergland-Lewis came from California, Colorado and New York, with the smallest vote (where they were on the ballot) coming

## Percentage Change in LP Vote Totals: 1984 vs. 1980

	Percentage	
	Change:	
Category/State	1984 vs. 198	0
Total Third Party	- 92	
Total Libertarian Party	- 75	
Libertarian Party	- 69	
(states on ballot both years only)		
States with smallest % vote	e	
decrease, for the Libertarian Party	,	
in order of smallest decrease		
New Mexico	+ 2.2	
South Carolina	- 15.2	
Alabama	- 28.7	
Hawaii	- 33.8	
Oklahoma*	- 34.5	
Arizona*	- 43.7	
Montana*(tied)	- 47.3	
Vermont (tied)	- 47.3	
Nevada*	- 47.5	
Wyoming*	- 47.8	

\* Libertarian Party was the only third party or candidate on the ballot.

addition to the top presidential ticket, seemed to be a factor in holding the LP vote totals. State and local candidates were run in all of the ten states with less than 50% vote drop-off, with an average of ten candidates per state. By contrast, in the 29 states where vote drop-off was greater than 50%, an average of only 8.5 candidates were run. If you exclude California and Michigan (which contributed 40% of the total candidates in those 29 states), the average number of candidates in those states was only a little more than 5. Active races were run in all of the "top 10" states, and the influence of very visible state races in Vermont, South Carolina, Montana, Wyoming, Alabama, Arizona and New Mexico are believed to have contributed to the relative strength of the LP Presidential vote in those states.

The relative strength of the LP ticket vote by region is as follows: East .14%, Midwest .19%, South .14%, and West .61%. These figures also reflect to some extent the pattern of ballot access, which was highest in the West and lowest for the LP in the South and East. However, these percentages also indicate that the perception of the LP being strongest in the West is still generally valid.

While the LP ticket suffered greatly in the total drop-off of third party voting in general, it ended up at the top of the third party pack by garnering 37% of all third party and "protest" votes, finishing nearly four times higher than the next highest finisher, "independent Democrat" Lyndon LaRouche. Of the top four finishers (who received over 50,000 votes) the LP also spent the least amount per vote.

And money isn't everything, either, as LaRouche's cost per vote indicates. According to FEC reports, LaRouche raised and spent \$5.9 million in both the primary and general election campaigns, with nearly half a million collected in taxpayer subsidies via

federal campaign matching funds. LaRouche ended up spending a whopping \$74.75 per vote. (Most observers believe that you can outright purchase all the votes you want by handing out five and ten dollar bills.) Clearly, LaRouche's efforts were inefficient. In fact, given that his campaign consisted of a number of network televised half-hour monologues consisting of LaRouchian conspiracy theories (involving everyone from Walter Mondale to the British royal family) it remains something of a mystery as to how, who and why his campaign was financed.

Total campaign finance data is probably incomplete for all of the candidates, although Bergland's total is not expected to ultimately exceed \$600,000. And the Citizens and Populist Party expenditures probably

Continued page 8

Third	Party	Vote	Totals	and	Percentage	Change,	
	nd 192						

Votes	% Change		
1980	1984	1984 vs. 1980	
5,720,060	1,479 *	- 99.9	
922,001	228,796	- 75.2	
254,264	72,141	- 71.7	
(A)	66,171	N/A	
49,118	24,677	- 49.8	
45,216		- 19.6	
13,300		+ 35.1	
8,202		- 48.3	
6 647			
		+ 97.8	
87,124 (C)	151,238 (B)	+ 60.0	
7,106,497	616,231	91.5	
	1980 5,720,060 922,001 254,264 (A) 49,118 45,216 13,300 8,202 6,647 87,124 (C)	5,720,060 1,479 *  922,001 228,796 254,264 72,141 (A) 66,171 49,118 24,677 45,216 36,375 13,300 17,968 8,202 4,238 6,647 13,148 87,124 (C) 151,238 (B)	

Sources: Richard Winger

Congressional Quarterly

- \* Anderson officially dropped out in the spring of 1984, but did not remove his name from the ballot in Kentucky.
- \*\* The Citizens and Peace & Freedom (California based) ran separate candidates in 1980 but have been combined for 1984 comparison purposes. Their separate 1980 totals were:

  Citizens 236,148 and Peace & Freedom 18,116.

Others

Total

- (A) The Populist Party did not exist in 1980.
  (B) The 1984 "All Others" total consists of:
  LaRouche 78,773
  Independent Alliance 46,860
  Workers League 7,233
  Others 18,372
  Total 151,238
- (C) The 1980 "All Others" total consists of:
  Rarick 41,268
  Right to Life 32,327
  Socialist 6,898
  Middle Class 3,694

history, have concluded that the economic and political circumstances were extremely favorable to the GOP this year, with relatively good economic and foreign policy conditions strongly influencing voters to stick with Reagan for another four years. Third party challengers were also virtually ignored by the major print and electronic media this year. John Anderson, who had made early noises about reviving his "independent" candidacy with his several million dollar federal "matching fund" war chest left over from four years ago, bowed out in early spring after initial ballot access attempts by supporters (including a few

former LP activists) sputtered out.

from Rhode Island and Delaware.

2,937

87,124

Surprisingly enough, in one state, New Mexico, the 1984 LP presidential vote total exceeded the 1980 total (4,459 vs. 4,365), although LP vote percentages dropped slightly. In ten states, the LP vote total dropped by less than 50%. In five of these states (although not New Mexico) the LP candidates were the only third party choice on the ballot. On the other hand, there were five third party choices on the ballot in New Mexico where the LP vote increased, and the Alaska LP vote total dropped by nearly two-thirds despite the LP's sole third party status there.

Running a number of candidates, in

## Libertarian Party Vote by State: 1980 & 1984

Sources: Congressional Quarterly, 'LP News, Jan.-Feb. 1981, Richard Winger

	1984	1980
State	Bergland/Lewis	Clark/Koch
AL	9,504	13,318
AK	6,378	18,479
AZ	10,585	18,784
AR	2,221	8,970
CA	49,951	148,416
CO	11,257	25,744
CT	204 *	8,570
DE	268	1,971
DC	279	1,826
FL	754 *	30,457
GM	135	224
GA	159 *	15,627
HI	2,167	3,269
ID	2,823	8,425
IL	10,086	38,939
IN	6,741	19,627
IA	1,844	13,123
KS	3,329	14,470
KY	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	5,531
LA	1,876	8,240
ME	Republic Service in	5,119
MD	5,721	14,192
MA		22,038
MI	10,055	41,597
MN	2,996	31,593
MS	2,336	5,465
MO		14,422
MT	5,185	9,825
NB NV	2,079	9,041
NH	2,292	4,358
NJ	735	2,064
NM	6,416	20,652
VY	4,459	4,365
NC	11,949	52,648
ND	3,794	9,677
OH	703	3,743
OK .	5,886	49,033
OR	9,066	13,828
PA	376 *	25,838
RI	6,982	33,263
SC .	241	2,458
D	4,359	5,139
N	2.072	3,824
X	3,072	7,116
JT	2 447	37,643
T	2,447	7,138
'A	1,002	1,900
VA	8,844	12,821
VV	0,044	29,213
VI	4,883	4,331
VY	2,357	29,135
		4,512
TOTAL	228,796	922,001

\*write-in votes

## Third Party Votes Decline

Third Party/Indepen	dent Vote	es: 1964 - 1	984			
Year	1964	1968	1972	1976	1980	1984
Votes (millions)	1.1	10.1	1.3	1.6	7.1	.6
Candidates w/over 1 million votes		Wallace	-	-	Anderson	

Source: NY Times, 12/21/84, Richard Winger

#### Percent of Third Party Vote Obtained in Top Three States, by Party (top four parties)

Total Vote	Votes in top three states	Top 3 states	% Total Vote top 3
228,796	73,157	CA,CO,NY	32
78,773	38,613	OH,TX*,VA*	49
72,141	57,427	CA**,LA,PA**	80
66,171	48,853	CA**, WA, WI**	74
	228,796 78,773 72,141	Total Vote         three states           228,796         73,157           78,773         38,613           72,141         57,427	Total Vote         three states         Top 3 states           228,796         73,157         CA,CO,NY           78,773         38,613         OH,TX*,VA*           72,141         57,427         CA**,LA,PA**

- \* States where this candidate was the only third party or independent on the ballot,
- \*\* States where this candidate ran under another party label.

exceed the expenditures reported to the FEC at the end of December. The Populists claim their party spent over \$1 million on the campaign in 1984 and ended up \$200,000 in debt.

Viewed realistically, the LP is probably the only third party organization which can claim to be nationally organized in scope, with over 350 candidates running in 1984 in addition to our presidential ticket. Both the Populists and the Citizens parties appeared on a number of state ballots under the auspices of previously existing political parties. Over half of third-place finisher Sonia Johnson's votes came from California and Pennsylvania, where she appeared under the banners of the Peace & Freedom and Consumers parties, respectively. Over half the Populist vote totals came from California and Wisconsin, where they ran under the American Independent and Constitution party labels. It is an open question as to whether these two parties will continue to exist, although both remain loosely organized for the moment.

Of the top four third party finishers, only the LP can boast of a relatively broad-based vote total. Almost 50% of LaRouche's votes came from three states, two of which were states where he was the only third party candidate on the ballot. 80% of the Citizens vote and 74% of the Populist vote came from only three states, indicating a rather precarious dependence upon a few scattered and independent organizations.

The big dropoff in third party and protest votes in 1984 came largely as a consequence of John Anderson's failure to create his "National Unity Party" as a viable political vehicle in 1984, although he is believed to have kept several million in federal matching funds received as a result of his vote in 1980. Anderson received over 80% of the third party vote in 1980, but almost none in 1984. The analysis of the

remaining contenders becomes cloudy, comparing the two elections, since ballot status was not comparable in most instances. Of the remaining parties with ballot status of some kind during both years, the LP dropped the most with a 75% decrease. But the Citizens/Peace & Freedom ticket dropped by nearly as much (72%) and their total vote in both years was three times smaller than the LP's. Results for the tiny leftist and rightwing parties are mixed, although one is tempted to speculate that Communist Party voters are dying off along with their Moscow leadership. In 1980 John Rarick and Ellen McCormick were on the ballot in several states, representing extreme rightwing and socially conservative viewpoints. Their 1980 combined vote total (in many fewer states than the 1984 Populists) was over 10% greater than the 1984 Populist vote.

In general, the third party vote was the smallest since 1964, although third party voting has fluctuated widely in the past five elections. Some political scientists have argued that third party voting is greatest during elections following "landslides", although evidence for that view is mixed. The attractiveness of third party candidates generally depends on public satisfaction with major party choices. In 1984 this was evidenced by massive support for Reagan, in contrast to the problem-ridden Carter regime. In 1988, it is likely that the range of political options will be considerably widened, since no incumbent is expected to be

In particular, both the Democratic and Republican paries will spend the next four years undergoing a tremendous amount of jockeying for position among various candidates and ideological viewpoints. The Democrats are trying to figure out which ideas they want to represent. They are frantically trying to find a substitute for the now discredited New Deal liberalism they've

long espoused. The Republicans seem mainly interested in finding someone or something that will keep them in the White House, and hold together their electoral majority.

Given the demonstrated strength of Libertarian ideas and the continuing presence of a grass-roots based Liberarian Party, it is likely that the impact in 1988 of the LP will be far greater than the 1984 election results alone would indicate. Thousands of Americans showed a willingness to support hard-core Libertarian ideas. even in the absence of media hype and expensive TV commercials. Given the libertarian tendencies of the babyboom "Yuppie" generation and the ideological vacuum in the two older political parties, it seems highly likely that the Libertarian Party's role in American politics will continue to expand.

### LP Candidates Are Outspent By \$24 - \$1

Washington, DC - Libertarian Party candidates have at least one thing in common with General George Armstrong Custer at the Little Big Horn -- they know what it's like to be encircled, outgunned, and overwhelmed by a vastly superior force. In virtually every category but ideas, 1984 LP standard-bearers confronted an opposition with much greater resources.

As of the end of November, 1984, the Bergland for President Committee reported it had raised a little more than \$580,000 and spent over \$576,000. Total receipts are expected to near the \$600,000 mark due to late contributions and accounting delays. By

#### Table 1 Major Party Campaign Receipts/Expenditures

(All figures in Millions)

	GOP Reagan Bush	DEM Mondale Ferraro
Federal Campaign Funds	\$40.4	\$40.4
General Party Funds	6.9	4.0*
Candidate Primary Funds	20.2	18.5
(incl. govt. matching fund	ls)	
Candidate Fundraising (1)	4.0*	4.0*
Candidate Legal/Accting	(2) 3.0*	2.0*
Federal Subsidy for	8.0	8.0
Party Convention		
Independent PACs	15.0*	5.0*
Party Voter Registration	22.0	21.0
& Other Candidate Support	222	
Totals	\$119.5	\$102.9
	million	million

Source: AP, Nov. 6, expenditures are believed to approximately equal receipts

- \* Estimate, exact figures not available.
- (1) Candidate fundraising costs are subject to separate \$4 million limit.
- (2) Candidate legal & accounting costs subject to a separate unlimited amount

Note: General party campaign funds are 'limited'' to \$6.9 million per candidate, subject to fundraising, legal and accounting, indepen-dent PAC and general party activity support (such as voter registration), which are either subject to separate limits or no limitations.

contrast, the winning Republican ticket took in nearly \$120 million, with the losing Democrats (who lost by the second worst major party showing in history) spent nearly \$103 million (see Table 1).

Tabulating the major party funding is difficult, not only due to reporting delays, but also as a result of the complex election law "limits" imposed as a result of huge Federal government subsidies to major party candidates. Each major party candidate racked up \$40.4 million in tax dollars, along with a nice round \$8 million in convention subsidies and up to \$10 million each in the primary. By contrast, LP candidates neither sought, qualified for, nor received federal money. In addition, certain categories of campaign spending are not subject to the theoretical limits of the election law, or are subject to additional, separate limits. Independent PAC expenditures on behalf of candidates are also not limited, and neither are "general purpose" party expenditures for such things as voter registration, political education, polling, etc.

Strangely enough, third parties such as the LP are forced to comply with the same detailed and burdensome campaign finance and reporting regulations as are the federally subsidized parties, as well as being subject to the exact same limitations on individual contributions. Thus the LP Presidential campaign had to follow the same rules as the GOP ticket, which spent nearly 30 times as much money.

Interestingly enough, however, is the fact that despite such undeniable Democratic Party advantages as economies of scale and tremendous name recognition, the LP campaign ended up beating out Mondale/Ferraro on a cost-per-vote basis (see Table 2). LP votes cost \$2.52 each and Mondale/Ferraro votes cost \$2.74. Even the Reagan/Bush ticket, which had every conceivable advantage, ended up spending \$2.19 per vote, only 13% less than the vastly smaller LP.

If anything, LP candidates for other offices were outspent even more dramatically. University of Southern California political scientist Herbert C. Alexander has estimated the cost of all 1984 elections at about \$1.8 billion. Subtracting about \$300 million for the presidential race and primaries, roughly \$1.5 billion was spent on everything else. The North Carolina Senate race between Helms and Hunt cost the candidates in excess of \$20 million alone. While no precise tabulations have been made, most LP candidates were able to raise and spend only modest sums. Steve Givot's Illinois Senate campaign was estimated to cost \$100,000, Andre Marrou's victory for Alaska State House cost about \$21,000, Tonie Nathan spent about \$21,000, Steve Davis spent about \$18,000, and Larry Dodge and Sara Baase are thought to have spent over \$10,000 each. All told, LP candidates

### **Results Analysis**

From page 8

Table 2			
Cost per Vo	te Comparis	ons	
Candidates/ Party	Campaign Expenditures	Votes	Cost/ Vote
Reagan/Bush Republican	\$119,500,000	54,451,521	\$2.19
Mondale/Ferra Democratic	ro 102,900,000	37,565,334	2.74
Bergland/Lewis Libertarian	576,212	228,796	2.52
		nt Committe	ee

other than Bergland/Lewis probably raised and spent about \$300,000, more or less, or about 1/6000th of the total non-Presidental campaign funds spent in 1984. Considering those odds, it's amazing that the LP does as well as it has, with typical vote percentages from 1/2 % to 2%, and often more. Not to mention outright LP victories.

Although money has been called "the mother's milk of politics", it appears that the LP's generally respectable results stem from the quality of Libertarian ideas and candidates rather than the size of campaign bank accounts.

Even General Custer was only outnumbered 24-to-1. Just imagine what LP candidates could do facing only those odds?

## Bergland Committee Report

by David Bergland and the Bergland for President Committee

This report was prepared by the nucleus of the Bergland For President campaign staff with input from a number of people from different parts of the country who played significant roles in the campaign. The purpose of the exercise is to ensure that valuable information and experience not be lost to the Libertarian Party activists of the

The article below is the introduction to the 43-page report which was presented to the Libertarian National Committee in its December 1984 meeting. The complete report is available from Orpheus Publications, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92629 for \$3.00.

At the nominating convention in New York City, I emphasized that I wanted to use the presidential campaign to help develop the party and its resources at the grassroots level i.e., to build a foundation for future growth and effectiveness. We all expected, at that time, that our presidential campaign resources would be less than in

1984 Third Party candidates/votes/campaign receipts & expenditures/cost per vote

Party (F)	Presidential/VP candidates (E)	States & DC on ballot	Votes (G) (H)	% of total 3rd Party votes	Campaign&Primary (A)(D) Receipts Expenditures	Cost Per Vote
Libertarian	David Bergland/Jim Lewis	39	228,796	37.1	\$ 580,102 \$ 576,212	\$ 2.52
Independent	Lyndon LaRouche/Billy Davis	19	78,773	12,8	5,966,725 (C) (B) 5,888,655	74.75
Citizens	Sonia Johnson/Dick Walton	18	72,141	11.7	442,404 (C) 215,607	2.99
Populist	Bob Richards/Maureen Salaman	14	. 66,171	10.7	241,708 - 228,930	3.46
Independent Alliance	Dennis Serrette/Nancy Ross	32	46,860	7.6	Not Obtained	
Communist	Gus Hall/Angela Davis	23	36,375	5.9	Not Obtained	
Socialist Workers	Mel Mason/Matilde Zimmerman	24	24,677	4.0	Not Obtained	
Workers World	Larry Holmes/Gloria LaRiva	10	17,968	2.9	Not Obtained	
American	Delmar Dennis/Traves Brownlee	5	13,148	2.1	Not Obtained	
Workers League	Ed Winn/Helen Halyard	5	7,233	1.2	Not Obtained	
Prohibition	Earl Dodge/Warren Martin	5	4,238	36.7	Not Obtained	
Other	Various		20,145	3.3		
	Totals		616,231	100.0		

- (A) Includes receipts and expenditures from primary period when applicable.
   (B) Included in LaRouche receipts are loans from "other than the candidate totaling \$3,453,523.
- (C) Federal government matching campaign funds obtained during the primary period were as follows: LaRouche \$494,145; Johnson \$186,372.
  (D) Campaign expenditures and receipts totals may not be complete due to reporting delays. In particular, expenditures for Citizens Party are believed to be incomplete. In some cases, multiple campaign committees were used to
- (E) In some cases, the parties listed ran Vice Presidential candidates different from those listed above, due to local circumstances. Workers World party ran their Presidential candidate's wife in one state due to the candidate's being Constitutionally underage for the office.
- (F) Party affiliation above was the major label under which these tickets ran. In a number of states some or all of these candidates ran under the "independent" label due to restrictive ballot access laws. Also, the Citizens and Populist party candidates ran in several states under party labels of previously existing third parties other than their own.
  (G) Vote totals include write-in votes where obtainable by press time.
  (H) Vote totals from Congressional Quarterly differ slightly from reported AP/NY Times totals and are believed to be more accurate.
  Sources: Federal Election Commission · 1-7-85, Congressional Quarterly; Bergland for President Committee Report · 11-26-84; Richard Winger.

1980 because there was no multimillionaire on the ticket. How much less, no one could predict. Partially countering the anticipated reduced funding was the fact that I would be available full-time and Jim Lewis probably half-time to campaign.

I am happy to report that we made good progress on many of the specific elements of party-building.

Media contacts and education: Jim Lewis and I were interviewed by more than two thousand journalists (print and electronic) during the course of the campaign. Many of these interviews were the first contact that the journalists had with LP activism. In all of them, journalists came away with a much clearer view of the LP and its philosophy. In a number of cases (e.g., Pittsburgh, Chicago, New Orleans) the presidential campaign was able to open media doors which had been closed to the LP before.

New Libertarian organizations: By traveling to cities and towns which had no significant LP presence before, we were able to generate interest and leave new embryonic LP groups in a number of locations. Similarly, visits to college campuses resulted in new campus groups and increased interest in existing groups.

Recruitment and Outreach: The emphasis here was to make it easier for new people to find the LP and then ensure follow-up on inquiries. An 800 number for inquiries was established early in the campaign. We also created a systematic method to establish contact between those making an inquiry and the local, state and national LP so that new people would not be "lost." In addition, Jim Lewis and I spoke to and with other groups such as tax

resisters, gay groups and religious organizations to establish positive contacts for future development. Some such groups endorsed us and other Libertarians.

Experience: My campaign trips were coordinated by local LP activists for the most part. In most cases the coordinators and others involved were novices who rose to the occasion and did very well. The experience they gained will serve well in the future.

Complementary campaigns: The presidential campaign was designed to support local candidates and vice versa. In many places Jim Lewis and I were able to campaign with local candidates and open some doors for them as well as providing information on campaign strategy and techniques based on our experience.

Local electoral success: The quality of Liberarian candidates and campaigns continues to improve. In addition to Libertarians elected earlier in 1984, Andre Marrou was elected to the Alaska legislature and Tom Tryon to the Calaveras County Board of Supervisors in California in November

The campaign was not without its serious problems. Underfinancing was the most serious and also the basis for almost everything else on the negative

From beginning to end approximately \$600,000 was raised for the presidential campaign and a good deal of that was expended for fundraising and ballot access, leaving precious little for actual compaigning. The campaign pledged at the outset not to go into debt. It did not, but the LP National Committee borrowed \$40,000 for ballot access efforts in 1984. Ballot access had become more difficult and expensive in some states since 1980 which caused us to underestimate that campaign expense at the outset.

Staffing was difficult. The Bergland campaign sent letters and made telephone calls inviting participation in 1984 by 1980 Clark campaign veterans. None of the people who worked as paid staffers in the 1980 presidential campaign at the national level would agree to work on the campaign this time. Thus, their valuable experience was unavailable. The campaign was managed by volunteers until February, 1984, when a campaign headquarters was opened and small paid staff brought on board.

The timing of funding shortages had serious effects on the campaign. Regardless of requests for financial support, in the early months of the campaign very few Libertarians seemed to believe that their particular contribution was needed. This had serious consequences for ballot access as the bulk of those expenses came relatively early in the year.

Underfunding also curtailed our ability to do outreach to other groups (e.g., gun owners) by purchasing their mailing lists and doing "prospect mailings.'

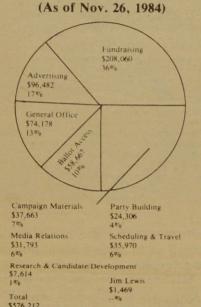
Because of limited finances our actual campaign activites were very limited. I traveled steadily making appearances before groups and on campuses and doing media interviews. We could not afford a paid advance staff which would have improved the effectiveness of appearances. Campaign materials were limited. One basic campaign flyer was it. Our hopes to produce white papers on various subjects were dashed because we could not pay

## **Bergland Report**

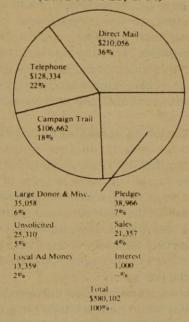
From page 9

researchers or for the printing. People frequently asked me about doing a "campaign book." The campaign could not afford it. I did write a book, Libertarianism In One Lesson, but I published it at my own expense outside of the campaign. Jim Lewis did the same with his book, Liberty Reclaimed. Finally, the small amount of advertising we were able to do was delayed. because of lack of funding, until late October.

#### **Bergland For President Committee Expenditures by Category**



#### Revenues by Source (Thru Nov. 26, 1984)



This introduction would not be complete without some comment on the presidential campaign vote total. I placed such comment last because that is its proper place in my estimation. It is the result over which we had the least control. It must also be stated that once we move from what did happen to what might have happened if things had been done differently, we move a considerable distance into the realm of speculation. Similarly, we speculate when we say the votes were what they were because of "X". With those warn-

#### **BLOOM COUNTY/by Berke Breathed**









ings, let me make some observations.

The LP presidential vote total was approximately 230,000. We were not on the ballot in states containing about 27% of the electorate.

I believe we received the votes of "real" libertarians, people who have a basic grasp of the LP and its goals. If that is true, there is cause for optimism because many of them are prospective activists.

The media approach to the presidential campaign caused us more than one serious obstacle. First, journalists tended to look at the campaign as a "contest" and report on it that way. Thus, only front runners were worthy of their attention. The positions of the various candidates on the issues and how those issues are important to the future of the country did not interest journalists as much as what the polls indicated about the probable outcome. "Why run when you can't win?", was the invariable question, indicating an inability to comprehend a long-run effort to achieve freedom which does not require being elected this year to succeed. Catch-22 comes to mind. The press won't cover you until you're newsworthy; you can't become newsworthy until the press begins to cover you. A high priority must be to educate journalists away from their limited "contest" focus and enlist them in support of our position that the purpose of voting is to instruct officeholders by voting for the candidates who represent one's views best. (I never said it would be easy.)

Those in the electorate who actually voted stampeded back to the two-party system and voting pattern. In 1980 the media rallied behind John Anderson and lent legitimacy to the idea of voting for an "alternative." The TV coverage he received was close to that of Reagan and Carter and he got six percent of the vote. Absent significant exposure, we were unable to woo many of those disaffected by the status quo to the polls. The disaffected did not learn enough about us to take the second step of voting for us. They stayed home.

The Reagan mythology made it difficult to differentiate our product. Not many people are affected by the facts or Reagan's record. They like his rhetoric of "less government, lower taxes and get the government off the people's backs" and they vote for it. Mondale's accurate statement that Reagan would



David Bergland

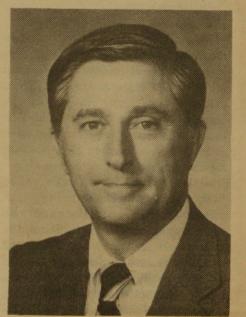
raise taxes just as Mondale would, only lost votes for Mondale. It is unlikely that \$100 million dollars spent telling the truth about Reagan would have changed the outcome.

A rising tide of nationalism, boosted by the Olympic Games coverage, made our non-interventionist foreign policy hard to sell. Young people remember Grenada, not Viet Nam. People concerned about peace and the threat of nuclear war, fearful of Reagan and unable to see that Mondale was no less a threat, voted for Mondale rather than

Our television and radio advertising was not available until very late in the campaign because of lack of funds. The response to the advertising indicates that if it had begun earlier it would have improved fundraising to pay for more advertising which would have increased inquiries to the 800 number and probably votes.

Finally, some people who voted Libertarian before voted for Reagan this time. This includes some who have been LP activists. I won't attempt to read the minds of such borderline cases, but it should be warning to us that there will always be people who temporarily inhabit the periphery of libertarianism without ever making a real commitment or understanding the need to do

The future of the Libertarian Party depends in large part on how willing activists are to learn from experience. The purpose of compiling this report is to



share the experience of those involved in the campaign with others who want to see the Libertarian Party and its ideas grow and become accepted as an important and positive component of the American political scene. We realize it can only touch upon the total experience and will raise as many questions as it answers. Consequently, we hope you view it only as a beginning and recognize, as we do, that the inquiry and learning continue.

## Headquarters Staff Changes

Houston, TX - Several staff changes have occurred at the LP National headquarters in Houston in December and

Margaret Werry, Bergland campaign liaison and project director, left the national office staff to become acting State Director of the Texas LP. Susan Van Dyke, who headed up computer operations, left in December to join a libertarian-owned computer store in

Joining the headquarters staff are Tom Radloff, computer operations, and David Kelly, staff assistant.

Seattle, WA - Libertarians and friends in the northwest will have an opportunity to meet and talk with some of the area's prominent activists at The First Northwestern Freedom Conference in April. The Conference, subtitled "A Marketplace of Ideas", will be held concurrently with the Libertarian Party National Committee meeting at the Westin Hotel in Seattle, Washington, during the weekend of April 20th and 21st.

Conference organizer and NatCom Representative Skip Barron says the Conference is designed to emphasize free market solutions to regional problems, most of which are popularly considered as solvable only by governmental action. He cites the preservation of wildlife and wilderness areas as one example. Richard Stroup, of the Political Economy Research Center in Bozeman, Montana, will be addressing those subjects on Saturday, explaining how the separation of political influence from them would be beneficial. Other local environmental activists will be joining the discussion. Ted Griffin, a Seattle businessman and author of Namu, will discuss his experiences with killer whales and game commission per-

Also to be addressed is regulation of the transportation market. As readers of Reason Magazine are aware, Seattle has been the site of much recent controversy over the regulation of taxi cabs by both the city and King County. One company, Yellow Cab, is challenging the legality of such regulation by refusing to raise its fares to the newly mandated rates. Al D'Angelo, General Manager of Yellow Cab, will present his case to the conference in what promises to be a lively discussion. Andre Marrou, newly elected Libertarian legislator from Alaska, will discuss the recent scrapping of that state's Transportation Commission.

The effectiveness of Libertarians in public office will be the topic of a panel composed of northwest libertarians who have had some success in attaining those positions. Tonie Nathan will discuss her near win in the last election, and how she did it.

Other events will feature: economist Walter Block on the Ethiopian Famine, Tonie Nathan on the "comparable worth" controversy, and economist Murray Rothbard. A supper cruise on Puget Sound is scheduled for Saturday

Seattle has been proposed as the site of the 1987 Nominating Convention of the Libertarian Party, and the First Northwest Freedom Conference should give those who attend a taste of the locale in anticipation of the larger

For more details, call Skip Barron at (206) 789-4812 or Tom Tanaka at (206) 322-1475, or write: The First Northwest Freedom Conference, 1205 E. Olive St., Apt. A; Seattle, WA 98122.

## LP Gets **Good Press**

New York, NY - Throughout most of its 14-year history, the Libertarian Party has not received a great deal of special attention from the national news media. While there have been notable exceptions, particularly during campaign years, by and large the national news media have concentrated either on more routine political affairs or on trendier newsmakers re-cycling old nostrums in new packages (remember John Anderson?).

But despite the fact that 1984 was a tough year overall for libertarian ideas, a surprisingly large number of news articles have appeared in the last few months about the LP, our Presidential campaign, or liberarian ideas in general.

In particular, the Bergland-Lewis campaign received significant write-ups in the major wire services and nationally prominent newspapers, as well as the Wall Street Journal, which has run a number of libertarian oriented stories both on its editorial pages and in its regular news coverage.

The Bergland-Lewis campaign received generally accurate and respectful coverage from special stories in the New York Times, The Washington Post, USA Today, The Philadelphia Inquirer and the Los Angeles Times, as well as a "live and let live" theme piece by the United Press International news service, which was widely carried in papers all across the country. There was also positive coverage in many other Continued page 12

## How to Open Your Swiss Bank Account

Next May 17th, 175 fortunate men and women will gather at the Hotel Zurich in Switzerland to assure their financial future. Will you be there with the prudent ones?

Why Zurich? Because when many prudent men why Zurich? Because when many prudent men and women think about their money today, they "think Switzerland." In the past fifteen years, the Swiss franc has increased its value against the U.S. dollar by about 100%. The conservatively managed Swiss economy should insure the francs' releastly managed to the properties of the state relentless march continues against the dollar in the

At the 1985 Swiss Money Seminar, experts from money belongs in Switzerland, and how to transfer it there, legally and privately. Just as important, you'll have the chance to fire questions at the ex-perts. Haven't you asked yourself questions like

- How easily and how quickly can I get money out when I want it?
- · Can I bank or invest in Switzerland without my family knowing about it? My lawyer? My accountant?

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If your questions require longer, more personal discussion, you can meet with one of our experts, or with an official representative of a Swiss bank or financial institution - all in in traditional Swiss privacy. In fact, you can, if you wish, take care of your financial arrangements right there



#### 11 Experts Lead You Through the Swiss "Financial Supermarket"

The choices are so numerous that you MUST discover some that fit your needs. A few of them:

· Goldplan Switzerland: 4 scientific methods for automatically accumulating it (and no worry if the government cracks down again on gold owners) • Swiss annuities (the owners laugh at inflation) • How to move money abroad — legalinflation) • How to move money abroad — legally yet secretly • Ways to use Switzerland to save on your taxes • Special situations and private placements: the Swiss often hear about them first, and their clients profit • How to buy stocks and bonds anonymously via your Swiss account • Is Swiss residency for you? The facts. • Swiss franc retirement plans: high-yield, perfectly legal, private — and above all, SAFE (unlike Social Security and a host of U.S. pension plans, the Swiss Plans are NOT in trouble) • PLUS — so many more ideas it will take you three full seminar days to explore them all. seminar days to explore them all.

The 11 experts are headed by Mark SKOUSEN, author of "Mark Skousen's Complete Guide To Financial Privacy." John A. PUGSLEY, author of Common Sense Economics' "Alpha Strategy." Siegfried HERZOG, manager of the famous Ueberseebank, takes the mystery out of Swiss banking. Jurg LATTMANN, the insur ance specialist, explains the unique virtues of Swiss anuities and endowments. And you'll hear and meet another seven money masters from







Your Cost: Far Less Than You'd Expect

You not only hear the 11 experts. You get to question them, and meet them personally. Therefore, you might expect the three-day session to run you \$3,000...\$5,000...as much as \$10,000. The actual cost: hard to believe at \$495 — and only \$405 for anyone your bring.

Better yet, the ENTIRE cost - seminar fee travel, meals, hotel — meets IRS requirements and is therefore 100 percent tax-deductible. For most people, this cuts the cost about in half. BONUS: a week in Switzerland at a superb hotel (and Zurich is wonderful in May)

If you wish to attend our optional "Vienna Bank ing and Investing Seminar" as well as the optional orientation tour, "The Hungarian Free Enterprise orientation tour, "The Hungarian Free Enterprise Experiment" in Budapest complete Zurich-Vienna and Vienna-Budapest travel and hotel packages are available

#### Discount Plus FREE Gift for **Early Registration**

If we receive your reservation before March 1 you may deduct 5 percent from your seminar fee, and 5 percent for anyone you bring. In addition, we'll send FREE "The Swiss System," which has sold thousands of copies at \$39.95. Armed with this guide, you will be prepared for the seminar.

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#### How To Register

Our travel agent is Meetings Abroad Travel, 7535 Little River Turnpike, Suite 320, Annandale VA 22003. You may call our seminar coordinator at the number shown below to register, and to get approximate hotel rates and air fares, or to have

A deposit of \$100 is required to reserve your registration, with the balance due 30 days before the seminar opens. If you find you can't attend, all your money will be refunded except for a \$50 cancellation fee

Since the seminars usually sell out and since enrollment is strictly limited to 175, there is a double reason to register as soon as possible. Remember, you risk only the \$50 cancellation fee if something comes up and you can't attend.

If you prefer to make separate travel or hotel arrangements, you must still register for the seminar with our agent, Meetings Abroad Travel, simply by calling the toll-free number. You may, of

#### 1985 Seminar dates and fees

Place	Arrive	Depart	Person/Couple Seminar Fee
Zurich, Switzerland	May 15	May 22	\$495/\$900
Vienna (optional)	May 22	May 28	\$250/\$450
Budapest (optional)	May 28	May 31	\$150/\$275

#### **Two Attractive Travel Options**

1. You can sign up for our 8-day economy travel and hotel package leaving New York, Chicago and other U.S. cities via Swissair 747 Jumbo Jet on Wednesday, May 15 and returning Wednesday, May 22. With the travel package you get 7 nights at the Hotel Zurich; continental breakfasts: 3 lunches: 4 cocktail receptions: the seminar banquet: the Zurich tour; transportation to and from the air-port; all baggage handling charges; all taxes and tips. Call Meetings Abroad Travel for cost infor-

2. Make your own travel and lodging arrangements and meet us at the Hotel Zurich on May 17 The seminar fee includes all talks, private consultations and question-and-answer sessions. It does not include air fare, lodging, meals or social events. If you make your own arrangements, you are welcome to purchase an "Amenities Package" for all seminar cocktail parties, luncheons and the

Whichever option you select, please call, tollfree, for our Zurich Seminar Coordinator at the

#### Optional - Vienna Banking

This one-day seminar will be held on Friday. May 24, 1985 at the luxurious Vienna

Among the speakers are Dr. Nicholas Deak; Dr. Erich Stoeger, manager of Bankhaus Deak; Dr. Peter Kistler, an Austrian attorney, and four others.

#### **Another Option**

The Hungarian Free Enterprise Experiment, a three-day orientation, follows the Vienna seminar. You will continue, by hydrafoil, up the Danube to the city regarded many as the most beautiful in Europe



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## **Press Positive**

From page 11

major newspapers, as well as prominent mention in wire sevice "round up" articles about third parties, which noted that the LP is by far the most credible third party in America.

Perhaps even more impressive than the positive campaign coverage in the U.S. was the coverage obtained abroad in two instances by prestigious foreign publications, indications that the libertarian movement is attracting worldwide attention.

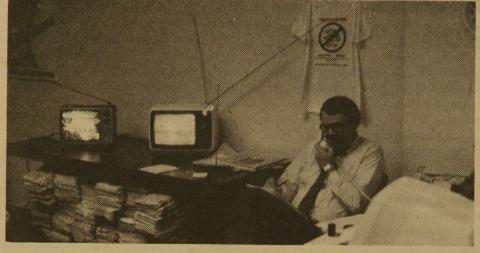
The well known Paris newspaper Le Figuero carried a lengthy article about Bergland and the LP campaign (unfortunately calling him "Donald" Bergland throughout the article), which observed that Bergland was the "champion of individual liberty and absolute isolationism." And the British weekly The Economist ran a generally factual (if not somewhat bemused) article on the Libertarian Party in its October 20 issue. The article noted that LP members usually advocated highly consistent individualist political policies, even to the extent of alienating voters. It correctly noted that the LP is a real political party with genuine internal debate and electioneering, as evidenced by the dramatic 1983 Presidential nominating convention in New York.

The influential business newspaper, the Wall Street Journal has been the most consistent of all in the past few months. While the Journal for several years has shown interest in libertarian proposals, its recent coverage seems an indication of what is to come in national political discourse: namely, what direction will the nation take in the post-Reagan, post-New Deal liberal era of the late 1980's?

LP ballot access consultant Richard Winger penned an incisive WSJ piece entitled "Major Parties Find Three's a Crowd" for the Oct. 26 issue, thoroughly documenting the trend toward two-party monopoly barriers to entry in politics. On Nov. 27, political analyst Kevin Phillips authored an extensive review of the book Beyond Liberal and Conservative, by political scientists Maddox and Lilie, which catagorizes the American public into four groups, one of which is libertarian. Phillips observed that the "minimal intervention" stance in both economics and social philosophy which characterizes libertarians is increasingly becoming the credo of the so-called "yuppie" generation.

Several weeks later the Journal printed three favorable letters in response to the original Phillips article, including one from Terry Inman, Secretary of the Missouri LP, who correctly noted that Phillips' identification of the "libertarian" tendencies within the Reagan administration seemed considerably overstated.

Also in late November, the Journal carried an editorial feature by the



LP News editor Mike Holmes takes election results at National Headquarters on election night. Photo by Editorial Services.

Reason Foundation's Local Government Center director Philip Fixler Jr. on the privatization trend, carried into such fields as correctional facilities. (Fifteen years ago, the notion that prisons could be run with little or no government involvement was discussed only on the pages of obscure libertarian publications.) In the same issue was a balanced news article on issue of drugs -legalization vs. continued repression -which quoted from several libertarian intellectuals. And in its Dec. 17 story on the workings of the Electoral College, the Journal mentioned the efforts of New York party LP members to persuade Republican electors to vote instead for Bergland (unfortunately, this effort was in vain).

## Policy Stands of Interest to Baby-Boomers

The libertarian position of individual liberty in both economics and social policy is increasingly attractive to the baby-boom, Yuppie generation. Corporate political analysts Gordon Rayfield and Julian Bain made this analysis in a widely circulated op-ed piece in late November, which was printed in a number of newspapers. They concluded by predicting that Yuppies will be looking for something other than what the bipartisans have been offering, in the next presidential election. In a similar vein, New York Times columnist (and former Nixon aide) William Safire wrote a mid-December column calling for the political unity of defenders of both property rights and civil liberties. Particularly significant was his apparent agreement with the general thrust of the libertarian position and his critique of the blind spots in both the traditional liberal and conservative viewpoints.

While the Libertarian Party has been bucking a strong conservative cultural tide of late, there are indications that the political logic of the libertarian stance is beginning to be appreciated in influential media and intellectual circles. In addition to being both moral and practical, the latter half of the decade may even bring libertarian ideas into the realm of being (dare we suggest it?) fashionable.



National Director Honey Lanham fields an election night phone call in the headquarters mailroom. Photo by Editorial Services.

#### LP in the Media

But presidential candidate David P. Bergland, harkening back to days before matching funds and other modern abominations, picked 1-7-7-6 as the last digits of his head-quarters phone nbumber. After all, his Libertarian Party has the "philosophy of the American Revolution".

From "Libertarian candidate recalls past", USA Today, Oct. 25, 1984.

Statism as an intellectual concept was also in retreat. America's "right" appropriated the populist banner long claimed by the "left" and won an overwhelming presidential election victory with a campaign against big government and high taxes and for private initiative and growth. An outright libertarian was the most successful minor party candidate, drawing his 236,000 votes mainly from young voters.

From editorial "1984: The Year That Was", The Wall St. Journal, Dec. 28, 1984

PORCUPINE TEE SHIRTS: "The Right to be Left Alone—Libertarian Party". Dark blue printing on light blue shirt. \$5 for each shirt. Order from: R.L. Hollembeak, Rt. 1 Box 498A, Bolivia, NC 28422

### LP Holds Balance of Power

Bloomington, IN — Capping off an impressive Libertarian Party showing in 1984, with at least ten "balance of power" vote totals across the nation, Indiana 8th Congressional District LP candidate, Michael Fallahay, managed to gather votes over 20 times the margin of victory, in what is being called "the closest Congressional race of the year".

Fallahay, a Bloomington purchasing executive, received 769 votes out of more than 233,000 cast. But the final certified total margin for the Republican challanger (Richard McIntyre) was only 34 votes. Incumbent Democrat Frank McCloskey has called for an official recount, which may not be concluded until mid-summer. Meanwhile, the U.S. Congress has ordered the seat to remain vacant while paying both major party candidates the full \$72,000 per year Congressional salary until the matter is finally decided.

This move prompted Fallahay to issue a press release blasting the government for making the two bipartisan politicos "the highest paid welfare recipients in southwest Indiana." This critique was picked up by the state Associated Press wire service and appeared in newspapers around the state. This release was also reported by the largest radio station in the state (WIBC) and Bloomington stations WBWB, WGTC, and WTTS.

Fallahay's remarks hit hard: "It is an insult to the residents of the 8th District that our tax dollars are being spent for the salaries of two 'Congressmen', neither of whom has been officially elected and neither of whom is performing any official duties for their constitutents." In an exclusive LP News interview, Fallahay wondered why he hadn't been offered the same deal. since "after all, I ran in the same race and I didn't win either." In fact, he went on to suggest that Congress should have asked him to serve as acting Representative until the matter is finally settled. "A number of District voters preferred me as Congressman, I was on the ballot, and I'm the only candidate who received votes who isn't claiming he won. I am willing to serve in the interim. At least I would perform some useful duties while being paid, unlike the two major party candidates who are going to be paid for doing nothing."

Fallahay also attacked the officials conducting the recount, citing a recent letter to Greene County Circuit Court Judge David K. Johnson challanging a total disappearance of his votes during the recent recount because officials were tabulating his votes from the wrong line on the ballot. "Not only do Democrats and Republicans put numerous obstacles in the path of Libertarian candidates, but they also often fail to record our votes, perverting the electoral process for their own

## Balance

purposes, especially when we may have affected the outcome of an election."

Most observers credit Fallahay's presence with influencing the outcome, including an Indianapolis News political column and two area university political scientists, who both agreed that Fallahay affected the outcome but differed on whether he helped the Democrat or Republican. Fallahay said he hoped the impact he had would result in inclusion of the LP candidate in the 1986 debates, from which he was barred, noting that "it should be an indication that the Party should not be ignored."

Utah LP Chair and National Committee member Hugh Butler also received the balance of power in his race for that state's 1st Congressional District seat, which was won by the Republican with 400 votes compared to Butler's total of 1,451, over three times the difference. The Utah LP had the highest number of candidates per capita of any state in 1984.

Both Arizona State Corporation Commission candidates received balance of power vote totals in their races. Ken Struzenacker received 34,895 votes in his race, where the winning margin was only 1,053. Ronald Tobin gathered 37,810 votes in his race, where the winner only had a 7,236 margin. These results prompted Arizona Republicans to publicly grouse that their candidates lost as a result of the Libertarian presence.

In California's Placer County 5th Assembly race, Chuck Carr received nearly three times the winning margin in that race, while Montana's Missoula County Auditor candidate Chris Scarlett received exactly the same number of votes as the winning margin (5.2% of the total).

Other races where LP candidates received the balance of power (known at press time) included Montana's Peggy Christensen, whose 131 votes was 3.1%, in her State House District 6 race. Utah's Paul Gibson in State House District #30 received 213 votes for the winning difference, and Vermont's John Buttoph's 21.7% total in his State Senate race was also the balance of power. New Jersey's Richard Duprey reportedly received a balance of power total in his Borough/Town Councilman race.

While LP candidates have received balance of power vote totals in the past, this year's showing ranks among the best ever, although precise statistics have not been kept in the past. LP candidates receiving the "decisive difference" in future races are bound to increase Libertarian political leverage, as the LP continues to break down the two-party monopoly.

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## 1984 LP Vote Totals

The vote results shown here are based upon the best available information on hand as of press time. These results came from a number of ,different sources and may not, in all cases, represent the final certified results.

Candidates listed without results are those for which results could not be obtained as of press time. Vote percentages shown are the percent of total votes cast. In the case of Wyoming and Vermont, for some races vote percentages are not shown since these are races in which more than one candidate running is elected and therefore the percentages are not comparable to the others. In a few instances, vote percentages were not available. Astericks mark two-way races.

See Presidential results in a separate

Corrections, omissions, etc., can be brought to the attention of the Editor, c/o LP News.

\* - indicates two-way race.

#### **ALABAMA**

	Vote	070	
S. D. Yana Davis, US Senate	12,003	10	
Frank J. Tipler, III, Cong. Dst. #2 Mark Thornton, Cong. Dst. #3	7,057	1.1	
D. M. Sam Samsil, Cong. Dst. #5	4,552 5,943	4.1*	
Steve Smith, Cong. Dst. #6	1,043	.5	
Chuck Ewing, Cong. Dst. #7	4,498	3.2*	
Tim Gatewood, Pres. Pub. Ser.	20,352	1.8	
Comm.  Bob Chapuis, Jefferson Cty. Treas.	2,071	.8	
Frank Monachelli, Jefferson Cty.	2,672	1.1	
Tax Assessor			
Ross Robert Lowe, Constable #57 Desta Monachelli, Constable #53	273 189	2.4*	
	109	1.6	
ALASKA			
Henry Novak, St. Hse. #1-A	256		
John Davis, St. Hse. #5-A Andre Marrou, St. Hse. #5-B Will Darsey, St. Hse.	2,040 4,539	22.0	
Will Darsey, St. Hse.	697	13.0	
ARKANSAS			
Ed Gran, Governor (write-in) Lon Schultz, Cong. Dst. #3 (write-in)			
Frank Gilbert, Justice of the Peace	80	9.6	
Crawford City Dst. #7	00	7.0	
	1-6-1	-1-	
ARIZONA	24 905	20	
Kenneth Sturzenacker, St. Corp. Comm.	34,895	3.8	
Ronald Tobin, St. Corp. Comm.	37,810	4.1	
Lorraina Valencia, Cong. Dst. #3	3,762		
Herbert Johnson, Cong. Dst. #5	1,958	.9	
CALIFORNIA			
Roger Pope, Cong. Dst. #4	3,934	2.0	
Joseph R Fuhria Cong Det #5	3,947	2.0	
Howard C. Creighton, Cong. Dst. #6 Martha Fuhrig, Cong. Dst. #9	5,488	2.0	
Martha Fuhrig, Cong. Dst. #9	7,315	4.0	
Peri Cardestain, Cong. Dst. #10	2,717	2.0	
William C. White, Cong. Dst. #12	5,663	2.0	
John Redding, Cong. Dst. #13 Fred W. Colburn, Cong. Dst. #14	3,740 6,708	2.0	
Richard M. Harris, CD #15	3,067	2.0	
William Anderson, Cong. Dst. #16	3.231	1.0	
Robert T. Leet, Cong. Dst. #21	4,250	2.0	
Michael B. Yauch, Cong. Dst. #22 Larry Leathers, Cong. Dst. #23	30,988	15.0*	
Timothy Custer, Cong. Dst. #24	3,374	1.0	
Anthony Bajada, Cong. Dst. #25	2,355 4,224	4.0	
Jeff Averech, Cong. Dst. #27	2,865	1.0	
Donald Fredrick, Cong. Dst. #28	2,818	2.0	
Marc F. Denny, Cong. Dst. #32 Gail Lightfoot, Cong. Dst. #33	2,430	1.0	
Sara Baase, Cong. Dst. #41	4,607	2.0	
Phyllis Avery, Cong. Dst. #43	7,114 6,608	3.0	
Jim Conole, Cong. Dst. #44	3,130	2.0	
Patrick Wright, Cong. Dst. #45	3,857	2.0	
Thomas M. Tryon, Co. Superv., Dist. #4	1,309		
Charles L. Carr, St. Asm. #5 Fred E. Foldvary, State Asm. #12	4,246	7.0	
John H. Webster, St. Asm. #18	4,403	4.0	
John H. Webster, St. Asm. #18 Ross R. W. Parlette, St. Asm. #21 Andrew R. Fleisher, St. Asm. #22	2,864	3.0	
Andrew R. Fleisher, St. Asm. #22	3,158	2.0	
Dante DeAmicis, St. Asm. #23 Mark W. A. Hinkle, St. Asm. #25	10,568	12.0*	
Glenda Bull, St. Asm. #40	7,354	8.0*	
Robert T. Gerringer, St. Asm. #41	1,595	2.0	
Taylor H. Rhodes, St. Assm. #43	2,743	2.0	
Neal Donner, St. Asm. #44	3,301	2.0	
George Abrahams, St. Asm. #45	2,196	2.0	
Marel "Bud" Bates, St. Asin. #46 Gregory P. Gilmore, St. Asin. #51 Arthur L. Rubin, St. Asin. #55	753	2.0	
Arthur L. Rubin, St. Asm. #55	3,822 1,856	3.0	
Mary Jo McConnaghy, St. Asm. #62	4,914	4.0	
Frederick G. Sands, St. Asm. #78	3,357	3.0	
Donna L. Tello, St. Asm #79	2,669	4.0	
Mark Read Diskers St. Asm. #1	5,676	2.0	
Robert M. Murphy, St. Asm. #1 Mark Read Pickens, St. Sen #1 Kim H. Roberts, St. Sen. #13	6,104	2.0	
Fed E. Brown Jr., St. Sen. #23	7,294 2,997	2.0	
Steve Kelley, St. Sen. #29	4,581	2.0	
	4.00		

COLORADO		and in	Lawrence M. Smith, Co. Council	
J. Craig Green, US Senate	10,593	1.0	Frederick C. Peterson, St. Rep. #48	337
Dwight Filley, Cong. Dst. #1	1,683	.8	Albert Barger, St. Rep. #55	169 .8
Jerry Van Sickle, Cong. Dst. #2	2,668	1.3	Katheryn Ridenour Gregory, St.	256
Bob Jahelka, Cong. Dst. #3	1,148	.6	Rep. #5	230
James Randall Fitzgerald, Cong.	2,824	.2	Richard Smith, St. Rep. #56	166 .8
Dst. #4 Jim Phelps, St. Hse #53	2 771	15.0*	Stephen L. Dashbach, Super. of	10,839 .5
Geoffrey Lloyd, RTD Board		32.8*	Public Instruction	10,039 .3
Geomey Eloya, KTD Board	7,015	32.0	Public Instruction	
CONNECTICUT			KANSAS	
Charles Sunblade, Cong. Dst. #1	791	.5	Douglas Merritt, U.S. Senate	6,973 .7
Donald W. Wood, Cong. Dst. #2	984	.3		
Michael R. Cohen, Cong. Dst. #3	475	.2	Cynthia Huber, St. Bd. Ed., Dst. #4	
Jim Peron, Cong. Dst. #5 Joe Dehn, St. Asmbly Dst. #117	479 42	.4	Joel Heller, St. Bd. Ed., Dst. #8	5,442 7.4
Joe Deill, St. Ashibiy Dst. #117	42	.4	Bill Earnest, St. Sen., Dst. #27	855 3.2
DELAWARE			Lawrence Bishop, St. Rep., Dst. #36	845 14.3*
Vernon Etzel, Cong. Dst. #1	294	.1	John Brewer, St. Rep., Dst. #79	307 3.9
Steven Scow, St. Rep. #11	102	1.6	John Foster, St. Rep., Dst. #84	488 8.0
Dirk A. Schuze, St. Rep. #16	-0-	0	Kimberly Miller, St. Rep., Dst. #86	289 3.7
Richard Cohen, St. Rep. #17	22	.3	Dr. Marion Nunemaker, Reno Cty.	2,202 28.0*
Frank L. Wright, Kent Cty. Sheriff	157	.5	Comm.	
FLORIDA			Steve Blackburn, Finney Cty. Comm	
Gerald Nyren, St. Hse. Dst. #19	1,000	4.0	Robert Johnson, Sedgwick Cty. Clerk	
Gerald Hyren, St. 11sc. Dst. #19	1,000	4.0	KENTUCKY	
********				The same of the sa
HAWAII			Anthony Suruda, Cong. Dst. #6	926 .5
Christopher Winter, Cong. Dst. #1	3,373	2.4	Mitchell Wayne, St. Rep. #59	860 12.0*
Amelia Fritts, Cong. Dst. #2	4,364	3.2		
Dr. Blase Harris, Mayor - Honolulu	3,137	1.3	MASSACHUSETTS	
			Leland D. Webber, St. Rep. #4M	270 2.0
IDAHO				
Donald B. Billings, US Senate	7,362	1.8	MARYLAND	
John Brandt, Sr., Co. Comm.			Samuel K. Grove, Cong. Dst. #8	1,903 .7
Michael Wilson, St. Rep. Dst. 20	2,114	18.8*		
Jack L. Dalton, St. Rep. Dst. 21	3,457	2.8	MICHIGAN	
Martha Janstrom, St. Rep. Dst. 15	1,510	13.7	Lynn Johnston, US Senate	7,786 .21
Richard C. Price, St. Sen. Dst. 13	1,699	2.8	James L. Hudler, Cong. Dst. #2	937 .5
			Richard L. Whitelock, Cong. Dst. #5	1,312 .6
ILLINOIS			James E. Hurell, Cong. Dst. #6	773 .4
Steven I. Givot, US Senate	59,777	1.2	Nicholas Hamilton, Cong. Dst. #9	680 .3
Joseph A. Maxwell, U of I Trustee	47,640	1.0	George C. Leef, Cong. Dst. #10	1,054 .5
Carol H. Warne, U of I Trustee	49,124	1.0	Keith P. Edwards, Cong, Dst. #12	1,388 .7
Cheryl Person-Tillman, U of I	57,552	1.2	Virginia L. Cropsey, Cong. Dst. #14	1,105 .6
Trustee	13 H 1 1 1 1 1		Donald R. Kostyu, Cong. Dst. #16	1,042 .6
			Timothy O'Brien, Cong. Dst. #18	2,188 .9
INDIANA			J. Stephen Billnitzer, Co. Clerk	3,725 1.0
James A. Ridenour, Governor	7,114	.3	James DeArman, II, Co. Comm.	641 8.9*
E. Benton Tackitt, Lt. Governor	7,114	.3	Cathy D. Stewart, Co. Comm.	302 2.9*
James Willis, Cong. Dst. #1	943	.5	Robert E. Swartz, Co. Comm.	794 11.6
Cecil Bohannon, Cong. Dst. #2	637	.3	Andrew DeRadder, Co. Comm.	
Robert A. Lutton, Cong. Dst. #3	652	.3	Norma Lichtenberg, Co. Comm.	73 .5
Joseph Laiacona, Cong. Dst. #4	534	.3	Joseph Overton, Co. Comm.	264 10.4*
David Osterfeld, Cong. Dst. #5	1,164	.6.	Mary J. Ruwart, Co. Comm.	
Linda S. Dilk, Cong. Dst. #	1,278	.5	Scott M. Scarborough, Co. Comm.	
Barbara Bourland, Cong. Dst. #7	2,810	1.3	Maureen Vermeer, Co. Comm.	42,611 7.2
Michael J. Fallahay, Cong. Dst. #8	769	.3	Gary M. Bonus, Co. Sheriff	623 9.0*
Douglas S. Boggs, Cong. Dst. #9	670	.3	Thomas Jones, MSU Bd. of Trustees	7,796 1.0
Bradford L. Warren, Cong. Dst. #10	877	.4		
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LP NEWS



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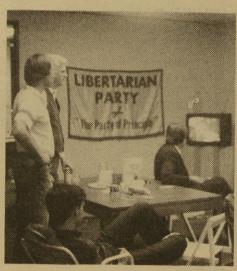
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## Vote Totals

VOTE TOTO	IS	
Kurt Webber, MSU Bd. of Trustees Harold M. Boog, St. Bd. of Educ.	36,78° 29,88°	
Gwendoline Stillwell, St. Bd. of Educ.	41,23	3 1.0
David H. Raaflaub, St. Supreme	103,859	3.7
Court, Dst. #91 Robert Roddis, St. Supreme Court	144,67	1 5.1
Dst. #93		
Wayne Hollander, St. Rep. #20 Charles Dawson, St. Rep. #21	50°	
James Pike, St. Rep. #24 Ronald Burcham, St. Rep. #25	477	7 1.4
Mark D. Sellers, St. Rep. #26	94 256	
Steven Mackie, St. Rep. #32 Michael Palonus, St. Rep. #33	499	
Keith Flowers, St. Rep. #42	235	.7
Sheryl Loux, St. Rep. #46 Rosanne Pancoe, St. Rep. #48	222	
Jon W. Addiss, St. Rep. #56	369	
Robert G. Stepanovitch, St. Rep. #57 Duane Stillwell, St. Rep. #59	372 390	
Brian R. Wright, St. Rep. #65	272	.7
I. David Gravlin, St. Rep. #68 Harold Dunn, St. Rep. #70	320 165	
Cynthia Blake, St. Rep. #71 Rudy Zornisk, St. Rep. #72	235	.8
Paul Kaiser, St. Rep. #73	229	
Patricia Johnson, St. Rep. #75	199	.6
Clifford Schwink, St. Rep. #79 Kenneth Warren, St. Rep. #87	384 171	
Gary R. Bradley, St. Rep. #89	185	.6
Charles Congdon, St. Rep. #102 Denise Kline, St. Rep. #109	650 102	
Joseph Jindrich, St. Rep. #110 William B. Krebaum, UM Bd. of	293	
Regents	35,429	.9
Bette J. Erwin, UM Bd. of Regents Harold Lichtenberg, WSU Bd. of	53,048	
Governors	36,395	.9
William M. Hollander, WSU Bd. of Governors	49,868	1.3
MINNESOTA		
Richard Putman, US Senate	4,653	.2
MISSOURI		
Chad G. Colopy, Cong. Dst. #2	1,782	.7
Warren Mike Roberts, III, Cong. Dst. #5	5,069	2.2
John Melcher, Co. Comm. Dst. #2	223	5.3
Phillip Rustici, St. Rep. #44	1,180	11.0*
MONTANA	-	
Neil Halprin, US Senate Lawrence B. Dodge, Governor	9,143	2.4
Clifford F. Thies, Lt. Governor	12,322	3.3
William Dee Morris, Atty. General Royer G. Warren, Cong. Dst. #1	12,723	3.5
James Alan Winter, PSC Dst. Pos. #5	18,441	25.7*
Patricia Summers, St. Auditor	21,143	5.9
Michael Tanchek, St. Hse. #1 Diane Stokes, St. Hse. #36	410 556	12.0
Susan Roberts, St. Hse. #55	159	15.0
Michael Wanger, St. Hse. #57 Joseph Coburn, St. Hse. #59	302 111	8.1
Mary June Hellman, St. Hse. #49	202	4.9
Peggy Christensen, St. Hse. #60 Tom Stetson, St. Hse. #61	131	3.1
J. R. Myers, Local Govt. Review Comm	n.	3.3
Jim Pizzadili, Local Govt. Review Com Christopher Scarlet, Missoula Cty. Aud	m. itot 721	5.2
NORTH CAROLINA Bobby Yates Emory, US Senate	9,464	.4
Fritz Prochnow, Governor	4,514	.2
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Sandra Primack, US Senate	1,083	.3
Arne Erickson, Cong. Dst. #1 Alan Groupe, Cong. Dst. #2	561	.6
Anthony Harp, St. Rep.	463	
NEW JERSEY		
Harold F. Leiendecker, US Senate Gerald Zeldin, Cong. Dst. #1	6,703 781	.2
Stephen Friedlander, Cong. Dst. #6	2,685	1.2
Paul D. Nelson, Cong. Dst. #7 Daniel Maiullo, fr., Cong. Dst. #8	785 571	.4
Joseph R. Kerr, III, Cong. Dst. #12	1,593	.7
Richard L. Duprey, Borough/Town Councilman	225	
William J. Zelko Jr., Co. Freeholder	700	
NEW MEXICO		
Steve Curtis, Cong. Dst.#1	1,936	1.1
Shirley Jones, Coarg, Dst. #3 Thomas R. Rushton, St. Hse Dst. #11	2,388	1.4
A.	42 31	
NEVADA Thomas Joe Morris, Cong, Dst. #1	1,885	1.4
Daniel Becan, Cong. Dst. #2	4,201	3.0
A. W. Western, Jr., St. Assm. Dst. #4 Richard Everson, St. Assm Dst. #6		
David Huffman, St. Sen. #1	1.166	4.1
Randy Marchese, St. Sen. #3 Patrick O'Neil, St. Sen. #5		
NEW YORK		1
Wanda A. Hudak, Co. Exec.	1,600	2.0
David H. Hoesly, St. Assm. #130	475	9

David H. Hoesly, St. Assm. #130

Steven Becker, St. Sen. #53



Houston area libertarians watch election retur

t National Headquarters, Photo dervices.		
Control of the Contro		
OHIO Michael Nunn, Cong. Dst. #9	2,450	1.2
Milton R. Norris, Cong. Dst. #21	4,352	
OKLAHOMA	847/08	
Robert Murphy, US Senate Lynn Neal, Cong. Dst. #1	11,168	
Gordon Mobley, Cong. Dst. #4	1,748	1.0
B. Frank Robinson, Cong. Dst. #5 Agnes M. Regier, St. Corp. Comm	4,470 27,048	
Bob Williams, St. Hse. #45	230	2.1
R.C. Sevier White, St. Hse. #46 Shirley Mobley, St. Hse. #53	193 193	1.3
Douglas Moller, St. Hse. #84	315	2.8
Robert Chambers, St. Hse. #89 oel D. Miller, St. Hse. #100	735 291	13.7
Dennis Garland, St. Sen. #47	-1,625	
Anne Hill, St. Sen. #11 Alice Cody, St. Sen. #15	1,471 2,819	
Paul Woodard, St. Sen. #33	2,691	
Ralph Shulte, OK Co. Clerk Vickie I. Rhodes, Tulsa Co. County	14,690 21,811	
Clerk	21,011	11.5
OREGON	12.022	40 04
fonie Nathan, Co. Comm. Pos. #3 ferry Cravan, Co. Comm.	12,922	
osephine DeForest, St. Hse. #29	4,496	24.0
d Marihart, St. Hse, Dst. #19	2;218	10.4
ENNSYLVANIA David K. Walter, Auditor General	25,883	.6
alph Mullinger, Treasurer	30,496	.7
ichard E. Caligiuri, Cong. Dst.	6,273	3.0
Paniel Mulholland, Cong. Dst. #18	1,328	:6
ary Shoemaker, Cong. Dst. #19 harles Stutler, St. Leg. #20	1,632	.9
Ienry E. Haller, III, St. Sen. #43	1,176	1.2
OUTH CAROLINA		
teve Davis, US Senate lynthia Sullivan, Cong. Dst. #2	13,333 2,010	1.4
ob Madden, Cong. Dst. #3	1,510	1.0
ay Pike, Cong. Dst. #4 inda Blevins, Cong. Dst. #5	1.431 4,185	.9
lugh Thompson, Cong. Dst. #6	2,050	1.3
oward Johnson, St. Senate #4 . Wayne Crews, Jr., St. Sen. #10	762 71	4.8*
teve Vandervelde, St. Sen. #21	183	1.3
an Chapman, St. Sen. #23	298	1.2
on Heaton, St. Senate #25 litchell Olinger, St. Sen. #29	246 845	6.7
ohn D. Compton, III, St. Hse. #13	427	7.2*
ill Griffin, St. Hse. #88 lary Lou Seymour, Aiken Cty	148	2.0
Council Dist. #4 ony Thomas, Florence Cty. Treas.	1,250	5.0
ENNESSEE	1,230	3.0
endel Hill, St. Sen., Chatanooga	833	1.7
like McKinney, St. Sen., Knoxville	1,934	5.9
ichard Rowland, Knoxville, St. Hse #14	238	1.2
TAH illy Star Marshall, Cong. Dst. #1	1,136	.6
ugh A. Butler, Cong. Dst. #2	1,451	.7
. W. Crosby, Cong. Dst. #3 m Parker, St. Rep. #10	1,068	.6
atricia Hunt, St. Rep. #16	226	2.3
ary Ann Mickelson, St. Rep. #17 ancis L. Swaner, St. Rep. #18	311	3.1
chard Bombard, St. Rep. #19	512	6.3
ndy Przybyla, St. Rep. #23 ott Bergison, St. Rep. #24	191 484	5.3
tty Burton, St. Rep. #26.	407	5.4
hn R. Craigle, St. Rep. #27 y Anita Tessman, St. Rep. #28	1,335	16.7*
obert Waldrop, St. Rep. #29		14.1*
ul Gibson, St. Rep. #30	213	2.9
eorge Chapman, St. Rep. #33	813	9.8*

Cynthia Skousen, St. Rep. #35	407	4.5
Reid Judd, St. Rep. #36	170	1.9
Jim Baker, St. Rep. #38	258	3.8
John Rasmussen, St. Rep. #43	208	2.6
Marsha Vincent, St. Rep. #49	259	3.6
Jeff McOmie, St. Rep. #51	148	1.9
Terry Newfarmer, St. Rep. #53	• 191	2.9
Randall Cates, St. Sen. #2	425	2.5
Biff Baker, St. Sen. #6	337	1.6
Vic Austin, St. Sen #15	55	.3
Sharon Bird, St. Sen #16	59	.4
- Vera Edwards, St. Sen #23	847	. 5.0
VERMONT		
James Hedbor, Cong. Dst. #1	9,359	4.2
William Wicker, Governor	1,904	1.0
Stephen Murray, Lt. Governor	4,035	1.8
John M. Simons, Sec. of State	4,205	1.9
Marla Weiner, Auditor of Accts.	11,572	5.0
Leonard Clark, St. Sen.	2,019	10.7
Bob Bennett, St. Sen.	3,955	
John Buttoph, St. Sen.	221	21.7*
Bruce Wiley, St. Sen.	1.050	21.,
Kim Cooley, St. Sen.	652	
George Trask, St. Sen.	485	
Carl Ellis, St. Hse.	50	
Ed McGuire, St. Hse.	796	
Edwin Pell, St. Hse.	356	
Chuck Connors, St. Hse.	178	
	1,0	
WASHINGTON		
Dan Blatchly, Cong. Dst. #6*	513	1.9
Mack J. Barnette, Treasurer	66,908	3.9
Karen Allard, St. Leg. #26	942	3.0
Dean Brittain, St. Leg. #40	983	3.0
WISCONSIN		
Gary Barnes, St. Assembly	1,974	.8
Jim Rustad, St. Assembly	159	.1
WYOMING		
Craig Allen McCune, Cong. Dst. #1	3,813	2.0
Larry Gray, St. Sen Dst. #4	1,434	2.0
Jo Ann Hoppe, St. Hse. Dst. #1	1,434	
or	1,414	



Marla Weiner, LP Auditor of Accounts Vermont candidate, celebrates the Vermont LP's party status" obtained with her 5.2% election showing. Photo by Free Vermont.



Vermont LP Congressional candidate Jim Hedbor is interviewed on election night by a reporter. Photo by Free Vermont.

## **Candidates Gather Record Number of Endorsements**

Houston, TX - LP candidates achieved a number of precedent setting breakthroughs in 1984, among them a record number of newspaper endorsements for LP candidates and their

Rich Mikulski, St. Hse. Dst. #8

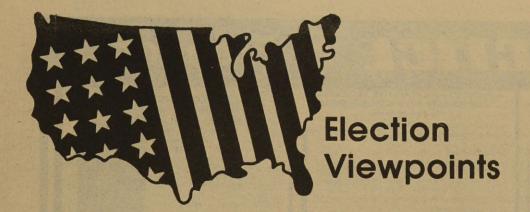
A widely circulated AP story on newspaper endorsements surveyed by Editor & Publisher magazine noted that Reagan received 58 percent of the endorsements of responding newspapers, Mondale 9 percent, 33 percent endorsed no one, and one daily paper, the Hartford City, Indiana News-Times endorsed LP candidate David Bergland. In addition, the Camp Verde, Arizona, weekly, The Journal, endorsed the LP ticket. This weekly has a 3500 circulation and is published in a Flagstaff suburb.

In addition to these outright endorsements, the Libertarian Party in general received endorsements from a number of columnists and Op-Ed writers. They include Philip Carden's "There are no wasted Votes" in the November 2 Tennessean, "The Only Honest Answer" (referring to Bergland's solution to the Social Security bankruptcy) in the Sept. 26 La Habra, CA, Daily Star-Progress, Richard Timberlake's column in the Aug. 5" Nothing to Lose ... But Your Government" piece in the Athens, GA Banner-Herald, and a generally favorable editorial in the Chambersburg, PA Public Opinion commenting on LP Vice Presidential candidate Jim Lewis's appearance at Shippensburg University. Favorable editorial commentary was also seen in

the political column of the Grand Forks, ND Herald by Tim Fought, as well as sympathetic opinion expressed by the Flagstaff, AZ Arizona Daily Sun over the exclusion of David Bergland from the Presidential televised debates.

Probably the most impressive endorsements received by a state-wide LP candidate were received by Vermont Congressional candidate Jim Hedbor, who received several Vermont endorsements, including one from the largest paper in the state, the Burlington Free Press. Their Oct. 28 editorial entitled "Hedbor Is Innovative; A Leader" concluded with the statement "For us, the choice of Hedbor was not that difficult". This was particularly impressive since incumbent Republican Congressman Jim Jeffords (who won re-election) would be expected to get the endorsement in this generally conservative state. This editorial stand was repeated in a Nov. 6 editorial ("he has offered innovative solutions to the problems that Vermont and the nation face in the years ahead") and Hedbor's endorsement was carried in a special UPI wire story in newspapers around the state and even in neighboring New Hampshire. Hedbor received his first endorsement from the daily Caledonian-Record in St. Johnsbury and also got editorial nods from weeklies in Rutland and Wilmington.

LP candidate Jo deForest McIntyre received an Oct. 31 endorsement from her hometown McMinnville, OR News-Register as well as a post-election "pat



The results of the 1984 elections have raised a number of questions about the future direction of the Libertarian Party. A variety of opinions on the subject from LP candidates and activists have been selected for this feature.

#### by Don Ernsberger

Don Ernsberger is Co-director of the Society for Individual Liberty. This was excerpted from the November 1984 Individual Liberty.

The 1984 election can be viewed from a variety of angles, ranging from micro to marco:

The candidate David Bergland: Any analysis of the Libertarian effort in 1984 must begin with a recognition of the seemingly tireless energy and commitment of David Bergland. For about ten months David, often with his wife Sharon, criss-crossed the U.S. speaking to Libertarians, meeting the media, and representing the Party. While he would deny it, this supreme effort was as close to a "sacrifice" as any individualist can make. How effective was Bergland? Certainly there are more articulate and colorful Libertarians. Certainly David's media image could have been better. But in one-on-one conversation with media reporters; in sticking to basic Libertarian principles; and in showing the human side of individualism, Bergland always did justice to our cause. I can't imagine any other personality who could have better sold our message.

The Evers Campaign Operation: What about the machinery that supported Bergland in the field and was responsible for the public relations, logistics and fundraising efforts? Quite frankly, the Bergland for President (BFP) staff was overwhelmed by the task it undertook. With meager finances, limited manpower, and a national-state party structure in shaky health, BFP operations were often hand-to-mouth and stopgap in nature.

Critics of Bill Evers argue that he is autocratic and centralist in behavior. To whatever degree this is true, Evers made a valiant effort to achieve what he could with what he had. Criticisms about lost orders, unanswered letters, unreturned phone calls and other foulups have to be taken in the context that Evers, Perry Willis, Mary Gingell, Laurie Sano and the others faced every day. In 1980, when inexperience and incompetence threatened ballot status in a state, a check was signed, workers hired, and lawyers consulted. In 1984 no such action was possible.

The Libertarian Party: The Libertarian Party of 1984 was a different political animal from the party which ran Ed Clark in 1980. Three dramatic differences can be seen between the Party of 1980 and the Party of 1984: demographic, ideological, and psychological.

In terms of makeup, the LP at the outset of 1980 campaign was largely led by libertarian ideolgues who were "professional" in the sense that they were employed by a variety of foundations, newsletters, libertarian maga-

zines and youth groups on the Washington scene (most of them funded in large part by the Koch family).

What happened in 1984 was what I will call, for lack of a better term, "vertical burnout/dropout." By and large the elements of the party that had run the McBride and Clark campaigns supported Earl Ravenal for the nomination at the 1983 LP convention in New York City, while the Bergland candidacy was supported by most of the middle-tier leadership. The third group, the political newcomers, seems to have been divided between the two. With the nomination of Bergland, virtually the entire upper level of our model (the staff and leaders of the 1976 and 1980 campaigns) left the party and returned to a now-crumbling collection of libertarian foundations, magazines and institutes. This necessitated a vertical movement of the people who in 1980 had been chiefly responsible for local planning and leadership. Thus a vacuum was created in the area of ballot-access, leadership, literature creation and distribution-not to mention fundraising.

In addition to the demographic differences that the party underwent from 1980 to 1984, there was a very important psychological difference in expectations. Before 1980 libertarians knew they were a minor party with a limited constituency and a radical message. To draw more than a few hundred thousand votes for President was unthinkable. The Party was enthusiastic. fired-up and boastful about its ideas. Its expectations were of a slow growth as ideas created new recruitment and voter identification. But 1980 was the year of the "Quick Victory." Like the Federal Reserve Board, the Koch family pumped millions of dollars into the libertarian economy, distorted all the signals and changed all the expectations. 1980 was the binge... 1984 was the contraction.

The U.S. Culture: In the social sciences there is a concept known as "zeitgeist" which represents the summation of values, attitudes and priorities of the populace during a cer-

tain period in time. More importantly, it is an attempt to measure the changes and patterns that are going on in these areas. For the past five years, American culture has been moving steadily away from our ideals. The zeitgeist of the American culture is moving 180 degrees in opposition to the principles we expound. Where libertarians demand liberty, economic freedom and peace, the zeitgeist of America clamors for stability, security and national strength. In my own students, who constitute the highest levels of political awareness and general intelligence in our student body, I have seen in the past five years a marked movement away from draft opposition, moral outrage at victimless-crime laws and disdain for U.S. interventionism.

#### Conclusion

Quite clearly, these are not our times. The Libertarian Party has run head-on into an organizational, demographic, financial and cultural depression. In part we are at fault. To a much larger degree we are a prisoner of our times. But times change and the challenge will be for us to be ready to seize the day when again the geist of our culture searches for peace and liberty and looks in vain for answers that traditional politics does not offer. Setting our own house in order, accepting the long-term nature of the struggle, solving burnout and vertical-vacuum creation, establishing a financial base and teaching quickly the skills and arts of politics, as well as the philosophy of libertarianism, to newcomers are the tasks we face.

#### by David Nolan

David Nolan was the principal founder of the Libertarian Party in 1971 and recently has urged an emphasis on Libertarian Congressional races. This piece is excerpted from his article in the Nov.-Dec. 1984 Colorado Liberty.

Deprived of the Koch family's millions, which bought numerous national TV spots for Ed Clark in 1980,

Continued page 17

## Coverage a Positive Sign

From page 14

on the back" on Nov. 14 from the same paper commenting upon her impressive 24% finish and concluding that "the vote totals show that (minority parties) have viable political constituencies", and thus have "a greater responsibility for continuing involvement in local political affairs."

The impressive South Carolina LP slate of candidates in the November races produced a number of sympathetic news stories and a very positive editorial from the Anderson Independent-Mail on Oct. 23 entitled "Libertarian Ideas Merit Attention." This editorial termed the SCLP "well-organized", putting up "a number of impressive candidates", running "highly qualified individuals" for

various state and local offices. It concluded, "Yet they are atracting as candidates some of the best young political talent in the country. And the ideas and positions of successful third parties have historically been taken over by one of the major parties. If the Libertarian message begins to slip through to large voting blocs, it could reinvigorate either the Democrats or the Republicans, whichever is perceptive enough to reach out and embrace Libertarian ideas."

The visible Montana LP generated a number of sympathetic news editorials, including one from the *Missoulian* on October 15 entitled "Libertarians have an interesting message", concluding that "Voters should learn what it is. An

election year is the best time to find out." Also, the Helena, MT *Independent Record* in their Oct. 19 editorial 'Food for Thought from Libertarians' concluded with "Regardless of what you think about this year's Libertarian Party candidates you have to admire them for their commitment to their cause."

Don Billings' Idaho Senate race resulted in a couple of favorable opinion pieces by Gem State columnists, including an endorsement from "A Voice in the Wilderness" columnist Liz Codoni in the Saint Maries Gazette-Record and Ralph Smeed's favorable column in the Nov. 4 Caldwell Idaho Press-Tribune, where he noted that "all a minority grouper has going for him is the truth of principle."

Finally, Connecticut LP Congressional candidate Charles Sundblade

received a highly favorable column in the Manchester, CT Journal-Enquirer on Oct. 26 as a result of his Congressional debate. They began by saying "the best idea in the Connecticut congressional campaigns has come not from the major-party candidates but from the Libertarian Party candidate in the 1st District, Charles Sundblade." His nuclear weapons policy was cited ("minimum deterrence") as the most sensible suggestion heard.

These examples and other favorable press coverage of Libertarian candidates in 1984, (in a year not considered favorable to third party candidacies) demonstrates the sheer power of properly communicated libertarian ideas and indicates a positive sign of future acceptance of the LP in the political arena.

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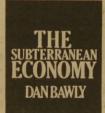
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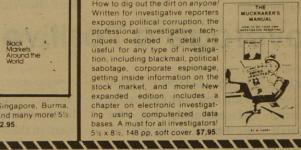
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the vote total for David Bergland and Jim Lewis fell by nearly 75% from 1980's level of 922,000 to around 230,000. This is close to 50% higher than our 1976 showing of 176,000, but nonetheless represents a major setback.

Plagued by financial and managerial problems from the start, the Bergland-Lewis campaign never really "took off" in the way that the Clark campaign did four years earlier. Lacking the Koch millions, the hard-pressed campaign achieved ballot status in only 39 statės. Campaign materials were produced late and distributed sparsely. Virtually no national advertising was ever placed.

Individual efforts by both Bergland and Lewis were heroic, with each of them making several hundred campaign appearances. Both candidates produced campaign books, and Jim Lewis's Liberty Reclaimed is already being hailed by many as the most eloquent introduction to our philosophy yet published... but the lack of funds and poor campaign direction combined to produce what numerous Libertarians have dubbed "the invisible campaign.

The weak showing by Libertarian candidates for higher office this election raises serious questions about participating in electoral contests as a means of advancing toward a free society.

Should we continue to run candidates for major offices... or would we do better to concentrate on lower-level contests, especially non-partisan races? Should we focus our energies on issueoriented ballot initiatives, rather than on running candidates? Or should we abandon political action completely. and concentrate on educational efforts?

These questions, and others like them, are sure to be debated hotly between now and the national convention in Phoenix. Make sure your views are heard!

#### by Jim Ridenour

Jim Ridenour ran for Governor of Indiana in 1984 on the LP ticket.

Campaign '84 a slaughter, a defeat, a swamp, a reversal or a - God forbid! - victory?

First, we did not do well. We can and we should have done better. We now see the results of allowing ourselves to be divided over petty differences.

If this party doesn't continue and grow, I see no hope for the future of the freedom of man in my lifetime. That's why I believe we must drop our petty

differences - now - and begin - now - to work together again to build a foundation for the next election year. It's simple, either we work together now or we shall surely hang separately later. (That sounds familiar?)

Secondly, we did not do well because we had no money.

Half a million dollars? For a presidential race? You're kidding! And got how many votes? That's a victory. Yes, I said, a victory. In the face of a Reagan sweep and a split party, any votes were a victory. The only losers in this election were the people.

Thirdly, we did not do well because we were lazy. We didn't do our homework, we didn't do our leg-work and we didn't apply ourselves to getting our people elected.

First, let's start campaign '86 now -today - get ourselves together in our states with the campaign results in one hand, Hank Parkinson's election guide in the other, and take stock of where we are and where we are going. Analyze the results of the last election. Determine where we did well and where we didn't.

Second, once you have some idea how you did and where you did well and where you didn't, it's time for ac-

Too many movements have died because they never made the step from philosophy to action. That's not to say that our philosophy is wrong or that you shouldn't be familiar with Libertarian principles or thinking. On the contrary, in order to do the job we have before us we will have to be experts in how to give Libertarian ideas in the simplest terms we can find. In order to do that you will have to be experts in the basics of Libertarian thought.

What we are going to have to do is take a look at who we are going to have to appeal to in order to get enough votes to be effective. This is exactly what T. Jefferson, T. Paine and company had to do in order to accomplish what they had in mind. Remember the goal they had was not to increase representation in the House of Commons, but to completely sever the connections between the government of England and the colonies.

"Taxation without representation" was the key phrase that was needed in order to win over the common man to the need for action. If the people had been aware of what the final result of the action would be, how long it would take, and what the sacrifices would be in the meantime, the revolution would have never happened.

What we need to do is to develop methods of explaining Libertarian answers in terms of the problems as they are perceived by the common people. What are the really important problems as seen by most people? The only way to find that out is to read your paper, and ask the people.

Put together polls and go door-todoor, and to any area where people are congregating. Find out what they think are the important issues.

Once you have a finger on what the real issues are, determine what are the Libertarian answers. Then, most importantly, determine how to give the people the Libertarian answer in the terms they will understand.

- 3. Break your area into sales areas with a sales rep in each area. Do this until you have a rep in each precinct.
- 4. Provide or get good sales literature which define Libertarianism in

#### ". . . any votes were a victory. The only losers in this election were the people."

Once we have determined what the issues are perceived to be by the people and what our answers are, put these into outreach literature and get them into the hands of the people. That's the second step, get those answers to the peo-

In the precincts where we did well are people who heard what we had to say and liked it enough to do something: vote for us. That's no small action. If a person thought enough of us to vote for us, perhaps they will think enough of us to go ahead and join the Party, or attend the Libertarian Supper Club you're going to start, or help in some of the work of getting the word out, or maybe even run for office.

After we have worked the areas where we did well, and recruited the people who alrady agree with us, and have a few more hands to help, then is the time to start on the areas where we did not do well.

Whether you are dealing with a state or a county, begin to look at your area as a marketing problem.

- 1. Define your product.
- 2.Learn to sell the "sizzle", not the chemical components of the steak.

terms of good sales methods. Write it yourself if you must.

5.Read lots of good motivational sales literature. If we have failed as a Party at all it is because we haven't spent enough time learning how to be good salesmen.

6.Learn to be good communicators, take courses in salesmanship and public speaking. Develop your own style.

Go get 'em!■

#### by Dianne Pilcher

Diane Pilcher is Chair of the Florida

This drop in Libertarian votes cast in a presidential race reflects, I think, two basic notions. The first and most obvious aspect of this campaign compared to Clark's 1980 campaign, is the greatly reduced funds available in 1984. In 1980, several million "extra" dollars were available for nationwide television advertisements and paid drives for ballot access in all 50 states.

These "extra" dollars came from the Continued page 18

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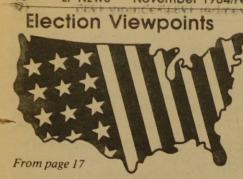
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generosity of the Vice Presidential candidate, David Koch, who pumped millions of dollars of his own money into the 1980 campaign. But while this extra funding gave the Libertarian Party a boost, it can be likened to a nutritional "sugar high" where the consumption of sugar leads to an artificial energy high followed by a severe letdown. The same could be said of the Libertarian Party. The easy millions lead to a false sense of security and "acceptability" for us. The vote totals and apparent interest lulled us into thinking that the money spent had laid the groundwork and "grass roots" activism necessary to build a free society. Wouldn't it be nice if our progress were that simple? Nice. yes. Realistic, no.

The second notion, now being held up to us like a mirror, is that our basic groundwork and grass-roots development will still take many more years to accomplish. Fortunately, David Bergland made good on his promise to leave us no campaign debt. His attitude was that, if the funds were there, he would make the trip, give the speech. If the funds were not there, he would not.

I, for one, am more pleased with the crystal clear legacy left to us now than I would be with an artificial high. The oath we must take is glaringly obvious to me. The key to growth is GRASS ROOTS DEVELOPMENT. This means talking to people, forming affiliates, becoming active on the state level, writing letters to the editor, lobbying for a less restrictive ballot access law, and all the other "nuts-and-bolts" efforts necessary to bring about a libertarian society IN OUR LIFETIME. We can't get point D without first going through A, B, and C first. It's just that simple.

#### by Larry Dodge

Larry Dodge ran for Governor of Montana in 1984 and for U.S. Senate in 1982.

This is twice now that I've captured only about 12,000 of Montana's nearly 400,000 available votes, and I'm beginning to accept the idea that the results of libertarian-principled, wide-ranging issues campaigns may be consistently low vote totals ...

Even though the vote count is uninspiring, there is a multi-faceted, brighter side: first, as the language of the news articles revealed, libertarians in Montana have earned respect and serious consideration of our ideas by the press. Right up through November 5, reporters were spectulating that I might "surprise" everyone, perhaps even outpolling the Republican. Media

support throughout the campaign period enables libertarian candidates to use our campaigns as launching pads for freedom ideas on virtually every issue, and positive feedback from the press and public continues to date. Any effects on public policy remain to be seen, but various legislators have openly espoused several of the ideas we advanced or introduced.

Second, the decisiveness of the results has itself freed me, among others, from any further illusion that democratic process, at least in its perpetually perverted form of competition between special interests, will ever elect Libertarians per se, at least to major office.

To me, that means the action may not be found in the ballot box after all, but in reaching people in other, more efficient ways. Maybe it's to be found in lobbying (although the special-interest problem would not thereby be overcome), or in writing, or in hitting the lecture circuit, or in creating the promoting popular musical lyrics expressing subtle and not-so-subtle libertarian themes. I have documented skills in all of these areas, and remain ready and quite willing to put them to use. My passion for liberty has been whetted, not diminished, by the vote totals of 1984.

"Even though the vote count is uninspiring, there is a multi-faceted, brighter side."

#### by Mike Grossberg

Mike Grossberg is a California-based journalist and is Executive Director of the Free Press Association (P. O. Box 1743, Apple Valley, CA 92307).

A week before the November elections, I wrote a letter to David Bergland:

"Whatever happens Nov. 6, I want you to know that I felt proud watching you represent my political ideals on many TV shows during the past year... It was clear to me, as a member of the media, that you started out facing an uphill battle for the media's respect. For example, on Cable News Network's Take Two, your interviewers began by introducing you in a subtly mocking way, as if to say that (the Libertarians) were only a political sideshow to the 'serious' contest between Mondale and Reagan. They were quite prepared not to take you seriously, but they didn't end up that way. The cogency of your remarks on difficult questions like Social Security or the nuclear arms race -- combined with your serious, dignified tone of voice -- is what made the difference... Watching you being interviewed on television, and looking at your sophisticated TV commercials, I am convinced that if only there had been the funds to assure you of a solid national audience, you

would do much better on election day than any previous LP presidential candidate."

It's easy for many Libertarians to look at their generally lower 1984 vote percentages and lose sight of more subtle signs of progress made during the past year: Further victories in electing Libertarians at the local level. Increasing penetration of libertarian ideas (such as privatization and deregulation) at both the local and national level. And continuing success in generating media coverage, particularly at the local level.

#### by Jack Sanders

Jack Sanders was the campaign manager for the Sara Baase campaign.

San Diego Libertarians ran in all four Congressional and two Assembly districts in 1984. Vote percentages ranged from 1% to 3.7%, a little lower than the candidates had hoped, but in line with a year in which voters were returning incumbents with large majorities.

The Baase for Congress campaign polled 2.9% of the vote, which amounted to 7,225 votes, one of the highest in the nation for a Libertarian Congressional candidate. Sara Baase wanted to try some new ideas in the campaign, especially the creation of a series of radio ads. The campaign's new approaches seemed to be a success across the board.

Running the most active campaign in San Diego, Baase received contributions from over 140 people, totaling more than \$8,000. Fundraising expenses were kept to a minimum, so that three-quarters of this could be used directly for campaign publicity, including \$3,800 for radio ads. This allowed the campaign to reach a peak of seven ads a day, on the major radio stations, near the election.

The campaign put special effort into producing a large tabloid brochure, printed in two colors, 10,000 of which were delivered to voters by volunteers walking precincts. Several new ideas were incorporated in the brochure. In order to make it readable, many pictures were used, and the libertarian message was worked into picture captions. The large format was new to local races. The brochure also featured on the front page a large article, "Meet Sara Baase," done in interview format.

Part of the nuts-and-bolts of any campaign is getting maximum free publicity. In this case, Baase was covered widely by newspapers, and occasionally by radio. She participated in the opportunity to debate the other candidates on public television, and was guest for an hour on a talk show aired daily on the second-ranked radio station. Of course, she also appeared at nearly all of the candidate forums sponsored by public groups.

A special effort went into meeting the reporters. During the campaign the local candidates got together monthly for brunch meetings to discuss the cam-



Sara Baase campaigning for California Congressional seat.

paigns. Reporters were invited to these meetings to get to know the candidates better. The candidates also took every opportunity to discuss their philosophy with reporters. These steps paid off in some really good in-depth articles.

The Baase campaign will be happy to make information available to other prospective candidates. You may request a copy of the brochure, radio scripts, or the micro-computer program to run vote analysis, from: Jack Sanders, P. O. Box 6022, San Diego, CA 92106.

#### by Jim Hedbor

Jim Hedbor ran for Congress in Vermont last year.

On election day, after over a year of committment to the candidacy, nine months of campaigning, thousands of miles and hundreds of events, we had no idea what to expect. Some well-informed political minds and press told us they thought we'd come in at 10-15%. Channel 5 TV came up to South Hero to get some footage of us voting, and to do an interview, which was on the 6:00 pm news.

We had over ninety well-wishers at our party, music by Bill Wicker's band, and constant phone calls from the press and Libertarian friends. Vermont election coverage on the media gave very good exposure to our campaigns. Our results at first seemed disappointing. 9,359 votes. 4.14%. But when national results were better known, it turned out we got the highest proportion of the vote of any Libertarian running for a top of the ticket - Governor, Senate, Congress - position against Republican and Democrat opposition. We got as high as 14% in Grand Isle County and 8% in Caledonia County. And possibly most important, in almost every town in the state there were some votes.

My current plan is to prepare a detailed campaign diary which will quantify many campaign results and attempt to analyze for future reference our strong and weak points. It will include our press releases and stories they

# Election Viewpoints

produced and detail week-to-week my schedule.

To offer you a rough summary, we planned to run the campaign on \$7,500 and did so. I was able to campaign full time from July to November. I did intereviews with 36 newspapers, did about ten news conferences, produced enough position material to make a respectable (about 110 page) book - and more important, distributed it and know it was widely read. We did about eight hours of radio talk shows on about 12 stations, another five or six radio interviews, and had probably 50 evening news type TV stories. Most important, our ideas were widely heard, discussed, and were addressed by our opposition. I think the campaign will have a lasting effect.

The ideas of Free Markets, Individual Liberty, and Nonintervention the campaign put forward attracted many new members and friends to the Vermont Libertarian Party. I gained a tremendous amount of experience. I made lots of political contacts with likeminded people.

During the coming months and years I will continue to speak out in defense and advocacy of our ideas. I may run again, possibly in 1988. We will continue to publish *Free Vermont*; six editions of 10,000 are planned in 1985. I will help others develop their skills in reaching the public with our ideas.

1984 will always be remembered by Eloise and me as a great year. Your support for the Jim Hedbor for Congress campaign was a big part of this success for us. Thanks.

by Steven Davis

Steven Davis ran for U.S. Senate from South Carolina in 1984.

This is one of the privileges that comes from being a Libertarian candidate for a major office. After all the "sacrifices" you've made, after all the long hours and hard work, and after you've sufficiently recovered the lost sleep and the lack of perspective, you can sit back and play Monday-morning quarterback.

I will say that I had a fantastic time during the last campaign. If done with the right attitude and the right expectations, fighting a "no-win" battle against the President Pro-tem of the U.S. Senate (Senator Strom Thurmond) can be a ball. You get to meet a lot of people, see a lot of new sights and sounds, and enjoy the prestige and power of opening your mouth into a microphone and having people pay attention to what you are saying. I certainly suggest running for office as a

Libertarian candidate to anyone who want the experience of their lives.

For those who are interested in numbers and statistics, I began campaigning full-time exactly 90 days before the election. I had a motorhome in which I drove 12,000 miles in 12 weeks throughout the state of South Carolina. I did over 350 media interviews, including one half hour prime time on educational TV, and received numerous endorsements and acolades from the press. I spent \$15,000, ten of which was our own money. The rest came from small, individual contributions (mostly from out-of-state) in response to an article I wrote which was

published in the September-October issue of the *Financial Professional* magazine.

In short, I feel that I accomplished my goal of a "model Libertarian campaign". I had hoped for 4-5% of the vote on election day. I got 1½%, or about 14,000 votes. The "experts" say this was good, compared to ½% for Ed Clark in 1980, and considering that this was the first serious state-wide race in South Carolina - not usually considered to be a hotbed of Libertarian thought.

What exactly did I accomplish for the party and for the country in my race in 1984? My "model" campaign is just

one example. I look at Sam Steiger's race for Governor of Arizona in 1982 in which a very well known politician got 5% of the vote. I look at Larry Dodge for Governor in Montana in '84, who got 3½%. I look at other highly qualified, principled Libertarian candidates who got about the same response from the electorate and I ask "What in the world do we have to do to win one of these?"

Montana is probably one of the best examples. If I remember correctly, Clark got about 3% in 1980. Dodge got 3.9% for the U.S. Senate in 1982, and

Continued page 20

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# **Election Viewpoints**

From page 19

then 3.5% for Governor this year. That's three very active campaigns -each progressively better in terms of "selling" our ideas - with virtually no real results in the only statistic that counts in this game.

Shouldn't that be telling us something?

Without being critical of any individual, or group, or attitude from the past, let me try to give you my impression of the policies of the LP from its inception through 1984.

We have a good idea of what government should and shouldn't be doing in this country, and it's based on sound, workable theories. Although we are still actively engaged in deciding precisely what the ideal relationship should be between government and the individual, and although we have more work to do on how we get from here to there in a practical manner, we know for sure that the political scene in the United States must change its direction towards freedom.

Our "mission", as adopted by the LP National Committee, is to implement these concepts by using the political process. As I see it, this means that the basic purpose of the Libertarian Party is to elect Libertarian candidates to office. And for 12 years now, the LP has taken the approach that political campaigns, though futile perhaps in gaining election, were valuable as a tool to educate the public for future races.

If you listen to an LP activist talk, you'll hear phrases like, "We've got to convert people," and "We've got to change the way people think about government," and "We've got to learn how to sell our ideas better" (and pour more money into it). Well, we've done a lot of that, and some have done it extremely well.

I could run for Governor of South Carolina in 1986, and I could raise more money for my campaign, and I could improve on what I did this year, and I could probably double the results

But maybe there's a different way to go about it.

It is my feeling that the LP has been offering the public a product that the vast majority do not now believe they need and want. We found that out very early in our experience. To compensate, we went about the task of trying to change their minds, of trying to convince them that they really did want it, of trying to "sell" our product better. And we got some small improvements on our results.

But what if we went out and

discovered that we could actually provide something that most people already want? What if we proved ourselves by delivering a real product, which wasn't necessarily everything that we believed in, but something we could support?

For instance, what if we found out in South Carolina that 80% of the people disagreed with the 1% sales tax increase of 1983, and wanted it repealed? And what if the South Carolina LP publiclly spearheaded its successful repeal? And then the next year we find that 85% of the people wanted the blue laws repealed, and we led that battle too?

Alaska has a good track record along these lines already. Perhaps we could take a few lessons from them.

period of grass roots growth, it also is important for our party to field a full complement of qualified candidates for federal and state offices. Doing so allows supporters of Libertarianism to make a clear statement at the polls. In turn, this exerts a constant pressure on the other politicians to bring their actions more in line with the principles of

Two years ago, there was no Libertarian candidate for the California State Assembly in my district. That void, I believe, was a factor in the LP's lack of registration growth in this district between 1982 and 1984. So I overcame my shyness, plus the natural libertarian reluctance to become a part of the political process, and declared my candidacy.

#### "If we truly want to grow, I think we better produce something, something that people already support in large numbers."

I think maybe it's time to shift gears. I don't mean we should drop everything we've been doing. We still need some good candidates running for office, even if they can't win, simply for the opportunity of public exposure.

I still want the main purpose of the LP to be the election of Libertarians to office. But the election of individuals is only one part of the political system. Initiative, referendum, and recall these are also part of that process - and legitimate functions for the LP to be in-

If we truly want to grow, I think we better produce something, something that people already support in large numbers.

It's unfortunate, perhaps, but the only real statistic that measures our production (that our current society uses) is the vote totals. Let's start winning some of these battles, not only for our own morale, but for our future existence.

#### by Taylor Rhodes

Taylor Rhodes was the 1984 Libertarian candidate for the California State Assembly, 43rd District. He received 2,743 votes, just over three times the number of registered Libertarians in the 43rd District.

Is it worth being the Libertarian candidate for a state or federal office, when common sense says that you will receive 2% to 3% of the vote in a threeway race? Following my initial experience in just such a situation, I can answer with a resounding, "Yes!"

Approached with a realistic attitude, what appears to be an exercise in futility, can be transformed into an interesting and enjoyable activity, beneficial both to the Libertarian Party, and to you. Consequently, I urge you to become a "citizen politician" for the Libertarian Party.

For the near future, our "wins" in much of the nation primarily will be at the local level. And yet, during this

And what did I receive for my efforts? First, I made new friends for Libertarianism, and increased our registration in the process. Second, I made new friends for myself, including several delightful and committed Liberarians, whom I had not met previously. Third, the media were kind to me, and I now have established contacts at the major newspapers in my district. Finally, I believe I gained the respect of the other two candidates: Since I represented the party of principle, I stuck to my platform, and eschewed negative politics.

Definitely, I was more than a "paper" candidate. Still, I never let the campaign become a burden. I determined how much I could afford to spend, which was not much, and wound up spending slightly less. Nor did I neglect my family, my business, and my flower garden.

So by being realistic about my chances, I went to bed the evening of November 6, 1984, without being burned out, disappointed, or broke. Rather, I had a great time, learned from my mistakes, and hopefully, did some small service for liberty.

#### by Phillips B. Franklin

Phillips Franklin is an advertising and public relations professional and was active in the Mike Yauch Congressional campaign last year. A much longer version of this article is available from the author at: 3741 Charlotte Ave., San Gabriel, CA 91776.

Immediate post mortems and autopsies of the body politic abound. Take your pick from such pundits as George Will, Jody Powell, David Broder or the Moral Majority's Cal Thomas. At this point, all are pretty much guessing, and their guessing, more often than not, exposes their pre-conditioned bias. Voters, in fact, showed a marvelous and perplexing inconsistency, an inconsistency that failed to display any deepseated philosophy. Perhaps Walter

Mondale's opinion that, "I'm afraid that a lot of the substance has gone out of American (presidential) elections,' contains more than an element of truth. Surely the full flowering of the Age of Telepolitics has both its pluses and its minuses.

Republicans of the not-too-rabid philosophical bent of a Baker, a Bush or a Dole, were surprisingly supine during the Republican convocation in Dallas this year. Surely they will not be as passive as the days tick off to 1988.

The Republican National Convention in 1988 will surely be a more wide open, wrenching affair than anything we've seen from that quarter in many a year. It can be a melee that can fractionate the Republican Party into its component wings, injure it badly, and alienate either or both the so-called moderates and the right wing. In this event, the idea of a major realignment of the two major parties to the benefit of the Republicans will be one that bloomed and withered rather rapidly.

Meanwhile, heaven only knows what the more loosely organized Democrats will do. Oh, they'll allow Edward Kennedy to trot himself out, but to what avail? Governor Mario Cuomo will likely have his shot at it, complete with cries of compassion on the part of an inanimate government, and new social



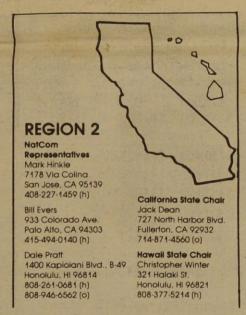


#### Alaska

The ALP is busy celebrating the victory of Andre Marrou for state representative, as well as the successful passage of the Alaska Transportation Initiative, which de-regulated transportation in that state.

Carl Whitson, acting Chair of the Anchorage LP, was also the head of the ALP's No Tax Committee which sought to get state legislative candidates to sign a pledge opposing efforts to reinstate the state's personal income tax.

The Anchorage LP reported it raised over \$11,000 in the summer raffle of a new Corvette, and weekly meetings are being held at the party headquarters at 803 W. 36th in Anchorage.



#### California

The LPC sent out a fundraising mailer to all of the state's 68,000 registered Libertarians, and early indications were that results were good. The state party filed a lawsuit on Oct. 26 against several individuals and corporations over improper use by them of the state LP's name in a spring legal case

The state party held its Executive Committee meeting in Bakersfield Nov. 17-18, where the agenda and budget for 1985 were discussed. In addition to business, a membership workshop was held, and Steve and Sandy Martin hosted a Saturday night party featuring magician Peter Graves.

The November meeting also saw the approval of a 1985 budget three times larger than that of 1984, and the ap-

proval of two full-time LPC positions. Bob Lehman, former LPC Secretary, was selected as LPC administrator, and Perry Willis, formerly of the BFP staff, moves into the fundraising and political organizing position. Lehman will be based in southern California and Willis in the northern part of the state.

The California LP state convention was held on February 15-18 in San Mateo at the Villa Hotel and featured a number of well-known speakers and guests. Science fiction author Poul Anderson was slated to appear at the book autographing party, as were libertarian authors Bob Poole and Murray Rothbard. Both of California's elected county supervisors, Erik Henrikson and Tom Tryon, appeared on a panel "What I've learned as an elected liberarian official", as did Lou Villadsen, who serves as a member of the Mission Canyon Fire District. The two Supervisors also appeared at the grand banquet along with David Bergland, who presented the Karl Bray Award for activism.

Other speakers included Ed and Alicia Clark, Bob Poole and Johnathan Marshall in a debate over "Star Wars defense", journalist Joanne Jacobs, computer expert Jim Warren, futurist Ray Strong, Bill Evers and Ron Howard. Other panelists and speakers included Joe Fuhrig, Kate O'Brien, Fred Stitt, Leonard Liggio, John Blundell, Greg Christianson and Marshall Fritz.

The seven LP candidates in the San Diego area all received a nice write-up in the San Diego Union two days after the election, which interviewed them and found them in good spirits. The SDLP is also using a sophisticated questionnaire, phone log and information packet to respond to inquiries and follow up on potential new members.

The San Diego LP, in addition to producing their excellent monthly newsletter, heard from local LP candidates at their Nov. 20 meeting, enjoyed a Christmas get-together at Dixon Powell's on Dec. 8 and held their county convention on Jan. 12, where officers and 1985 goals were chosen.

The Orange County Liberty Forum, a non-partisan dinner club, has heard from a variety of interesting speakers in the past several months. Phil Fixler of the Local Government Center spoke in October, journalist Alan Bock spoke on the environment in November, Breck McKinley of the American Economic Council spoke in December, Bob Poole was the guest speaker in January and Dale Lowdermilk of NOT SAFE was the February guest.

The Westside LA Libertarians heard from Derek Humphrey of the Hemlock Society on Nov. 16 at their supper club meeting.

In addition to hosting the Nov. Executive Committee meeting, the Kern County LP reports that their County Fair booth project was once again a success this past fall.

"Libertarians claim their star is rising fast in independent Silicon Valley" read the headline in the San Francisco Examiner. Featured was an interview with San Mateo County LP officer John Tinger.

NatCom member and 1984 Assembly candidate Mark Hinkle got a front page "pat on the back" from the Santa Clara American for his role in convincing the City Council not to support Prop. A, which would increase the county sales tax by one half cent for transportation. This measure, which passed, "put the LP on the map" according to LP activist Jim Wilson, in that the anti-tax coalition effort gained widespread recognition for the LP.

David Theroux of the Pacific Institute was the Nov. 27 guest speaker of the Santa Clara LP, and the Dec. 20 meeting featured liberarian-oriented films. The Jan. 17 meeting saw the election of officers as well as delegates to

the February state convention.

The Santa Clara Libertarian Supper Club also scheduled Sam Husbands of San Francisco for the Jan. 22 meeting, Davis Keeler for the Feb. 26 meeting, and Phil Salin for the March 26 meeting.

The Contra Costa LP met on Nov. 14 for a Pot Luck dinner and a presentation on state licensure of physicians, the Dec. 12 meeting saw the election of officers, where Hugh McLean was reelected, and the Jan. 9 meeting featured former Bergland campaign manager Bill Evers.

Alameda County LPer's gathered on election evening at Cynthia Hilton's for the monthly meeting and votewatching. They watched local Assembly candidate Fred Foldvary receive

Continued page 26

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### LP NEWS

## EDITORIALS/FEATURES

## The Consolidation Election

by Murray N. Rothbard

Murray Rothbard is a world famous Libertarian economist, historian and author. He is currently a visiting professor at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas and also serves as an Associate Editor of LP News.

1984 was the consolidation election, the election where the Libertarian Party settled in, where we announced to the world that we are here, and here to stav

One prominent LP leader has already written that the election constituted a "major setback". It was only a setback to those who entertained unrealistic expectations, who looked at our spectacular growth curve during the 1970's and were lured by promises that we would continue to grow expotentially, become "the third major party" by 1984 and press on to Quick Victory in a few more years. The problem with this kind of hyped-up overoptimism is that short-run fervor is soon replaced by disillusionment and burnout. We must all realize that liberty is a lifetime commitment, and that we are all in this thing for good. Healthy realism means that we don't give way to despair when the dreams of quick victory are dashed. It means that we are prepared for the long haul, even though we will welcome great growth or victory should it arrive. The war against the State is a long-time "guerrilla struggle" and not a quick, dramatic strike; an American Revolution rather than a Grenada.

When we take the long view, we must also realize that the hopes and dreams of the 1976 and 1980 campaigns were largely an historical glitch, the productd of a strictly temporary infusion of funds by the multimillionaire Koch family. To a large extent, the number of votes depends on the flow of money into a campaign. Upon this flow of money depends the presence of national TV spots, the hiring of professional campaign staff, and the success of LP ballot drives.

To a large extent, the glamour of the nearly 40,000 votes for Clark for governor of California in 1978, and the 922,000 votes for the Clark-Koch ticket in 1980, was the product of an unprecedented infusion of Kochian funds into the LP. The glamour and the votes reflected, in short, not a genuine mass movement of people, of members or of committed libertarians, but only an injection of funds from the top down. In a sense, then, we all paid for the momentary excitement and glamour by fooling ourselves into thinking that the LP was far stronger and more solidly based than it really was. None of us fully realized that, in a profound sense, it was all being done with mirrors. Now that Kochian funds have departed, the party's membership, campaign, and vote totals are all genuine reflections of the strength and the support that we do

Once there was a Marxist sect called the "Facing Reality Tendency". While we are not Marxists, we can still heed this strategic viewpoint. The departure of Kochian funding means that we in the LP are now facing reality, and are therefore in a much healthier state than we were before. We are healthier too because we are no longer dependent on one family for the greater part of our funding and our support - institutions.

And reality isn't so bad. It is true that our Presidential vote totals fell from 922,000 in 1980 to approximately 229,000 in 1984. But an accepted measure of success in politics is one's dollar/vote total. (See Table A)

Looked at on a cost-per-vote basis, the 1980 campaign reflected the historical glitch of very large candidate contributions, with a correspondingly large cost-per-vote. The 1984 figures are more in line with the 1976 baseline.

The Day After. CAN I LET THE CATS OUT NOW? CAN I? HUH? HUH? CAN I? CAN I? CTIONISM REPRESSIVE INCREASE CENTRAL SOCIAL REFORM MIDDLE AMERICAN WAR

paign, \$150,000 was furnished by Mac-Bride; in 1980, David Koch contributed a costless \$2.09 million. (In addition, MacBride contributed a great deal of resources "in kind" to his 1976 campaign, including the use of a private plane he purchased for the occasion; the value of such contributions has been estimated at \$1 million.)

When you take fundraising costs into account, and focus upon net campaign revenues (what campaigns actually have left to spend on winning votes) the efficiency of the 1984 effort becomes even more apparent. (See

All things considered, we ran a great campaign. Bergland and Lewis were tireless and intrepid, campaigning virtually full-time almost since the September 1983 convention, traveling through 45 states with innumerable media appearances and interviews. almost all of which were strikingly favorable. Watler Goodman, an important writer for the New York Times, wrote an outstanding article in that paper on Bergland and the Libertarian Party. We have gotten to the point that most of the media know who we are,

LP Ticket	1976 MacBride Bergland	1980 Clark Koch	1984 Bergland Lewis
Votes	175,000	922,001	228,796
Campaign Cost	\$377,000	\$3,480,000	\$576,212
Cost/Vote	\$2.15	\$3.77	\$2.52
Cost/Vote (1976 \$)	\$2.15	\$2.61	\$1.38

And if you adjust these cost figures for the massive government induced inflation experienced in the Carter era and early Reagan term, we find that our cost/vote actually decreased in 1984 by 36%, compared to 1976. We are back to the lean, efficient operation of the pre-Koch era, except our vote totals are 33% greater than they were eight years ago.

Actually, the comparative dollar/vote efficiency of our 1984 campaign was far better than that. For a more meaningful measure should not be dollars/vote, but net dollars/vote. In short, when millionaire Roger Mac-Bride ran for President in 1976, or multi-millionaire David Koch for Vice-President in 1980, their funds cost us nothing; they were all net of fundraising costs. But in 1984, when there were no millionaires on the ticket, all of our funds cost a great deal, either in direct mail or telephone fundraising costs. Generally, these costs can be estimated at between one-third and 40%.

If we look at the MacBride cam-

Table B - Net Dollars/Vote					
1976	1980	1984			
MacBride Bergland	Clark Koch	Bergland Lewis			
175,000	922,001	228,796			
\$377,000	\$3,480,000	\$576,212			
\$150,000	\$2,090,000	(1)			
\$268,000	\$3,016,000	\$384,103			
\$1.53	\$3.27	\$1.68			
\$1.53	\$2.25	\$ .92			
	1976 MacBride Bergland 175,000 \$377,000 \$150,000 \$268,000 \$1.53	1976 1980 MacBride Clark Bergland Koch 175,000 922,001 \$377,000 \$3,480,000 \$150,000 \$2,090,000 \$268,000 \$3,016,000 \$1.53 \$3.27			

- (1) Candidate donations not included in campaign
- Non-candidate donated campaign funds reduced by one-third to reflect fundraising costs, plus candidate donated funds at 100%.

Even disregarding MacBride's "inkind" airplane contribution, it is readily apparent that the net cost/vote more than doubled in 1980 and only slightly increased in 1984, comparied to 1976. Taking the inflation into account, the results are even more startling. Our inflation-adjusted net cost/vote increased 48% from 1976 to 1980 burt actually decreased 40% from 1976 to 1984. And while the exact statistics in this area are always imprecise, to a degree, the overall trend is clear: our 1984 "facing reality" campaign was by far the most efficient we've had. We are, at last, lean and

and respect us for what we stand and the consistency of our programs and campaigns over the years. We have established a record. We are here.

Not only that, and most important: Bergland and Lewis were both hardcore to the hilt. Not once did they deviate from principle, not once did they falter in the face of temptation to water down libertarian doctrine to curry favor with the media or parts of the electorate. Patiently, month after month, they expounded and articulated libertarian principles and applied those principles unerringly to the important political issues of the day. We have

### Consolidation

From page 22

established ourselves not only as a party, but as "the party of principle", vindicating the proud banner that sets us off so strongly and admirably from the two major hack parties.

Moreover, the Bergland-Lewis ticket accomplished its feat in the face, not only of a grave falling off of funding, but also of a blatant defection from the ticket and from the party of the faction that ran the previous two presidential campaigns. One defeat--at the New York PresCon in 1983--one measly defeat after a string of convention victories, and they were not only out, but out ostentatiously, doing their best to bad-mouth the ticket and the Party for the entire campaign. As a result, Bergland and Lewis had to run the Presidential campaign without any of the experienced personnel of the previous eight years. Short of funds, they also had to run the campaign from scratch, learning everything on the job, and with very little time to learn from or correct their inevitable mistakes. Considering all these obstacles, the 38 state ballots, and the 229,000 votes, and the \$.92 net dollars per vote were a remarkably successful job.

The Libertarian Party is better off and far healthier, not only because we can now avoid being lured into false hopes, but also because we no longer suffer from the bitter battles and faction fights that are inevitable when any organization is faced what with the Marxists call "external cadre".

In any organization there are bound to be great differences, not only over ideology and its application, but also over strategy, tactics, and personnel. Such differences are generally healthy, and can usually be resolved without lasting rancor. But matters are different when an "external cadre", an outside machine, exists that is loyal only to itself and not to the Libertarian Party or to the libertarian cause. Because such an external cadre has its own loyalty and its own agenda, it can never work with others in the Party, except on the stark alternative of "rule or ruin". We are better off without them.

And even if our boast of being a "third major party" has not yet come true, we are, in a third-party sense, really better off than we were in 1980. For let us not forget that John Anderson, as a third candidate, received 5.7 million votes in 1980, votes that in 1984 returned to the major parties. So that while technically (since the Anderson phenomenon was a one-man movement and not a party), we were the "third largest party" in 1980, we were still far smaller than the Anderson ticket. But

### **EDITORIAL POLICY**

Signed editorials represent the opinion of their authors and do not necessarily represent the official views and opinions of the Libertarian Party.

now, with Anderson gone, the LP is indeed the third largest party. We are now the only real organized alternative to the major parties.

Our party is in even sounder shape if we go below the Presidential campaign to consider the state and local levels. For a healthy party does not grow and make its mark in political life by simply running flashy presidential campaigns, here today and gone tomorrow. A healthy party grows solidly and patiently, from the bottom up, first winning non-partisan and then partisan local races, then county races, and then reaching the state legislature. And that is precisely what the LP is doing. In the last two years, we have turned "grass roots" from a slogan into a reality. We have all come to realize that local grass roots strength and development is the only way to ensure sound party growth. In 1984, we were stronger in state and Continued page 32



#### Thanks

I want to thank Mike Holmes and his able staff for the job they have been doing on the *Libertarian Party News*. It is my favorite periodical. I read it cover to cover as soon as I get it.

I also want to thank David Bergland, Jim Lewis, and their staffs for their energetic efforts to present our philosophy and principles. Regardless of the electoral returns, I am proud of my fellow libertarians. I know it is a difficult struggle to convince our fellow citizens of the beauty of the libertarian vision and much more needs to be done. Consequently, I am increasing my monthly pledge. Perhaps this will help to get the Libertarian Party on the ballot in all 50 states and D.C. and keep it there.

Finally, I want to encourage all libertarians to bury the hatchet. No matter what the means, every member of the libertarian movement is preserving and extending our rich heritage of classical liberalism. No matter how long it takes, the future of humankind is with Liberty

#### Arthur C. Barker Springfield, IL

Thank you for your very kind words and tangible expression of support. Ed.

#### Stalin Award Withdrawn

In the Sept.-Oct. issue on page 27 your paper awarded The Joseph Stalin Citizenship Award to Mr. Ray Call of the Emporia (Kansas) *Gazette*. I believe the award to have been premature and should be recinded with apologies.

After I heard of the offensive editorial I journeyed to Emporia to visit with Mr. Call. I was graciously received and was heard with patience and respect. The resulting editorial printed the following day is indicative of the

#### LETTERS POLICY

LP News accepts letters from readers for publication in our Feedback Section. Letters should be kept short and must include the name, address and phone number of the author (for verification purposes only). Letters will be selected at the discretion of the Editor, consistent with the purpose of LP News, and may be edited for length and content. Send to:

Feedback Editor 21715 Park Brook Dr., Katy, TX 77450

throughness of the interview. It is my belief that Mr. Call and many other publishers in Kansas simply have not been presented with the Libertarian viewpoint understandable to them.

I have written to Mr. Call with thanks for his kind words. I hope that you do too.

#### Douglas N. Merritt Atchison, KS

The editorial which resulted from Mr. Merritt's follow-up visit was entitled "Close, But No Cigar". This feature, complete with a photo, was thorough, intelligent and respectful. The editorial even concluded that Douglas Merritt would be the writer's second choice for Senator, ahead of the Democratic candidate.

Merritt also pointed out how the Emporia Gazette's most famous editor, the late William Allen White, was a leader in an earlier "splinter party", the 1912 Bull Moose Party, which "changed the course of history."

Since the original offending editorial was the result of lack of knowledge rather than deliberate malevolence, our Joseph Stalin Award is inappropriate and is therefore withdrawn.

And our congratulations and appreciation is extended to Kansas LP U.S. Senate candidate Douglas Merritt, for his successful efforts at educating members of the journalism profession. Ed.

#### Permanent Ballot Status

In my opinion we are spending too many scarce resources every four years to put our presidential candidate on the ballot. A high priority project should be to obtain permanent ballot status in as many states as possible before 1988.

In states where a certain percentage of the vote is required, potential candidates should be identified as early as possible and funds raised at all state conventions from now on should be earmarked for that campaign. There should be adequate petition signatures so the candidate in that race is unlikely to be challenged off the ballot. In states where permanent status is not legally attainable, lawsuits challenging that should be a high priority project.

Perhaps formation of a nationwide PAC which would funnel funds to these various efforts would be advisable.

John C. Sproul Rochester, NY

#### Matching Funds

The views of Mr. Jay Watrous regarding matching funds are similar to those people who wish to continue receiving "benefits" from Social Security and unemployment: "I've paid in, I'm entitled to get something back." This merely serves as an excuse to continue stealing our money. Were we to reject the money proferred, they would no longer have that excuse.

But the National Committee's recent stand is also erroneous in that a major public relations coup has been lost. What other party would qualify for federal (i.e. taxpayer) monies, then turn them down? We could have used this to our advantage by first finding out if we qualified, then by calling a press conference and having the media watch as we burned or tore up the check. It would have proven that we are truly a Party of Principle. What have we proven though, by not even looking into the matter?

## Richard L. Duprey Waldwick, NJ

While it is believed that the Bergland campaign could have qualified for Federal matching funds, there is considerable red tape associated with actually obtaining the funds. The National Committee believed that the publicity value did not outweigh the time and effort which would be required. Ed.

Continued page 41

## Tibertarian Darty NEWS

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## LP National Convention

by Lou Witzeman

Lou Witzeman is the 1985 LP Convention Press and Publicity Chair.

Preliminary plans for the 1985 Libertarian Party National Convention in Phoenix, Arizona, have been released by the Convention Committee and indicate a program both stimulating and entertaining for those attending.

Convention dates are August 14 through 18, with the headquarters located at the hotel Phoenix Hyatt Regency, directly across from the Phoenix Convention Center and plaza.

Confirmed speakers for breakfast meetings and other events to date, according to Kathy Harrer, National Convention Committee Chair, include:

Karl Hess, "America's leading dropout," who spoke during LP/10 in 1981 at Denver. Hess is a former Barry Goldwater speech writer, a Richard Nixon-Gerald Ford ghost writer, and a former Republican who is now a member of the Libertarian Party. He is a resident of Kearneysville, W.Va. He is noted as a humorist and author and his speech at the 1981 Denver Convention was one of the highlights of that event.

Sam Steiger, Libertarian candidate for the governorship of Arizona in 1982, is noted for his caustic political comments. A rancher and businessman, he is a resident of Prescott, Arizona, and is another Republicanturned-Libertarian. Prior to running for governor he served five terms as U.S. Congressman from Arizona between 1966 and 1976.

Gene Burns, is a radio talk show host and was the leading contender for the presidential nomination of the party before its 1983 convention in New York City. Burns is a resident of Orlando, FL.

Negotiations with other speakers are still in process and additional information will be released as these arrangements are concluded.

The Convention Committee has been meeting monthly since June of 1983. Harrer has been Convention Chair since August, 1984, when she succeeded Kim Horner, former State Chair. She was 1983-1984 chair of the Maricopa County (Phoenix area) Libertarian Party but did not seek re-election when her term expired in November, planning instead to devote the major part of her time to the Convention. She is editor of the Activist, Arizona's Libertarian Party newsletter. She served as State Treasurer of the party in 1981, ran for State Representative in 1982 and served as First Vice Chair of the county party in 1983.

Other Convention Committee chairs appointed to date include Suzzanne Kannarr, Finance Chair; Peggy Jeney, Special Events Chair, Tyler Olson, Hotel Liaison and Special Services Chair, and Lou Witzeman, Press and Publicity Chair. Kannarr, a Phoenix

resident, has held a number of terms as State and County LP Treasurer and ran for Attorney General of Arizona on the LP ticket in 1982. Jeney is State Chair in Arizona and a resident of Tucson. She campaigned for the office of Mayor of Tucson in the 1983 elections. Jeney is being assisted by Lorraina Alencia and Mary Jane Kunz. Olson, a Phoenician, was a member of the founding convention of the Arizona Libertarian Party, has run twice for State Representative in 1978 and 1980, and served as State Chair in 1982-83. Witzeman, a recently acknowledged convert to Libertarianism but longtime supporter, was chosen because of his past newspaper experience.

The preliminary schedule of major Convention events arranged to date for 1985 includes:

Thursday, August 15: Western hay ride and steak fry at "Rawhide", famous Western theme town north of Scottsdale, a resort community which adjoins Phoenix. The hay ride will feature Western music, a shootout on the streets of Rawhide, a visit to the Western museum at Rawhide, a desert steak fry beneath the Arizona sunset and other special events.

Friday, August 16: Features a special event in honor of 1984 LP Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates, David Bergland and Jim Lewis.

Saturday, August 17: The night of the LP Convention banquet, to be held in the ballroom of the Hyatt. Details of the entertainment are not yet finalized.

In addition to these events the Convention will have a full schedule of workshops, panels, speakers and business meetings for those attending.

## Convention Committee, Delegate Procedures

Houston, TX - State party leaders and LP activists should be working to ensure that their members have joined the National Libertarian Party by February 28, explained National LP Director Honey Lanham in a recent memo. The number of paid National LP members in each state as of the end of February determines the number of delegates each state is allotted at the upcoming National Convention in Phoenix, she went on to explain.

"Traditionally, the National LP and many state parties have membership drives in January and February to maximize membership prior to the qualifying period," explained Lanham in a recent interview. "In addition to the delegates awarded on the basis of national LP membership, automatic delegates to the Convention include

#### **Arizona Convention Dates**

The 1985 LP National Convention in Phoenix, AZ, has been timed to avoid problems that occurred when recent past conclaves were scheduled to include the Labor Day weekend. This has been done by setting convention dates to precede the national holiday by more than two weeks.

Moving the convention earlier to August 14-18 will solve problems which arose in the past because many attendees had to have their children in school a day or two after the convention concluded. Many schools schedule their opening immediately after Labor Day. A Labor Day convention makes it difficult to attend the convention and return home in time for school.

Changing the schedule will also make it possible for those attending to have the option of adding vacation days before or after the convention, to visit some of Arizona's world-renowned tourist sights.

current National Committee officers, National Committee representatives and alternates, and former LP nominees for President and Vice President," Lanham said.

One member of the Platform Committee will be chosen by each of the ten states having the largest national LP memberships. One member of the Credentials Committee will be chosen by each of the five states with the largest national LP membership. The National Committee will appoint the ten members of the Bylaws and Rules Committee, ten other members of the Platform Committee, and five other members of the Credentials Committee at the upcoming NatCom meeting this April in Seattle. Interim Chairs for these committees will also be appointed. Applications for positions on these committees should be sent to either your regional National Committee representative, any at-large NatCom member or National Committee officer, or directly to the National LP Director.

A tabulation of the national LP membership counts and the designation of the largest state parties with national memberships will be concluded by April 1. As of the end of November, 1984, the largest state parties with National memberships are California, New York, Texas, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Alaska, Colorado, Ohio and Florida. The state with the smallest national LP membership is North Dakota. While the final rankings are yet to be done, individuals in states with large memberships should consider contacting their state Chairs if they wish to be considered for the state slots on the Platform and Credentials Committees.

The Platform Committee will schedule a pre-Convention meeting (scheduled by the Interim Chair) and will issue an initial report by mid-July. Subsequent meetings of all the standing

Convention Committees will take place in Phoenix immediately prior to the national Convention planned for August 14-18.

For further information about these Convention Committees, contact the National Director at the Houston office.

## "Freedom Reborn" in Arizona

by Lou Witzeman, 1985 Convention Press and Publicity Chair

"Freedom Reborn" has been chosen as the convention theme by the 1985 LP National Convention Committee.

In Egyptian mythology the phoenix bird and in Greek mythology the story of Phoenix (son of Amyntor, king of Thessalian Hellas) both exemplified the spirit of the rebirth of freedom and responsibility. The phoenix bird has been chosen as the convention logo.

It is additionally appropriate that the phoenix bird was selected, in that the 1985 convention will be held in Arizona's capital city, Phoenix. Having taken note of a once flourishing but vanished culture of the Hohokam Indians, Darrel Duppa, an Englishman, so named the new settlement, predicting that, like the mythical bird, a new metropolis would arise on the ashes of the old.





This theme was suggested by Kim Horner, former Arizona state chair, in a contest promoted by Convention Chair Kathy Harrer. Horner won an ounce of silver as prize for his suggestion. Five entries were received, two from out of state.

The mythological phoenix bird was said to be as large as an eagle, with brilliant scarlet and gold plumage and a melodious cry. Only one phoenix existed at any time, and it was very long lived--a life span of at least 500 years. As its end approached, the phoenix fashioned a nest of aromatic boughs and spices, set it on fire and was consumed in the flames. From the pyre miraculously sprang a new phoenix.

The tale exemplifies the spirit of liberty and its rebirth in America in the form of the Libertarian Party.

Greek mythology offers a second and

## Panels, Workshops Planned

Phoenix, AZ - Speakers including Murray Rothbard, Bob Poole, and Dick Boddie will be among those featured in panels, workshops and debates scheduled for Freedom Reborn, the National Libertarian Party Convention in Phoenix, Arizona, August 14-18,

Topics will include approximately 20 points of major national interest to Libertarians and to the nation. They will include items as diverse as a national defense debate, a panel discussion by current Libertarian officeholders, and a panel on Libertarian solutions to ecological problems, according to Peggy Jeney, Special Events Chair of the convention committee.

Rothbard will discuss the 1930's depression and its implications for the current economic life of the world. Rothbard is a world-renowned economist and author of books including For a New Liberty and America's Great Depression. He is a member of the Libertarian Party National Com-

A defense debate will be featured as an event Wednesday night, August 14, and will include Bob Poole, President of the Reason Foundation. A representative of the Defense Caucus will also participate. The debate will center on argument about offensive vs. defensive

"Mental Health and the Street Peo-

ple" will be one of the topics of the convention's panel discussions. The discussion will cover the implications of the national "street people" phenomenon, its causes and Libertarian perspectives

A panel debate on "The Existence or Non-existence of Natural Moral Rights" will feature Bart Kosko and Fred Foldvary. Both panelists write extensively for various Libertarian publications.

"The Right to Life and the Right to Death" will be the timely subject of a panel discussion bound to hit a nerve of the American public. It will cover the gamut of thinking from abortion to the "Living Will" and will feature, among other speakers, Della Scott, National Committee Representative from Mon-

"Jury Nullification" - the right of a jury to state that a person is not guilty by virtue of inequity of the law in a specific case - will be the topic of a speech to be presented by an expert on

"Internal Education" - the needs of the Libertarian Party itself in the field -will be presented by leaders of the Society for Individual Liberty.

Current Libertarian officeholders will be featured in a panel discussion. They will discuss problems in getting elected, the public's reaction to them in office and their hopes for the party and

their own political futures. "The Mystique of Libertarian Office Holders" will present to party members the beliefs of those who fought through the election process to an office of significance.

Workshops on "Brochure Production" and "Video Production" will be a continuing feature of all four days of the convention. The panels are comtemplated for presentation by faculty experts from Arizona State University. They will offer convention attendees an opportunity to achieve public relations expertise seldom available without maior educational expense.

"Current Defense Issues" will be discussed by a panel of experts before the convention. This discussion will not be on policy issues such as discussed in the defense debate, but will deal with current defense establishment issues and their potential effects on the United States citizenry.

"Producing a Newsletter" will be the subject of a workshop presented by an acknowledged and experienced expert in the field. It will offer Libertarian Party practioners of the art of public relations advice and time-tested procedures for the production of newslet-

"Libertarian Solutions to Ecological Problems" will be another topic that may attract national attention. Panelists will include experts who understand the problems from preservation to pollution and will include Larry Dodge, keynote speaker.

"Famine and World Hunger" will be the topic of a speech by a Libertarian expert who will discuss the posture of the world's nations in this regard during the convention.

"Marketing and Selling the Libertarian Party" will be the subject of a talk by Dick Boddie, campaign fund raiser for David Bergland in 1984. Boddie, an attorney and motivational speaker, will offer his expertise to the convention attendees.

### **Phoenix Theme** Appropriate

From page 24

appropriate tale. According to the story, Phoenix was the son of the king of Thessalian Hellas. After a quarrel, King Amyntor cursed Phoenix with childlessness and Phoenix escaped to Peleus, king of the Myrmidons in Thessaly, who made him responsible for the upbringing of his son Achilles.

Phoenix' rebellious spirit was coupled with his willingness to accept personal responsibility and to become a mediator between conflicting beliefs. Like Phoenix, the Libertarian philosophy has bridged the imaginary ideological gap between economic and personal freedoms as espoused by conservatives and liberals.



the

### 1985 National Convention of the Libertarian Party

Hyatt Regency Hotel • Phoenix, Az • August 14 thru 18

The 1985 Libertarian Party National Convention is to be held in the spirit of rebirth — the rebirth of freedom's ideals and the rebirth of the freedom movement; a second chance to restructure the concensus for liberty and another chance to inspire the activism required to promote it. Please join us in:

Speakers, panels and workshops on topics as far ranging as the environment and internal party education, a brochure and video production workshop and a great debate between major party leaders on defense and a philosophical debate of the existence — or non-existence — of natural moral rights.

Four breakfasts, Thursday, through Sunday morning, will feature Karl Hess, Gene Burns, Sam Steiger and Dick Boddie; a hayride/steakfry at the western theme park Rawhide Thursday evening will rekindle the free spirit of the Old West; a planned roast of the 1984 Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates David Bergland and Jim Lewis will provide the requisite ounce of laughter on Friday evening; and, the Saturday evening Banquet extravaganza will set your hearts aflame with a renewed vision of what a world with liberty might be!

Full details of this adventure will be mailed to you in early April, but why wait when "Freedom Reborn" awaits you?

EARLY EARLY EARLY EARLY EARLY EARLY REGISTRATION EARLY EARLY EARLY EARLY EARLY EARLY

FULL PACKAGE:

4 breakfasts, Rawhide steakfry/hayride, Bergland Lewis roast, all workshops, panels & seminars, the Saturday night banquet, the defense debate and registration.

\$240 thru July 4; \$300 after July 4

DELEGATE PACKAGE: 4 breakfasts, Rawhide steakfry/hayride, Bergland-Lewis roast, the defense debate, the Saturday night banquet and registration.

\$210 thru July 4; \$230 after July 4

ECONOMY PACKAGE: Saturday night banquet and registration

\$80 thru July 4; \$95 after July 4

REGISTRATION ONLY:

\$25 thru July 4; \$30 after July 4

Registration permits you access to the convention floor debate. Individual events available only after July 4: Breakfasts, \$20 each; Banquet, Rawhide, \$35; Roast, \$20; Defense Debate, \$10; Seminar package, \$100 (individual seminar/speaker/workshop prices not yet set).

\_\_\_\_\_State\_\_\_\_\_Zip\_\_\_\_

Description	Price	Quantity	Total
FULL PACKAGE	\$240		
DELEGATE PACKAGE	\$210	The second second	
ECONOMY PACKAGE	\$80	The state of the state of	
REGISTRATIONONLY	\$25		Maria Maria

TOTAL AMOUNT ENCLOSED\_\_\_\_

Make checks or money orders payable to: Arizona LP, Freedom Reborn, P.O. Box 501, Phoenix, Arizona 85001.

#### Region 2

From page 21

the largest number of votes of any Assembly candidate in the state (10,756), in his 12th District (Berkeley area) race. Foldvary received the UC Berkeley College Republicans' endorsement and came in second in his race, ahead of the Peace & Freedom Party candidate on their 'home turf''. The Dec. 13 Alameda County LP dinner meeting featured Mark Ross, who spoke on the environment, and the Jan. 10 meeting was the annual business meeting and election of officers.

Marin County LPer's heard Oirinda architect Fred Stitt at the Jan. 9 Free Marin Supper Club meeting in San Rafael speak on "How to Subvert Tyranny -- Libertarian Style."

Placer County LPer's heard from economist Tom Hazlet on Dec. 6, while nearly 43,000 area households received a special issue of the *Placer Gold* newsletter just prior to the election. The film "Harry's War" was shown at the Jan. 11 meeting, while Sacramento attorney Ed Smith spoke at the Feb. 7 meeting on the erosion of liberty.

Placer County LP Chair Dr. Bruce Daniel was extensively interviewed for area papers about a recent State Supreme Court ruling which allows partisan political action in supposedly "non-partisan" races. Daniel noted that to rule otherwise would violate "fundamental Constitutional rights." And Placer County Supervisor and LP member Erik Henrikson was the subject of several stories on his assumption to office. "I have no aspirations as such," Henrikson said, "I just want to do a good job."

#### Hawaii

LP Honolulu mayoral candidate Blase Harris received a good preelection profile in the *Honolulu Adver*tiser in November. Harris, a 33-yearold psychiatrist, emphasized the benefits of privatization in areas like transportation and recreation during his recent campaign.

LP Congressional candidate Amedia Fritts received national recognition from the Associated Press in an article profiling minority candidates. The AP story noted that both Fritts and the incumbent Democrat are Asian Americans.



#### Oregon

Oregon LP candidates did exceptionally well in their races, despite being denied party or presidential ballot status by the state's strange election

laws.

Tonie Nathan narrowly lost her race for Lane County Commission, and Jo McIntyre's hefty double digit percentage in her State House race prompted considerable political respect. The first question asked of McIntyre's opponent after the election in one interview was "How was he going to deal with McIntyre's voting bloc?". The representative replied that McIntyre was a "positive, effective person" and that he intended "to represent the strong element of Libertarian philosophy in Yamhill County."

The LPO filed a lawsuit in late Oct. by Terry McCauley seeking to declare the state's ballot access law unconstitutional on several grounds.

In addition to encouraging write-in's for the Bergland-Lewis ticket, the OLP also ran as write-ins Martin C. Brown for Secretary of State, David Schrader for Attorney General, and Paul G. Warthen for Treasurer. Results have not yet been made available.

Libertarian Philomath City Councilman Paul Dillon is reported to be on the mend after hospitalization for a serious illness, and help with the medical bills can be sent to Paul Dillon Medical Fund, c/o Carol Shultz, 3512 SE Stark, Portland, OR 97214.

The LPO's Belmont Ave., Portland office was closed in November for budgetary reasons, but the good work continues and a party phone number will continue to be listed.

Tonie Nathan is promoting the idea of planning now for the 1986 races and interested parties are urged to call Terry Craven (472-3594). Nathan is also announcing her intention to form an independent lobbying organization, "1000 Friends of Freedom."

Libertarians were surprised when they heard "We've asked government to give us everything that we used to organize workers to get ... we have become addicted to the public trough." Even more pleased when they learned it was said by Ted Kulongoski, Democratic candidate for Governor in 1982, speaking at a special state AFL-CIO convention in December.

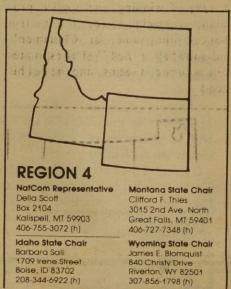
The Multnomah County (Portland) LP has produced two airings of its monthly TV series, "Libertarian Outlook", being produced by Clarke Davis for Public Access Television. Two halfhour segments so far have featured David Bergland's Oregon press conference and an interview with local State Representative candidate Edward Marihart. Suggestions, copies of tapes, etc., should be directed to Clarke Davis, 5624 SW Riverside, Lane #1, Portland, OR 97201, (503) 2225798.

#### Washington

The Washington LP is gearing up for the Northwestern Freedom Conference to be held in Seattle April 19-21, in conjunction with the LP National Committee meeting. Among the planned activities will be an evening Puget Sound cruise and potluck dinner, workshops and presentations by Murray Rothbard and the manager of the local Yellow Cab Co., who is being cited for charging less than the regulated fares. Skip Barron is hoping that this conference will be a warm-up to hosting the 1987 LP Presidential Nominating Convention.

Murray Rothbard spoke on Nov. 8, 9 in Bellingham, Washington, at Western Washington State University on Austrian economics and the failure of Reagan's economic policies.

The Pierce County, King County and Whatcom County LP groups have been holding regular meetings in addition to regular discussion meetings being conducted by Dan Blachly in Tacoma. Ray Nelson has been selected as the Chair of the newly organized Spokane County LP. The State Central Committee held a two-day retreat on Jan. 19-20 in a Thurston County lodge to set goals and plan 1985 business.



#### Montana

Montana Libertarians were surprised to hear Republican Senate candidate Chuck Cozzens openly solicit Libertarian votes immediately prior to the election. Hoping their votes might prove his margin of victory, Cozzens abandoned his prior strategy of trying to ignore the LP completely and openly asked for their support in his race (he lost handily anyway).

State Chair Clifford Thies, who is also an economics professor, scored some points in a large AP story published prior to the election, noting how research demonstrates that milk-price decontrol would lower prices by up to 14%. Despite the evidence of consumer benefits, the dairy lobby's heavy spending spelled defeat for the LP supported de-control initiative.

And no one can accuse Larry Dodge of waffling on the issues. Toward the end of his campaign the incumbent Governor suggested Dodge just wanted a "barely organized kind of anarchy" instead of the current state bureaucracy, and Dodge admitted that "it didn't sound too bad, actually". He also called for a special "repeal" session of the Legislature and both Dodge and Thies called for the "meat-ax" approach to state budget balancing.

Montana LPer's were happy with Patricia Summer's 6% vote total, which insured the state party's ballot status for four more years.

J. R. Myers, who early reports so gained a seat on the Great Falls of Government Study Commission, end up finishing 8th out of 15. He was july 17 votes shy of finishing in the to seven, who were elected.

State Chair Thies reports that a 1985 state convention will be held Great Falls April 26-28, and they a trying to arrange for Andre Marro Erik Henrikson or Tom Tryon to tend as the main speaker.

In other news, John MacGregor reported to have formed an active liberarian study group at Montana Statuniversity in Bozeman.

State Chair Thies summed up to results of the election: "In select localities, we've taken another step, small step, toward the objective recognition as a major party, co-equivity the Republicans and Democrats"

#### Wyoming

In response to a negative UPI sto about the \$20,000 "expense" by the state government incurred in compling with a federal court order placing the LP on the ballot, and the Cheyent Tribune's snotty editorial on Dec. 6 etitled "The Libertarian Fizzle", Liballot access consultant Richard Winger in a letter to that paper points out how it was the state, not the Liballot chose to spend tax dollar fighting to uphold an unconstitution ballot law.

On a more positive note, LP congresional candidate Craig McCune was quoted in a UPI story as saying, think this election is the beginning certainly is not the end. We've broke the mold, so to speak. People will be familiar with us now, and, familiaritalways attracts votes."



#### Arizona

The ALP is busy working on the August, 1985, National Convention in Phoenix, with a number of party members actively involved in the planning (see related stories elsewhere in this issue).

The State Executive Committee approved at their Nov. 17 meeting a federal lawsuit challenging a ruling

which cited "conflicting statutes", which denied the ALP the right to inspect voting machines and watch polls during the recent election in Maricopa and Pima (Phoenix and Tucson) coun-

The Maricopa County LP held an election evening party at the Phoenix Hilton, and Buck Crouch, Jim Cameron and Dick Rink each won one ounce silver coins at the raffle. Former Corporation Commission candidate Ronald Tobin was the recently elected chair of the Maricopa County LP, and former congressional candidate Lorraina Valencia presented the program at the Dec. 7 meeting on "Libertarianism and Compassion."

State Libertarian Party registration rose over 70% from 1982, to 5,247 as of late September. Lind Fisher of Tucson received the \$100 prize for winning the voter registration contest sponsored by the state party.

The other Corporation Commission candidate, Ken Sturzenacker, announced the passage of two Executive Committee resolutions at the Dec. 15 Flagstaff meeting, which opposed taxsubsidized mass transit programs and expensive regulation of small water companies by the Corporation Commission. Sturzenacker reports he was outspent in his race \$1,500 to \$50,000 (he and ACC candidate Tobin both obtained the balance of power in their races) and that the political editor of the Phoenix Gazette was highly complimentary about his campaign. As an outgrowth of his campaign, Sturzenacker is now writing a column "Another Look" for the weekly Phoenix Enterprise newspaper.

#### New Mexico

The LPNM is coming off the Nov. elections in high spirits, according to reports from the Land of Enchantment state.

Not only did the 1984 LP ticket outpoll the 1980 LP ticket in the state (the only state where this occurred), but the local races of candidates Steve Curtis. Shirley Jones and Tom Rushton all broke new ground as far as New Mexico voters and the news media were concerned. Both Jim Lewis and David Bergland made highly effective stops in the state, and Lewis was able to tour with candidate Jones in Las Vegas, Santa Fe and Socorro in September which brought favorable news stories about the party and the campaigns.

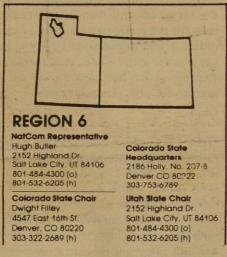
The Los Alamos County LP participated in the county parade, where local LP members decorated a car with libertarian slogans and candidate Shirley Jones and County Chair Erik Fugelso waved at the estimated 3,000 spectators. The Santa Fe LP held a "Moral Victory" party on election night in Sweeny Center, organized by Maurice McDonald and Paula Rhea. Michael Friend of Albuquerque was named as the new LPNM newsletter editor.

In a surprise move, Christa Bolden resigned as State Chair on Dec. 2, citing

exhaustion, and Vice Chair Richard Jones stepped into the top position. Jones, a comercial vinter and wine columnist, is the husband of congressional candidate Shirley Jones and a volunteer fireman in his rural community. His goals for the LPNM include doubling the number of dues paying members, win major party status for the state organization, and running more candidates in 1986, including both congressional seats and the governor's

#### Nevada

No one can accuse David Huffman, LP candidate for Washoe County State Senat District 1, of soft-peddling his views or his likely chances of winning. The 48-year-old Reno card dealer said in a pre-election news interview, "If I'm elected I almost feel the responsibility to fire myself. But I wouldn't do it. I'd serve." When asked about his chances of winning, the applied probability technician noted, "I've got five chances: slim, none, fat, Chinaman's and snowball in hell." (His estimates were accurate, it seems, since he lost his



#### Colorado

"Voters were in no mood for third party candidates" National Chair Paul Grant was quoted in a recent AP story. "This was an 'incumbency' year. This time everybody seemed to be rallying around the flag and the two-party system—and a very popular president," the Denver resident went on to note.

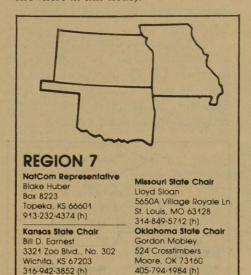
The CLP ran active local races as well, and Patrick Lilly scored an interesting PR coup when he was photographed by the Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph at a "run for liberty" near Colorado Springs, raising money for the Status of Liberty restoration. Lilly's sign read: "The statue is just a symbol, re-open the golden door, Bergland for President, Craig Green for U.S. Senate."

#### Utah

Beehive State Libertarians were pleased at the generally positive election results in their state, including one congressional "balance of power" result obtained by state Chair Hugh Butler. They were particularly proud of the fact that Utah ran more local candidates per capita than any other state.

Utah LP members are also to be congratulated for the excellent planning

and hospitality displayed during the December National Committee meeting in Salt Lake City (see related story elsewhere in this issue).



#### Kansas

Several good letters-to-the-editor have been seen recently in the Sunflower State. Rollin Riggs of New Haven, CT, penned a thoughtful letter to the Emporia Gazette in response to their unthinking editorial bemoaning the "cluttered" ballot due to the presence of third parties. Riggs noted that ballots in the USSR tend to be much less "cluttered" than ours.

Kansas LP Senatorial candidate and Atchinson City Commissioner Doug Merritt had a long, thoughtful letter published in the Jan. 4 Atchinson Globe concerning his dilemma over a move to issue tax exempt "mortgage revenue bonds" by the city. He concluded by saying, "I wrestled with this problem of principle and practice and in the end principle prevailed. I voted against the bonds. I could not in good conscience continue to complain of the national deficit and of the lack of leadership in Washington while at the same time jostle with the other small cities of Kansas for a slightly better stateroom on the Titanic.'

#### Missouri

Missouri Libertarians were pleased with the vote results for Mike Roberts in the state's 5th Congressional District race. His showing obtained the state party ballot status in the area of his district.

A group of conservative Republicans endorsed Roberts during the race, and the "Republicans for Roberts" group said, "Mike Roberts represents a purer philosophical position on the issues than does (Republican) John Kenworthy."

A favorable story on Roberts' candidacy in the Kansas City Star prior to the election has resulted in several speaking invitations to business groups for the former LP candidate.

In addition, Mary Tenneson is the LP candidate running for City Council in Kanas City North, in a February non-partisan race.

#### Oklahoma

"State Libertarians yow to continue" read the headline on the AP story in

November, citing State Chair Gordon Mobley's comment that the recent decertification of the OLP under the legally questionable requirement of a 10% showing for Governor or President to maintain ballot status. Portions of the old law were struck down earlier in 1984 and Mobley noted that the state law in the area "was non-existent" as the result of the prior ruling. Mobley and OLP members have been busy lobbying the State Legislature for revised election access statutes, including a provision for 5,000 signatures instead of 5% of the prior gubernatorial vote, which would require over 68,000 signatures.

Congressional candidate Lynn Neal was quoted in the Tulsa World after the election saying that, "I feel really good about the way things came out. More than 19,000 people voted for at least one Libertarian candidate in Tulsa County. We have seen incredible growth in the LP in the past year. By the year 2000 the Liberarian Party will be one of the two major parties, and it will be the first party to elect a woman president,' she went on to note.



#### North Dakota

Kenneth Gardner of Drayton, who also served as an LP elector in North Dakota in 1984, had an excellent letter published in the Nov. 4 Grand Forks Herald concerning his reasons for supporting the Bergland-Lewis ticket. "Only David Bergland and the Libertarian Party stand pledged to reduce the immoral interference of government in the lives of our citizens," Gardner

605-352-4682 (h)



#### Region 9

From page 27

Illinois

The Givot for Senate LP campaign is still demonstrating positive results for the LPI. Candidate Steven Givot was elected on Jan. 11 to the Executive Committee of the Chicago Board Options Exchange, in recognition for his years of activism in that group.

The Givot campaign really heated up in the last few weeks of the campagn, with Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell endorsing the incumbent Republican, claiming to do otherwise was "suicidal". Falwell was reacting to an earlier endorsement of Givot by several prominent New Right conservatives.

And Hollywood even got into the act when former "Good Times" TV series star Jimmy Walker made a special Chicago area appearance at Niles East High School and at a fundraiser on behalf of the Givot campaign. "Steve is an incredibly bright man," Walker said, "One just has to look at his qualifications and see he's better qualified than many people already in office. The other two candidates just



Illinois LP Senate candidate Stephen Givot (1) discusses scheduling with Howard Wilson, campaign aide, during the closing days of the campaign. Photo by Marshall Fritz.

want to perpetuate a system that isn't working." Noting that he likes LP foreign policy positions best, Walker commented on how minority groups would fare under the LP (Walker is black), "Libertarians are not just for one group. They have the best interests of all people at heart. There are people in Chicago and Illinois who are not doing well. The Libertarian Party offers them a chance to better themselves."

Givot hosted an elegant election night party at the Bismark Hotel, and is continuing his political career in seeking a township office in Barrington Hills.

A number of other Illinois LP members are seeking public office in upcoming municipal elections (see article elsewhere in this issue) and the LPI state convention has been tentatively set for early May.

Thanks to Barb Boni, LP materials were given prominent display at the West Chicago Jr. High prior to the Nov. election.

Research shows that areas where Givot leaflets were distributed via

newspaper inserts (over 13,000) LP results increased, and increases from 25-60% were noted in precincts in Roselle where door-to-door canvassing was done.

The Libertarian Club of DePage held a "munchies & fun" party on Dec. 26 to review LP TV interviews, and the Jan. 30 meeting featured Dr. John Sheaffer, an engineer active in the design of private water systems.



#### Michigan

No one will mistake the candidates for Michigan's University Board of Trustees for bipartisans: candidate Kurt Weber, who is also a student, noted it was "wasteful and obnoxious" to spend \$100,000 on a search to fill the MSU president's job, as the school was doing, and LP candidate Thomas Jones for a similar position went even further, coming out in favor of abolishing government-supported public education in the state.

Michigan Libertarians are assessing the results of their 50 state and local candidates in the fall elections, noting that major party candidates in Midland and Lansing began to make their "degree of libertarianism" an issue during their campaigns. House District 21 candidate Dave Dawson ran two races for the same job (one to fill a two-month vacancy due to death of an incumbent), published an excellent campaign tabloid, and garnered the balance of power in one of his two efforts.

Richard Whitlock's activity in his 5th District congressional race drew his opponents into parades with decorated buses to compete with his "Liberty Express" entry, and LPM election analysts noted that Bergland vote percentages were noticably higher in areas where he ran radio and TV ads during the campaign. The Bergland advertising also generated from 30-50 calls a day during peak periods to the state headquarters.

Former LPM Coordinator Joseph Overton has volunteered to take over editorship of the *Michigan Libertarian*, which will also benefit from his typesetting services.

Finally, the variety of LP interest in Michigan can be gleaned from topics announced for January meetings in Ann Arbor. Included are a videotape of Ayn Rand's last public speech, a "Sex, drugs and rock & roll" talk by political

scientist Michael Whitty, and a debate on the subject "Does God exit?".



#### Indiana

Indiana LP Chair Steve Dasbach of South Whitley was appointed as the LP's Campaign '85 Coordinator by the LP National Committee, following the recommendation of Campaign '84 Coordinator Jim McKeown. Dasbach is already lining up state coordinators for the effort and will be promoting recruitment of state and local candidates. Potentially winnable races will be targeted and funding directed towards these efforts. A survey of candidate activity developed by LPI congressional candidate and NatCom Representative Joe Laicona will aid in identifying high potential races.

#### Ohio

Charlene Stevens of New Carlisle reports that she placed a "Vote Libertarian" ad in the local Shoppers News which read "Vote Libertarian - Run Your Own Life", which was undoubtedly a refreshing change of pace for readers.

And Steven Linnabary of Blacklick reported to the Columbus Citizen Journal that targeting precincts can work. In one targeted precinct, for example, Bergland received 53 votes to Mondale's 57 and Reagan's 87, demonstrating the effectiveness of the LP message when the word actually gets out.



#### Alabama

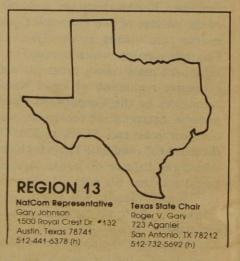
The ALP didn't win any election victories but did have several imaginative publicity activities during the election.

At the Alabama State Fair the "Alabama Libertarian Party Pickle Jar Poll" was the object of considerable interest. According to Party Secretary Steve Smith, fair-goers voted for their least favorite presidential candidate by putting a dollar bill into one of the jars, labeled Reagan, Mondale and Bergland. Money collected in the bipartisan jars was considered a donation to the ALP. Money in Bergland's jar was donated to charity.

And on election evening, according to the *Birmingham News*, the LP "Victory Party" was "probably the most fun." According to the party's press release, "most of the Alabama slate will be on hand from 7 PM on, guzzling cheap beer and eating junk food."

Finally, State Chair Yana Davis reports that the party is lobbying for a "non-primary" ballot status to be created, for parties which draw at least 1% in a statewide election.

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#### Texas

The Texas LP has been working towards lobbying the appropriate legislative committees to modify the Lone Star State's onerous ballot access restrictions. On October 23, National Director Honey Lanham, NatCom representative Gary Johnson and Texas LP activists Tom Glass and Fred Ebner testified at the state capitol before the Election Code Advisory Commitee. In several follow-up meetings in December, State Chair Roger Gary and Margaret Werry also participated in presenting a lengthy and welldocumented brief for modifying the law. Additional lobbying carried into January and February and early indications are that some positive developments in the code may result.

The State Executive Committee approved an ambitious 1985 budget of nearly \$47,000, which includes hiring a full-time state Director and substantial reduction of the \$25,000 debt the LPT incurred in its unsuccessful effort to obtain ballot status. At the Jan. 20 Houston Executive Committee meeting, the LPT approved the appointment of former LP HQ staffer Margaret Werry for temporary duty as state Executive Director, pending approval of a final choice. A report was also heard on the status of the ballot drive lawsuit, which has been returned to Federal District

Court to be heard on its merits.

Dr. Eva Snead, Ken Hendrix and Jim Robinson of San Antonio were all candidates on Jan. 19 for the Edwards Underground Water District Board and for two places on the San Antonio River Authority Board. They were unsuccessful in these efforts, as was National Director Lanham in her January attempt to gain a seat on the Spring Branch Independent School District Board.

San Antonio LPer's were cheered on Dec. 4 when local Chair of the Tax Relief Coalition and LP member George Meeks was unexpectedly freed after nearly a year of imprisonment under a federal contempt of court citation. Local LP activists, particularly Theresa Doyle, worked actively for Meeks' release and sponsored April 16 and July 4 demonstrations (the latter at the Alamo) and articles in Free Texas. Word has it that a pending "60 Minutes" TV story on the Meeks' case, based upon his Fifth Amendment refusal to answer questions, also helped prompt Meeks' release. 1982 LP State House candidate Ted Norris, M.D., is currently serving a five-year sentence for writing too many prescriptions, according to the government.

Austin Libertarians were in the forefront of the effort to stop the spreading cancer in Texas of government-run "mass transit authorities" (bus/rail systems financed by sales taxes) which were also opposed unsuccessfully by Houston and Dallas Libertarians earlier. NatCom Representative Gary Johnson, head of Austinites for Competition in Transportation, testified on Nov. 20 against the measure. Unfortunately, Austin voters were suckered into approving this measure in January.

Dallas area libertarians have been holding weekly meetings and were able to provide some publicity for the Bergland campaign via local TV interviews, despite his absence on Texas ballots. The annual Texas Independence Day barbeque is scheduled for 7:00 PM, March 8 at the Homestead Restaurant in Bedford. Former Congressman Ron Paul will be the featured speaker. Amarillo Libertarian John Denton also had a lengthy letter outlining the libertarian view published on Dec. 20 in the Amarillo News-Globe.

Harris County Libertarians elected new officers at their Dec. 7 meeting, including Jim Tuttle as Chair and former LP HO staffer Susan Van Dyke as Secretary. Other officers chosen were Liz Barthlow and Jerry Chambless. Among the projects underway are a regular radio interview program on the local Pacifica station KPFT, and an ongoing study group. The first radio program was an interesting interview with two Houston vice squad officers discussing their prostitution "sting", which arrested hundreds of unsuspecting customers in a police-run massage Continued page 30 Yes,
Taxpayers,
There is a
Santa
Claus...



Every day was like Christmas during election year 1984 for major party (and some minor party) presidential candidates. Even candidates defeated in the primaries were scurrying for government matching funds right up to the December 31 deadline.

For the general election the Reagan/Bush and Mondale/Ferraro campaigns each received \$40,400,000 from the taxpayers. In addition, the Republican and Democratic parties each received a taxpayers' subsidy of \$8,000,000 to produce their national conventions. During the primaries, presidential candidates spent about \$100,000,000.

Altogether the presidential campaign of 1984 cost well over \$200,000,000. Most of the money was a taxpayer subsidy!

#### THE VOLUNTARY ALTERNATIVE

Unlike the Democrats and the Republicans, the Libertarian Party is supported entirely by voluntary contributions. David Bergland and Jim Lewis could have qualified for federal matching funds but they did not choose to do so. And the 1985 Libertarian Party National Convention, scheduled for August 14-18 in Phoenix, will be paid for entirely by the participants.

Traditionally, third parties have tended to hibernate between presidential elections. The Libertarian Party, however, is a full-time, ongoing operation and has been for over ten years. To insure the future growth of the Libertarian Party, the National Committee met in Salt Lake City in December to adopt goals and set a 1985 operating budget of \$470,500.

Fulfilling that budget will enable the Libertarian Party to maintain the National Headquarters as a contact point for prospects and for the media, to provide literature and recruiting materials, to update and enlarge the lists of Libertarian members and supporters, to keep Libertarians informed of Party activities through the publication of LP News, and to implement an aggressive attack on ballot access restrictions via lobbying, petitioning, and legal challenges.

#### THE LARGEST EXPENSE

A major expense for any voluntary organization is fundraising. For the Libertarian Party it is, by far, the single largest expenditure. And every dollar spent on fundraising is a dollar unavailable for more productive political work.

The best antidote to high fundraising costs for a voluntary political party is a broad-based monthly pledge program. The Liberty Pledge is, by far, the most economical and the most reliable method of supporting the Libertarian Party.

Pledgers receive a monthly Liberty Pledge Newsletter to keep them up-to-date on Libertarian news from around the country, including the most interesting clippings received at the National Headquarters. As a special bonus, new monthly pledgers will also receive, for as long as supplies last, both 1984 Libertarian campaign books: David Bergland's Libertarianism in One Lesson and Jim Lewis' Liberty Reclaimed.

#### JOINING THE LIBERTY PLEDGE

You can make your monthly contribution to the Liberty Pledge by check, by VISA or MasterCard, by the Electronic Funds Transfer System (EFTS), or by a Political Action Committee or Good Government Committee if available through your employer. Credit card and EFTS contributions are debited on approximately the 7th of each month. EFTS requires several weeks to set up through your bank. If you prefer this program, please indicate on the return form below to receive an authorization form.

If you want to make an open-ended Liberty Pledge, please write OPEN in the "through" space on the return form, and we will keep you enrolled in the pledge program until you notify us otherwise. Your Liberty Pledge contribution may also be applied, if you wish, toward your membership or renewal.

	☐ YES! I want to make a monthly Liberty Pledge of \$	from through
11/	☐ I want to support the Libertarian Party with a lump sum contribution	n of \$
	☐ Please apply my contribution to membership: "I hereby certify that I political or social goals."	do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving
	Signature (required for membership only)	
LAN	☐ Payment Enclosed ☐ Send EFTS Authorization Form	Bill my MasterCard□ VISA□
39	Name	Account Number
	Address	Expiration Date
	soutch field	Signature
	Telephone: Evening Day	*Occupation*Employer *Optional, Federal Election Commission requires we ask

#### Region 13

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parlor operation. The Harris County LP was also the only political organization in Houston to publicly back the January Gay Rights Ordinance, which would have prevented city government discrimination against homosexuals. Unfortunately, it lost at the polls.

John Kormylo has taken over the monthly Independence Pledge operation from Mike Holmes, who had held the position for several years.

Finally, fans of the 'Invasion of the Bipartisans' cartoon series carried in *LP News* in early 1984 will be pleased to know they can read the final climatic installment in the Fall/Winter issue of *Free Texas*. Send \$1 to *Free Texas*, P.O. Box 6023, Austin, TX 78762.



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New Jersey State Chair John S. Schafer NJLP P.O. Box 56

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Pennsylvania State Chair Raiph Mullinger 2135 Wainut Philiadelphia, PA 19013 215-963-0127 (h) 215-293-6477 (o)

#### **New Jersey**

215-252-1684 (h)

Garden State Libertarians are gearing up for their 1985 state convention to be held on March 23 at the American Legion Fugle Hummer Post #65 in Metuchen, NJ. There will be breakfast, lunch and dinner presentations and day-long tickets for the event will cost \$30 before March 13, \$35 after and \$45 at the door.

Speakers include 1980 LP Presidential candidate Ed Clark as the banquet speaker, Jim Cowen of the NJ Commerce & Industry Association, George Willis of the Bergen County Medical Society, Andrew Melechinsky of Constitutional Revival, Frank May of NJ Americans for Constitutional Taxation, and Harold Leiendecker, an Exxon executive and 1984 NJ LP U.S. Senate candidate. In addition to the presentations there will be election of LP officers and nomination for the country's only gubernatorial race in 1985, for which there are reportedly already two potential LP contenders in the running.

In addition to the convention planning, the state LP is also running a National LP membership drive to maintain their current 10th position among the states with National Party membership.

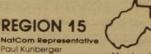
Those incrested in attending the state convention should contact: NJLP State Convention 1985, P.O. Box 56, Tennent, NJ 07763, (201) 249-7649.

#### Pennsylvania

LPP activists met at the Luxury Budget Inn in York on Nov. 17 to discuss state party results of the justconcluded general election. Party building strategies of the previous few years were analyzed and new possibilities in the areas of fundraising and marketing were discussed. As a consequence of this evaluation process, the Dec. issue of the state newsletter, *Libertarian Penn*, carried an extensive and detailed rundown on national and local LP vote totals.

The state party Board met the following day in the same location and discussed plans for 1985. Lobbying efforts to modify ballot restrictions and marketing strategies were discussed. Linda Paustian will head up the new Outreach Committee with the help of Henry Haller, Gary Shoemaker and National Committee member Barbara

Paid state LP memberships were reported to be up and Ray Caravan of Centre County offered to host the upcoming April state convention in State College. Three students, Jim Szczepanian, Dale Harris and Fred Kelso will be responsible for hosting the event, which they hope to also coordinate with on-campus outreach efforts. A commitment was made to save funds raised at the 1985 convention for 1986 election efforts. Pennsylvania LP activist and National Party Treasurer Dave Walter re-introduced his idea of beginning a monthly pledge fundraising program, which was approved by the LPP Board as the "Liberty Club"



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Maryland State Chair Imad-ad-Dean Ahmad 4323 Rosedale Ave. Bethesda, MD 20814 301-951-0539

West Virginia State Chair Stephen Fielder P.O. Drawer 1760 Sheperdstown, WV 25443 304-247-6085

#### District of Columbia

Scott Kohlhaas, who has been acting as LP coordinator in the District for several months, reports that the LP ticket came in third in DC voting, the first time in history the LP has finished that high. In both 1976 and 1980, the Citizens Party candidates came in third.

#### Maryland

The Oct. 6 LP state convention in Silver Spring resulted in an outstanding variety of speakers and topics, and a chance to boost the efforts of Congressional candidate Sam Grove. State Chair Dean Ahmad noted that membership was up 50% and the mailing list up 100%, which was regarded as an encouraging trend. Karl Hess discussed the varieties of the species genus libertarias, describing the extremes as the "rational/religious" type and the "romantic" type, and concluded by recommending that libertarians should be competent in some useful skills and learn to be good neighbors. A controversial panel was held on the rights of parents towards children, conducted by John Walker, Dr. Peter Breggin and Robert Booze. Earl Ravenal, Jarrett Wolstein and Dean Ahmad conducted a discussion on commitment of U.S. troops on foreign soil, and Dr. Breggin presented a powerful talk on "Psychiatry vs. Individual Liberty." Manfred Smith discussed the Home Schooling movement in Maryland and LP VP contender Jim Lewis did the banquet speaking honors.

Sam Grove and Dean Ahmad appeared on WNTR news talk radio in Silver Springs during morning drive time after the elections, and State Chair Ahmad and Frances Eddy hosted the annual MLP Executive Committee Meeting and Christmas/Hanukka/Mawlid-An-Nabi Party on Dec. 8 in Bethesda.

Silver Springs art educator and weekly Libertarian columnist Gerald Schneider was re-elected as Montgomery County LP Chair and Samuel Grove was also re-elected Vice Chair. Other officers are Dean Ahmad, Dolores Blum and Ginger Breggin.



NatCom Representative John Francis 2953 Quentin Rd. Brooklyn, NY 11229 212-376-9269 (h)

New York State Chair John Francis 2953 Quentin Rd. Brooklyn, NY 11229 202-376-9269

#### New York

Lower Hudson Valley Libertarians were pleased with the Oct. 10 story on the LP in the *Middletown Times-Herald-Record*. Party activists Arthur Svensson, Darryl Mentro, Steven Jones and an anonymous Orange County woman (who is a government employee) all presented articulate and sympathetic explanations for their interest in libertarianism.

And a Free Libertarian Party member managed to receive considerable publicity over his letter to Republican electors prior to the Electoral College voting in December. The letter urged the electors to vote for Bergland-Lewis instead of the GOP ticket, noting that Reagan has failed to produce smaller government and restored gunboat diplomacy in Grenada. Unfortunately, none of the GOPsters saw the light ...

Westchester-Putnam FLP members met Dec. 18 in White Plains to hear tax protest author Irwin Schiff. The Nassau Libertarian Club elected Richard Savadel Chair and Richard Cooper as First Vice-Chair at their early January meeting in Hicksville.

Continued page 31

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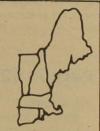
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Connecticut State Chair D. Box 3279 New Haven, CT 06515 203-389-8200 (h)

Maine State Chair ME 04578 Wiscasset, ME 207-882-7629

Massachusetts St. Chair Imont. MA 02178 617-484-7994 (h) 617-273-4111 (o)



New Hampshire St. Chair Sid Maxwell 603-880-8859 (h

Rhode Island St. Chair 59 Richland Rd. Cranston, RI 02910 401-944-8942 (h)

Vermont State Chair 802-656-3036 (0)

#### Connecticut

According to Constitution State LP Chair Thomas Ross, who also served as Jim Lewis' campaign manager last year, Connecticut resident Lewis visited 43 states and visited more than 150 cities (not counting the small ones) during his campaign. Jim Lewis also appeared on a CSPAN-TV evening interview about his race on Nov. 19.

Spirits were also high at the Nov. 11 State Central Committee meeting in New Haven, where four of five state LP candidates discussed the vote results and laid groundwork for future elections.

Plans are underway to produce the Spring issue of the tabloid Free Connecticut, modeled after Free Vermont, which is expected in March and will circulate to 25,000 state residents. Advertising is being sought and those interested should contact Tom Ross, P.O. Box 3270, New Haven, CT 06515 (203) 389-8200.

#### Massachusetts

At the Nov. 10 State Caucus meeting, the membership discussed outreach and organizational projects for 1985. Among the projects underway are "Introduction to Libertarianism' meetings, a liberty essay contest for high school students, a speakers bureau, campus chapters of S.I.L., newsletter changes, increased publicity, a lending library and a state pledge fundraising program.

The state party newsletter, Massachusetts Liberty, will be published monthly. A "Libertarian Games Night" has been organized and a Society for Individual Liberty chapter is being formed in Boston.

The 1985 LPM state convention has been set for May 4, at a location to be determined. The Convention Committee Chair is Paul Crawford (474-7666) and volunteers are needed.

#### **New Hampshire**

Attorney and National Committee member Stephen Fielder was unsuccessful in his attempt to place Coleen O'Brien on the New Hampshire ballot as candidate for Governor, when the party's original candidate was disqualified. Although state law allows substitution for candidates who are disqualified, the state's attorneys successfully denied the LP representation by insisting that an additional 3,000 signatures be obtained for the replacment candidate, which proved to be impossible in late October.

Barbara and Frank Anderson held a holiday open house for libertarians and others at their home in Epsom on Dec. 15. The following day the LPNH held their State Executive Council meeting at Sid Maxwell's.

The 1985 State Convention was held on Jan. 19 at the West Epping Family School, the theme of which was "Where do we go from here?".

The Nashua area LP has been holding regular meetings the first and second Tuesdays of the month.

The state party is also considering publishing a March-April issue of a four-page tabloid similar to Vermont's successful publication. Planned circulation is 15,000. State Chair Sid Maxwell is coordinating this effort.

Vermont LP gubernatorial candidate William Wicker came within 62 votes of forcing a run-off in the Governor's race, and Auditor of Accounts candidate Marla Weiner received over 5% of the vote in her statewide race, enough to receive "major party" status in Vermont. Ed McGuire in the twomember Winooski district came within 500 votes of winning a seat, after an extensive effort including three mailings to every household, telephone canvassing and many door-to-door visits. The 1984 vote totals more than doubled the 1982 votes and VLP members were encouraged with the results.

LP member Barbara Wicker of Colchester held the first meeting of a newly formed individualist feminist group on Jan. 27. The organization has been named Women's Individual Liberty Lobby (WILL). A forum on women's issues, including the "comparable worth" issue, will highlight the first evening of the scheduled Vermont LP 1985 convention. The convention will be held at the Econolodge Convention Center in South Burlington on April 19 and 20. Election of officers and delegates to the National LP convention, and amendments to the party's state platform will also be on the agenda, according to convention Chair Jim Hedbor.

VLP members will also be assisting Bill Murray's race for mayor of Burlington (see details elsewhere in this issue) and the pioneering state LP tabloid, Free Vermont was published in Jan-Feb. 1985 with a 10,000 circulation. Free Vermont editor Eloise Hedbor has written a ten page "How To" article on publishing a party tabloid which is available for \$8 from Free Vermont, P.O. Box 37, Burlington, VT

Jim Hedbor is putting together a 120-page campaign manual/diary on his congressional race, which will soon be offered for \$35.



(Left to right) Vermont LP Chair C. Lynn Fife, LP candidates Bill Wicker, Ed McGuire, Marla Weiner and Jim Hedbor. Photo by Free Vermont.

The VLP Data Processing Subcommittee is also working on a number of projects, one of which will be an electronic bulletin board that will eventually contain most of the contents of Free Vermont and other important LP information.



#### North Carolina

The LPNC published an excellent tabloid issue of the Tarheel Libertarian prior to the election, edited by Linda Janca. It contained a number of good outreach articles and featured a cover photo of state auto license plates sporting libertarian messages, such as "B Free", "No Tax", "Vote L", "No Fed", "A Is A", and "No War".

Candidates Bobby Emory and Fritz Prochnow received good last minute write-ups from the state AP wire on their respective candidacies, and a Wilson Daily Times columnist wrote a sympathetic story on the Prochnow election night party. He noted the jubilation over beating out the Socialist candidate by two-to-one, and the inevitable concession speech by the defeated LP candidate ("The people have made their decision and we must abide by it...").

State Chair David Bozeman also reports continuing success with his young libertarian outreach publication,

Continued page 32

## **NEW ECONOMY EDITION**

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#### Region 18

From page 31

The Young Libertarian, which is available by writing TYL, 5214 Palmetto Lane, Fayetteville, NC 28304.

#### South Carolina

LP candidates received last minute publicity in the state with a number of well-received pronouncements. Congressional candidate Cynthia Sullivan noted that she would serve without pay if elected, and US Senate candidate Stephen Davis gained considerable attention when he publicized the fact that he did not intend to file FEC campaign reports because "the government has no right to that information," and he didn't want to subject supporters to possible IRS harrassment. He had raised about \$14,200 as of mid-October.

State Senate candidate Howard Johnson had a very legitimate complaint but was unsuccessful in his bid to have a new election called. His name was "left off" ballots in Abbeville and Anderson counties. (Even when we manage to legally get on the ballot, they keep finding new ways to shaft LP candidates ...)

Tom Waldenfels, in an editorial in the December South Carolina Libertarian, observed "Never has this party been so well run, so division free, so visible, so well known, respected and supported. This year was exciting."

The SCLP is also running a national LP membership drive to boost the number of LP delegates alloted at the National LP convention.

The state Executive Committee met on Dec. 16, the Lexington County and Richland County LP held a joint meeting in West Columbia on Feb. 11, and the state Executive Committee meets on Feb. 24 in Columbia.

Cynthia Sullivan is coordinating the state's April 15 Tax Protest Day actions and those wishing to help should contact her at 798-7659.

The state LP also issued a concise Libertarian "State of the Union" address on Jan. 22, discussing the economy, foreign policy and civil liberties. A number of SCLP activists were listed on the document as follow-up contacts for further information.



Peach State Libertarians are looking forward to a bright future after the heartbreaking experience of the 1984 ballot access effort, efforts to overcome one of the country's most restric-



tive ballot access laws. LP members are actively working with LP Ballot Access consultant Richard Winger to lobby the state legislature and modify the extremely restrictive legal provisions.

Plans also call for prospecting several large mailing lists and eventually obtaining an office and two full-time party employees

Their state convention is scheduled for March. It promises to be a lively affair, with economist Murray Rothbard as featured speaker.

Among recent events in Georgia were an Oct. 18 Emory University debate between the LP, the Populists and the Citizens Parties, an Oct. 27 "Anarchist Halloween Party" at the "secret underground headquarters in Cartersville", and a Dec. 8 Christmas Party in Atlanta.

State Vice Chair James Harris reports good response to his article on third parties published in a men's magazine, resulting in 20 radio talk show interviews around the country.

And north Atlanta area residents recently did what zoning and land-use regulations advocates claim can't happen: 144 homeowners formed a corporation and sold their entire neighborhood to developers of an office complex (without any government involvement). They each netted \$225,000.

Libertarians in the Sunshine State have been working diligently to modify what is probably the nation's most restrictive ballot access law via research and lobbying efforts. Rex Curry and Robert Vogel, among others, along with Richard Winger, have been leading this important effort.

The State Executive Committee met on Dec. 15 in Orlando and on Jan. 26 in Plant City. A Jan. 17 Libertarian New Year's Celebration (is this a "libertarian calendar?") at Rosie O'Grady's in Orlando, where the elusive Gene Burns was slated to speak.

The Central Florida LP Outreach Committee has aired local public service radio announcements for their weekly informal Friends of Liberty meetings. Pensacola activist Richard

1984 South Carolina Congressional candidate Hugh Thompson encountered a former taxpayer at a hospital anatomy lab during his fall campaign. "I had never before run across a case in which the tax collectors had been quite so thorough," he observed, "but in this case they really did get the taxpayer's

Peterson has started a new affiliate with the help of Vann Boseman and Mark and Theresa Erwin. The Jacksonville area is beginning to blossom under the direction of Nick Dunbar and Amber Robinson.

State Chair Dianne Pilcher completed a successful organizing swing through the western Florida area, resulting in excellent news stories in the Pensacola Journal, the Playground Daily News, and the Panama City News Herald. Her visit resulted in renewed contacts with Bruce Creighton, Ron Bergwerk, Angie Thomas, Charlie Manhart and Jeanine and Steve Peppers, Richard Peterson, Vann Boseman and others. She also met with Dean Crumly and John Dayton in Ft. Walton Beach, and believes that the Panama City area will show signs of growth via the efforts of Dave Morrow and Henri

Campus organizing efforts are showing results with the formation of a new group on the University of Central Florida campus under the guidance of Treg Loyden, and Stetson University in Deland is in the process of forming a student group. Lance Klafeta directs the University of South Florida libertarian group, and Pensacola activist Vann Boseman is helping the University of West Florida group.

The LPF has also revamped its membership and fundraising structure as a result of efforts by Jenny Graf, Judy Miley, Chris Cummings and Jon Asfour. Jon Asfour has also taken over the LPF State Bookstore, which carries libertarian books, and can be reached at P.O. Box 13736, Gainesville, FL

Former Florida LP Chair Ted McAnlis was jailed in Sept. for civil contempt by a federal judge over a dispute in supplying records sought by the IRS. The Supreme Court refused to hear his case earlier this year, and McAnlis may also be facing criminal contempt charges.

#### Region 12

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#### Mississippi

Readers of the Jackson, MS Clarion-Ledger News were treated to an editorial "New look at politics, Ideological spectrum realigned" on Dec. 13 which discussed the Maddox and Lilie book, Beyond Liberal and Conservative. The book notes that rather than the "liberal-conservative" spectrum often used, that there are really two more groups, "populists" and "libertarians". According to this research, about 18% of the electorate can be classified as "libertarian" (proeconomic and civil freedom).

#### Tennessee

West Tennessee LPer's are analyzing the 1984 vote, and so far they've discovered that in Davidson County, the Bergland vote was 100 votes greater than the 1980 tally.

The State Executive Committee met informally on Jan. 5 in Nashville to discuss the upcoming state convention and a proposed party re-organization, which is currently separated into east, middle and western divisions.

The 1985 state convention is scheduled for the weekend of April 13-14, with pre-convention activities also scheduled and a plan to encourage carry-over participation at the planned April 15 Tax Protest Day effort. The convention will be held at the French Quarter Inn in Memphis and will be co-sponsored by the Memphis Tax Alternatives Committee which will also be hosting the first Free Enterprise Conference. The theme of the conference will be "Privatization" and speakers scheduled included Bob Poole of Reason, Fred Smith Jr. of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, Robert Coulson of the American Arbitration Association and Stuart Butler of the Heritage Foundation. 1984 LP Vice Presidential candidate Jim Lewis is also scheduled to be the banquet keynote speaker.

## Rothbard

local races than ever before; we have won a number of elections; we have grown spectacularly in states (such as Indiana or Vermont) where we scarcely existed before; and we regained a seat in the Alaska state legislature, making up for two we had lost amidst the exclusive and costly concentration on the Alaska gubernatorial race in 1982.

We must also realize that no successful ideological "revolution" proceeds in a straight-line upward fashion from birth to victory. Ideological revolutions are slow, zig-zag, unpredictable processes, dependent not only on the state of the movement itself but also on a complex of conditions in the country or world as a whole. The late 1970's

was a time of spectacular growth in the libertarian movement and Party, largely because conditions in America were ripe. In the wake of the Vietnam War, people were fed up with foreign intervention and angry at the draft. In the wake of Watergate, they were disgusted with politicans and repelled by and distrustful of, the Presidency. Repeated inflationary recessions and higher taxes made people turn to alternate economic programs, and the failure to enforce marijuana laws converted many people into civil liberarians. It is not surprising, then, that people turned suddenly in greater numbers to libertarianism and to the Libertarian Party. And finally, Reagan and Carter were both considered turkeys in 1980, so people were far Continued page 33

From page 32

more willing than usual to vote for new and alternative candidates. Much of the Reagan victory in 1980, furthermore, was based on the libertarian, anti-Big Government, rhetoric of his campaign.

At this time, unfortunately, conditions and attitudes are different. People are not nearly as ripe for the libertarian message. Vietnam is long gone, and dimwit jingoism came roaring back over Grenada and the flag waving of the summer Olympics. Moreover, no actual war, and therefore no U.S. body count, is now under way, and Americans have notoriously short memories. The draft no longer exists, and registration is simply too abstract an isssue to fire up the youth, much less the rest of the population.

People seem to have to become inured to literally billions of dollars spent in a perpetual "war against drugs", even though the war has been, admittedly, spectacularly unsuccessful. Moreover, a resurgent fundamentalism has spawned a Moral Majority that increasingly threatens our personal liberties. And economically, Reagan had the enormous luck of the election coming just after a recovery from the Reagan depression of 1981-82, and just before either a reacceleration of inflation or a sinking into another recession. With all these conditions in his favor, the electorate respnded in an unprecendented and undeserved outpouring of love and affection for the "Teflon" President. Therefore, unfortunately, the healthy post-Watergate hostility to the Presidency per se and to all politicians is now gone.

The first Reagan term proved to be a calamity, not so much for the Libertarian Party, as for the libertarian movement as a whole. While the public was moved from non-intervention to jingoism, many people, including many semi-libertarians, were bamboozled into thinking that Reagan had actually rolled back Big Government, when he has actually intensified it. As a result, movement funding, movement institutions, and movement periodicals have been "imploding" during the Reagan years. In light of this rollback, it is remarkable that the LP is doing as well as it is.

We all used to believe that a close election was bad for the LP, whereas people would not care about "wasting their vote" if there were a looming landslide. But it should be clear that the Reagan landslide did not help our ticket. People were moved to third-party voting in 1980 because a large number of people disliked and distrusted both major candidates. But in 1984, an outpouring of love for Reagan and a dislike of Mondale stampeded numerous voters into the Reagan camp.

The Reagan campaign was brilliantly stage-managed to avoid all issues and programs, to avoid considering the Reagan record or his future policies. In

a strategy memo in June, 1984, White House aide Richard Darman set the tone for the Reagan campaign: "Paint RR," he wrote, "as the personification of all that is right with, or heroized by, America. Leave Mondale in a position where an attack on Reagan is tantamount to an attack on America's idealized image of itself--where a vote against Reagan is, in some subliminal sense, a vote against a mythic 'AMERICA'." (Italics Darman's. Newsweek, Election Extra, Nov.-Dec. 1984, p.88).

This cynical pandering to the worst and least intelligent aspects of American life paid off handsomely, once again demonstrating Mencken's famous point that "no one ever went broke underestimating the intelligence of the American people." Poor Mondale played into Reagan's hands by failing to desanctify Reagan and not attacking him personal, and by endorsing Reagan's hawkish foreign policy and war against civil liberties. We were left, then, with Mondale's only clear-cut differentiation from Reagan: proudly and stridently calling for higher taxes. Faced with the alternative of one beloved candidate talking cheerfully about "America standing tall" and endlessly saluting the flag and the Marines, and another whining about the "dispossessed" and calling for higher taxes, it is no wonder that the average American turned out in large numbers to re-elect Reagan and repudiate the last of the New Deal liberals.

There is no reason for despair. The Teflon candidate will not be around much longer to befuddle the American public. Statism is still counterproductive as well as oppressive. There is fully as much need for liberty and libertarianism as there was four or five years ago. Government becomes ever bigger, government spending and taxes become higher, deficits are astronomical, and the inner contradictions of statism, in economic affairs, in foreign adventures, and in invasions of civil liberties, are still there and getting continually worse. The cretinous "politics of joy" was repudiated when delivered by Hubert Humphrey, and Reaganism will not long outlive its beloved leader.

There is another very hopeful point

for the future. The post-Vietnam, 30-40ish "yuppie" generation got its first innings in the Democratic primary, giving rise to the Hart phenomenon, which almost defeated the special vested interests long in control of the Democratic Party. The yuppies will get increasingly powerful in the future. And it is generally agreed that these young, upwardly mobile, high-tech professionals are basically in favor of the free market, are enemies of high taxes, opponents of the Moral Majority and other threats to civil liberties, and are suspicious of war or foreign intervention. In short, they provide a growing future constituency for libertarian ideas and the Libertarian Party. It might take a lot longer than we thought in the heady days of the late '70's, but the future is still ours.

And in that future the Libertarian Party is destined to play a vital role. It is futile and a waste of time to talk about abandoning the party for nonparty libertarian activities. Apart from scholars and writers, and apart from a handful of friends here and there talking to each other about liberty, there is no viable form of libertarian activism but the Libertarian Party. The Libertarian Party is the only game in town. Push for initiatives and state and local constitutional amendments on libertarian single issues? Great, but the Party is the only continuing organization equipped to jump into such issues and programs. The Party provides a permanent, continuing organization of knowledgeable activists, schooled in all aspects of libertarianism, trained to educate, and to form single-issue coalitions as opportunities arise.

It is also futile to debate about whether the LP is designed to educate or to win electoral victories. The answer, simply, is both. The LP is designed to educate--ourselves and others--in libertarianism, to apply those principles to political issues as they arise, and by educating to recruit new libertarians for the movement and the Party. Educate, recruit, and winthis is the necessarily linked triad of libertarian activities. Surely, we are not party hacks, interested only in winning office. If we were, we wouldn't bother with the LP, we would become

Democrats or Republicans. We are interested in winning votes and gaining office, yes, but as libertarians. Therefore, we must educate in liberty, use that education to recruit libertarians (and Libertarians!) and use that strength to gain votes, and hopefully to win elections.

One outstanding LP leader asked me recently if I believed that the LP should remain an educational third party, or should set its sights on winning, and becoming a major party. I answered that, of course we should aim at becoming a major party, but only a party of libertarianism. Since man has free will, no one can determine or infallibly predict the future, but we can educate, recruit, and try to win, and hope that we grow to a major party. But also, we must realize that "winning" is not only measurable, for us, in winning office or gaining votes. It is also measurable in how successful we are at educating and recruiting for liberty. As David Bergland stressed during the 1984 campaign, "winning" includes propounding the message of libertarianism, and in gaining recruits for liberty.

Furthermore, we can "win" even with a small percentage of the vote, and long before we actually win elections, as we grow towards a balance of power. Steve Givot was a major force in the 1984 Illinois Senatorial election, even though he only obtained 1.3% of the total vote, for his 59,000 LP votes almost constituted the balance of power in the 75,000 vote margin in Paul Simon's defeat of Charles Percy. The great thing is that we can "win" in this sense long before we can start winning elections outright.

So let's stop dithering and let's get on with the task of building the Libertarian Party, the indispensable conduit for dismantling the Leviathan State and for the eventual victory of liberty.

#### **Important Phone Numbers**

713-686-1776 - Business number, National Libertarian Party 1-800-682-1776 - Lp new member information number (outside Texas) 713-492-6608 - LP News

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Address		Expiration Date
		Signature
Telephone: Eve	ning Day	*Occupation*Employer

## Libertarian Officeholders

Houston, TX - In addition to Andre Marrou and Tom Tryon, who were elected in November (see stories elsewhere in this issue), five other LP members holding office have been identified since November.

Laurence E. Ames of El Dorado, California, is the elected Auditor-Controller of El Dorado County, which is located just south of Placer County southwest of Lake Tahoe. Ames says, "I was born and raised with Libertarian viewpoints and have been registered as a Libertarian since I realized such a political party existed." Curtis M. Miller of Davis, California, also holds office as a Director of the Yolo County Flood Control & Water Conservation District, located west of Sacramento. Miller was first appointed by the Yolo County Board of Supervisors in 1980 and was re-appointed to his four year term in 1983. The district owns and operates two large dams and reservoirs and one hydroelectric plant, with one more under construction. Miller has argued against taking any state or federal funds, and the project under construction is entirely financed by borrowing from private lenders.

Edward Marihart, who ran in November for State Representative in Portland, Oregon, is a member of the Lane County Transit District Board.

Russ Rosen is the appointed Finance Chair of the Cleveland Heights Local Development Corporation, which distributes HUD funds for local rehabilitation projects. Rosen is a certified financial planner in Cleveland.

Rounding out the newly identified officerholder list is Kathy Stephens of New York City, who holds an appointed position on the Community Board #4 in west side Manhattan. Her activities on the board consist of helping people help themselves, without waiting for government bureaucrats. Kathy Stephens (maiden name: Kathy Merrick-Thomas) helped build the California LP at its inception and was a principal ballot drive coordinator during the 1980 Clark campaign. She met her husband, Matt, during the 1980 campaign.

This list of Libertarian Party members who hold public office is believed to be accurate as of January I, 1985. It lists 49 LP members from 22 states, including those appointed and elected.

Please bring any omissions, corrections or deletions to the attention of the LP News editor regarding this listing.

#### Alaska

Jean Calkins - Kachemak City Council Gordon E. Castanza - City of McGrath Planning Commission (appointment) Andre Marrou - Alaska House of Representatives, District 5B, Homer Ruth Reed - Wasilla Council

Judy Roberson - Fairbanks School Board

Bill Snyder - Homer City Council Ken Stephens - Kenai Borough Assembly

Stan Thompson - Mayor, Kenai Peninsula Borough

Bruce Wammack - Fairbanks North Star Borough Assembly

Darrell Welsh - Wasilla Council John Wood - Anchorage Municipal Assembly

#### Arizona

Murray Feldstein - Flagstaff City Council

#### California

Laurence E. Ames - Auditor-Controller, El Dorado County

Richard Arnold - San Diegutio Citizens Planning Group

Mary Earle - Carpinteria School District Board

Erik Henrikson - Placer County Super-

Ken Kott - Tahoe-Truckee Unified School District Board (Lake Tahoe Curtis Miller - Director, Yolo County Flood Control & Water Conservation District

Tom Tryon - Supervisor, Calaveras County Planning Commission and Supervisor, Calveras County

Lou Villadsen - Mission Canyon Fire District Board (Santa Barbara)

Greg Saylor - Minidoka County Assessor

#### Illinois

Scott Tillman - Marquette Heights

Gerry Walsh - Roselle Village Board of Trustees

Doug Boggs - Bloomington Human Resources Commission (City Council appointment)

#### Kansas

Douglas Merritt - Atchison City Commissioner

#### Michigan

Sheryl Loux - Kalamazoo Alternative Financing Committee (appointment

Mary Ruwart - Kalamazoo Safety Task Force (appointment by Mayor)

Gwendoline Stilwell - East Lansing Housing Commission

#### Montana

Neil Halprin - Missoula County Zoning Board of Adjustment(appointment) Pat Summers - Missoula Urban Trans-

#### New Hampshire

portation Board

Avery Johnson - Board of Selectmen, Milford

Jack Kelleher - Board of Selectmen, Epsom

Howard Wison - Budget Committee, Andover

#### **New Jersey**

Randy Korman - President, Sayreville School Board

#### New York

Kathy Stephens - Community Board #4, Manhatten(appointment)

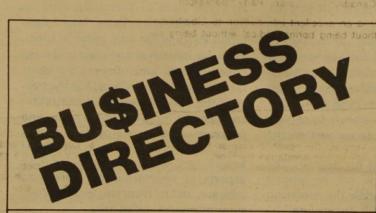
#### North Carolina

David Ford - Long Beach City Council Ohio

Russ Rosen - Finance Chair, Cleveland Heights Local Development Corporation

#### Oregon

Paul Dillon - Philomath City Council Continued page 35



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#### 44444444444444444444444 DAGNY'S FREEDOM FESTIVAL '85

July 12-14, 1985 in Los Angeles. Come one, come all! Dagny's Gulch Reunion '84 was a great convention, and this year will feature Murray Rothbard, Tom Hazlett, Star Trek's Angelique Pettyjohn, European libertarians, Animal Farm, the town of Dagny's Gulch (reserve early for "Shoppes"), Statebusters Speech Contest (\$500 cash prize), Art Show & Sale "Liberty Is Paradise," Bastille Day Party, and Honoring the Women of Liberty. Full details: Box 224, Long Beach, CA 90801 · (213) 438-7788 \*\*\*\*\*

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From page 34

Edward Marihart - Lane County Transit Board

Pennsylvania

Margarethe M. Kemner - Pine Creek
Township Zoning Hearing Board
(appointment by Township
Supervisors)

Dominic D. Salvatori - Whitehall Borough Cable Television Committee (appointment)

South Dakota

Elaine Sluti - Crooks City Council

Steven Oviatt - High Bailiff, Grand Isle County

Virginia

Phil Friday - Urbanna City Council Washington

Kelly L. Haughton - Pierce County Community Action Advisory Board (appointment), and Citizen's Energy Conservation Advisory Committee (appointment, City of Tacoma.)

Wisconsin

Dr. Timothy Correll - Iowa City Coroner

David Ripp - Springfield Town Clerk and Dane County Supervisor Anthony Theisen - Green Bay Alderman/Brown County Supervisor Tom Westgaard - Greenfield Alderman

## Stalin Award

The Joseph Stalin Citizenship Award is bestowed upon two distinguished federal jurists, who in their 1984 rulings concerning Libertarian Party ballot access, have shown a sensitivity and commitment to democratic values which would have made ol' Joe feel proud:

From District Judge William O. Bertelsman, regarding the Kentucky LP ballot access lawsuit, where the state changed the petitioning deadline but failed to publicly announce the change, "There is some irreparable harm to the plaintiffs (the LP), but there are other factors that outweigh it. The public has a greater interest in having an orderly election."

From District Judge D. Dortch Warriner, on the Virginia lawsuit challenging signature distribution requirements which have been found unconstitutional elsewhere, "Without sensible rules precluding ballot access, serious candidates for office enjoying substantial support would find themselves awash in a sea of publicity seekers, egotists, political weirdos, rich dilettantes and assorted nuts with negligible or no public backing. To keep such off the ballot is not to deprive them of their First Amendment rights. It merely is to reserve the ballot for the serious purpose it was intended to serve."

## **A Liberty Primer**

## Readers' Comments Reviews

- "I heartily endorse A Liberty Primer. I think it is an excellent tool to deepen the understanding of those who want to learn more about liberty." -- Ed Clark
- "...provides a smorgasbord for the intelligent mind." -- Roger MacBride  $\,$
- "...fun to read, enlightening, and principled; an excellent, humane introduction to libertarianism." -- Peter R. Breggin, M.D., author of *The Psychology of Freedom*, and psychiatrist. Bethesda, Maryland
- "Alan Burris' A Liberty Primer is the best and most comprehensive introduction to libertarianism presently available. In clear, simple language, it covers all aspects of libertarianism from libertarian concepts of rights, to economic theory, to strategies for obtaining liberty. This book is particularly recommended for introducing newcomers to the philosophy of liberty." Jarret B. Wollstein, author of Society Without Coercon.
- "I want to congratulate you on a fantastic book. A Liberty Primer—It has been so long overdue and is generally so well done—written with such beautifully simple, yet powerfully clear style—that it will likely do more to advance the cause of freedom than anything written before."—Donald Cochran, Honolulu, HI, a libertarian for two decades.
- "It's the No 1 Best Seller we have more than 200 other titles, and A Liberty Primer outsells them all " ... Martha Olijnyk, Ontario, Canada, Libertarian Party Bookstore
- "A Liberty Primer-is an excellent introduction to Libertarianism. It is deep without being boring, radical without being alienating....I congratulate the Rochester SIL chapter on this important contribution to the movement." -- Prof. Jennifer Roback, Economics Department, Yale University; Connecticut Campaign '82 Chair.
- "When someone who knows nothing at all about libertarianism asks, 'What is libertarianism, anyway?' all you have to do is give him Alan Burris' A Liberty Primer. It's simple, it's clear, and all the basics are there. The numerous excellent quotations not only keep up the reader's interest, but illustrate the depth and breadth of the libertarian tradition." Dean Ahmad. Platform Committee, Libertarian Party
- "Libertarian candidates and armchair debaters alike can make good use of Burris' primer. I recommend it highly." -- Dave Walter, Co-Founder, Society for Individual Liberty
- "...everywhere I go, I recommend Alan's book" -- Alicia Garcia Clark, National Chairwoman, Libertarian Party
- "A Liberty Primer is an extremely useful tool for organizing at the local level. I recommend it for activists and 'would-be' activists." Howie Rich
- "I lend it to newcomers and recommend it to activists in the libertarian movement. It's a substantial compilation of basic issues and concepts that's an excellent resource for candidates" Frances Eddy, National Secretary, Libertarian Party
- "The book is a 'waker-upper' for sure!" -- Dick Randolph, Alaskan State Legislator
- "Next to Atlas Shrugged, A Liberty Primer is my all-time favorite book." -- Dagny Sharon
- "The Primer has been very helpful in my campaign for the County Council for the Island of Kauai." --- Mike Dyer, Kilauea, Hawaii
- "A Liberty Primer is an excellent internal education tool for all state parties. It is an engaging treatment of the full reaches of Libertarian thought." -- Emmett Elrod, South Dakota Chairman, Libertarian Party
- "Your book has become something of a bible to me. I refer to it more than any other book on basic libertarianism." -- James W Rourke, Victoria, B.C., Canada
- "A Liberty Primer is well worth having not only for yourself (to expand your own knowledge, and to help in writing articles and speeches) but if used as a gift it would be welcomed by others interested in learning about libertarianism." -- Hubert Jongen, Editor, VRIJBRIEF, Dutch Libertarian Newsletter
- "Please send ten copies of A Liberty Primer as soon as possible. We are in a recruiting program here, and I wish to sell these to new members or to members who have not read your book. I find it to be the most complete book on libertarianism I have found. Hopefully we will be able to order more next time around." James Ridenour, candidate for Indiana Governor

"...one of the most difficult aspects of becoming a libertarian is the commitment to read more that usually accompanies it. Suddenly you discover that there have been great libertarian thinkers and writers since recorded time began and you feel a great urge to read more and know more. But you wonder how you will find the time to do all this reading. With these thoughts in mind, I applaud the creation of A Liberty Primer by Alan Burris. This book is an excellent introduction to Libertarianism. ...a first-rate source book for candidates." -- Tarheel Libertarian (North Carolina)

By Alan Burris

"By simplifying the intellectual groundwork of liberty, laid by people such as Herbert Spencer, Lysander Spooner, Ludwig von Mises, Murray Rothbard, and others, Burris has performed a gargantuan task ....This one book could open many, many doors for anyone wishing to learn more about libertarianism. The book beautifully assembles knowledge on a vast variety of subjects. Burris has separated the book's chapters into the foundations and ethics of libertarianism, the history of libertarian ideas, the principles of a free economy, the role of government (if any!), and libertarian positions on defense and foreign policy. Furthermore, Burris has written a superb overview of the possible strategies for achieving a libertarian society... He often quotes individuals of very different philosophical persuasions, who often reveal the weaknesses of their political views in contrast to libertarians.... All libertarians, whether they are new to the libertarian movement, or are experienced activists, would benefit from reading this book...enjoyable and entertaining reading." -- Vermont Libertarian News

"A Liberty Primer is, without question, the single most comprehensive introduction to the libertarian movement. ...invaluable as a reference for speeches and articles by libertarians. ...A study guide which is full of questions for libertarians who are interested in internal education and development follows at the end of the book." -- Hawaii Libertarian

"The book's 26 chapters cover the basic elements of such subjects as the history of liberty, philosophy of liberty, property rights, economics, public education, environmentalism, nature of government, theory of justice, foreign policy, patents & copyrights, and liberty & language, among others, and conclude with a chapter on strategy for liberty. Not only does it explain ideas well established in the libertarian community, it offers original contributions to libertarian theory in the areas of privacy, trade secrecy, contract theory, personal ethics, statist psychology, and the moral limits to the right of self-defense. This primer is nothing if not comprehensive...the main strength of A Liberty Primer is in its clear, readable, and entertaining presentation of a wealth of libertarian ideas, and in the infectious passion for liberty which shines through the writing, from the first page to the last." -- LP News

"...there is an up-and-coming contender for title to Best Introduction to Libertarianism--Alan Burris' A Liberty Primer. ...I readily expected to have to bend-over-backwards trying to say kind things about the book. I was mistaken. ...Burris' contribution to the introductory literature of libertarianism should see a growing audience. I recommend this book to those interested in learning more about liberty, without hesitation. ...(Burris has) provided a fine recruiting and self-education tool to the movement, that deserves to take a place alongside Friedman, Rothbard, and Nock." -- Idaho Liberty

"Highly recommended." .. Free World Chronicle

"...eminently readable...simple enough to be understood by any high school graduate (well, most of them, anyway), yet artful enough to be appreciated by most college-educated readers...could be the single most valuable resource in any Libertarian's library. It is both a useful introductory book for people just learning about the philosophy, and a handy reference or refresher book for veteran activists." -- Free Texas

"This book is a second generation libertarian effort. By this I mean that it was written using all the first and current libertarian thinkers as a stepping stone, giving each their due and proceeding onward from there. I encourage you to read it and enjoy it. And the quotes from it can keep us going for years to come." -- Anchorage Libertarian Newsletter

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## STRATEGY/TACTICS **Lobby for Ballot Access**

by Richard Winger, LP Ballot Access Consultant

In all but a handful of states, now is the time to start working to persuade your state legislature to improve your state's election laws. Your legislature has been elected but may not be in session yet. This is prime time for you to contact your state legislator.

In a few months, it will be too late! Legislative deadlines are quite strict. Many states require that all new bills be introduced within a few months of the session's opening. Many legislators agree to introduce a certain number of bills, and by the time the session opens they already have committed themselves to introduce that number, and feel they have no time or energy for any others. If we don't act between now and March, we will have missed the "window of opportunity" that opens only once every two years.

The Libertarian Party needs improvements in election laws in approximately half of the states. Persuading state legislatures to improve the laws is the best hope we have to get these improvements. The US Supreme Court unanimously upheld Georgia's ballot access requirement of a petition signed by 5% of the number of registered voters in 1971. It has not backed away from that ruling yet. Consequently, we can't expect Federal courts to help with the basic problem that many states require far too many signatures. State courts sometimes will act when Federal courts won't, but our best hope lies with lobbying state

It can work. In 1979 the Georgia American Party persuaded Georgia's legislature to lower the requirement from 5% to 21/2% (still far too high, but it was progress). In 1983 the New Mexico Libertarian Party persuaded New Mexico's legislature to lower the petition from 3% to one-half of 1%. an outstanding achievement. In 1984 the Kansas Libertarian Party persuaded the legislature to set the requirement for staying on at 1% of the vote for any statewide office, the best level we can hope for in any state.

So, how do you start?

First, the person responsible for the lobbying project in each state should buy a copy of Third Parties in America, an excellent paperback published in 1984 by Princeton University Press, 41 William St., Princeton NJ 04540, written by three Yale political scientists (lead author is Steven J. Rosenstone). The book makes a strong case that the U.S. political system needs functioning third parties. Since the book is written by academics with no partisan tie to any third party, it will give you confidence when you encounter legislators who

say, "We need to make ballot access difficult in order to protect the twoparty system." No expert political scientist has written any book which agrees with that statement. (If you think I'm wrong, I challenge you to find any such book.)

No expert ever says, "We need to make ballot access difficult in order to protect the two-party system" because any expert knows that the United States had a two-party system in the 19th century, yet there were no ballot access barriers back then whatsoever. There were no state-printed ballots, and the government had no control over which parties could participate, yet we still had a two-party system. "Two-party system" is a political science term which means that two parties win practically all the elections.

You can cite the example of Minnesota between 1920 and 1942 to make the point. During that period, the only parties with a chance to win Minnesota elections (other than for presidential electors) were the Republican and Farmer-Labor Parties. Out of 207 election contests for Federal or statewide state office in that period, the Democrats won only 4, and those were only for Congress. By contrast, the Farmer-Labor Party won the gover-



by Jim McKeown, Campaign '84 National Coordinator

Campaign '84 was the national election service bureau established to assist with candidate information during 1984. This article was adapted from the complete final report of the Campaign '84 effort presented at the December Salt Lake City National Committee

Additional information on Campaign '84 activities can be obtained from Jim McKeown, Campaign '84, 510 Press Building, Binghamton, NY

Fourteen Libertarian candidates were elected to public office in 1984. This is the most our party has ever elected in any calendar year in its

Since the Campaign '84 Service Bureau began operation last year, we identified a total of 352 Libertarian partisan and non-partisan races, excluding 28 campaigns which took place

norship 4 times a U.S. Senate seat 5 times, and other statewide office 12 times. Yet the Democratic Party of Minnesota, weak though it was, did have a role to play. I predict that any Democratic legislator you're talking to would agree that it would be foolish to have kept the Democratic Party off the Minnesota ballot in that period, just because it wasn't one of the two major parties. Generally, major party politicians of both parties would probably agree that Minnesota was wellgoverned, and no one could seriously argue that Minnesota should have kept the Democrats off the ballot.

What should you ask for?

Despite the fact that, as recently as 1948, there were 14 states which required no petition whatsoever for a new party to get on the ballot, don't ask that petition requirements be completely dropped. There are today more political parties in the United States than ever before, because Marxists continue splintering and forming new parties, yet never merge. In 1984 there were three Trotskyist Presidential candidates (Socialist Workers, Workers World, and Workers League). Since mechanical voting machines have trouble accommodating more than nine parties, I agree that some ballot access barriers are necessary, for the practical reason of keeping the ballot from overcrowding. But no state needs a petition requirement greater than one-half of 1% of the last vote cast to achieve this. This can be demonstrated with historical data. (Write me at 3201 Baker St., San Francisco CA 94123, and I will supply it.) I can also draft a proposed bill for any ballot accessrelated issue in which you may be in-

If we are diligent, if we get the attention of the press, if we draft the proposals ourselves and then martial the evidence, we can persuade state legislators to improve ballot access laws. But remember that this can only be done (in most states) between now and March 1985. We must initiate our proposals very soon.

prior to November 6th. There were 242 candidates for state and local offices and 110 for federal races.

#### Specific Actions Since Our July **Progress Report:**

Distributed a political "how-to" series - Strategies & Tactics (first installment) - to 100 Libertarian newsletter editors (25 respondents received all 3 parts of the series).

Produced a list of our 100 congressional candidates for John Hix of California.

Produced a list of our 100 congressional and 5 gubernatorial candidates for the Election News Service and the Cable News Network.

Assisted LP News Editor, Mike Holmes, in compiling list of all Libertarian local, state and federal office candidates for publication prior to elec-

Informed the 35 Libertarians iden-

tified as microcomputer-telecommunicators, of the difficulties in setting up a national electronic bulletin board, and offered specific recommendations for any future action. (Note: Compu-Serve's Democratic & Republican Special Interest Groups (SIGs) are to be merged into a "bipartisan" SIG this February).

Established and operated 5-line telephone bank from 8PM on election night through 6AM the following morning, to obtain results of "high profile" Libertarian campaigns and project the nationwide Bergland/Lewis vote. Results and projections were mailed 3 hours later to 300 Libertarians throughout the country.

#### **General Matters:**

Assisted experienced & inexperienced candidates with various general and specific punchlists, opponent bio and voting record, congressional district maps, etc. Also analyzed campaigns for proposed national party financial

Established electronic data bases: (1) 1,200 individuals (accessable on first or last names, address, city/town, state, zip code, county (95%), public office (60% are for 1984 or prior years' candidates, and 40% have vote percentage history), home or office telephone. total financial contribution to the service bureau) indicating LP leadership role, occupation (20%), etc.; and (2) 3,140 counties in the United States indicating congressional district number (80%) and the number of Ed Clark votes in 1980.

We continued to fill our candidates' various requests for information from our inventory of campaign materials.

Assisted our national Director, Honey Lanham, in situations where media such as NBC & CBS television networks, Congressional Quarterly, LA Times, etc., needed specific information about our candidates.

#### Thank Yous:

We believe Campaign '84 produced some worthwhile results and a politica' base with which to build upon in future years. Much of this would not have been possible without the help and ongoing support of literally hundreds of libertarian political activists across the country. I'd like to particularly point out the individual contributions made by Ed Jowett of New York, Richard Winger of California, and Honey Lanham & our national staff in Houston.

#### Recommendations: 1985 & Beyond:

We believe the Party's first and foremost priority should be helping Libertarian candidates become elected to public office. A serious electoral campaign provides the best vehicle for outreach.

We re-emphasize the need to use modern technology - such as, opinion surveys - to help all our candidates reach their audiences. As an example, 800 responses to a 30-question survey could be designed, administered, evaluated and distributed in two months at a total cost of less than

## Campaign '84

From page 36

\$15,000. Such a survey would:

\*Help our candidates to target voters' real concerns with specifically worded Libertarian proposals.

\*Indicate areas of the country where we can garner significant percentages of the vote, so our scarce resources can be targeted there first.

\*A national survey could be used as a base-line poll, permitting less expensive - but highly effective - additional surveys for specific local campaigns.

Many of our candidates wonder why the national party didn't have a financial assistance system to provide incentive for local groups to foster serious, winning efforts. In October the Mailing List Committee, chaired by David Saum, did develop criteria for allowing certain campaigns access to our national contributor list. While we think some of the qualifications they established should be modified and the program should be widely publicized before further use, it is an important first step. We should also create a sixfigure campaign fund and have it, and the contributor list, readily available for any Libertarian candidate who meets the LP's criteria.

## **IRS Abuses**

Allen Park, MI/Philadelphia, PA -Gestapo-like tactics of the IRS have once again come to the public's attention, in two recent cases in Michigan and Pennsylvania.

•In a shocking case, eight IRS agents stormed into the Engleworld Day Care Center in November, complete with their own locksmith, on a late Friday afternoon. Thirty children were in attendance. IRS agents separated the children from the center's personnel, and insisted that parents coming to pick up their children either sign "notices of levy" or pay the IRS immediately as part of the day care center's tax bill before allowing them to take their children.

"It was like something out of a police state", one shocked parent later observed. While the IRS claims they weren't holding the children for ransom, the parents involved didn't seem to notice the difference. Several paid up their weekly bills in full, and the IRS collected a few hundred dollars. The alleged tax liability is over \$20,000.

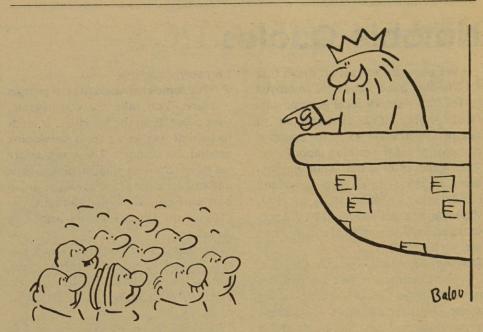
Representative John Dingell (D-MI) has publicly asked for an explanation, and area newspapers and radio stations have given the IRS "children's hostage" raid widespread publicity.

But a reported IRS "internal investigation" into the matter has the earmarks of a coverup. After several months of "investigating", including intimidating visits from IRS investigators to concerned parents, no official report has been issued. Yet in late January an IRS spokesman claims the "investigation" showed no government wrongdoing. Strangely enough, this same IRS public relations person in an interview with LP News also admitted that the socalled "investigation" wasn't even complete and no report had been given to Congressman Dingell. Yet the IRS propagandist had no qualms about claiming that this "investigation" cleared the IRS. (After all, intimidating taxpayers is standard procedure...)

Curiously, when asked why eight agents arrived during school hours when children would be present and why parents had to sign notices (which are usually mailed out to a businesses' customers and aren't even required to be signed or acknowledged) the IRS spokesman didn't have an answer. The notices "could have been mailed", although "the parents would have been confused". Better they are intimidated than confused, it seems.

Some of the parents are examining their options, including a local grand jury investigation, but many appear to be reluctant to get on the IRS "enemies list" of troublemakers.

•In Philadelphia, in late January, more than 10,00 businesses in three states were sent notices of imminent seizure of bank accounts and several hundred actually had money taken out by the government for back taxes -- all of which had been paid on time. It seems that the IRS had made a "human error" and failed to send the correct information to a central government



"The power to tax is the power to destory ... Zap!!"

computer system. The banks involved were required by law to seize money from customer's bank accounts when instructed by the government -- no notice, no hearing, no "due process", and no proof that money was owed.

However, in this incident, the IRS has admitted it "made a mistake" since all taxes were paid and even did something rare - it apologized to the affected businesses. After all, even the Gestapo, er, the IRS can make mistakes.

### Youth Show Support for LP

Tahoe City, CA - An encouraging omen for the future of the Libertarian Party was noted on the front page of the *Tahoe World*, on November 8.

The article, headlined "It's barely Republican at Tahoe Intermediate School", noted that the Nov. 6 election results from the 8th grade classes revealed that the surrogate Republican candidate for President (voted on by the students) barely edged out the LP candidate in electoral college votes, and actually lost by a 53-48 popular vote margin to the Libertarians.

Mike Schlumpf, described by the paper as an "articulate 13-year-old", is also the son of northern California LP Vice Chair Dennis Schlumpf. Schlumpf worked hard on the mock campaign, with flyers, buttons and LP Q&A brochures. He even noted that issue papers distributed earlier by his father at presentations about the LP to the classes were appropriated by his Democratic and Republican opponents for their own campaigns!

This good showing is even more remarkable in view of the fact that only seven LP supporters had registered (out of 150) prior to the mock elections. The Democratic candidate finished a distant third.

Mike Schlumpf overcame his huge registration deficit by his performance in two debates held prior to the election. Robin Schimmelpfenning, 13, a registered Republican, said, "I voted Libertarian because I think he's one of the ones who really knows what he's talking about. A lot of people I talked to agreed." Teresa Howenstine, 14, a registered Republican: "I voted for Mike Schlumpf because he was the most mature one up there and he knew what he was talking about."

Mike Schlumpf's performance was encouraging, since it demonsrates that Libertarian positions can appeal to those who haven't been brainwashed by the "two party" myth. Schlumpf, who hopefully represents a second generation of LP activists, will be eligible for the LP Presidential nomination in 2008.

## Libertarian Holiday?

Washington, D.C. - Libertarian holiday? That's what some have suggested for the date March 4, to commemorate the only day in history when the U.S. was without a sworn-in President. Although the Constitution was later changed to January, Inauguration Day was set for Sunday, March 4, in 1849. But elected President Zachary Taylor refused to be sworn in until the following Monday and the term for outgoing President James Polk, the Vice President, and the Speaker of the House all expired on March 3. Historians and legal scholars have put forth arguments to the contrary, but most observers agree that for that one day, technically, the U.S. had no "official" presidential leader. And despite expectations to the contrary, the country didn't disintegrate. Well worth remembering.

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## **Notable Quotes**

• A Census Bureau report shows that 15.8 million Americans were employed by federal, state, or local governments as of October, 1982. That amounts to one person in every 15 in the country, or one in six in the civilian labor force. The figures showed that while employment at the federal level remained steady since a similar study in 1977, state employment increased by 7.2 percent and local government employment was up by .03%.

Houston Chronicle, Jan. 17, 1985.

• The Chairman of the Finance Committee said the Senate's deficit-cutting action this year probably will include some disguised tax increases and a limitation on future boosts in Social Security benefits.

"Clearly, yes," tax increases labeled as something else are likely, Sen. Robert Packwood, R.-OR, told reporters Wednesday. He said he has a "hunch" Congress will not let the 16-cents-a-pack federal cigarette tax drop to 8 cents as it is scheduled to do next Oct. 1.

Houston Chronicle, Jan. 17, 1985.

· Without an amendment requiring the President and Congress to maintain a balanced budget, with exceptions to meet certain emergencies, our nation faces disaster. In only four years - 1980 to 1984 - we have added almost 50% to the total debt accumulated from the founding of the U.S. The total is now approaching \$2 trillion. Under current policies of both major political parties one can see an acceleration of the deficits. In time, the interest alone on the debt will consume a huge share of revenues from all forms of taxes. That could lead to a repudiation of federal debt. In my view, this is a far greater and more realistic danger than anything that could happen at a Constitutional Convention called by the states to try to bring about fiscal sanity.

Milton S. Eisenhower, President Emeritus of Johns Hopkins University and brother of late President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Wall Street Journal, Jan.

• "People are so disgusted with the Post Office," he said. "There is so much sloppiness and inefficiency that I don't think a jury would find us guilty.'

Clayton Todd, co-owner of the House & Senate Delivery Service, a 31/2-yearold firm that delivers mail to U.S. Senators and Congressman for 5 cents a letter, in response to a Post Office threat to sue for violation of the Postal Express (post office monopoly) Statute. Washington Post, Jan. 13, 1985.

• "It's easy to be a candidate for this party, because I don't have to waffle on the issues so I'm not stepping on any party policy toes," Jim Lewis said.

"Libertarian has a Utopian Dream", Jackson, MI Citizen Patriot, Sept. 15, 1984

• Bergland explained the position of

his party:

"It's somewhat analagous to guerilla warfare. You take the countryside, then move in on the big cities. It tends to be that way as we see it developing around the country. The states where we have relatively smaller populations and smaller cities are where we're doing best earliest. We will gradually encroach on the Chicagos and Los Angeleses."

Bergland admitted his views are revolutionary, but said Libertarians wouldn't expect to change things overnight: "Reality makes gradualists of all of us."

"Bergland likens presidential race to guerilla war", Jerry Rankin, Santa Barbara News-Press, Oct. 3, 1984.

• Observations from several focus group opinion surveys of Chicago-area six-year-olds, described as "the baby boomers' own baby boom" comprised of some 10 million children between the ages of five and seven who make up 4.2% of the U.S. population: Not a single one knows what a nuclear bomb is. Almost all could recite the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag. President Reagan's age isn't a problem; he is widely believed to be 42. The news is boring, but someday they'll have to watch it "to find out things." The Russians are our enemies, and we have already fought a war with them, opinion is divided on who won.

Wall St. Journal, Jan. 16, 1985.

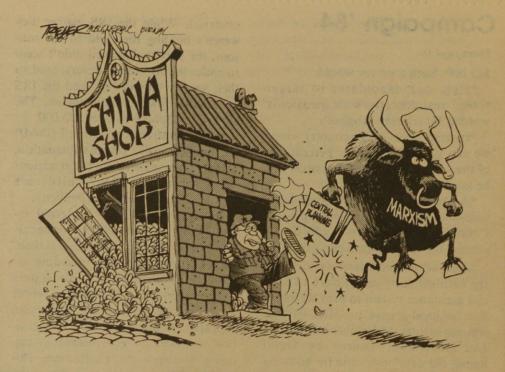
## **Private Sector** Aids Indians

Eagle Pass, TX - Private donations have allowed one of America's most impoverished Indian groups, the Texas Kickapoos, to finally purchase their own land in southern Texas.

The Kickapoo tribe, long ignored by government authorities, originally migrated from the Wisconsin area in the early 1800's and finally settled near the border town of Eagle Pass. The Kickapoos make their living as migrant farm workers, live in cardboard shacks underneath the international bridge to Mexico, and have suffered from extremely poor health conditions. Most tribe members speak only their original Algonquin dialect.

When Congress finally authorized tribal purchase of land only two years ago, over \$300,000 for the acquisition was raised from privately sponsored benefits held in Beverly Hills by such celebrities as Connie Stevens and Kenny Rogers. Various church organizations from several denominations also contributed towards the land purchase.

The Oklahoma Kickapoo Tribe established a Trust Land Acquisition Committee in 1982, headed by Rev. Jim



McLeod. McLeod noted that "this marks the first time in American history when an Indian tribe has received a land base purchased by funds from the private sector."

## Chinese Question Marxism

Peking, China - The December 7 issue of the Chinese Communist Party's Peoples Daily contained an unusual admission: Marxism doesn't

The paper, in a front page editorial, said that "Marx passed away 101 years ago, his works are more than a century old. Some were his visions of that time. after which the situation changed greatly. Some of his ideas are necessarily inappropriate. There are many things that Marx, Engels and Lenin never experienced or had any contact with. We cannot depend on the works of Marx and Lenin to solve our modern-day questions. Using some theories of Marx and Lenin to define an abundant, rich modern life can only impede the advance of history."

While not completely repudiating Marxism in theory, this latest admission is the first public rejection of Marxism in a Communist nation, and is particularly significant since China is the world's largest nation under Communist rule. Recent modernization efforts have introduced a limited amount of capitalist incentives into the economy, which has stagnated for years under socialist state control.

While Chinese policy shifts in recent years have not always proved to be lasting, this criticism of state socialism is noteworthy considering the source. China has for many years been one of the most heavily state-controlled nations on earth. Any admission that Marxism isn't relevant must be viewed as a setback for state-worshipping socialist ideology.

## **News From** Disneyland East

Washington, D.C. - A recent report by the federal Office of Personnel Management in December confirmed what many people already suspect: federal government employees, on the average, are overpaid.

A study of federal workers found many fewer quit their jobs compared to those in the private sector because federal workers are so well compensated. Additionally, they receive generous pensions and continue to have far superior job security than private workers.

The federal government quit rates average 3.8%, compared to private sector quit rates well above 12%.

The report recommended a 5% pay cut for federal workers in fiscal 1986. (Don't hold your breath.)

Washington, D.C. - Confidence in the future of the Social Security System has dropped sharply in the last decade, according to findings of the American Council of Life Insurance.

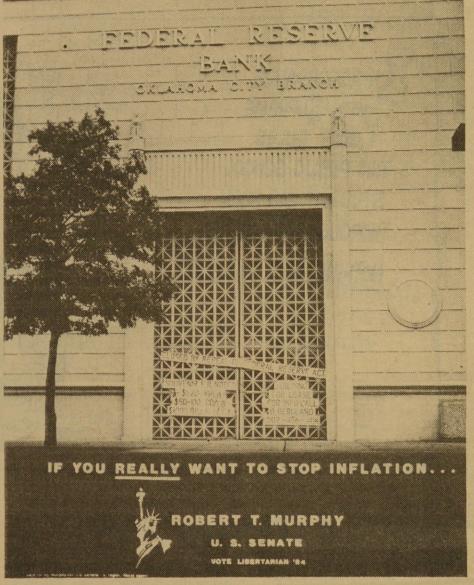
The Council says its latest nationwide survey found less than a third of the public confident about the system - 9 percent very confident and 23 percent somewhat confident.

Washington, D.C. - Reliable sources report that the U.S. Post Office has issued a memo warning Postmasters about the possible use of the LP's "Selective Slavery Registration" forms.

This memo, circulated in October, warns Postmasters that some people may be leaving these in post offices and may try to slip them into the S.S.S. system. The memo cited an instance in the Pittsburgh, PA, area where one of the filled-out LP forms was turned in, accepted, and sent on to the Selective Service registration bureaucracy for further processing.

## One-Stop Freedom Shopping

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-	"Against The Draft"—LP NatCom resolution; 11" x 17" parchment-like paper "No Draft, No War"—anti-draft resolution; 23" x 35" glossy	-
	"Clark for President"—19" x 26" campaign poster	
	Bumper Stickers—blue / white, 15" x 3 34	
-	Legalize Freedom / Vote Libertarian	
100	Libertarian Party / The Party of Principle  Vote Libertarian / Peace, Prosperity, Freedom	
-		THE REAL PROPERTY.
	T-SHIRTS	
	"Libertarian Party" T-Shirts with Statue of Liberty logo, printed in dark blue (50%	
	poly/50% cotton)  Men's crew neck, pale blue S M L XL	
	Women's french cut, pale blue S M L XL (\$8 ea.)	
1	BERGLAND CAMPAIGN MEMORABILIA	
	Buttons—''Bergland President'', ''Bergland/Lewis'' (50¢ ea.) T-Shirts—white with red & blue lettering (\$5 ea.)	
-	Women's (50% poly/50% cotton) S M L	1
	Men's (100% preshrunk cotton S M XL	
	ETCETERA	
	"Vote Libertarian" Buttons—blue / white; 21/4"	
	Lapel Pins—gold tone Statue of Liberty on black enamel (\$2 ea.)	
	"Don't Tread On Me" Flag-slogan on one side; slogan history printed on	
	other; $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{34}{4}$ folded paper	13.1
	Libertarian Party Banner—3' x 5'; blue on white with Statue of Liberty logo. (\$15 ea.)	22
	Statue of Liberty Notecards—with envelopes; white on blue; pkg. of 25 (\$10 ea.) Statue of Liberty Notecards with message: "Peace, Prosperity, Freedom" (good for	1
	the holidays!) pkg. of 25 with envelopes	
1	Don't Tread on Me Notecards. pkg. of 25 with envelopes (\$10 ea.)	1
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	Selective Slavery System Protest Form	
	Social Insecurity Cards	9



This photo was distributed to the news media outlining Oklahoma LP Senate candidate Robert Murphy's proposed solution to the banking crisis.

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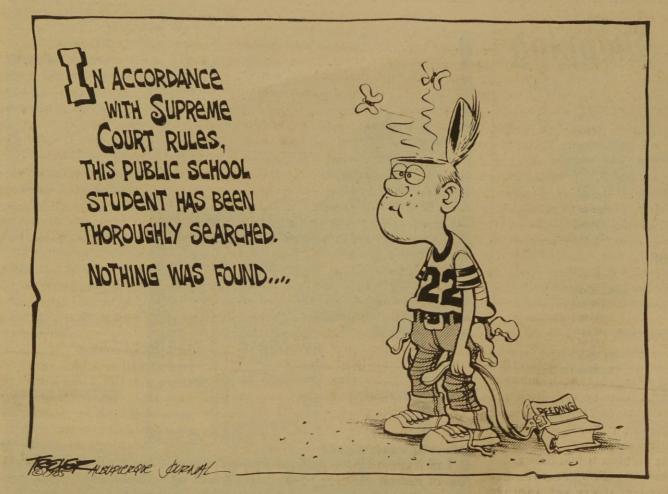


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## **Microcomputer Recommendations**

by Barbara Karkutt

The following article was written in response to requests from county LP organizations concerning micro computer choices. Barbara Karkutt is a computer systems manager, a member of the National Committee, and Chair of the LP Computer Committee.

As a consultant in the mini/micro world I normally 'fit the computer to the client' depending on his/her needs and the type of application desired. In all cases I choose software which can be maintained by that client if necessary. Therefore, it is difficult to recommend any one system across the board. I did however do some research and have decided to stick out my neck on a general recommendation.

The following hardware suggestions are based not on the best technology but on the most prevalent technology which all but eliminates compatibility problems across systems should the LP decide to network.

- A) IBM PC
- B) TANDY 1000 (Radio Shack) an IBM/PC clone
- C) IBM XT
- D) TANDY 1200 (Radio Shack) an IBM/XT clone
- E) COMPAQ (an IBM/PC clone)
- F) Any other IBM/PC/XT clone running PC DOS or MS DOS
- G) \* APPLE II/E

The main consideration in buying hardware is 1) the price for equivalant machines and 2) the service you can get for that hardware should something go wrong. Ask each dealer the turnaround time for repairs.

If the organization can afford it, I

suggest at least 128k, preferably a 256k system (this is memory size). You must have at least a dual floppy disk system, and a hard disk system is even better. If you expect to have a thousand names and wish to interface the mailing list with a word processor, you almost must have a hard disk. If you get a hard disk system, I suggest one that has an external hard disk. If the hard disk is internal and something goes wrong with the hard disk, you lose the whole computer. If the disk is external and something goes wrong with it, you at least have a floppy disk and the computer to work with while the repairs are being made.

The following software suggestion is based on cross-system compatibility (\*which is why the APPLE is included above), and is also based on ease of learning and ease of use.

I looked for a system which included a data management module, a reporting module, and a word processing module all of which could interface with one another and would be available on a variety of machines. I also looked at price/performance factors.

After consulting all of my resources, one company stood out -- the PFS¢ family of software. This includes PFS¢ FILE, PFS REPORT, and PFS WRITE. These three packages are available for the hardware systems specifically listed above. You would have to check with PFS in California for other IBM Compatible machines. The latest version of PFS FILE has a 'ditto' key option and I suggest if you buy this software you ask for the version that contains this option. Make

the dealer demonstrate this or send for the software from PFS itself. PFS is also coming out with a cross-system communications package PFS ACCESS which will soon be available for all of the systems mentioned above. Hopefully this may resolve our micromainframe problems--or at least ease them--we will see. I have established some contact with the 'techies' at PFS and they seem to be helpful. (Micro to mainframe applications take time to set up and debug, so please don't expect miracles overnight.)

For the technical among you--I know this is not the greatest or best technology, but it is the technology which met all of the criteria and gave the greatest lattitude in selection.

One 'watch out for' using PFS FILE--it does not have a numeric edit for fields--so if you have it or get it and plan to put in numerics (vote totals-dollars and cents, etc.) be very careful on entry. PFS will not blow up, but it will ignore the alphas if you attempt to total the numerics, e.s. 10.00 entered as 1a.00 will end up as 1.00 on your report and in your totals. Of course, once noted you can go back and change it.

If there are any other questions or you want any other information, please feel free to call me, 9-5 week-days, 212-794-4033 — weekends 215-252-1684 — 7-9:30, weeknights 718-272-7560 (ask for me or Dave Miklean).

GOOD LUCK!■

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KNIGHTS TEMPLER Info.: \$3.
Write: Box 40201, Pasadena, CA

### Mises Institute Holds Houston Seminar

Houston, TX - The Mises Institute's first Texas program — "A Seminar on Money and Government" — was held on Oct. 27 at the University of Houston's Hilton Conference Center, attended by 106 Institute members, scholars, and students.

Professor Joseph Peden of Baruch College at the City University of New York talked about the effects of high taxes and high inflation on ancient Rome, and how freedom was destroyed hand in hand with confiscatory taxes and the debasement of Roman money.

Professor Murray Rothbard, visiting this year at the University of Nevada, discussed the founding of the Federal Reserve. Despite all the talk of protecting the people, the Fed was actualy founded, he showed, to allow the government and its allies to inflate at everyone else's expense.

Mr. Maxwell Newton of the New York Post talked about recent actions of the Federal Reserve, why they are harmful to our country (like its past actions), and why the Fed should be abolished.

Next Mrs. Elizabeth Currier of the Committee for Monetary Research and Education talked about "Fiat Money From John Law to Paul Volcker," and all the chilling parallels between the inflationary schemes of early 18th-century France and today.

The final speaker was Professor Leonard Liggio of the Institute for Humane Studies, who talked about the Founding Fathers and why they opposed fiat money, and the struggle throughout American history between those who support sound money and those who profit from inflation

A reception and dinner that evening in honor of Congressman Ron Paul was impressive, with 226 attending

At the end of the dinner, money was donated to establish a Ron Paul Scholarship Fund. Scholarships will be awarded to deserving students — from seniors in high school to PhD candidates — who are dedicated to the ideals of Ludwig von Mises, the person who inspired Congressman Paul's own work for the free market and sound money.

The entire day was audio and video taped for nationwide classroom and media use, to make sure that the ideas expressed have the widest possible audience.

## Smith To Tour For Liberty

Kailua, HI - Libertarian activist Don Smith has announced his intention to "launch a no-budget, cross-country town-by-town individual tour to publicize and bring to the general public attention a fundamental principle, to-wit:

That human use, or threat of physical force against other human individuals who have neither committed nor threatened physical harm on anybody else, is contrary to both moral and rational thinking, and thus, behaviorally wrong."

Smith, who is a Hawaii-based radio and TV commentator and newscaster, ws one of the organizers of the Hawaii LP and served as its first Chair. He has also run for Congress.

His tour was expected to start in early summer and Smith has solicited assistance from libertarians around the country for help with publicity and lodging. Smith plans on visiting each stop for one to three days, depending upon the availability of speaking and press opportunities. He will be happy to address LP groups, civic, service and church organizations, and hopes to appear at press conferences and radio/TV interviews as well.

He has also set up a tax-exempt "Human Rights Associates" organization which will promote his basic message, and has also proposed promoting public discussion of a Constitutional amendment which would specifically prohibit the initiation of force.

Those interested in assisting with publicity or accommodations should contact: Donald G. Smith, 1605 Ulualana Pl., Kailua, HI 96734, (80) 262-4508. ■

### Feedback

From page 23

#### Wooing the Poor

Political candidacy may not be the best way for libertarians to get their ideas across. Perhaps they should devote more time to citizen initiatives. Libertarian candidates have done better in states where they have sponsored or aided initiatives. They have been especially effective with antitax measures, but the tax revolt is losing steam. There is probably greater political opportunity in helping the poor, especially in ways that will also help taxpayers.

Sadly, libertarians have trouble attracting the poor, because their arguments are designed for intellectuals. Yet, initiatives can attract the poor better than the most brilliant of candidates, because it is easier for uneducated people to understand a simple yes-or-no choice.

"Freedom to work" initiatives can help win over deprived people. Given a chance, poor citizens would likely vote to strike restrictive laws that make occupational licenses too expensive and lock them out of many work opportunities.

Initiatives could also give them a chance to overturn laws that exclude people from trades on bases other than ability, such as citizenship, age, approved school, apprenticeship and written exam requirements which clearly discriminate against the poor, the uneducated and new immigrants.

Initiatives could also overcome harsh zoning laws that lock people out of inexpensive work alternatives by prohibiting work at home.

Attacking the same problem from a different angle, initiatives could prevent welfare bureaucracies from taking any more than 20% of their budgets for administration.

Moreover, how about testing the popularity of mutual troop withdrawal in Europe, a youth opportunity wage, anti-rent control initiatives, and enterprise zones as a small step toward complete free enterprise?

One big problem is that only about half of the states allow initiatives. But this injustice offers yet another opportunity. Petitions can be circulated demanding legislators and governors enact provisions for citizen initiatives. Frustration with unresponsive officials and the success of initiatives in other states could vault such petitions into broad popularity.

If anyone is interested in promoting freedom initiatives, please write me. I have no initiative experience, so if you do, please send along as much information as you can, including the various state rules, deadlines, organization tips, etc.

#### John Kennedy

#### Los Angeles, CA

Mr. Kennedy can be reached at 3616 Crestmont Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90026. Ed.

#### Elect Libertarians

Political parties do not exist, or should not, solely for "educational purposes". The Libertarian Party at large has hidden itself under the camouflage of "education" for far too long. Agree or disagree, let's mount a massive effort for 1988: let's aim toward electing 20-30 state senators, 2-4 U.S. Congressmen, 1 U.S. Senator, and 1 governor. Let's pool our resources and power and get some people elected. Once the public at large sees that it's "okay" to support and elect a minor party candidate, political inertia should take over and aid us so that future mass efforts would not be necessary.

exh. ted the excuse of being a young minc party -- we are fast becoming know. s the best of the also-rans, but no bett. We must win some elections, or else we will be damned to minor party hell, along with the Socialist Workers Party, the American Independent Party, and future also-

rans as the Citizens and Constitutionalist Parties.

Any comment? Super. Write to the LP News; sound off. Let's debate openly, and give the National Committee some idea of what party supporters think of this proposal. If the proposal goes over, the efforts toward gathering contributions, printing leaflets, and planning strategy can begin by early 1986. This plan would require unusually great patience and coordination among state LPs, the National Committee, and those desiring to be among the target group of candidates, but it's worth a try.

Don't misinterpret the tone of this letter. No matter how numerically weak the LP may become, the LP has my support. But since the LP is the only party with a genuine desire to dismantle most of the government, why not make a concentrated effort to elect people to positions where they can begin to dismantle the governmental monster?

Daniel F. Walker Atlanta, GA

#### Matching Funds (Cont'd)

I am interested in this debate over the use of Federal matching funds. But I was even more interested in a compromise solution offered by Jay Watrous in his letter to Feedback, Sept/Oct LP News. He proposes coupling matching funds to the percentage of Libertarians among registered voters.

Nevertheless, questions remain. What about those of us not allowed to register as Libertarians? More importantly, what about Libertarians who would not agree with such use of their money? Even one individual Libertarian who disagreed would be too much. Excepting stolen money which we are not sure is ours to use, is still theft, and I hope we never forget that

However, Mr. Watrous is on the correct track. The only weakness to his proposal is that he would allow the LP to operate much as the U.S. government.

No, we must go further along the line of our principles until we make our principles work for us. We must leave the responsibility for reclaiming our stolen property to each individual Libertarian. Let the LP request of each member that we send signed notes of permission to use a portion designated by that member of their stolen tax money through the use of matching funds. Along with this, our permission must be coupled with proof that we do in fact own the money we would hereby indirectly pledge back to the party. (Necessary tax statements, etc.) That last part might sound objectionable, considering what the government forces us to do each year. But in this case, we would be voluntarily giving out such information in the name of Freedom. This way we can use matching funds, yet safeguard the rights of others as well as our own honor.

Mr. Bergland ran a fine campaign that was nevertheless caught between a rock and a hard place. His efforts were drowned under a severe lack of funds. We cannot and should not rely on the funding of millionaires to pull us through. But so much of our money is stolen each year that few of us have much left to give. Help Mr. Watrous, myself, and others like us to reclaim our stolen money, at least so far as we can legally redirect it into the hands of Freedom.

William Parcher Norwalk, CT

### Government Liquidation Prospects

Palo Alto, CA - LP Presidential candidate David Bergland was quoted in a Washington Post interview in October as saying, "We have to face the reality that the government is a bankrupt. And what do you do with a bankrupt? You liquidate its assets, pay the debt and try to keep going at a smaller scale."

This approach to the federal "deficit crisis" sounds radical to many, and impractical to others, but recent economic studies show that it may actually be both realistic and practical.

A recent study by three Stanford University economists, and an economist from UCLA, done for the National Bureau of Economic Research, has concluded that as of the early 1980's, the federal government actually had a positive net worth based upon the economic value of its assets compared to its liabilities.

This study calculated that the current present value of government-owned mineral rights was worth about \$800 billion, and that federally owned land was worth about \$175 billion. Added to this was the estimate of the worth of federal capital assets (buildings, equipment, inventory, etc.) at about \$500 billion, and another \$500 billion in federal financial assets such as gold and government-held securities. This totals approximately \$2 trillion. These numbers, according to the researchers, are "deliberately conservative."

The economists then estimated total Federal debt at about \$1.1 trillion, although they excluded Federal Reserve System debt, trust funds, and contingent liabilities of the government (which may easily add up to at least as much again).

Using the conservative estimates, however, yields a positive net worth, which indicates that selling off government assets to pay off the government debt is still an economically sound proposition. However, with Federal deficits climbing at a rate of nearly \$200 billion per year, it is evident that even complete liquidation will be inadequate to cover the debt if present trends continue much longer.



## **BOOK REVIEWS**

Reviewed by D. Allen Dalton

Crossroads: The Great American Experiment — The Rise, Decline, and Restoration of Freedom and the Market Economy, by E. Barry Asmus and Donald B. Billings, University Press of America, 1984, 408 pages, \$14.25 pbk./\$26.75 hdbk.

D. Allen Dalton is an Assistant Professor of economics at Boise State University and is the editor of Idaho Liberty.

In the last twenty-five years, and even more so in the past fifteen, there has been a vast outpouring of scholarly and popular writings of interest to libertarians. Keeping up with this accelerating avalanche of material, difficult enough for academics paid to do so, has been an increasingly burdensome task for those of us interested in forging a libertarian society. With the publication of Crossroads: The Great American Experiment, however, we finally have available a summation of the work of libertarian and classical liberal scholars of recent decades on the questions of economics and politics. If for no other reason than that the book ves as a stock-taking of where we are in the battle of ideas and policy, Crossroads is deserving of the attention of all in the libertarian movement.

But Crossroads is more than just a survey of libertarian and classical liberal proposals for reversing the statism of twentieth century America. Authors Barry Asmus and Donald Billings have presented us with a relatively slim volume that successfully tackles the Herculean task of presenting an integrated history of America from the perspectives of economics and political philosophy. Taking seriously the proposition that "ideas have consequences", Asmus and Billings succinctly show the consequences of the rise, decline, and restoration of the idea of liberty in the United States and western civilization.

Concentrating on the connection between personal freedom, private property rights and the cultural and economic progress of western civilization, the authors take the reader successfully through what they see as the three stages of American history: the rise of classical liberalism, the rise of statism and the decline of liberty, and the recent libertarian revival.

Part I of Crossroads, detailing the rise of the idea of liberty and its consequences, lays forth the "Lockean-liberal" revolution in philosophy and the "Smithian-liberal" revolution in economics in historical perspective, showing the impact that these ideas had on the founding fathers of the American experiment and the consequences of these ideas in the blossom-

ing of the Industrial Revolution in Britain and the United States. In the process, Asmus and Billings debunk the collectivist-equalitarian myths concerning this period of history, making wide use of theoretical and empirical arguments. In concluding Part I, the authors claim that the system of competitive capitalism is the only moral system of social organization.

Part II of Crossroads details the rise of statism in the United States, squarely laying the blame on the ideas of rational constructivism, equalitarianism, and socialism. In large part a critique of these ideas, this section culminates in a careful exposition of the role which the idea of progress has played in western civilization, largely drawing upon Robert Nisbet's The Idea of Progress.

Part III of Crossroads, which encompasses over half the book, is devoted to the revival of the ideal of liberty in the United States and its consequences. Largely a call for the return to the system of classical liberalism, Part III introduces and summarizes the ideas which have come to form the central propositions of economic libertarianism. Citing both the Chicago and Austrian schools of economics (and clearly favoring the latter), Asmus and Billings draw upon the works of Mises, Hayek, Rothbard, Buchanan, Poole, Stigler and many others. They detail the failure of political institutions and the success of market institutions, and in the process, lay forth the agenda for depoliticizing society. Here, in short, are the lessons from all those books you wish you had time to read, from Poole's Cutting Back City Hall and Instead of Regulation to Armentano's Anti-trust and Monopoly, Wagner and Tollision's Balanced Budgets, and Hayek's Denationalization of Money.

In addition, the authors provide an annotated appendix titled "Selected Sources and Recommended Readings," which lists practically every libertarian or classical liberal-oriented book or article that has contributed to the revival of libertarian ideology and policy. This feature suggests that Crossroads will be a fine introductory volume to place into the hands of friends and relatives.

Part III of Crossroads is by far the best sustained portion of the book. Here the authors, both academic economists, are clearly on their preferred ground. They bring their expertise to bear on the questions of efficiency and equity on primarily economic issues, from the environment and budgets to central planning and economic regulation. This is not to deny the strengths of various other parts of the book. Chapters entitled "Rational Constructivism and the Planned Economy", "The Intellectuals

and the Politicization of Society", and "The Idea of Progress" in Part II, and the historical chapters "The Industrial Revolution", "The Economic Transformation of the United States", (both Part I) and "Political, Legal, and Judicial Reversals", (Part II) are all praise-worthy. Indeed, the historical chapters may be the best chapters in the book, given that they clearly and precisely rebut the conventional leftliberal histories.

All of the remaining chapters but one in Parts I and II are at least satisfactory, and in a few cases much better than average. The greatest disappointment, the one chapter which I do not find satisfactory, concerns "The Moral Case for Competitive Capitalism". Noting that "the most important part of the case for economic freedom is not its vaunted economic efficiency nor its dramatic success in promoting economic wealth, but rather that capitalism is consistent with certain fundamental moral principles..." (p. 64), Asmus and Billings nevertheless fail, in my opinion, to sufficiently buttress their claim that competitive capitalism is the only moral system of social organization. Though identifying strongly with the Lockean natural rights view, and throughout the book

insisting on the wrongness of such things as redistributionism, Asmus and Billings' moral case remains unconvincing. This failure may be due, in part, to the fact that from reading this book, one would believe that both Asmus and Billings occupy the classical liberal rather than the anarchocapitalist wing of the modern libertarian movement. (In fact, from personal knowledge I know that one author tends to the anarchocapitalist wing.)

In addition to noting what this book is, I should also note what it is not. Crossroads is primarily, if not exclusively, concerned with economic issues. Though the authors note that it was the nineteenth century, the century of classical liberalism, that produced the most peaceful era of international politics, and though the authors note that civil liberties go hand-in-hand with economic liberties, Crossroads does not make the case for an altered foreign policy nor for the decriminalization of various aspects of personal behavior. Given that both authors are former leftliberals (one a former McGovernite, the other formerly a Humphrey-New Deal Democrat) this seems surprising. Nevertheless, to write on these issues simultaneously with writing on

Continued page 43

#### by Mike Holmes

Mike Holmes is editor of Libertarian Party News.

Campaigns & Elections, The Journal of Political Action, published quarterly by Stanley Foster Reed, 1621 Brookside Rd., McLean, VA 22101, \$48/year.

Libertarians interested in the serious nuts-and-bolts of politics may be interested in this quarterly publication, which covers contemporary election techniques and technology.

This slick quarterly, running nearly 80 pages an issue, carries an interesting mix of academic-oriented "political science" type analysis along with more technical discussions of campaign law, applied computer technology and subjects such as campaign organization and polling.

Libertarians will not approve of the often heavy-handed editorial slant, which seems to reflect the publisher's bias towards the typical "good government" liberal "reforms", such as government financing of elections, campaign contribution limits, and so on. Like many statist liberals, this view continues to push for more and greater government intervention into the electoral process under the naive belief that government regulation will somehow produce more "fair" results. Instead, these "reforms" produce formidable barriers to entry by new political participants (such as the LP) with burdensome and expensive ballot access, legal and, accounting requirements, not to mention outright government subsidies to the politically entrenched. These "reforms" doubtless benefit the platoons of lawyers and campaign consultants who make up the bulk of *Campaigns & Elections* readership.

Despite this problem, libertarians interested in the practical realities of dealing with the system, warts and all, may benefit by the information provided. Particularly those who are engaged in federally regulated campaigns or those with significant campaign budgets.

The Fall 1984 issue, for instance, carried articles about a variety of subjects. These included "The Rise of the Two-Party System in the South," "Pluses and Minuses of Do-It-Yourself Polling", "Campaign Spouses," "FEC Watch" and "FEC Update", as well as an article about PAC's. A separate book review section included books on Democratic Party reform efforts, a history of TV political spots, a book on political marketing, a book on campaign funding in the 1980's, campaign leadership and coalition-building, and the Rosenstone, Behr and Lazarus book on Third Parties in America.

Another section of this issue focused on "Campaigns and Computers", with articles on computer analysis of TV and radio air buys, and using a computer to save money on direct mail operations. Another useful aspect of this publication is the advertisements, covering campaign consultants, direct mail vendors, and numerous books on campaigns and elections.

Most libertarians will find this publication too technical for their needs. But those interested in the latest word on "big time" campaign management may find this magazine worthwhile, despite its flawed editorial stance.

#### "Crossroads"

From page 42

economic issues would have necessarily meant either a larger book, or a reduction in the amount of coverage of the topics they included. Simply, the inclusion of foreign policy and civil liberties would have meant a different book (and given that very few of us ever write books, arguing that these topics should have been included seems a bit presumptuous).

Given the orientation of Crossroads, I cannot help but believe that this book's value as a recruiting device for the libertarian movement will be highest for those who, on utilitarian

### Bids Open For '87 Convention

Houston, TX - Bids are now being accepted for the 1987 LP Presidential nominating convention, reports National Chair Paul Grant.

The convention must be held during the period July-October, according to current LP rules and by-laws. This decision will be considered at the upcoming April Seattle National Committee meeting. Winning bidders will have to sign a contract with the LP National Committee

Those state parties interested in submitting bids should contact Honey Lanham, National Director at the LP National Headquarters. Copies of previous LP convention contracts may also be obtained upon request.

grounds, have come to doubt the efficacy of mammoth government interference in economic affairs. For those who are libertarians already, Crossroads offers a dynamite combination of facts, figures, and arguments neatly packaged for use against the statist mentality. Finally, for the teacher increasingly dissatisfied with the conformist-statist texts of this age, Crossroads should be easily adaptable for use in courses in history and economics.

In sum, Professors Asmus and Billings have produced a work which ought to serve a broad audience in advancing the cause of liberty and offering the hope of a depoliticized society.

### **Bergland Begins Op-Ed Article** Service

Costa Mesa, CA - 1984 LP Presidential candidate David Bergland has begun an op-ed article service, distributed to selected newspapers and magazines around the nation.

The private venture, coordinated by former BFP staffer Laurie Sano saw the first two articles deal with the New York City subway shooting and the issue of abortion

Publications interested in receiving these op-ed articles should contact David Bergland, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92626.

# **Election Viewpoints**

From page 20

programs. Then there's Senator Biden of Delaware to be heard from, and perhaps Lloyd Bentsen of Texas. Chances are the field will, initially, be as crowded as it was in the early spring of 1984, and with the possible exception of Cuomo, just about as inspiring.

In short, the opportunity for a third party to make major inroads is there, as it may not be there again for the balance of this century.

Keeping in mind that the present circulation of the Libertarian Party News is 25,000, what I'm going to outline is nonetheless fully within the realm of possibility. Quite apart from what else it does, and what other fund raising efforts it undertakes, the Libertarian Party should embark on a campaign to get 100,000 donors to pledge a minimum of \$1.00 per week, all earmarked for the 1988 national campaign effort, the amounts to be paid monthly. Formidable? Sure. Still, 100,000 is only about one-tenth the number of persons who were swayed to vote for Ed Clark in 1980. We have the computers, and we have the lists. Initially, we should reach out to perhaps as many as 300-400,000 prospects, over the course of three or four mailings. In a population where fully fifty percent don't vote, we can hardly wait for the natives to come to the missionaries.

First, what would such a program of such a large number of small donors represent? Whether 100,000 at \$1 per week, or 20,000 at \$5 per week, we're looking at \$100,000 per week. \$100,000 per week equates to \$5,200,000 per year, or \$15,600,000 over three years, plus interest, and continuing through

Two-thirds of the fund collected and invested should be earmarked for the presidential campaign, with one-third slated for ballot access drives and for a largely institutional campaign to sell Libertarianism, largely on a patriotic basis. This would get the Libertarian Party truly well known, from the town meetings of Vermont to the pages of the Orange County Register.

This, in turn, would redound to the benefit of all candidates, everywhere, including those for the Congress and for state legislatures.

Certainly we should not overlook local offices and "grass-roots" efforts. But we must recognize that such offices, once won, are hardly a "bully pulpit" (to use Theodore Roosevelt's term) from which to expound Libertarian stands and viewpoints nationally, where the deficits, national debt, federal intervention, nuclear diplomacy and danger of war all exist.

In short, my argument is that absolute domination of the water districts and school boards in ten thousand districts is apt to do little at the national level. It is like being the Socialist mayor of Bridgeport, Connecticut (and there was one). Who cares? But such is not true the other way around, with Libertarians occupying national offices.

I speak now as a public relations and advertising manager. Stop and think about how many times, from the Conventions onward, you saw TV commercials (or unpaid appearances) of any candidate. In this day and age, virtually nothing can replace a truly meaningful, competitive campaign where the Libertarian candidate and the issues are exposed to 85 percent of the population a minimum of twenty times over the course of eight or ten weeks. I can think of no more effective means to become a truly palatable alternative for dissident Democrats, Republicans, Independents, populists, and among the approximately one-half of the population that doesn't vote at all.

Further, I can think of no other truly effective way to become absolutely unavoidable by electronic and print

Properly funded and unavoidable in the daily press, the Libertarian Party coud make great strides toward major party status by the time of the Republican and Democratic Conventions of 1988.

What sort of "seed money" would it take to reach 300-400,000 voters with an appeal for donations of a minimum of \$5-\$10 per month? Apart from overhead, it would take, conservatively, \$75,00 - \$90,000, primarily in computer services, production, printing and postage, and the appeal would have to be a strong one, fully "up front" and detailed as to its purpose and methods. It would have to achieve the incredible goal of at least a 25% favorable response in pledged donors, when 4-5% might ordinarily be considered a success. But even a 5% favorable response would repay the seed money the first month. Anything beyond that would be relatively clear.

What is important is to extensively widen the base of participation, and to attempt to upgrade individual pledges from year to year, as 1988 approaches.

History, particularly the history of third party movements, teaches us that, either we progress and progress dramatically, or we stagnate, and go the way of Free Silver, the Mugwumps and the Know Nothing's.

#### by Ed Marihart

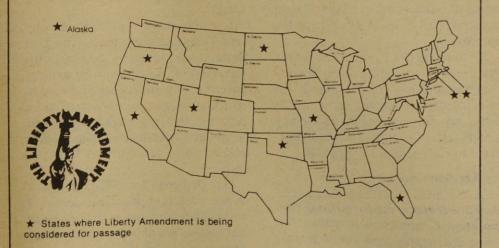
Ed Marihart ran for State Legislature this year in Portland, Oregon. This piece was excerpted from the Dec. 1984 Oregon Libertarian.

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#### **Election Viewpoints**



I was very encouraged by the favorable response given to me from the voters of my district. Many people were and are looking for a new approach to politics.

My campaign was a tremendous learning experience. If I do it again, I'll start much earlier and try to visit every voter household in the district and keep my name in the public eye!

I plan to maintain a loose knit organization for the next two years by

ideas. That happened frequently, especially in our joint broadcast appearances.

Second, during the campaign we talked with a number of groups that had never heard a Libertarian. Many of them, perhaps most notably the people of Snowflake, were very receptive to everything we said, including our determination to abolish the Corporation Commission.

Third, voters were most responsive where we campaigned the hardest.

Flagstaff is the best example. I made four trips, David Bergland was there twice, Jim Lewis once. The *Arizona Daily Sun* newspaper has watched Murray Feldstein's work as a City Councilman for more than four years, and the respect that he's earned was a major factor in the newspaper's decision to endorse my campaign.

## "Where we are known, where we are willing to do the work, we get results."

monitoring the legislature with Legislative Action '85 and holding monthly get-togethers to discuss proposed legislation and then write letters or make phone calls to our legislators regarding the issues.

I have also written letters to my State Representative and State Senator requesting their help in changing Oregon's election laws.

Here is a synopsis of my campaign: I received 10.4 percent of the vote in a three-way race - 2,218 votes. Precinct analysis showed a range of 5 percent to 19.5 percent vote for me. My campaign manager was LPO Secretary Dave Schrader.

Total contributions were \$1,969 from 33 contributors. I spoke at four neighborhood meetings and two business meetings; made four TV appearances; received an endorsement from the Oregon Right to Life PAC and the 1982 Republican candidate for State Senator in my district.

I placed two newspaper ads, was interviewed by two newspapers and appeared in seven different newspapers and newsletters. I mailed out 11,500 political brochures and handed out about the same number, placed 50 lawn signs and had 25 volunteers help on the campaign.

I increased Libertarian voter registration by 23 percent in my district. I campaigned part-time constantly for two months. I received compliments from my two opponents and many phone calls of support and encouragement to run again in two years.

#### by Ken Sturzenacker

Ken Sturzenacker ran for Arizona Corporation Commission in 1984. This piece is excerpted from the Nov. 1984 Activist.

Okay, I agree. At first, the results may not look encouraging. At first.

Our opponents were open in their willingness to borrow some of our

Ron Tobin won 6.6% of the vote; I received 10.2% in Coconino County.

In short, where Libertarians are known and respected, where party members and candidates do the work of campaigning, we make substantial gains from election to election.

One of the lessons from this campaign is that we missed a very large set of opportunities by not having more candidates.

Several legislative districts in the metropolitan areas have strong Libertarian-independent voter registration percentages. Many legislative seats are likely to go uncontested again

We must focus our attention on those areas, not just for 1986, but for our voter registration drives right now.

Door-knocking is the most effective way to get literature for all of our candidates into the hands of the voters. It is also the most effective way to win their votes.

Direct, personal contact will establish our presence in our own communities. By door-knocking for legislative seats, we can get literature for all our candidates, including county and state offices, into the hands of voters.

Our opportunities in 1986 are many: five Congressional seats, the U.S. Senate; corporation commission, secretary of state, attorney general, governor; superintendent of public instruction; county supervisors; Central Arizona Project governing board; school and community college boards; and all those uncontested legislative races.

Our challenge for 1985 is to register as many voters as possible to develop as many candidates and as strong a financial base as possible for the 1986 campaigns.

Where we are known, where we are willing to do the work, we get results.

What results are you willing to commit yourself to achieving in 1985 and 1986?