

LIBERTARIAN PARTY NEWS

The Party of Principle®

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Slashing taxes: 'Not an easy job, but possible'

By J. Daniel Cloud
LP NEWS EDITOR

The goal: Get enough tax fighters elected to defunct hospital boards in certain California counties to vote the boards out of existence, thereby ending the improper use of tax money to fund private charities.

Progress report: With the election of Libertarian Frank Manske to the Mt. Diablo Healthcare District Board in Contra Costa County, area libertarians are one step closer to their goal.

Established over a period of years as "hospital district boards," their goal was to ensure that local hospitals adequately served their communities. Many of these boards ceased having a real function in the mid-90s when the hospitals they oversaw were either sold or merged with other hospitals, says Jack Hickey, a Libertarian who is on the board of the Sequoia Healthcare District in San Mateo County.

Hickey, chairman of the Libertarian Party of San Mateo County, was elected in 2002 to the Sequoia district board. Like the three Libertarians who ran for the Mt. Diablo district board in this election season, Hickey says his plan is to get enough like-minded people on the board to disband it.

"In 1996, the Sequoia Hospital was sold by the hospital district," he explained. "So the legislature got involved and renamed the district, calling it a 'healthcare district' instead of a 'hospital district.'"

"But the district still collects taxes, which it distributes to a wide variety of charities that are involved in health-related matters. My district currently has \$60 million, of which it has just committed \$25 million to a retrofit for Sequoia Hospital — which it no longer controls."

Similar circumstances exist in Contra Costa County, where Scott Wilson and other Libertarians are trying to shut down their

See **TAX** Page 10

Badnarik pulls in 400,000 votes

As the dust settled from the 2004 presidential campaign, it appeared that Libertarian candidate Michael Badnarik had earned approximately 400,000 votes, which would make his vote total the fourth-highest in Libertarian Party history.

According to *USA Today*, *The Washington Post* and other major news sources, Badnarik had received 390,125 votes as of Nov. 20. However, Richard Winger of *Ballot Access News* predicts that Badnarik will ultimately receive about 400,000 votes after all absentee ballots are counted and certified — a process which may take until late December.

In comparison to past Libertarian candidates for president, that total would rank Badnarik fourth behind Ed Clark (921,199 votes in 1980); Harry Browne (485,759 votes in 1996); and U.S. Rep. Ron Paul, (432,297 votes in 1988). Browne received 384,429 votes in his second run for president in 2000.

"I really would like to compliment Michael Badnarik and [vice presidential candidate] Richard Campagna, and the campaign team of Fred Collins, Barbara Goushaw-Collins, Stephen Gordon and Geoff Neale," said Joe Seehusen, LP executive director. "The fact that they came within a whisker of beating Ralph Nader, a nationally recognized figure with almost unlimited access to the media, is genuinely impressive."

Independent Nader received 407,467 votes this year, a mere fraction of the 3.1 million he earned as the Green Party candidate in 2000.

Also noteworthy is the fact that the Libertarian campaign was the only third-party presidential campaign that didn't hit a tremendous slump this year, both in ballot access and in vote totals.

The Constitution Party's Michael Peroutka earned 135,260 votes and the Green Party's David Cobb received 112,195, meaning that Badnarik won more votes than his third-party competitors combined.

To many people, coming in first out of the third parties — and nearly

eclipsing Nader — was the biggest success of the campaign.

Thanks to the efforts of Libertarians around the nation, Badnarik was on more ballots than any of the minor-party or independent competition: Nader was on 39 state ballots, Peroutka was on 35 and Cobb was on 27, while Badnarik appeared on 48 state ballots (all but Oklahoma and New Hampshire), plus the District of Columbia.

Badnarik 2004

- 400,000 votes
- 48 state ballots
- \$1 million in contributions
- 350+ media interviews
- 4th largest LP presidential vote total ever



Funding

The campaign brought in just over \$1 million in contributions (\$1,011,781), more than half of which (\$538,417, or 53.4 percent) was spent on outreach and advertising. Of the money spent on outreach, over half went for television advertising (\$305,744), while another \$137,817 was spent on TV production, \$13,784 on radio advertising, \$56,962 on literature and \$5,500 for print advertising.

More than \$300,000 of the campaign's donations came through the Internet, as the Badnarik Web site drew, on average, more than 50,000 unique visitors per day and up to 100,000 unique visitors on peak days.

Media

The campaign had no problem obtaining more minor media than it could handle, members of the campaign team told the Libertarian National Committee at its Nov. 13 meeting in Washington, DC.

"There were approximately 350 scheduled post-nomination interviews of the candidate, with an average of two or three daily unscheduled interviews," campaign Communications Director Stephen Gordon said, noting that he and other campaign team members handled hundreds of interviews, as well.

Unfortunately, Badnarik "was ignored by the major television media through most of the campaign," the campaign team said, although he was covered several times by C-SPAN, was featured in a PBS special and did an

See **CAMPAIGN** Page 2

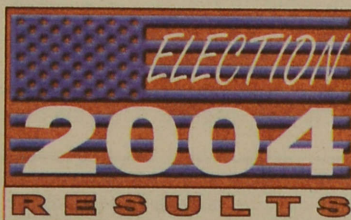
Eleven more Libertarians elected to office

At least 11 Libertarian candidates won their races on Election Day, adding to the dozens who were elected or appointed to office earlier this year — and bringing the total to more than 30 this year.

"I think this illustrates that when the Libertarian Party fields quality candidates — competitively funded — the electorate hears and appreciates our message of freedom and responsibility. And they reward us with increasingly higher vote totals — and in these cases, victory," LP Executive Director Joe Seehusen said.

Libertarian races won on Nov. 2 included:

■ Mary O'Connor was elected to the city council in Brooklyn Center, Minn., coming in second out of four candidates in a nonpartisan race where the top two won. O'Connor garnered 5,024 votes, fewer than



one opponent's 5,655 — but enough to defeat the other two candidates.

■ Also in Minnesota, Mark Thorsted came in second in a five-way race to become one of two new members on the Otsego City Council. He will serve a four-year term.

■ In Florida, longtime Libertarian Jim Culberson was elected in a three-way race to the commission that oversees the Sebastian Inlet Tax District, which includes parts of Brevard and Indian River counties. [See story on Page 8.]

■ Also in Florida, three Libertarians were elected to soil and water conservation districts in different

counties. Michael Barr was elected to the Seminole County district, earning 78 percent of the vote (105,467 votes); Jack Tanner took 70 percent of the vote (103,660 votes) to win a seat on the Lee County conservation district board; and Bradley Cline took 228,027 votes (almost 60 percent) to win a four-year term on the Palm Beach district.

■ Massachusetts Libertarian Chris DeLeo was elected to the Southeastern Regional Vocational School Committee, a non-partisan race.

■ Arizona's Libertarian Superior Court Judge, John Buttrick, earned a new four-year term in last Tuesday's retention election, winning almost 74 percent. [See story on Page 3.]

■ Three Libertarians were elected to office in Pima County, Ariz. Scott Stewart, former Pima County LP chair, was re-elected to the

Pima Community College Board of Governors; James Bertrand was re-elected to the Drexel Heights Fire District; and Peter Schmerl, former Arizona state LP chair, was elected to the Continental School Board.

Affecting races

While the LP was unable to draw enough votes to affect the outcome of the presidential race — candidate Michael Badnarik earned approximately 400,000 votes — the party's candidates did affect several state-level races.

In Oregon, for example, a state house race was apparently decided by Libertarian Tom Cox's involvement. By drawing 9.5 percent, Cox took enough support away from the incumbent — who had reneged on a 2002 campaign promise not to raise taxes — to cause her defeat.

Incumbent Mary Gallegos, a
See **LP** Page 13

NEWS BRIEFS

Former MNLP treasurer elected to office

Jill Wilkinson, the former treasurer of the Minnesota LP who resigned in August after admitting to having stolen approximately \$10,000 from the state party, was elected Nov. 2 to the Ramsey County Soil and Water Conservation Board.

Wilkinson tried to pull out of the race when she resigned — and gave up her membership in the LP — but it was too late to drop out.

Her victory in the race left all those concerned — including state party officials, the defeated incumbent and Wilkinson herself — a bit bemused, with Wilkinson admitting she doesn't understand why people voted for her, according to an Associated Press report.

The Minnesota LP hasn't decided whether to press charges for the theft. Wilkinson and her husband, Colin Wilkinson, who resigned from the state LP's executive committee, are repaying the money.

The party wasn't aware the money had been stolen until their landlord sent them an eviction notice stating that the rent hadn't been paid in three months, state chairman Ron Helwig said in August.

The Wilkinsons paid the \$3,000 in past-due rent, so the party headquarters didn't have to relocate. They have since paid back more of the stolen money.

Four million take online political quiz

The number of people who have taken the online World's Smallest Political Quiz has surged past 4 million, fueled by an intense interest in the recent presidential election and a last-minute swarm of undecided voters.

"The 2004 presidential election generated more attention for the quiz than we've ever seen before," said Sharon Harris, president of the Advocates for Self-Government, which sponsors the quiz. "In the final week before Election Day, we had as many as 28,000 people a day take the quiz. That's amazing, since the quiz didn't tell people who to vote for, or match them to a particular presidential candidate. But it did help people cast a more knowledgeable vote in line with their core beliefs, and that apparently made it a useful tool for voters."

The 4-millionth person logged on to the Advocates' Web site on Nov. 15 to take the quiz. That was just four months and seven days after the quiz passed the 3-million milestone. It took four and a half years for 1 million people to take the quiz; almost three years to hit 2 million; and about 10 months to pass 3 million.

The quiz — at www.TheAdvocates.org — asks 10 questions about personal and economic issues. Based on the answers, it identifies a person as conservative, liberal, centrist, libertarian or statist, and displays that ideological identity on a diamond-shaped political chart.

The quiz is widely hailed as the first political quiz to go beyond the traditional left-right model of politics. It was invented by Advocates' founder Marshall Fritz, based on an idea by LP founder David Nolan.

Badnarik, Cobb get Ohio ballot recount

On Nov. 11, Michael Badnarik and David Cobb — respectively, the presidential candidates for the Libertarian and Green parties — announced they would file for a recount of the presidential ballots cast in Ohio, citing "widespread reports of irregularities in the Ohio voting process."

"We must protect the rights of the people of Ohio, as well as all Americans, and stand up for the right to vote and the right for people's votes to be counted," the two candidates said in a joint statement.

Before doing a recount, Ohio law requires payment of \$10 per precinct (\$113,600 statewide); the Badnarik campaign and the Green Party said Nov. 15 that they had raised the money and were ready to pay for the recount.

According to the secretary of state's office, it will actually cost the state's election boards approximately \$1.5 million to perform the recount.

The goal is not to overturn George W. Bush's victory in the state — he won by a 136,000-vote margin — but to ensure that all votes were counted, the two candidates said.

"We know of at least 100,000 [voter] registrations that were thrown away," said Ohio LP Executive Director Robert Butler in a Nov. 19 announcement. "We know that Republican precincts were given more voting machines than Democrat precincts. We know that some precincts received more votes than they had registered voters. We know that intimidation happened. [And] we know that our candidate's name was scratched off the ballot in at least one precinct."

"We are doing all we can to expose the problem of voter fraud," Butler continued. "We are doing this not because we think our Libertarian candidate will win, but out of our firm principles of fair and honest elections."

Campaign lands 400,000 votes

Continued from Page 1

interview on MSNBC, among other major appearances.

"For the most part, major programs and networks were not interested in Badnarik," Gordon said — noting that a national public relations firm that was hired specifically to generate national TV appearances "had a lower level of success in obtaining interviews than we did."

Conclusions

All told, Seehusen said, "I think the campaign team ran a strong campaign on very short notice."

"In a matter of just a few months, they started the campaign business from scratch, activated scores of volunteers, raised a million dollars and spent a large portion of what they raised on media," he said. "I don't know how they did it."

"Mr. Badnarik's campaign touched millions of voters and helped to increase the size and strength of the party, which means we'll have a bigger platform in 2008."

Seehusen acknowledged that

one of the campaign's goals — having an impact on the outcome of the Bush-Kerry race by winning votes from fiscal conservatives in swing states — went unfulfilled.

A major strategy of the campaign was to focus as much of its resources as possible in a few key states — New Mexico, Nevada, Wisconsin and, to a lesser extent, Arizona — to see if Badnarik could impact the outcome of the election.

In New Mexico alone, approximately \$85,000 was spent in 10 days on television ads and \$10,000 on radio ads, with eight days spent campaigning across the state.

Nonetheless, Seehusen said, Badnarik's campaign achieved important goals, such as building the party's name recognition by running nationwide television ads; recruiting new members and candidates; and educating the public about the Libertarian alternative.

Badnarik's plans

Now that the campaign is over, Badnarik said he intends to contin-

ue "lighting the fires of liberty," in part by promoting a book he wrote on the campaign trail [see story on Page 10] and continuing to teach his class on the Constitution.

"I also plan to organize a strategy committee, and with their advice, I'm going to run for office in Texas in 2006," Badnarik said. "Some of the suggestions so far have been to run for governor or for the state senate."

He is currently taking a short rest from the campaign trail, but hopes to soon begin traveling again — campaigning for the 2006 election. And if he's not elected to Texas office that year, he said, he'll more than likely be back to seek the LP's nomination for president again in 2008.

"Above all, I want to say one more time that I am thrilled and honored that the delegates nominated me at the convention in Atlanta," Badnarik concluded. "It was not something I expected. I hope everyone is pleased with our performance."

Four CA tax increases defeated

When it comes to taking money away from taxpayers, how much is "enough?"

That was the question California Libertarian Mark Hinkle asked when he was interviewed by two television stations — the Fox affiliate and a Chinese-language station in the Santa Clara County area — shortly before the Nov. 2 elections.

Hinkle, a member of the California LP's executive committee, was questioned about the party's stance against tax increase proposals in the county.

The LP joined with the Silicon Valley Taxpayers Association (headed by Libertarian Dennis Umphress) to oppose 13 of the 15 tax increase proposals in the county. Their activity included establishing individual Web sites explaining their opposition to each proposal, listing their arguments in the voter's handbook mailed to each affected voter and running ads in the *San Jose Mercury News*.

They succeeded in defeating four

tax increase measures on Election Day, saving local taxpayers millions of dollars over the next few years.

One measure alone — Measure K, which would have levied an additional annual tax of \$50 per parcel of land in the East Side Union High School District — would have cost taxpayers \$51 million. Voters had just voted down a tax almost exactly like it in 2002.

Proponents of the property taxes for school funds tried to shame the voters into supporting new taxes by saying they were necessary to meet high-sounding goals such as maintaining "high quality education ... by attracting and retaining the best teachers and staff, keeping class sizes small ... and funding programs that enhance student achievement," as the argument in favor of Measure O put it.

Measure O was voted down by a very narrow margin, losing by only 144 votes. If approved, the measure would have levied a \$98 annual tax on properties in the Cupertino

Union School District.

However, the argument against the tax pointed out, no plan existed as to how the district would spend the money or how to measure its effectiveness — and there was no requirement that any of the money be used for "enhancing student achievement or maintaining educational programs."

And according to the California budget, state spending per student continues to increase, not decrease, the Libertarians pointed out.

"Last March, Proposition 55 authorized \$12.3 billion more to relieve overcrowding and repair older K-12 schools," the anti-Measure O argument stated. "How many different creatively labeled property taxes are necessary? When is enough enough?"

Each of the tax increases voted down required two-thirds approval to pass. Four other school-funding measures were narrowly approved — with fewer than 500 votes taking them over the two-thirds mark.

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NATIONAL CHAIR:

Michael Dixon

2600 Virginia Ave., NW, Suite 100
Washington, DC 20037
E-mail: chair@hq.LP.org



LP NEWS EDITOR:

J. Daniel Cloud

LP NEWS PUBLISHER:

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EDITOR EMERITUS:

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SEND NEWS, LETTERS, ESSAYS, PHOTOGRAPHS, OR ADVERTISING:

J. Daniel Cloud

2600 Virginia Avenue, NW, Suite 100
Washington, DC 20037
Phone: (202) 333-0008 x226
E-mail: Editor@hq.LP.org

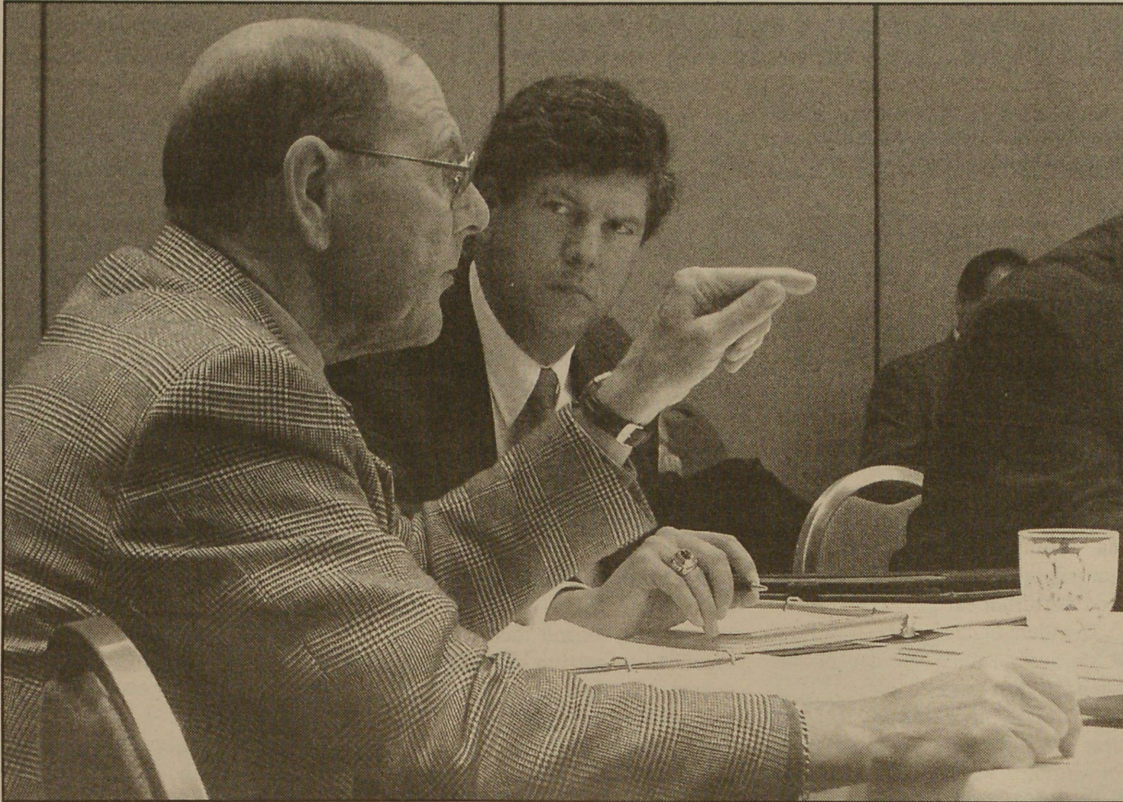
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Libertarian Party

2600 Virginia Avenue, NW, Suite 100
Washington, DC 20037
Or call: (202) 333-0008 x 223

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

Outreach, growth are primary concerns in 2005 LP budget



■ LNC at-large member Michael Colley, a retired U.S. Navy admiral, makes a point during discussion of the Libertarian Party's 2005 budget, as fellow committee member James Lark, a professor at the University of Virginia, listens. The budget, approved Nov. 13 during the LNC's quarterly meeting near Washington, D.C., calls for a massive increase in outreach activity. (Photo by LP News Editor J. Daniel Cloud)

By J. Daniel Cloud
LP NEWS EDITOR

It's time to get busy reaching out to the public, building the Libertarian Party's membership and voting base.

That's the message the Libertarian National Committee sent to members of the LP's headquarters staff with their mid-November approval of a 2005 budget that allows \$300,000 for outreach — a huge increase from the \$40,000 budgeted for outreach in 2004.

As a whole, the coming year's budget increased by only 4.3 percent, from '04's \$1.78 million budgeted revenue (excluding special projects) to \$1.86 million. It calls for \$1.85 million in expenses.

With a low expected revenue increase, where is the extra money for outreach going to come from?

"We came about that increase in outreach because membership has stabilized and increased a little, and many of our expenses have either lowered or stabilized," LNC Treasurer Mark Nelson said. "The cost of getting members to renew has been decreased, along with some of our other expenses."

The biggest decrease in spending in '05, however, comes because the LP's new database — Raiser's Edge — is now in place; the database transition was a major expense in '04.

"It's my understanding that over the past 12 months, we have spent a little over \$100,000 on Raiser's Edge, and we won't have that expense in 2005," Nelson said.

Increased outreach

2005, as an election off-year, will provide the LP with an opportunity

to focus on building the party, putting it in a better position to affect future elections.

"I think the focus is certainly going to be on growth — growth of our membership and growth of our media," LP Executive Director Joe Seehusen said. "I am excited, and I applaud the LNC for its foresight in its commitment to building a strong future for the Libertarian Party. Putting that kind of support behind the outreach program shows that they are looking ahead."

The funding for outreach will go out in three primary directions, Seehusen said.

"A portion of that money will certainly be spent on direct mail prospecting, but a significant amount of money will also be spent in other ways," he said. "I want to look at this money as a growth tool, and I'm willing to take small risks on innovative approaches to gaining media and members. We're going to try many different things, starting out in a small way."

"If a particular attempt is unsuccessful, we've only lost a little. If it is successful, we'll continue moving along that same path. We'll almost certainly try some things that won't work, and we'll have to cut our losses and go a different direction. But I want to try some things we haven't done."

The party's Web site — LP.org — will be a major tool in the outreach effort, as will to-be-created "issue-specific" sites, Seehusen said.

"We've had some issue-specific Web sites in the past, addressing taxes and privacy, among other issues. That has proven effective, and we want to build on that."

The LNC also dedicated \$15,000 to "reconfigure the 'back end' of the

LP.org site, to make it more functional," Nelson said.

The site was launched "about six or seven years ago, and it needs to be updated," Seehusen said. "This budget includes funds to take a look at how the technology can be updated, as needed. It's time to take a fresh look at the site."

As another outreach tool, he said, "I want to benchmark other organizations that have effectively

grown, taking a look at what they've done to increase their membership and media."

For example, Seehusen said, take a look at the animal rights group PETA — People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals.

"While you may not agree with their politics, you have to admit that they've grown by being creative in their attempts to get media," he said. "If we want to grow, and we certainly do, we have to be willing to take some risks."

Branding

"The other news out of the [LNC's November] meeting was that we agreed to let the branding project go forward," Nelson said. "Our strategic plan envisions that the national LP will undertake the cost of defining and developing the LP brand."

"Among the key components of the LP brand should be positions relating to those issues which are uniquely libertarian, as well as identifying the image of the LP and of Libertarians that the LP would like the public to have — including logos or other symbols that the public associates with the party."

The branding project — like ballot access, campus outreach, the presidential campaign and other projects — is to be a self-funded effort, separate from the regular budget and requiring income before money can be spent.

Fundraising efforts for special projects were successful in '04, Nelson said, and he expects similarly positive results in the coming year.

"For 2004, we had \$1.78 million budgeted for revenue," he said. "We're within 5 percent of that,

without the special project income. If you include the project income, we're at about 22 percent ahead. Through the end of October, we had raised a total of over \$1.8 million in 2004, exceeding expectations."

The branding effort should "inform and feed into the outreach effort" in '05, Nelson said, noting that outreach efforts are expected to benefit from a defined LP "brand."

Membership

Libertarian Party membership currently is at just over 22,000. The budget assumes that membership at the end of 2005 will be just under 26,000, with an average of 24,000 members throughout the year.

Some current members (approximately 5,500) are expected to lapse and not renew their membership, but the budget projects that approximately 9,500 new (or previously lapsed) members will be added during the coming year.

With \$300,000 budgeted for outreach and a necessary 9,500 new or returning members to reach 26,000 members by the end of the year, the party has budgeted approximately \$31.60 to attract each new member.

Nelson said in his budget proposal that LP staff was able in 2004 to generate new members at a cost "substantially below" this amount, so the estimated membership growth is both reasonable and feasible.

If the expected growth in membership does not occur — resulting in lower-than-expected revenues for the year — the amount budgeted for outreach will likely be affected because "the majority of the rest of the budget is fixed," Nelson said.

Buttrick elected to another term

With the overwhelming support of voters in Maricopa County, Ariz., Libertarian Superior Court Judge John Buttrick earned a new four-year term on Nov. 2 — as almost 74 percent of the votes cast said he should be retained for another term.

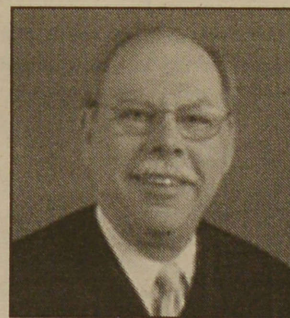
Buttrick was appointed to the trial bench in 2001 by former Gov. Jane Mull, and had to run this year for retention as a judge in the county, which includes Phoenix and Scottsdale.

After all ballots were counted, Buttrick had received 404,903 votes in favor of his retention and 144,236 opposed — a percentage among the highest recorded for all Maricopa County trial court judges up for retention.

Buttrick is the only registered Libertarian general jurisdiction judge who has ever faced a retention election.

"I admit I didn't know exactly how my well-known Libertarian affiliation would play out in this election," he said. "Apparently those who voted against me because I am a Libertarian were more than balanced out by those who voted in favor of me because of it."

Even when he was appointed to the bench in 2001, Buttrick's affiliation was well known: He ran for governor of Arizona in 1994 and for the state legislature in 1998, both times as a Libertarian. In the latter race he was endorsed by the state's largest newspaper, *The Arizona Republic*, over both a Democrat and a Republican.



■ Judge John Buttrick

He has also served on the Libertarian National Committee and twice was chairman of the Libertarian Party's national Platform Committee.

Shortly after he was appointed to the Superior Court, his ability to carry out his job responsibilities was called into question, with lawyers in several cases asking that he be removed from their cases and arguing that he was "biased" because of his Libertarian beliefs. These challenges went all the way to the state Supreme Court but were all defeated.

When it came time for him to be retained, the state's non-partisan Judicial Performance Review Committee unanimously recommended that he be retained. That recommendation became the cornerstone of his campaign.

"I did not run an active campaign at all, relying instead on the voter pamphlet distributed to all registered voters," Buttrick said.

That pamphlet contained the judicial review committee's recommendation as the results of hundreds of surveys of attorneys, litigants, witnesses and jurors who had appeared before Buttrick during his first term in office. Those surveys strongly endorsed the judge.

Buttrick expressed pleasure with his retention and intent to serve out his full term. "After that I will have to re-evaluate my options. Meanwhile, I look forward to trying cases and resolving disputes through the judicial system."

LOOKING BACK

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

■ November-December 1974

HEADLINE: CAMPAIGNS SPARK NATIONAL COVERAGE OF LIBERTARIANISM

"Libertarians around the country can take heart that their movement, organized and launched a few short years ago, has recently received an encouraging dose of nationwide publicity from two major news sources. ...

"On the whole, the articles were favorable, and increased public awareness of libertarianism. But there were ... inaccurate comparisons, somewhat superficial treatment, and a tendency to emphasize the zany behavior of a few libertarians while downplaying serious activity."

HEADLINE: CONSPIRATORS PLOT SPREAD OF HUMAN LIBERTY

In this article, William R. Havender examined the attendance at a recent conference in Brussels, Belgium, where "in one room was gathered an explicitly subversive coven of international bankers, ... politicians, intellectuals, ... students and a few scientists thoroughly intent upon revolution."

"Among them was an astonishing number of the names that libertarians have learned to associate, more or less consistently, with the movement for political liberty," Havender wrote, noting that the list included Milton and David Friedman, F.A. Hayek, Murray Rothbard and a host of others.

"The inspiring thing is how influential many of these personas actually are. Friedrich Hayek, for instance, far from being a forgotten and frustrated old fogey, shares this year's Nobel Prize in economics with Gunnar Myrdal."

■ November 1984-February 1985

HEADLINE: TONIE NATHAN NARROWLY LOSES RACE

"Eugene, OR — Tonie Nathan, who ran as LP vice presidential candidate in 1972 (and was the first woman in U.S. 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 percent, trailing her opponent ... by only 638 votes."

HEADLINE: PAUL JACOB ARRESTED

"Paul Jacob, former Arkansas LP chair and vocal draft registration resister, was peacefully arrested on Dec. 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. ...

"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."

■ December 1994

HEADLINE: 10 ELECTED TO OFFICE, RECORDS SET

"From New Hampshire to Arizona, Libertarians were caught under the wheels of a GOP steamroller, but the results left Libertarians generally upbeat. Along with a record-setting ballot access outcome, seven [LP] candidates were elected to office and three were re-elected.

"In addition, more than 2.3 million people across the nation voted for Libertarian candidates. ... Re-elected to office were three prominent Libertarian officeholders: Don Gorman, New Hampshire House of Representatives; Bonnie Flickinger, Moreno Valley City Council, Calif.; and Sandi Webb, Simi Valley City Council, Calif.

"New Libertarian Party officeholders include Jim McClarin, New Hampshire House of Representatives ..."

HEADLINE: FROM THE CHAIR: BY STEVE DASBACH

"Based on the news reports I've been reading, it would appear that the November elections were a resounding victory for libertarianism. Pundits and politicians, left and right, are interpreting the results as a resounding call by the voters for less government.

"Voters cast a resounding vote of disapproval for the Democrats. However, they are justifiably skeptical that the Republicans will do any better. According to post-election polls, more than 60 percent expect politics as usual from the GOP. What will happen if the Republicans fail to deliver less government, or worse, try to implement the agenda of the intolerant right?"

Despite loss, rich gains earned from Indiana governor's race

By Sheri Conover Sharlow
LPIN COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR

The only loss during Kenn Gividen's race for Indiana governor was the 1.3 percent vote total.

He received 32,026 votes, compared to 831,415 (56 percent) votes for Republican Mitch Daniels and 647,511 (43 percent) for incumbent Gov. Joe Kernan.

"Vote totals tell only one part of the story," said Brad Klopfenstein, executive director of the LP of Indiana. "Kenn's race won huge victories that will bring long-term benefits to the Libertarian Party."

The Gividen campaign:

■ Routinely ruined the day of the Democrat governor.

It started in late April, shortly after 75 percent of Libertarian convention delegates selected Gividen as their candidate for governor. The major parties left Gividen out of the first gubernatorial debate.

Klopfenstein promptly circulated a news release asking why Gividen was excluded, then showed up at two events that Kernan attended in one day at opposite ends of the state. The media did not ask about the economic development issues that Kernan intended to address, focusing instead on Gividen's exclusion from the debate.

It happened again when Gividen and supporters demonstrated outside a rally for Kernan in heavily Democrat LaPorte County.

■ Simultaneously reached out to conservative Christians and environmentalists.

Gividen, a Christian author and Baptist preacher, courted disenfranchised evangelical Christians who thought Daniels was too liberal. Gividen appeared on Christian radio talk shows and visited numerous churches.

"If we empower the government to take away [people's] beer cans," Gividen told his evangelical audiences, "then we will empower government to take away our Bibles."

Gividen approached a coalition that opposed a proposed I-69 route that would destroy homes, farms and small businesses while diverting traffic from some of Indiana's poorest counties. Also, it would cost at least \$1 billion more than an alternate route that would upgrade existing highways.

Early in the campaign, Gividen participated in a forum where he noted that, of the three gubernatorial candidates, he was the only one who had never smoked marijuana. "And I'm the Libertarian," he jested. The crowd roared with laughter.

Later, Gividen told the crowd that the I-69 project proved two things: "You can't trust the government with your tax dollars, and you can't

trust the government to protect the environment."

Skeptical at first, many of this group became strong Gividen supporters.

"The irony is that many Libertarians worried that Kenn would be too conservative," Klopfenstein said. "He became our first statewide candidate to openly court the left." ■ Caused such an outcry when it was announced that Gividen would be excluded from the second debate that the Democrats and Republicans blamed each other for removing him.

The evening Gividen's campaign team heard their candidate was out of the second debate, they responded by getting him television coverage within minutes. Within the hour they contacted most major media, party activists and their environmentalist friends by phone. They planned a news conference for the following day and wrote radio ads on the spot. By midnight,

**IF WE EMPOWER
the government to
take away beer cans,
then we will
empower the
government to take
away our Bibles.**

—KENN GIVIDEN

political forums were buzzing with the news of Gividen's exclusion.

The next morning an Indianapolis talk-show host, usually skeptical of third parties, railed for three hours against the Democrats and Republicans.

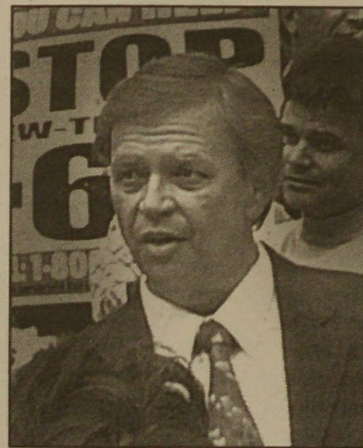
Voters, he said, were getting cheated.

The station's news team called the Republican candidate's manager at home and recorded an interview in which he blamed the Democrats for ousting Gividen. They then called the Democrat's manager. He was recorded blaming the Republicans. Throughout the day's news programs, the station played recordings of the two campaign managers blaming one another.

At 10:30 a.m. the governor himself called Gividen on his cell phone. By the noon news conference, attended by both opposition campaign managers, Gividen was back in the debates.

"That was the biggest victory of the campaign," Klopfenstein said. ■ Offered intriguing solutions to Indiana's problems, causing the Republican candidate to admit five times that Gividen had great ideas.

During the debate, his Republican challenger frequently lauded



■ Kenn Gividen

Gividen's perspectives. One such occasion was when the Libertarian spoke of the state's need to boost its faltering economy.

"Indiana is uniquely positioned to be the distribution hub of the nation," Gividen said.

Also, Gividen suggested allowing private industry to build express truck toll lanes along the I-65 corridor.

"Private industry will cover the cost of construction, maintenance and patrolling. They will keep the tolls to recover their costs and earn a profit. And Hoosiers will benefit from the boost to our economy."

The Republican agreed.

■ Gained traction by using creative campaign techniques.

The campaign staff brainstormed weekly at team meetings, devising credible means of connecting with the media. One such session produced a 150 mile-long car rally, which attracted about 50 participants.

The team also employed media tours to drive home Gividen's appeal and message. They divided Indiana into five sections, and then pinpointed on a map each of the state's 80-plus daily newspapers. Gividen invested many of his days touring these areas and meeting one-on-one with reporters.

■ Drew \$50,000 in PAC money.

One of the crowning achievements of the Gividen for Governor campaign was the state's first-ever major PAC investment in a Libertarian campaign. Without the campaign's approval, the PAC reportedly invested about \$50,000 in direct mail targeting the Democrat governor's strongest counties while touting Gividen as the candidate of choice.

"With Libertarians, it's foolish to gauge success on vote totals alone," Klopfenstein said. "It's the number of new volunteers and new county organizations that determine whether you had a successful campaign."

Gividen echoed Klopfenstein's sentiments. "If the lack of vision and hard-work would be the downfall of Indiana's Libertarians," he said, "then we ain't gonna fail!"

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- Get people to "Push the Button" and become libertarians. (p.81)
- Treasure Map for finding people who urgently want freedom. (p.83)
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- "You know enough about libertarianism to buy it, but do you know enough to sell it?" (p.126)
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- The Biggest Libertarian Communication Turnoff. (p.171)
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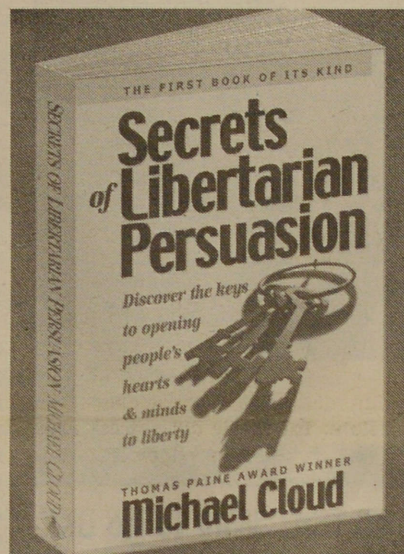
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— **Jim Babka, President, Downsize DC.**

"*Secrets of Libertarian Persuasion* will change the way you talk about politics. You'll start seeing results almost immediately." — **Sharon Harris, President, Advocates for Self-Government**



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TALKING POINTS

Stem cell research, ballparks and school-sponsored Taser

■ Division

Many of the issues that divide us [in the U.S.], aside from the Iraq war, are those best described as a zero-sum game, where one group's gain is of necessity another's loss. Examples are: racial preferences, Social Security, tax policy, trade restrictions, welfare and a host of other government policies that benefit one American at the expense of another American. ...

The best thing the president and Congress can do to heal our country is to reduce the impact of government on our lives. Doing so will not only produce a less divided country and greater economic efficiency but bear greater faith and allegiance to the vision of America held by our founders — a country of limited government.

—WALTER WILLIAMS
Creator's Syndicate

■ Conflicts of interest

Days a House committee postponed July hearings on antidepressants while its chair considered a pharmaceutical-lobbyist job: 50.

Number of the five Republicans investigating Rep. Tom DeLay on ethics charges who have taken donations from his PAC: 4.

—HARPER'S INDEX
Harper's Magazine
October 2004

■ Dealing ballparks

D.C. Council Chairman Linda W. Cropp blocked approval of a bill to build a baseball stadium with public money yesterday, announcing that she has a plan that could provide up to \$350 million in private funding.

Cropp said that over the next two weeks, she will finalize details of a plan to provide private financing for the stadium, estimated to cost as much as \$530 million. ...

"My plan will eliminate government financing and eliminate the risk," Cropp said.

"Everyone would have to admit that if we were able to deliver a stadium at the South Capitol site while saving the citizens and our businesses \$300 million to \$350 million, it is extremely valuable for us to take this two-week period to see if it can be accomplished."

Like most professional sports leagues, Major League Baseball favors public financing of stadiums because it reduces risk to the owners and the organization and increases the value of the franchise.

Major League Baseball officials, who have agreed to relocate the Montreal Expos to Washington in the spring if the mayor's stadium plan is



approved, have given the city until Dec. 31 to complete a deal.

—DAVID NAKAMURA AND LORI MONTGOMERY
The Washington Post
November 10, 2004

■ Regulatory burden

Students of regulation have known for decades that the burden of regulation on the U.S. economy is sizable, with the latest figures suggesting this cost may approach \$1 trillion in 2004.

Surprisingly, given that the health industry is often viewed as among the most heavily regulated sectors of the U.S. economy, previous estimates generally have ignored the cost of regulating health care services.

Health services regulation imposes an annual cost of \$256 billion per year (with a range of \$28 billion to \$657 billion), suggesting that health services regulations could increase estimates of overall regulatory costs by more than 25 percent.

The high cost of health services regulation is responsible for more than seven million Americans lacking health insurance, or one in six of the average daily uninsured. Moreover, 4,000 more Americans die every year from costs associated with health services regulation (22,000) than from lack of health insurance (18,000).

—CHRISTOPHER J. CONOVER
Cato Policy Analysis
October 4, 2004

■ TSA: 'Way to go us!'

The Transportation Security Administration may not do a very good job of screening airline passengers for hidden weapons, but it seems to be very good at finding ways to pat itself on the back. An internal report found the TSA spent almost \$500,000 on "unnecessarily expensive" awards, including a lifetime achievement honor for one employee of the two-year-old agency.

The report also found the TSA gives senior executives bonuses averaging \$16,000 — higher than any other government agency. The TSA also gives bonuses to a far higher percentage of its executives than other agencies.

—CHARLES OLIVER
Reason.com
November 2, 2004

■ Stem cell research

Ron Reagan addressed the Democratic National Convention, calling on the federal government to support fetal stem cell research. His plea was heartfelt and eloquent, but ultimately missed the point.

First, this is not a debate about whether stem cell research should be legal. It is, and no one in Congress or the Bush administration has proposed banning it. In fact, there are at least nine private stem cell research centers across the country. The largest, at Harvard University,

employs more than 100 researchers and recently unveiled 17 new stem cell lines.

No, this is really a fight about money, about whether the federal government should fund the research. And, as such, it is a perfect example of how science becomes politicized when government money is involved.

By its very nature, government politicizes everything it touches. Science is no exception. Stem cell research needs neither government money nor politics. It is better to get the government out and let the private sector continue its good work.

—MICHAEL TANNER
Investor's Business Daily
July 29, 2004

■ Was Karl Rove there?

Those who decry negative ads in American politics would be horrified by some of what's going on in Afghanistan's current presidential campaign. Here's the latest radio ad from the elders of the Terezy tribe, ethnic Pashtuns in southern and eastern Afghanistan: "All the Terezy tribespeople should vote for Hamid Karzai. If anyone from Terezy tribe votes for other candidates, the tribe will burn their houses."

Now, that is a negative ad.

Three years after the American-led ouster of the Taliban, Afghanistan is holding its first direct national election. This twice-postponed vote is viewed as a watershed moment for Islamic democracy. Historically, Afghan politics has been about ethnic identity and adherence to Islam. Tribal loyalties and religious conservatism trump all other values. This election will be no different.

The credibility of the election outcome is in serious doubt. According to a new report from Human Rights Watch, the election will be held in an atmosphere of widespread fear and massive voter intimidation. There is tremendous pressure to vote for certain candidates. The few genuinely democratic political figures are too scared to participate. Frequent violent attacks on election workers kept voter registration low in several regions. The realistic fear that polling day will be very violent could further suppress turnout. ...

One cannot simply drop a democratic system into a country like Afghanistan and expect it to take root. One politician, Ahmen Wali Masoud, says, "The country isn't ready for the pull and push of elections. In our history, changes of regime... brought coups and revolutions." It will be decades before Afghanistan develops anything that remotely resembles a truly democratic system.

—PATRICK BASHAM
Sun Herald, Biloxi, Mississippi
October 9, 2004

■ Tasers, not paddles

A 6-year-old boy was subdued with a Taser while wielding a piece of glass and threatening to hurt himself in the principal's office, of-

ficials said Thursday.

The boy, who was not identified, was shocked by police with 50,000 volts of electric current on Oct. 20 at Kelsey Pharr Elementary School.

Principal Maria Mason called 911 after the child broke a picture frame in her office and waved the piece of glass, holding a security guard back.

When two Miami-Dade County police officers and a school officer arrived, the boy had already cut himself under his eye and on his hand.

The officers talked to the boy without success. When he cut his own leg, one officer shocked him with a Taser, then another grabbed him to prevent him from falling, police said.

He was treated by Miami-Dade Fire-Rescue and taken to Jackson Memorial Hospital, where he was committed for psychiatric evaluation.

"By using the Taser, we were able to stop the situation, stop him from hurting himself," police spokesman Juan Del Castillo told *The Miami Herald*. "Sure he could have been tackled and maybe injured, maybe his arm broken or maybe that glass could have cut him in a critical area."

Retired Juvenile Judge Frank Orlando called the incident "ridiculous."

"It just sounds excessive to me to Taser gun a 6-year-old when everyone else around there were adults," said Orlando, who now runs a law clinic on youth law at Nova Southeastern University. "They couldn't subdue a 6-year-old? Must have been a pretty big kid."

—WFTV.COM
Miami, Florida

■ Attempted justice

Two crooks with guns stormed into a west side grocery store Monday night, but they got a surprise when the store owner took justice into his own hands, pulling a gun on them.

"I was coming from the storage room carrying a case of beer, when two guys came in with a gun," store owner Ernesto Trejo said.

Trejo emptied out his cash register. But he said the robbers then asked for even more money. They took about \$150 and a box of cigarettes, but Trejo was determined to stop them.

"As soon as they left, I pulled out my gun," Trejo said.

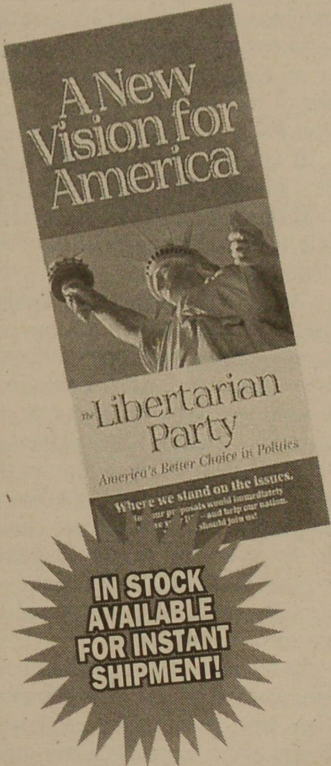
"The door was still open, and I shot," he said. Police believe Trejo hit at least one of the robbers. Trejo told police he did not get a good look at their faces.

Even though he was robbed at gunpoint, Ernesto says he has mixed feelings about pulling the trigger.

"I hope I never have to do it again, but you have to defend yourself," Trejo said.

"It's not right for them to come and get the money. They can work."

—WOAI.COM
San Antonio, Texas
November 10, 2004



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

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

LP Literature & Books

■ **Why Government Doesn't Work** by Harry Browne. The 1996 Presidential campaign manifesto: Explains why government doesn't work, and why it will never work as well as voluntary solutions. Outlines a Libertarian plan for victory. Hardbound, 245 pages. **Cost:** \$11.95

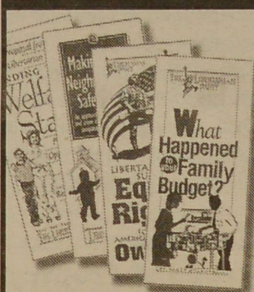
■ **Libertarianism In One Lesson** by David Bergland. Expanded 8th edition. The classic introductory work. Outlines Libertarian positions on all major political issues and contrasts them to liberals and conservatives. A must-read. Softbound, 158 pages. **Cost:** \$10 each; or 5 for \$35.

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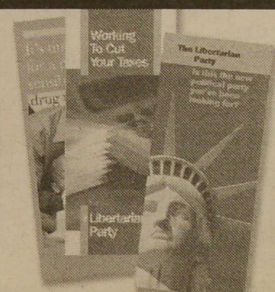
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■ **Vote Libertarian/800-ELECT-US** (Blue & white.)

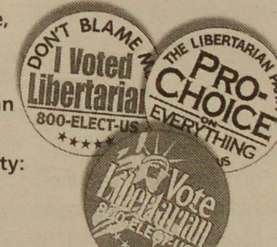
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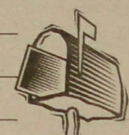
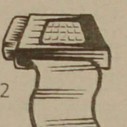
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AFFILIATE NEWS

Hummers, ABATE, Starchild and elections — won and lost

■ ALASKA

LP's state house candidate runs alone

Libertarian Len Karpinski wasn't the only candidate on the ballot for Alaska's House District 26 (West Anchorage), but you wouldn't have known it to look at the state's official election pamphlet.

State candidates who want to be listed in the pamphlet must submit their information by July 22, and neither of Karpinski's opponents for the office bothered to do so.

"I am the only candidate in a field of three to have his advert in the state voter guide," Karpinski said. "It's the rare candidate who is dumb enough not to be there."

The voters' guide is sent to approximately 300,000 homes in Alaska — to every household that has at least one registered voter.

"It's hard to say whether I got any boost from being the only person running, at least on paper," Karpinski said, but he did a little better than in his last run for public office — drawing about 2.4 percent of the vote, with 160 votes out of 6,803 total votes cast.

■ CALIFORNIA

Two Salinas tax-hike measures defeated

Two of three proposed tax increases in Salinas, Calif., were defeated on Election Day, with Libertarian Mark Dierolf credited in the local media as one of the strongest opponents of the taxes.

City officials had estimated that

the three tax measures (a half-cent sales tax increase, an increase in the tax paid by the city's largest utility users, and an increase in the business license) would have netted up to \$12 million annually for the city. The approval of the business license tax increase is expected to yield about \$1 million per year.

Dierolf, an elected trustee of Hartnell College who is currently president of the college board, has consistently opposed taxes in the city. Instead of "holding services hostage," city officials should find ways "to preserve services using creative partnerships and competitive contracting," he said.

Salinas officials said the lack of funding will probably result in the closure of the city's three libraries and recreation centers.

Tax opponents pointed out that city officials weren't willing to guarantee that the increase in tax funds would go toward keeping the libraries and recreational facilities open.

As one alternative to raising taxes or closing the libraries, Dierolf had called for the sale and privatization of the city's golf courses.

■ CALIFORNIA

O'Brien re-elected with record vote total

Kate O'Brien was re-elected on Nov. 2 to the Rancho Simi Recreation and Park District board of directors.

O'Brien first won her seat in 2000 by a margin of only three votes. This year, she received more votes for this position than any person has in the history of the district — particularly noteworthy in that there was not a record voter turnout this year.

O'Brien earned almost 33 percent of the vote (26,932 votes) in a five-way race. Her nearest opponent took 21,432 votes (26.1 percent).

One of her opponents, Marcie Kraft, made O'Brien's LP affiliation a campaign issue and particularly attacked her record of voting against tax increases and accepting funds from the state government. Voters appear to have disagreed with Kraft — and awarded O'Brien almost three times Kraft's 9,185 votes.

■ CALIFORNIA

Starchild — the man, the drinking game

San Francisco Libertarian Starchild drew almost 23,000 votes in his quest for a board of education seat, coming in 11th place out of 12 candidates — with the top four vote-getters winning seats on the board.

Each of the top four won more than 90,000 votes and about 12 or 13 percent of the vote total; Starchild took just over 3 percent of the total.

"While I came in 11th out of twelve candidates, I did beat the sole Republican in the race [Joel Springer III, who took 12,500 votes], which says something about San Francisco," Starchild said — noting that the narrow vote spread between the top and bottom candidates was encouraging.

In one community meeting held by locals who wanted to discuss the 36 ballot propositions, Starchild's name came up so often that the meeting evolved into a "What would Starchild do?" question-and-answer session, according to one of the meeting's organizers.

And where else would a Libertarian candidate's name be mentioned so often that it would be made into a drinking game, with all meeting attendees required to imbibe when Starchild came up in conversation — as reportedly happened at this event?

Say what you like about San Francisco, the people there apparently know how to have fun with politics.

■ COLORADO

'Home rule' cities can limit gun rights

A judge in Colorado ruled Nov. 5 that Denver officials can enforce local gun ordinances that are stricter than either state or federal gun laws — a decision that Colorado LP Legislative Director Richard Randall said could change the way the city treats other rights as well. Denver officials

had filed a lawsuit to prevent state law from interfering with its "home rule" right to enforce stronger gun ordinances, and Denver District Court Judge Joseph E. Meyer ruled in their favor.

At issue was a state law passed in 2003 that sought to overturn a hodgepodge of ordinances that had been adopted by municipalities — thereby bringing uniformity to gun regulations, according to Colorado LP officials.

Judge Meyer's ruling "is an outright attack on our fundamental rights guaranteed by both the Colorado and U.S. Constitutions," Randall said. "Just as the USA Patriot Act virtually abrogates our Bill of Rights at the national level, unconstitutional laws passed by home rule cities threaten our basic inalienable rights at the local level."

In 1972, Randall pointed out, the Colorado Supreme Court ruled that home rule authority "does not empower home rule cities to deny substantive rights conferred upon all of the citizens of the state by the general assembly."

"Putting aside the obvious fallacy of inalienable rights being conferred by the legislature," Randall said, noting that privileges (not rights) are conferred, "the point here is that a home rule city cannot deny fundamental rights guaranteed by the state constitution."

■ FLORIDA

Brevard County candidate wins race

Longtime Libertarian activist Jim Culberson was elected in a three-way race to the commission that oversees the Sebastian Inlet Tax District, which includes parts of Brevard and Indian River counties. He garnered 36,129 votes, compared to his opponents' 35,633 and 30,605 votes.

In running for the seat — a non-partisan race — Culberson spent approximately \$5,700, compared to a war chest of \$80,000 directed against him by a local lobbyist, according to Bruce Wechsler, chairman of the Brevard County Libertarian Party.

"The tax district has lost a number of lawsuits recently, costing the taxpayers millions of dollars," Wechsler said, noting that Culberson's election should prove beneficial to both the commission and the area's taxpayers.

"Had the district managed its affairs better, the lawsuits could have been avoided or settled at a far lower cost to the taxpayers of Brevard and Indian River counties."

Every year, more than \$5 million is collected from the taxpayers in this tax district, to pay for maintenance of the Sebastian Inlet, which is "of enormous ecological and economic importance" to the region, Culberson said in a letter to a local newspaper.

■ ILLINOIS

Teaching the teacher about third parties

[Editor's note: Austin Hough, a former member of the Libertarian Na-

tional Committee and current vice chairman of the Illinois LP, sent this letter to his son's fourth grade teacher on Election Day, when the class was to hold mock elections.]

Dear Ms. Doyle,

It is our understanding that today you plan on holding a mock election in your classroom to coincide with today's presidential election.

It is also our understanding that the only candidates our son will have to choose from will be Republican George W. Bush and Democrat John Kerry. I was wondering if you knew that here in Illinois Libertarian Michael Badnarik is also on the ballot as a choice for the office of president. He is a legitimate choice on the ballot this year as notarized by the State of Illinois Board of Elections, and I believe should be included on your ballot.

In addition, have you informed your students that there are more than two presidential candidates on the ballot in almost every other state in the union? ... While I know you probably do not have the time to inform your students of all the different philosophies and ideologies expressed by these parties, third party and independent candidates are at the core of what democracy is all about. If you are trying to teach students about the electoral process, they should be mentioned to your students.

Today, I am on the ballot running for state representative as a Libertarian. I have only one opponent, a Republican. I hope this would not mean in your class you would only mention the Republican because I am not in one of the power parties. I am a legitimate candidate, and I am running to win. So is Michael Badnarik.

I am sending my son to school today with the instruction to exercise his right to vote for whomever he wishes and not be limited to your two candidates George W. Bush and John Kerry. I hope you will instruct the rest of your class to do the same. Nobody should be forced to vote for a candidate they do not believe in.

Sincerely,
Austin L. Hough and Jessica Hough

■ INDIANA

Libertarian elected to school board

Melanie Hughes, a Libertarian activist in New Albany, Ind., has been named to the Community Montessori School Board, a state charter school administered by Ball State University.

She was elected on Nov. 10 by the other members of the school board, "even with full knowledge that I was a Libertarian," Hughes said.

Hughes ran as a Libertarian for mayor of New Albany in 2003, receiving rave reviews from the local newspaper and garnering "immense respect for the local county affiliate in the area," said Mark Rutherford, chairman of the LP of Indiana.

The school was a private school until it became one of the state's first charter schools in 2002, Hughes

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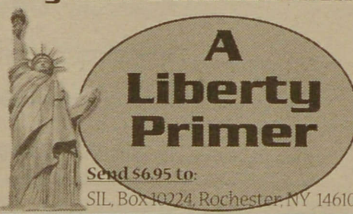
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said, pointing out that two of her Libertarian friends — Jana and Al Gaudet — are teachers there.

■ SOUTH CAROLINA

ABATE given first SCLP Liberty Award

On Nov. 13, the South Carolina LP honored pro-motorcycle-helmet-choice organization ABATE by presenting members of the group with the first annual SCLP Liberty Award.

The award was created in March by the state LP's executive committee to be given to "the South Carolina organization that best demonstrated an unwavering commitment to individual liberty and freedom each year," said Ed Haas, media coordinator for the SCLP.

"This year, we selected ABATE — A Brotherhood Against Totalitarian Enactments — for their outstanding work lobbying against the primary enforcement seatbelt bill and for the right to get a legal tattoo in South Carolina. This was not a tough decision for the LP to make."

Members of ABATE "lobbied at the state capitol whenever it was suspected that certain lawmakers were poised to push for the passage of the primary enforcement seatbelt law," Haas said. "When leather-clad bikers devote so much time and energy protecting the freedoms that too many people take for granted, they deserve recognition and an award."

SCLP State Chair Chris Panos emphasized the SCLP's support for ABATE of South Carolina and encouraged that group's members to get involved with the LP.

■ TEXAS

Forget the train. Buy H2s instead.

Travis County, Texas, is considering a commuter rail plan that is expected to serve approximately 1,000 daily riders initially — primarily people who now ride buses.

When the trains begin running, many of the current bus routes would be eliminated, explained Steve Ravet, chair of the LP's Central Texas Regional Transportation Committee.

Representatives of Capital Metro — which serves state capital Austin and the rest of Travis County — have been touting the environmental benefits of the commuter rail plan.

"Travis County Libertarians have a problem with their statements: They're flat wrong," Ravet said.

"The Colorado Railcar that Capital Metro is considering for use in the commuter rail plan may be clean compared to other trains, but is still extremely dirty," he said. "Even with a full passenger load, it emits more pollution per passenger mile than a Chevrolet H2 Hummer."

Besides the environmental impact, the proposed train wouldn't be a bargain monetarily, either.

"With a retail price of around \$55,000 apiece, Capital Metro could buy each [of the estimated 1,000

initial train riders] a brand-new, fully loaded H2 for slightly less than the cost of the rail construction," Ravet said.

"When the H2 Hummer beats your rail plan both fiscally and environmentally, then it's time to take a hard look at your commuter rail plan."

■ WASHINGTON

Close governor's race forces vote recount

In a gubernatorial race to replace outgoing Gov. Gary Locke, a Democrat, voters in Washington cast only 261 more votes for Republican Dino Rossi than for Democrat Christine Gregoire — while Libertarian candidate Ruth Bennett earned almost 60,000 votes (2.2 percent).

Washington, a heavily Democrat state, has not elected a Republican governor since 1980. Democrat John Kerry won the state this year, and Democrats control the state legislature.

By state law, a recount is mandated whenever the difference between the top two contenders is less than 2,000 votes. A statewide recount has never reversed the outcome of a gubernatorial election.

Given the heavy Democrat leaning of the state, how did it happen that a Republican has almost certainly won the governor's race?

Some media outlets — including



■ Left to right, Emily Salvette, Charles Andrasco, Ruth Andrasco and James Lark talk during the Nov. 13 Capital Area Donors Fall Celebration at the District Chophouse in Washington, D.C. The event provided an opportunity for local donors to interact with members of the Libertarian National Committee while they were in town for the quarterly committee meeting.

(Photo by Margaret Taylor, LP development associate)

the Associated Press — have pointed out that Bennett probably swung the race to the Republican.

As an "out" lesbian who appealed to Democrats by making gay marriage rights the focal point of her campaign, Bennett more than

likely drew strong support from those on the liberal side, according to news accounts of the election.

Bennett's stated goal in the race was to "influence the outcome" by demonstrably swinging the vote, and she apparently pulled it off.

A less positive result of the election: None of the LP's candidates for statewide office won 5 percent or more of the total vote, which means that the state party will lose its major-party status, an effect of recent changes in state election laws.



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THE REVIEW

The reason for Reason

■ **Choice: The Best of Reason**, edited by Nick Gillespie. 414 pages. Published in September 2004, by BenBella Books. Hardcover, \$24.95. Available at www.Reason.com.

Reviewed by J. Daniel Cloud
LP NEWS EDITOR

In a time when musicians who have churned out only two or three albums of radio-friendly hits are given a chance to issue "best of" CDs, such self-laudatory repackaging can seem excessive. Do the artists actually warrant a retrospective? Not always. But people will purchase the new package even if they already own the original albums, so the reissue makes economic sense even if it's artistically spurious.

Such a distinction is not necessary with some artists, however. Think of Johnny Cash's "Love, God, Murder" retrospective from 2000: He hand-picked 48 songs from his lengthy career, and the box set made both economic and artistic sense. It also introduced new fans to the music, including many who were born late or who were otherwise not around when the music was originally released.

So it is with *Choice: The Best of Reason*, a new book from the good folks at America's best libertarian-minded magazine. (Actually, the *Chicago Tribune* ranked *Reason* at 13th in its 2004 list of the best 50 magazines, libertarian or not.)

Reason editor-in-chief Nick Gillespie looked back over the magazine's 36-year history, selecting 27 stories from the last decade or so — stories that retain both their intellectual worth and their entertainment value well after their initial publication.

You might expect *Choice* to include excerpts from throughout the magazine's history, every article in the book originally appeared in 1992 or later, with 14 of the 26 items dating from 2000 forward. There's a good reason many of the issues sound familiar and current.

But even the oldest stories in the book, including a 1994 interview with humorist Dave Barry, are fascinating. Barry weighs in on the other-worldly experience of visiting Washington, D.C.; his proposed tax plan in which every American would pay just \$8.95; immigration; foreign intervention; people who think the logical end of libertarianism would have Americans taking heroin and having sex with dogs; and the importance of bicycle helmets.

For those who have never read *Reason*, or who have (like yours truly) dipped into the magazine only on occasion, this collection will be revelatory. Most of the articles in the book aren't about politics — at least not explicitly.

■ There's an examination of "the strange politics of millionaire rock stars" including Rage Against the Machine, Patti Smith, Sting and Chumbawamba, a far-flung group of stars whose often radical leftist views are belied by their avid (and voluntary) participation in capitalist society.

■ John Stossel — of ABC's "20/20" — was interviewed in 1997 about how his political views changed over time and what it's like to be a libertarian working in network television.

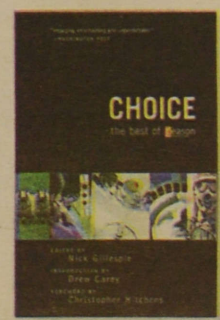
■ One of my favorite items in the book was a non-article — "Observations From a Reluctant Anti-Warrior," by comic book artist Peter Bagge — in which the author/artist graphically depicts his opposition to the war in Iraq, along with the frustration and confusion that come with anti-war-driven alliances between widely disparate viewpoints.

■ Several articles attack essential sacred cows, such as the 1997 story about Gulf War Syndrome — the mysterious string of ailments that supposedly attacked thousands of U.S. military personnel who were in the Persian Gulf region in the early 90s. What most media reported as fact, this article debunked as an outgrowth of junk science, misreported evidence and the power of negative thinking.

Articles like this one are why America needs *Reason*; even more, they illustrate how many Americans have lost their ability to reason.

Other issues tackled in *Choice* include the Drug War, biotechnology, education reform and urban planning, and the emphasis continues to be that which has driven the magazine since 1968. Initially a mimeographed publication put out by a college student who promised to look at life logically and to strive for coherence, *Reason's* authors still take a serious second look at their topics, looking past the easy explanations to find the truth.

And finally, the magazine has released a "best of" collection. Unlike many such compendia, this one is well worth reading.



Badnarik book selling fast on Amazon

While Michael Badnarik was campaigning for the Libertarian Party's nomination for president, he took some time off to write a book about the Constitution — *It's Good to be King: The Foundations of Freedom* — which he then sold while traveling around the country.

And after he won the LP's nomination and campaigned around the nation, his book was published by The Writer's Collective and became a bestseller on Amazon.com within hours of its recent pick-up by the on-line retailer.

Since Badnarik released the book in its pre-publication, spiral-bound format, it has "undergone a major rewrite," that included amplification and expansion on some of the original themes, said Stephen Gordon, communications director for the Badnarik campaign.

It has also been renamed; you can find it on Amazon as *Good to be King: The Foundation of our Constitutional Freedom*.

Good to be King was introduced on Amazon on Oct. 19, and within 15 hours it reached the site's 200 best sellers, Gordon said.

"Since then, I've seen it as high as 33rd in the overall list, and as

high as the top five in the non-fiction new releases," he said shortly before the election.

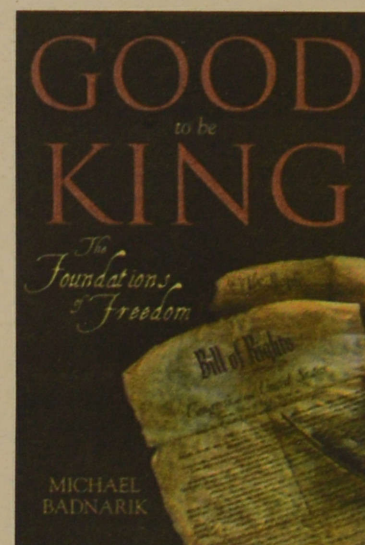
"It's hit the top 10 in the new release category several times over the past few days, which is really exciting."

Although the campaign did not promote the book and Badnarik did not use it as campaign material, "We are extremely pleased about the success of this book," Gordon said, noting that he thought the book's popularity was expected to boost the campaign's visibility.

Amazon.com reviewers speak highly of *Good to be King's* impact.

One of its earliest readers was U.S. Rep. Ron Paul (R-Texas), himself a former Libertarian candidate for president, who notes in the book's foreword that Badnarik "does an excellent job of demystifying our founding document, demonstrating that ordinary Americans can and should understand the Constitution and how it applies to their lives."

"If we wish to remain free, we must constantly question and challenge conventional views about the proper role of government in our society. [This book] will serve as needed ammunition for libertarians and constitutionalists committed to



resisting tyranny in America."

Why did Badnarik write *Good to be King*? As he wrote in the book's acknowledgements, "I would like to thank our Founding Fathers for establishing a place where liberty could flourish, and for documenting their revolutionary ideas in a way that speaks to me across two centuries."

"I am simply dusting off their words and presenting them in a manner that I hope will resonate with patriots of the 21st Century."

Tax killers: California LP takes on non-functioning hospital boards

Continued from Page 1
local healthcare district boards.

Wilson has been a Libertarian activist for many years, including working for Harry Browne's presidential campaign in 1996, fighting (and defeating) a countywide \$650 million tax increase in 2000, and running for Congress in 2002.

In 2000 and again this year, Wilson ran for the Mt. Diablo Health Care District board. He drew 13.1 percent of the vote in a six-way race this year, in which the top three vote-getters won seats on the board. While Wilson didn't get on the board, one of his two Libertarian "running mates" — Frank Manske — was elected.

Manske received 15.6 percent of the vote, coming in third place and bumping one of the three incumbents off the board.

Of the five members, three had to run for re-election to the four-year post this year, and three Libertarians ran against them: Manske, Wilson and Ted Rowe — who came

in fourth place with 14.5 percent of the vote.

Contra Costa County has three such boards, each of which "has five directors making \$100 per meeting plus expenses and administration," Wilson wrote in a November 2003 article for *California Freedom*, the monthly newspaper of the California LP. "For the three districts, this amounts to roughly \$400,000 per year, plus \$494,000 for their lawyers."

Grand juries in both Contra Costa and San Mateo counties have repeatedly said in recent years that "the boards are spending tax money on philanthropy, which is not what we were chartered to do," Hickey said, noting that most of the tax-funded contributions are given to private, nonprofit charities.

As Hickey said, the Sequoia district board has promised to give \$25 million to the Sequoia Hospital — which it no longer controls — to fund a state-mandated "seismic retrofit" of the hospital.

The hospital is now privately owned by an HMO, which "has committed to doing the retrofit with or without money from the district," Hickey said.

The obvious question: If the people who own the hospital are ready and able to pay for the \$25 million project, why should tax money be used for the project?

"That's why we're trying to get a majority on these boards, to get the districts dissolved," Hickey said. "It's not an easy job, trying to eliminate a tax district, but it is possible."

Even if each tax district isn't dissolved entirely, they could effectively cease functioning, he added. "The first thing we would do is stop collecting taxes; there's no problem doing that. And we could easily stop giving out the 'charitable' money."

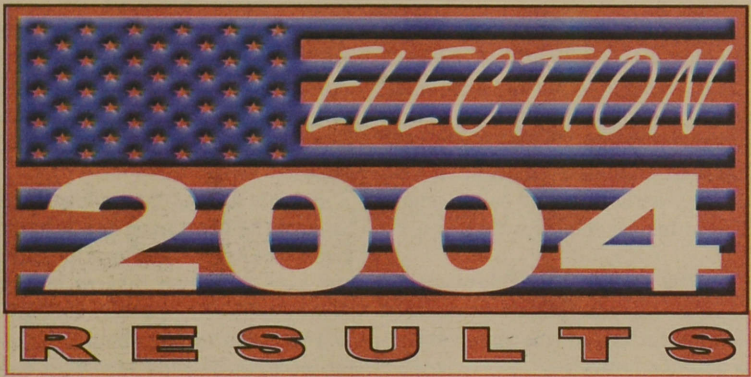
After those two steps occur, the districts will be effectively — if not officially — dead.

As noted by Lawrence Samuels, vice chair of the Monterey County Libertarian Party, these district boards are "government agencies looking for something to do."

In Contra Costa County alone, eliminating the three former hospital districts would get rid of 15 bureaucrats, shut down three government agencies and cut waste by more than \$4 million over a few years, Wilson said in his *California Freedom* article.

The local newspaper, the *Contra Costa Times*, has run editorials calling for the districts to be shut down; the grand juries in various counties are singing the same song; and Libertarians are slowly being elected to seats that will eventually enable them to end the waste of tax dollars.

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U.S. House

Candidate, (District), Vote Total, (Percent of Total)

Alaska

Alvin Anders (At-Large) 5,647 (2%)

Arizona

John Crockett (Dist. 1) 12,237 (5.2%)
Powell Gammill (Dist. 2) 5,436 (2.4%)
Mark Yannone (Dist. 3) 35,997 (20.1%)
Gary Fallon (Dist. 4) 3,670 (4.3%)
Michael Kielsky (Dist. 5) 5,004 (2.3%)
Craig Stritar (Dist. 6) 43,180 (20.9%)
Dave Kaplan (Dist. 7) 6,251 (4.4%)
Robert Anderson (Dist. 8) 8,900 (3.5%)

California

Douglas Tuma (Dist. 3) 7,171 (3.3%)
Jim Eyer (Dist. 9) 6,097 (3.2%)
Harland Harrison (Dist. 12) 4,115 (2.1%)
Mark Stroberg (Dist. 13) 7,211 (4.3%)
Brian Holtz (Dist. 14) 7,246 (3.7%)
Markus Welch (Dist. 16) 3,722 (2.8%)
Joel Smolen (Dist. 17) 1,857 (1.1%)
Michael Favorite (Dist. 23) 4,633 (2.7%)
Randall Weissbuch (Dist. 26) 7,731 (3.6%)
Kelley Ross (Dist. 28) 8,041 (5.5%)
Ted Brown (Dist. 29) 3,916 (2.1%)
Leland Faegre (Dist. 32) 19,033 (15.1%)
Bob Weber (Dist. 33) 18,569 (11.3%)
Charles Tate (Dist. 35) 2,950 (2.2%)
Mike Binkley (Dist. 36) 4,446 (2%)
Herb Peters (Dist. 37) 6,486 (4.7%)
Peymon Mottahedeh (Dist. 41) 29,394 (16.9%)
Keith Gann (Dist. 46) 3,847 (1.8%)
Bruce Cohen (Dist. 48) 6,133 (3%)
Lars Grossmith (Dist. 49) 4,442 (2.6%)
Brandon Osborne (Dist. 50) 2,627 (1.2%)
Michael Metti (Dist. 51) 4,498 (3.3%)
Michael Benoit (Dist. 52) 6,752 (3.3%)
Adam Van Susteren (Dist. 53) 2,737 (1.6%)

Colorado

Norm Olsen (Dist. 2) 7,031 (2.3%)
Rob Roberts (Dist. 5) 6,470 (2.4%)
Jack Woehr (Dist. 6) 3,709 (1.1%)

Delaware

William Morris (At-Large) 2,011 (0.6%)

Florida

Robert Johnson (Dist. 11) 31,368 (14.1%)
Frank Gonzalez (Dist. 21) 50,975 (27.6%)

Hawaii

Elyssa Young (Dist. 1) 6,231 (3.1%)

Illinois

Stephanie Sailor (Dist. 2) 26,783 (11.5%)
Jake Witmer (Dist. 4) 4,767 (3.9%)
Walter Steele (Dist. 12) 4,785 (1.7%)

Indiana

Douglas Barnes (Dist. 2) 3,401 (1.3%)
Kevin Fleming (Dist. 4) 6,104 (2.2%)
Rick Hodgins (Dist. 5) 6,999 (2.2%)
Wick Roots (Dist. 6) 5,012 (1.8%)
Barry Campbell (Dist. 7) 4,373 (2%)
Mark Garvin (Dist. 8) 5,713 (2.1%)
Al Cox (Dist. 9) 4,698 (1.6%)

Iowa

Mark Nelson (Dist. 1) 2,687 (0.9%)
Kevin Litten (Dist. 2) 5,322 (1.8%)

Kansas

Jack Warner (Dist. 1) 23,995 (9.3%)
Dennis Hawver (Dist. 2) 7,391 (2.6%)
Joe Bellis (Dist. 3) 3,064 (0.9%)
David Loomis (Dist. 4) 7,025 (2.8%)

Kentucky

George Dick (Dist. 3) 6,363 (1.9%)
Mark Gailey (Dist. 6) 1,758 (0.6%)

Michigan

John Loosemore (Dist. 1) 2,291 (0.7%)
Steve Van Til (Dist. 2) 2,888 (0.9%)
Warren Adams (Dist. 3) 3,694 (1.1%)
Al Chia (Dist. 4) 2,758 (0.9%)
Clint Foster (Dist. 5) 2,347 (0.8%)
Erwin Haas (Dist. 6) 2,267 (0.8%)
Ken Proctor (Dist. 7) 3,083 (1%)
Will White (Dist. 8) 3,590 (1.1%)
Robert Schubring (Dist. 9) 6,825 (2%)
Phoebe Basso (Dist. 10) 3,966 (1.2%)
Charles Basso (Dist. 11) 6,489 (2%)
Dick Gach (Dist. 12) 5,036 (1.7%)
Eric Gordon (Dist. 13) 3,199 (1.5%)
Michael Donahue (Dist. 14) 2,272 (0.9%)
Greg Stempfle (Dist. 15) 3,400 (1.1%)

Missouri

Terry Chadwick (Dist. 1) 3,914 (1.4%)
Darla Maloney (Dist. 2) 4,812 (1.4%)
Kevin Babcock (Dist. 3) 4,352 (1.6%)
Bill Lower (Dist. 4) 2,826 (1%)
Rick Bailie (Dist. 5) 5,792 (2%)
Erik Buck (Dist. 6) 4,346 (1.4%)
Kevin Craig (Dist. 7) 2,765 (0.9%)
Stan Cuff (Dist. 8) 1,804 (0.7%)
Tamara Millay (Dist. 9) 3,222 (1.1%)

Montana

Mike Fellows (At-large) 12,530 (2.8%)

Nebraska

Jack Graziano (Dist. 2) 4,610 (1.9%)

Nevada

Jim Duensing (Dist. 1) 5,818 (2.9%)
Brendan Trainor (Dist. 2) 4,929 (1.7%)
Joseph Silvestri (Dist. 3) 9,173 (3.1%)

New Hampshire

Richard Kahn (Dist. 2) 11,258 (3.5%)

New Jersey

Michael Matthews (Dist. 2) 1,638 (0.7%)
Frank Orland (Dist. 3) 835 (0.3%)
Richard Edgar (Dist. 4) 1,865 (0.7%)
Victor Kaplan (Dist. 5) 1,736 (0.6%)
Virginia Flynn (Dist. 6) 2,698 (1.2%)
Thomas Abrams (Dist. 7) 1,972 (0.7%)
David Daly (Dist. 9) 1,424 (0.7%)
Austin Lett (Dist. 11) 1,299 (0.5%)
Ken Chazotte (Dist. 12) 1,423 (0.5%)

Oregon

Jim Lindsay (Dist. 2) 4,594 (1.4%)
Jacob Boone (Dist. 4) 2,948 (0.8%)
Jerry Defoe (Dist. 5) 5,823 (1.8%)

Pennsylvania

Thomas Martin (Dist. 5) 25,467 (11.8%)
David Jahn (Dist. 7) 2,667 (0.8%)
Arthur Farnsworth (Dist. 8) 3,740 (1.1%)
Chuck Moulton (Dist. 13) 3,811 (1.3%)
Richard Piotrowski (Dist. 15) 3,650 (1.3%)
Russ Diamond (Dist. 17) 5,729 (2%)
Mickey Paoletta (Dist. 19) 8,440 (3.5%)

South Dakota

Terry Begay (Dist. 1) 2,806 (0.7%)

Texas

Dean Tucker (Dist. 1) 2,152 (0.8%)
Sandra Saulsbury (Dist. 2) 3,900 (1.6%)
James Vessels (Dist. 3) 13,204 (6.3%)
Kevin Anderson (Dist. 4) 3,550 (1.3%)

John Gonzalez (Dist. 5) 6,101 (2.6%)
Stephen Schrader (Dist. 6) 3,246 (1.3%)
Drew Parks (Dist. 7) 3,325 (1.2%)
Paul Hansen (Dist. 8) 3,686 (1.4%)
Stacey Bourland (Dist. 9) 1,952 (1.2%)
Robert Fritsche (Dist. 10) 35,463 (16.3%)
Jeffrey Blunt (Dist. 11) 3,339 (1.4%)
M. J. Smith (Dist. 13) 15,894 (7.8%)
William Cady (Dist. 15) 2,349 (1.4%)
Brad Clardy (Dist. 16) 2,216 (1.4%)
Clyde Garland (Dist. 17) 3,383 (1.4%)
Brent Sullivan (Dist. 18) 7,144 (4.7%)
Richard Peterson (Dist. 19) 3,529 (1.5%)
Jessie Bouley (Dist. 20) 2,371 (1.4%)
Jason Pratt (Dist. 21) 10,198 (3%)
Tom Morrison (Dist. 22) 4,872 (1.8%)
Nazirite Perez (Dist. 23) 3,272 (1.3%)
James Lawrence (Dist. 24) 4,327 (1.8%)
James Werner (Dist. 25) 2,652 (1.7%)
James Gholston (Dist. 26) 4,200 (1.5%)
Christopher Claytor (Dist. 27) 3,500 (2%)
Ken Ashby (Dist. 28) 4,294 (2.4%)
Clifford Messina (Dist. 29) 4,839 (5.9%)
John Davis (Dist. 30) 10,785 (7%)
Celeste Adams (Dist. 31) 6,863 (2.8%)
Michael Needleman (Dist. 32) 3,332 (1.7%)

Utah

Jim Dexter (Dist. 3) 3,399 (1.5%)

Washington

Charles Moore (Dist. 1) 5,507 (1.7%)
Bruce Guthrie (Dist. 2) 7,414 (2.5%)
Spencer Garrett (Dist. 8) 5,852 (1.8%)

Wisconsin

Don Bernau (Dist. 1) 2,947 (0.8%)
Tim Peterson (Dist. 5) 6,547 (1.6%)

Wyoming

Lewis Stock (At-large) 6,553 (2.8%)



U.S. Senate

Candidate, Vote Total, (Percent of Total)

Alaska

Scott Kohlhaas 932 (0.4%)

Arizona

Ernest Hancock 43,827 (2.7%)

California

Jim Gray 171,918 (1.8%)

Colorado

Richard Randall 9,722 (0.5%)

Connecticut

Leonard Rasch 8,878 (0.6%)

Georgia

Allen Buckley 68,192 (2.1%)

Hawaii

Jeff Mallan 5,265 (1.3%)

Illinois

Jerry Kohn 68,317 (1.3%)

Indiana

Albert Barger 27,891 (1.2%)

Iowa

Christy Ann Welty 17,445 (1.2%)

Kansas

Steven Rosile 21,312 (1.9%)

Louisiana

Richard Fontanesi 15,091 (0.8%)

Missouri

Kevin Tull 19,581 (0.7%)

Nevada

Thomas Hurst 9,461 (1.2%)

New York

Donald Silberger 17,678 (0.3%)

North Carolina

Tom Bailey 46,906 (1.4%)

Oregon

Dan Fitzgerald 27,484 (1.6%)

Pennsylvania

Betsy Summers 77,686 (1.4%)

South Carolina

Rebekah Sutherland 10,467 (0.7%)

Washington

J. Mills 32,332 (1.2%)

Wisconsin

Arif Khan 8,372 (0.3%)



State Governors

Candidate, Vote Total, (Percent of Total)

Delaware

Frank Infante 12,202 (3.3%)

Indiana

Kenn Gividen 32,124 (1.3%)

Missouri

John Swenson 24,295 (0.9%)

Montana

Stan Jones 7,404 (1.7%)

North Carolina

Barbara Howe 50,858 (1.5%)

Vermont

Hardy Machia 2,267 (0.7%)

Washington

Ruth Bennett 59,808 (2.2%)

THE FORUM

The Libertarian vote total

Following the recent elections, too many Libertarians will be concentrating on the 2004 Libertarian presidential vote total — either pointing with pride or viewing with alarm.

My advice to them is to spend their time doing something more productive — such as building the Libertarian Party to a level where someday its vote totals can be meaningful.

By Harry Browne

Too many libertarians (whether or not they're in the Libertarian Party) fail to recognize the enormous obstacles that any third-party campaign faces — and they ignore the tremendous opportunities the LP's presidential campaign offers.

America has a two-party system, but not because of popular demand.

The Democrats and Republicans have legislated third parties into irrelevance, using five principal methods: donation limits, reporting laws, campaign subsidies, the debate commission and ballot-access laws.

For example, in 2000, the presidential campaign raised \$2.6 million, but \$250,000 of that had to be diverted into ballot-access drives in just two states: Pennsylvania and Arizona. That's money that could have gone into advertising, but instead was of no value in campaign outreach.

For another example, in my home state of Tennessee, Republicans and Democrats are listed on the ballot with their party labels. But candidates of any other parties must be listed as "independent." Thus anyone entering the polling booth determined to vote against the two major parties must know already which third-party candidate to vote for. If he doesn't, he'll be afraid to choose among the "independents," not knowing which of them might be a Nazi or a Communist.

These are just two examples of the legislative barriers placed in the way of third parties. To list all the various hurdles would fill a good-sized book.

These barriers aren't insurmountable, but they are very, very tall.

They keep a Libertarian presidential candidate off the radar screen and prevent him from getting even 1 percent of the vote — let alone 5 percent or more. And they will continue to do so until two events can occur:

■ The candidate can run a campaign of at least \$10 million — and \$20 million or \$30 million would be even better. Even though Republicans and Democrats pour hundreds of millions of dollars into their campaigns, a much smaller Libertarian

campaign could achieve a great deal. For one thing, unlike with the major parties, most of the money would go into advertising — enough repetitive advertising to finally be noticed and draw attention. And instead of wasting money on ads that attack one's opponent(s), the Libertarian ads would be showing Americans how much better their lives would be if libertarian proposals were implemented.

■ The Libertarian candidate is treated as a news item by the media. That means that reporters follow him around (rather than offering the single, obligatory interview) because they believe that what he says will affect the outcome of the election — even if his victory isn't considered possible. The most likely route by which the Libertarian candidate will become news is by having a large enough advertising campaign — as described above.

I know of only three ways a Libertarian presidential candidate could raise the money necessary to run a first-class campaign.

The first possibility is to run a celebrity candidate.

Such a person might be able to get far more public attention than we're used to now — by attracting media attention and drawing large crowds to campaign events. This could make it easier to raise the money needed to do enough advertising to put the Libertarian Party on the political map. It's also possible that a celebrity candidate would be able and willing to put a significant sum of his own money into the campaign.

To draw crowds and money, the celebrity would most likely have to be in the entertainment business. A minor political celebrity (governor, state legislator or even congressman) isn't likely to attract the attention, crowds and money needed.

The biggest drawback to the celebrity approach is the danger that the celebrity will compromise important parts of the Libertarian platform. He could even turn out to be an embarrassment to the party, as Howard Stern was when he announced he was running for governor of New York. He made some innocuous proposals and then dropped out.

Another drawback is that a celebrity candidate isn't likely to produce a lasting value to the party. When Ralph Nader ran on the Green Party ticket in 2000, he generated 4

million votes. But he was no longer a Green in 2004 — and David Cobb, the Green Party candidate, generated only about 100,000 votes. Nader's 2000 candidacy didn't turn the Greens into a major party.

And, as Ralph Nader demonstrated, a celebrity can't be counted on to stick around. You should never go into busi-

ness with someone who has little to gain from staying and little to lose from quitting. The celebrity isn't as likely to have as much at stake and at risk as the Libertarian Party does.

Although I believe a celebrity can do much to help the libertarian movement, a celebrity serving as a presidential candidate could easily turn out to be an embarrassing mistake — one more silver bullet that hits the wrong target.

The second possibility is to have a wealthy individual as the presidential or vice-presidential candidate — provided he will put many millions of dollars into the campaign. It probably would be safer to have such a person running as the vice-presidential candidate, as this would allow us to pick as the presidential candidate an articulate, well-informed, principled individual. A wealthy individual would probably prefer being second on the ticket anyway, as an effective presidential campaign has to be a full-time job for at least a year.

The third possibility is to build the LP to a size where it can finance a campaign large enough to put the party on the political map.

This was the strategy pursued in the late 1990s. The LP grew from 9,473 members in February 1994 to 33,194 in November 2000. The Project Archimedes program was shooting for 200,000 members eventually, but it was inexplicably abandoned shortly before the 2000 campaign — just as the program was succeeding.

A large party would give us the best of all worlds. Not only would it generate the funds for a major

advertising campaign, it also would provide a larger pool of talents, skills, people with influence and volunteers of all kinds.

And it would allow us to choose the best candidate available at the time — without regard to his celebrity or his personal wealth.

Why we run a presidential candidate

I recently read this statement in a political forum:

"The LP has been wasting its time trying to run presidential campaigns that stand no chance of ever getting elected, let alone influence public policy in our direction. In the wake of the disastrous Badnarik vote totals, it should be obvious to people by now that running campaigns at the national level are a waste of time, considering we are politically irrelevant and we still don't have the clout, the money and the resources to swing the electorate our way."

I couldn't disagree more.

The presidential campaign is vitally important — even before we're big enough to run a first-class campaign with millions of dollars of advertising. I believe the LP's presidential campaign is the most valuable form of outreach in the entire libertarian movement.

Organizations like the Independent Institute, Cato, Reason, Advocates for Self-Government, the von Mises Institute and others do very important work. I'm grateful that I can rely on so much of their efforts.

But aside from DownsizeDC.org, there is only one element in the libertarian movement that takes libertarian ideas directly to the public through television and radio in a significant way at this time — and that's the Libertarian presidential campaign. Too bad it comes around only once every four years.

I'm not privy to statistics from the Badnarik campaign, so let me cite details from the 2000 campaign to back up my contention.

In 2000 I appeared on 53 national TV shows, plus 90 national radio shows. And I appeared on 455 local radio and TV shows. All this just between February 2000 and Election Day.

What other libertarian activity gets that kind of public platform?

Not only that, but appearances like that can be far more valuable than those made by other libertarians.

Representatives from libertarian organizations occasionally are invited to appear on radio or TV — usually to discuss some current proposal for more government. Unless they are unusually adept at converting discussions of issues into discussions of principles, their comments are limited to trying to stop a

single new proposal — rather than making the case for moving toward more liberty, and rather than being able to show the benefits of libertarian positions on a whole range of subjects.

But my appearances allowed me to push the libertarian line straight across the board, and in a positive way — advancing liberty rather than resisting more government.

I was able to talk about increasing your income by repealing the income tax, assuring your retirement by freeing you from Social Security, reducing crime by ending drug prohibition and getting rid of the gun laws, providing peace and security through a non-meddling foreign policy, and so on. I was able to say, in other words, that there's a much better world available, if we will but take it.

In the 2000 campaign, Jim Babka and Robert Brunner did an outstanding job of getting me on radio and TV shows with large audiences, and it paid off. For part of the campaign, they were augmented by a public relations firm that had good contacts with national media.

Even now hardly a day goes by that I don't hear from someone telling me that he first decided he was a libertarian after seeing me on TV during the 1996 or 2000 campaign. An aggressive presidential campaign is able to achieve such results because it is given a visible platform from which it can appeal directly to non-libertarians, something otherwise not available to libertarians.

By focusing on the vote totals (which can never surpass a million in our present stage), we overlook the tremendous good the presidential campaign can do right now:

■ It is the foremost form of outreach and public education available to the libertarian movement. The Libertarian presidential candidate has opportunities not available to anyone else in the libertarian movement.

■ It can help build the Libertarian Party by generating inquiries that can be converted to new members. In 2000, media appearances generated almost 40,000 inquiries.

■ It can promote the Libertarian label — thereby helping local candidates, especially local candidates who are unable to get much media coverage.

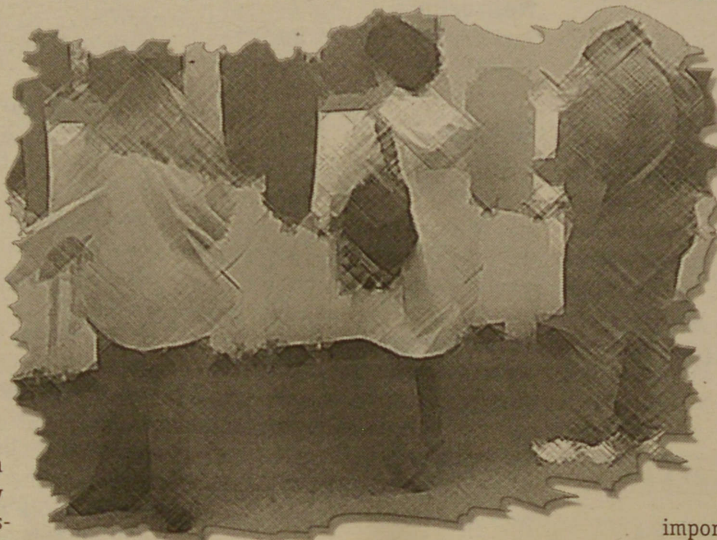
■ An articulate Libertarian candidate can cause the media people who interview him to acquire new respect for, and pay more attention to, libertarians in general.

The LP simply isn't big enough today to overcome the hurdles that the old parties, using the force of government, have placed in our way.

So before you criticize the Badnarik campaign for not getting a million or more votes, realize what they were up against and what they were able to achieve. Michael and his staff worked very hard and accomplished a lot, and the money donated to the campaign wasn't wasted.

The vote total is the least of our concerns at this stage of the

See **VOTE** Page 13



THE VOLUNTEER

Incorporating your state political committee

The 2004 general election is over. You worked hard to elect libertarian candidates and grow the Libertarian Party.

Now is the time to take stock and to plan for future election battles. The more professional our approach to the business of politics, the better chance we have of succeeding in future elections.

One way to professionalize your state political party committee, a large local and active political party committee, an independent political action committee or the campaign committee of a candidate who is running a truly active campaign, and raising and spending lots of money, is to incorporate it.

Why incorporate? The biggest reason is liability. The individual members of an unincorporated political committee (including the candidate of an unincorporated candidate committee) may be found personally liable for the actions and debts of the committee.

For example, the individual members of an unincorporated political committee may be found personally liable for:

1. Personal injuries caused by the committee's ballot access petitioner involved in an automobile accident while driving to a site to petition.
2. A defamatory statement made in a monthly newsletter.
3. The cost of repairing a defect in a used product raffled off by the committee as a fundraiser.
4. Breach of a lease, employment contract or other agreement by the

Vote total

Continued from Page 12

Libertarian Party's development. We need to be taking advantage of the enormous opportunities that can be grasped by any Libertarian campaign — presidential or local — and not pinning our hopes on a sudden, miraculous breakthrough in the vote total or wringing our hands over what today is still impossible.

If we concentrate on the opportunities — especially by building the LP as rapidly as possible and running persuasive presidential campaigns — we make it more likely that someday we will be able to run competitive races all up and down the Libertarian ticket.

■ **About the author:** Harry Browne ran for president on the Libertarian Party ticket in 1996 and 2000. He has written several books, including three that became New York Times best-sellers. This column first appeared on his Web site on Nov. 5. See it at <http://harrybrowne.org/articles/LibertarianVoteTotal.htm>.

committee.

5. Debts of the committee that cannot be paid because of the committee's financial difficulties.

I say "may" be held liable, because the facts of each case vary, and a court may decide for many reasons that in any given case an individual member of the committee may not be personally liable.

But even if the committee member ultimately prevails, he or she will have endured a lot: the commitment of time and energy necessary to a successful defense. Enormous attorneys fees to pay for that defense. The invasion of personal well-being and privacy by the court proceedings. Recriminations from family members who do not share the libertarian dream. The threat of liability and possible economic ruin.

It's great if a political committee has substantial funds and broad insurance coverage that it can commit

to the defense of its members. But how often is that the case?

Political committees are notorious for being short on funds, rarely have more than the most minimal insurance coverage, and their financial well-being varies widely over time. Incorporation is a relatively cheap line of defense against claims.

Anyone who can pay the filing fee (or claim poverty so they don't have to pay) can file a lawsuit against a political committee and all its members. A claimant could still name individual committee members in a lawsuit against an incorporated political committee. However, those members have as their first line of defense the fact that as directors of a corporation, they are not liable for their acts performed as directors. Absent their willful misconduct, or direct participation in the wrong committed, the court likely will dismiss the case against them.

You owe it to your committee

members to provide them all the protection from liability you can.

Do you want persons "of substance" — with management and business experience, organizing

political committee, as there are administrative and legal costs associated with incorporating. However, incorporation is a hallmark of any political committee that is active, substantial and professional. You should seriously consider incorporation for your political committee.

■ **About the author:** Bill Hall has served as general counsel to the Libertarian National Committee, Inc., for more than 15 years. He is a partner in the law firm of Warner Norcross & Judd LLP in Grand Rapids, Mich., and can be reached at whall@wnj.com.

Hall wrote this article to alert readers

of LP News to important legal issues they should consider in their political activities. However, this article is not intended as legal advice on any particular matter. You should not act or refrain from acting because of information based on this article without first seeking appropriate legal or other professional advice from someone who is familiar with your particular circumstances.



LP adds 11 more elected officials to its count

Continued from Page 1

one-term Republican who voted for a huge tax increase last year, received 42 percent of the vote, to be defeated by Democrat Chuck Riley, who drew 48 percent. With only six percentage points between the two, Cox's total clearly affected the outcome.

Cox, who ran as a true fiscal conservative, told newspaper reporters following the election that he believes he took votes from Gallegos, causing her downfall after one term in office.

Gallegos promised when elected in 2002 that she would not raise taxes.

"This isn't the victory we would have loved," Cox said. "But [Gallegos] was in my crosshairs from day one, and this is well within the range of success."

Strong vote totals

In other races, Libertarian candidates attained sizable vote totals — showing that there is a market for the Libertarian message — but did not achieve the desired posts.

For example:

■ Frank Gonzalez, the LP candidate for U.S. House in Florida's District 21, garnered 54,290 votes — 27.1 percent of the vote — in a two-way race, losing to incumbent Republican Lincoln Diaz-Balart despite active campaigning in recent months.

■ In Wisconsin, Tom Kuester won 14.7 percent in his three-way race for the 50th Assembly District seat

against a Democrat and a long-time Republican incumbent who was re-elected.

■ R. Scott Bludorn drew 8 percent in his race for the Illinois House of Representatives 53rd District. Incumbent Sidney Mathias drew 59 percent to win, and Democrat Nicholas Chrisos earned 33 percent.

■ Jerry Cameron, a retired police chief from St. Augustine, Fla., took 5 percent of the vote in his three-way race for the District 20 seat in Florida's House of Representatives.

■ Rick Fowlkes drew 301,664 votes (25.1 percent) in his two-way race against incumbent Republican Kris Mayes for Arizona Corporation Commissioner.

■ Russ Diamond earned 16.5 percent of the vote (3,217 votes out of 19,531 total) in his race for Pennsylvania's 101st legislative district.

■ Richard Kahn drew 3.45 percent support in his three-way race for U.S. Congress in New Hampshire, receiving 10,728 votes. The incumbent won with 58 percent of the vote.

■ In North Carolina, three candidates for statewide office took high vote totals: Gubernatorial candidate Barbara Howe got 52,513 votes (1.51 percent), lieutenant governor candidate Chris Cole received 56,368 votes (1.66 percent) and U.S. Senate candidate Tom Bailey received 47,743 votes (1.38 percent).

■ In Indiana, Aaron Milewski drew 45,212 votes (1.89 percent) in the attorney general race, while

Joe Hauptmann, LP candidate for Indiana's superintendent of public instruction, took 67,419 votes (2.87 percent).

Earlier victories

Before the Nov. 2 elections, hundreds of other Libertarians were already in public office — both elected (or re-elected) and appointed — across the nation. Many had been elected earlier this year to various local-level offices.

"Communities have seen Libertarian office holders deliver lower taxes and less restrictive laws as they serve on school boards, city councils and other local-level offices across the nation," Seehusen said.

"At this level, we have a track record that voters can refer to in evaluating Libertarian candidates. As we continue to provide good governance at the local level, our candidates will be able to achieve an ever-higher profile, making them more electable for higher offices."

Libertarians elected to office before Election Day this year included:

■ Tim Cowles, to the Madison (Ala.) City Council.

■ Tom Rawles, to the Mesa (Ariz.) City Council.

■ Joe Johnson, as Frederick (Colo.) Town Trustee.

■ Rex Bell, re-elected to Hagerstown (Ind.) Planning Commission.

■ Tamara Millay, elected as Greendale (Mo.) City Marshall.

■ Karl H. Timmerman, to the Holden (Mo.) City Council.

■ John Taylor, to the Highland (NJ) Boro School Board.

■ Bill Woolsey, re-elected to James Island (SC) Town Council.

■ Gene Cisewski, re-elected to Iron County (Wis.) Board of Supervisors.

■ Will Fantle, elected to Eau Claire County (Wis.) Board of Supervisors.

■ Mark Hepfinger, as Cottage Grove (Wis.) Municipal Court Judge.

■ Craig Mohn, to the Woodville (Wis.) Village Board.

■ Dave Ripp, re-elected to the Dane County (Wis.) Board of Supervisors.

■ Kevin Scheunemann, elected to Kewaskum (Wis.) Village Board.

■ Alexander W. Young, elected to Rhinelander (Wis.) City Council.

Appointments

Libertarians appointed to various positions this year have included: Ken Anton, to the Elk (Cal.) Community Services District; Scott Baker, to the Elkhart County (Ind.) Convention and Visitors Commission; Brian Golliher, to the Hagerstown (Ind.) Planning Commission; Thomas Knapp, to Missouri's Selective Service State Board; and Barry Ganoe, to the Summit County (Ohio) Planning Commission.

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GUEST COMMENTARY

Before going to war, follow the rules — the Constitution

Clearly, the war in Iraq has polarized the Libertarian Party. Many of our members and supporters have left us for the position we have taken. LP members have told me personally that they will no longer support the party, will cancel their membership and will hold their nose and vote for candidates from other parties.

Libertarians regard U.S. Rep. Ron Paul as the most honorable member of Congress. He consistently upholds the Constitution, despite being outnumbered by his colleagues who either ignore it or do not understand it.

His vote is not dependent on political conditions, and he is often the lone defiant voice in defense of the Constitution. While the rest of Congress will vote to violate our rights, confiscate our property, and promote unrestrained growth of the federal government well beyond the limited scope mandated by the Constitution, Paul votes "NO." He has taken a position clearly against the dominant Republican Party in opposing the war. I am sure this is not easy for him, and he assumes politi-

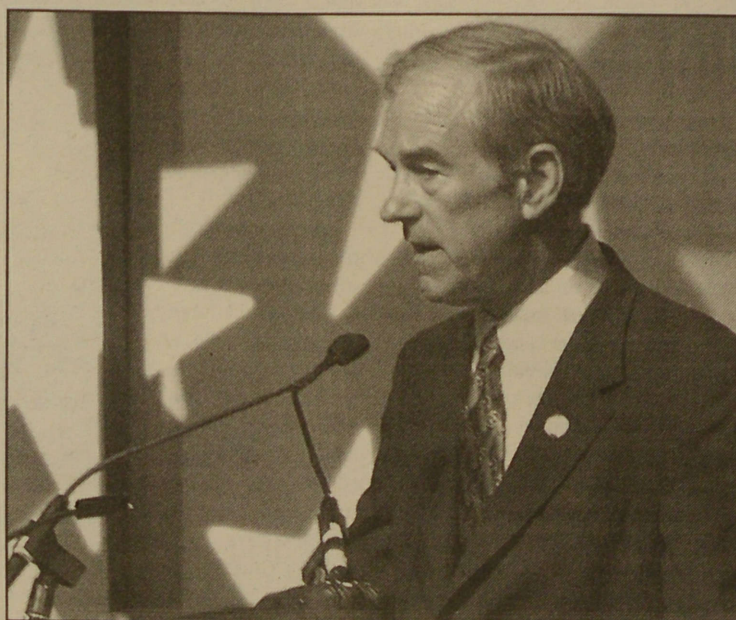
cal risk, but principles matter more than politics.

Regardless of your position on whether Saddam had links to al Qaeda, whether there were stockpiles of weapons, whether Iraq posed an imminent threat, or whether Iraqi citizens needed to be liberated, all libertarians must agree on this point: U.S. armed forces cannot be sent into a country to conduct war without a congressional declaration of war!

As Paul has stated repeatedly, Article 1, Section 8 gives that responsibility to Congress, not the president. Paul has emphatically demanded that Congress and the president do their duty, and has presented bills to bring them in compliance with the Constitution. Neither his colleagues nor the Bush administration have shown any regard for compliance.

The Constitution is the rulebook for the federal government. As Michael Badnarik teaches, its purpose is to protect the life, liberty and property of individuals. That is why it does not grant rights to the people; it puts restrictions on power of the federal government. Our elected representatives take an oath to uphold the Constitution.

Unfortunately most are insin-



■ Rep. Ron Paul (R-TX) addresses the 2004 LP Convention.

cere. If they cannot follow their own rules, we are no longer a democratic republic. There is no constraint to federal powers. We have no Constitution. Nothing stands between us and tyranny.

Imagine if one morning the president woke up and said "Spain really has me ticked off today. Let's invade." The Constitution is meant to ensure that no single person has

such power.

There are no shortcuts.

The process matters. It is not just a formality. It is meant to be inconvenient. Would you want it to be easy to send 150,000 troops into another country?

There are those that accuse Libertarians who oppose the war of refusing to defend our country against terrorists. This is erroneous

and absurd.

The LP issued a press release on Sept. 12, 2001, stating that we need to find the terrorists and bring them to justice. It also says that we have a Constitution; that the enemy is "them," not us; and that we should follow the process.

It would be easy to pander. It is heartbreaking to see people who called themselves Libertarians, joined the party, donated to our cause, voted for our candidates and ran as Libertarian candidates themselves now abandon us. When you consider all the efforts we have made to grow the party, it hurts to lose support.

But time will heal these wounds. We will grow support from those who revere liberty and the Constitution as we do. They will realize Democrats and Republicans are insincere in their promises and have no regard for the principles upon which our country was founded.

Ron Paul doesn't pander, and I am proud to have him as our congressman in Texas. I am proud the Libertarian Party remains the party of principle.

■ **About the author:** Patrick Dixon is the chairman of the Libertarian Party of Texas.

SpaceShipOne catapults freedom to greater heights

In the summer of 1998 I visited the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum and noticed a small granite-based plaque near the exit, with a short description of the Ansari X Prize, which promised \$10 million to the first team that could send a private craft into space.

It could have been easily missed but for the words that were like flashing neon to a libertarian: It was very clear that no government money was to be involved.

The other conditions were that the craft be used twice in less than two weeks to take at least one astronaut — and the equivalent of two more — into space, and that only a small portion of the craft, other than fuel, could be replaced.

It was clear what this all meant: We were going to space and government was not invited.

Five years later, in mid-2003, I was hosting a daily talk radio show when one of the show's listeners brought to my attention a Web page [www.scaled.com] that featured Burt Rutan's X Prize entry.

I was very excited and immediately shared the information with my audience, explaining what libertarians around the world knew was coming.

About a year later the first launch into space by a private individual was scheduled. I knew the event would be either ignored by the do-

mestic press or twisted into a call to increase government funding.

Over the years, I had heard from enough hard-core libertarians who had come in contact with Burt Rutan to know that Rutan was not hostile to libertarian philosophy.

When it came time for Rutan's attempt at sending a privately funded craft into space in June, we knew the world would be watching.

The question: What message would we want to send that would be supported by Rutan and Paul Allen of Scaled Composites? We wanted to get out the message that there were supporters who understood that this project would mean a quantum leap for individual freedom.

Powell Gammill and I started planning sign slogans. We knew what was going to happen with the international press, and wanted to make clear what this event would mean to us.

We knew what emotions we wanted to stimulate with our signs, but out of respect for the SpaceShipOne team we didn't want our slogans to have too sharp an edge.

These are the six winners: "We are going to Space ... and Government is Not Invited"; "The Future ... Brought to you by Free Enterprise";

"Space ... the Freedom Frontier"; "Government is Lost in Space"; "In Space, You Can't Hear the Government Scream"; and "SpaceShipOne — Government Zero."

When the "Government Zero" slogan popped into Powell's head, we knew he'd come up with a winner.

There was little interest outside the Western Libertarian Alliance to make the most of the historical event on June 21, when SpaceShipOne was expected to become the first privately funded, manned craft to leave the earth's atmosphere and return, but there were some notable libertarian exceptions.

Vince Miller from ISIL (International Society for Individual Liberty) generated a flier to be passed out to the crowd that explained ISIL's position; Joseph Brennen flew in from London to be part of the celebration; Michael and Rachel Kielsky brought their three children from Mesa, Ariz.; while I, my two sons Forest and Corsair, Dean Pleasant, Powell Gammill, Barry Hess, and a fan of the radio show named Rick, all piled into a minivan and drove to Mojave, Calif., for the event.

There were two congressional candidates (Powell and Michael), I was a candidate for U.S. Senate, and Barry Hess is running for governor in 2006, so the big "L" libertarians were well represented along with

the anarcho-capitalist libertarians.

After the historic flight and while emotions were still high, SpaceShipOne was paraded in front of the crowd — towed by a pickup with Rutan on the tailgate and the first civilian astronaut, Mike Melvill, on top of the first privately funded spacecraft.

**IT WAS CLEAR
what this all meant:
We were going
to space,
and government
was not invited.**

I ran over to the fence with the "SpaceShipOne — Government Zero" sign, in time for Rutan to see it.

Every news media outlet in attendance from around the world saw him run to the low fence next to the runway where the crowd had gathered, to get the sign.

The Discovery Channel's two-hour-long documentaries of Scaled Composite's efforts — "Black Sky: The Race for Space" and "Black Sky: Winning the X Prize" — detail the effort from beginning to end and highlights this scene as well.

It has since been reported in *Popular Science* and *The New Yorker* and hundreds of other publications around the world, including China and India.

Certainly one of the highlights of this history-making event was Burt Rutan asking, "Can I use this sign to send a message to the media?"

To which I responded, "You bet, and we've got plenty more we'll get to you."

This scene was broadcast once again on CBS's "60 Minutes" the first Sunday after the 2004 presidential elections. The very clear message that Rutan and Melvill excitedly sent the world was, "SpaceShipOne — Government Zero."

We later delivered the other signs to the hangar party following the flight and were treated well by everyone but the FAA liaison — but that's another story.

Scaled Composites has achieved a feat that only three countries have managed to accomplish, and they did it without a penny of government funding. It just goes to show what individuals can accomplish if government just stays out of the way.

■ **About the author:** Ernest Hancock ran for an Arizona seat in the U.S. Senate this year. He hosts a weekly radio program, "Declare Your Independence with Ernest Hancock."

Measured in dollars or lives, excessive regulations cost too much

By Mary Ruwart, Ph.D.
AUTHOR, HEALING OUR WORLD

Everyone is concerned about the high cost of prescription drugs.

Before we are regulators, drug company employees, cost-conscious consumers or even libertarians, we are human beings who will one day need a life-saving pharmaceutical or medical intervention. Thus, we all have a vested interest in innovative treatments at affordable prices.

Even at today's high drug prices, every dollar spent on new pharmaceuticals — or "new chemical entities," as we call them in the trade — saves us an additional \$2 or \$3 by lowering health care costs and cutting lost time. For example, when the first anti-ulcer drug, Tagamet, was introduced, patients no longer needed to leave work for a \$28,000 surgery. Instead, they could take one to three courses of drug therapy, each costing about \$1,000 — with virtually no loss of work.

Many of the proposed "solutions" to high drug costs, such as price and profit controls, would cause manufacturers to cut back on the innovation which creates such saving.

In the long run, these "solutions" only address the symptoms, not the underlying problem — excess regulation.

Although many researchers knew that excess regulation — regulation that takes lives instead of saving them — played a role in soaring pharmaceutical prices, it's only in the past few years that enough data has been available to actually quantify some of these costs. Even though I had witnessed "regulatory creep" first-hand in my 19 years as a research scientist in the pharmaceutical industry, I was astounded at how large a role regulation plays in the rising price of drugs.

Drug development time

In 1962, the Kefauver-Harris amendments to the Food and Drug Act were passed in the wake of the European thalidomide tragedy. Thalidomide, a sleeping aid less likely than barbiturates to cause death by accidental overdose, prevented morning sickness as well. But, women who took thalidomide in the first month or two of pregnancy often had babies with half-formed limbs. The U.S. was largely unaffected by this tragedy because the federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA) had withheld approval due to concern about kidney toxicity.

The new amendments required manufacturers to test drugs for efficacy, even though a 1907 Supreme Court ruling had declared such laws unconstitutional. No drug works for everyone, so what percentage of people had to be helped for it to be lawful? Clearly, as the court pointed out, it was a "matter of opinion."

Nevertheless, the 1962 amendments became law. The FDA set the bar for efficacy so high that drug development times soared from about

4.4 years in the decades prior to the amendments to 14.2 years in the 1990s. Without the 1992 Prescription Drug User Fee Act, the average drug would have spent 15.2 years in development in the 1990s. The 1992 legislation allowed manufacturers to pay for the hiring of more FDA staff — who would then process their specific applications more rapidly.

The dramatic increase in drug development times meant that some drug patents ran out before the manufacturer could get it through the regulatory process! Consequently, Congress passed the Waxman-Hatch Act of 1984, which gave patent extensions to drug makers based on the regulatory component of the development time. By the Act's definition of the "regulatory review time," about 84 percent of the average new drug's development time was consumed by regulations, most of which (about 70 percent) was directly attributable to the 1962 amendments.

Adding a decade or so to development times meant that people died waiting for life-saving drugs. Since we know how many lives the average drug saves, we can calculate that about 4.7 million people died prematurely since 1962 due to the amendments. In contrast, had the amendments prevented all serious drug toxicity in the United States

at the same rate seen from 1950 to 1962, only about 7,000 lives would have been saved.

Even if we assume that the U.S. would have experienced a thalidomide-like tragedy every 12 years without the amendments, they would have saved, at most, 90,000 lives.

Clearly, the amendments are much more deadly than the drugs themselves — as AIDS victims discovered. Frustrated by the long delays, they began to make new AIDS drugs in underground laboratories and distributed them widely before manufacturers could even begin their clinical testing!

Luckily, the FDA elected to ignore the underground suppliers rather than shut them down. Because many potential AIDS therapies were marketed in Europe years before they were available in the U.S., the FDA began permitting importation of small quantities for personal use.

Was the FDA applauded for its

Libertarian SOLUTIONS

recognition of the dangers of too much regulation? Hardly!

As former FDA Commissioner Alexander Schmidt noted, "... rarely, if ever, has Congress held a hearing to look into the failure of FDA to approve a new entity; but it has held hundreds of hearings alleging that the FDA has done something wrong by approving a drug."

Congress has charged the FDA with approving only drugs that are safe and efficacious. Since no drug is safe for everyone or works for everyone, the only way the FDA can meet its obligation is to approve no drugs at all. Instead, FDA examiners have chosen to demand more and more studies so that they can show due diligence when negative side effects arise.

Cutting costs

Of course, these extra studies not only take more time, they

cost money too. The average out-of-pocket cost of putting a new drug on the market today is about \$500 million (2003 dollars). Capitalized costs for the 14-plus years of development time is about \$1.2 billion. Had pre-amendment trends in research and development (R&D) continued, these costs would be about \$69 million and \$92 million respectively. In other words, out-of-pocket R&D per new drug would be about 14 percent of what it is today and capitalized costs would be a mere 8 percent.

Would lower R&D costs mean lower drug prices for consumers?

The short answer is "Yes!"

U.S. pharmaceutical expenditures parallel new drug R&D, even though R&D is only about one-fifth of each sales dollar. Manufacturers often price products as a multiple of their R&D costs to cover production, distribution, advertising and investor profit. In addition, the 1962

amendments increased regulation of drug manufacturing and advertising, so it's likely that these costs were affected by the amendments to an extent similar to R&D.

As development costs have risen, manufacturers have had to shift resources from research to development. Less research means less innovation and more "me-too" drugs. Researchers have estimated that manufacturers are developing only about half as many drugs as they otherwise would without such high development costs.

Death by regulation

How many people have died prematurely because the life-saving drug they needed never made it to market? If abandoned drugs were only 28 percent as potent as today's drugs, another 4.7 million lives would have been lost in addition to the 4.7 million lives already lost due to extended development times. If these abandoned drugs were as potent as today's drugs, the death toll from lost innovation climbs

to 16.5 million.

I suspect that the higher number is closer to the truth.

When I filed a patent for the use of prostaglandins for the treatment of liver disease, the FDA examiner in charge of the gastrointestinal section telephoned me. Because liver disease had no standard therapy, the examiner wanted to encourage my employer to develop these drugs. However, we weren't sure how many people our study needed, what dose to give, how long to treat, or what measurements to use to prove that our drug worked. Since such studies take years, we needed to be right the first time or our patent would run out before our drug got to market! In that case, every generic company could use our data to market our drug for themselves. We would be left with all the development costs and no way to recover them. Consequently, my employer decided not to develop the prostaglandins. Over a decade later, studies would show that this drug would have been a life-saver.

Breakthrough drugs are the most difficult and most expensive to develop. Thus, they are the ones most likely to be lost when regulatory costs are high. If the drugs abandoned by manufacturers are as potent as the ones marketed today, as many as one out of five people who have died since 1962 from disease may have suffered

death by regulation.

A bad bargain

Clearly, the 1962 amendments were a bad bargain for consumers. People die waiting for life-saving drugs tied up in regulatory red tape or ones that never make it through. To add insult to injury, only about 10 percent of pre-amendment drugs were ineffective. To save the 10 percent which consumers wasted on drugs that didn't work, the amendments increased drug prices by 600-700 percent!

Health care costs are higher too, since people turn to more expensive medical procedures when drug treatment is unavailable. Depending upon how potent that the lost innovations would have been, health care costs would be 13-38 percent lower than they are today without the 1962 amendments.

Ironically, the 1962 amendments created an "American thalidomide" tragedy more deadly than the European one they were meant to prevent. In the early 1980s, researchers began reporting that a common B-vitamin, folic acid, could prevent birth defects, such as spina bifida, when given in the first two months of pregnancy. Manufacturers wanted to advertise the recommendation that all women of child-bearing age take folic acid supplements. The FDA forbade them to do so because they had not performed the long and costly development studies on this generic substance. The ban continued for many years even after the FDA began making food producers supplement their products with folic acid in 1996.

During the years that folic acid manufacturers were forbidden to educate the public, thousands of children, perhaps tens of thousands, were born deformed or aborted unnecessarily. More American infants were probably born with deformities because of this single application of the 1962 amendments than were harmed in all of Europe by thalidomide. Thus, the very regulations that were passed to protect American infants caused them even greater harm than the largest drug disaster in history.

This incident points to what is potentially the greatest tragedy of the 1962 amendments.

Common, inexpensive nutrients that prevent disease are underutilized. When their value is recognized, they are often chemically reconfigured into more costly prescription medication so that they can be patented and put through the drug development process.

Patents weren't considered a precondition of drug development before the amendment-driven lengthening of drug development times. When I joined The Upjohn Company in the mid-1970s, they were in the final stages of moving away from unpatented products. Without the passage of the amendments, pharmaceutical firms might have con-

See **REGULATION** Page 18

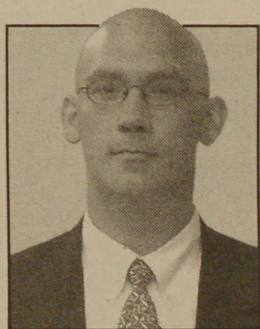
THE EDITOR

From falling to flight

A few years ago I was fly fishing (unsuccessfully) on Tennessee's Elk River when I started watching an ungainly blue heron that was hunched on a dead tree sticking out over the river. Having been polished by sun and rain to a silver gleam, the branch on which the bird was sitting looked permanent, strong and immovable. Until, that is, the limb broke with an abrupt crack, falling straight toward the water about 25 feet below.

As the branch fell, the bird stood rigid, wings tucked carefully at his sides. When he was scant feet from hitting bottom, the heron extended his wings nonchalantly and caught the air under them. The limb continued its fall, crashing into the water below — but the heron, buoyed up by its five feet of wingspan, flew slowly downriver, trailing its awkward legs behind. As graceful in flight as he had been graceless in rest, he soared around the next bend and disappeared.

Had the precipitous fall disconcerted this bird? Not to any apparent degree. It seemed he had taken the limb's collapse as a boon, a gift that put him back in motion. Far from being destroyed, the heron merely spread his wings and used the impetus of his fall to launch his next rise.



By J. Daniel Cloud

LP NEWS EDITOR

I have to wonder: How similar are people to this bird? Sitting still, we tend to stagnate. We look awkward and inconsequential because we are awkward. Our natural state is motion; when we're unable or unwilling to move, we are recognized as out of place. And sometimes, just sometimes, it takes an unexpected plunge to force a person — or even a political party — into motion.

Following November's elections, I received several phone calls and e-mails from people wondering why Libertarians bother running for office, only to get "less than 1 percent of the vote in their candidacy for dog catcher," as one caller put it.

I understand where these people are coming from. They've grown tired of seeing Libertarian candidates — both those with paper candidacies and those who actually work to be elected — fall short in their quest for office. Too frequently, those candidates either don't run again — out of discouragement — or they wait until three months before the next election to start raising money for another push, or to otherwise get involved in positive motion.

It doesn't have to be like that. Take North Carolina's post-election rush of activity, for example. As voters flooded to the polls on Nov. 2, many of the state's LP activists — as well as some from other states — started collecting signatures for their 2008 ballot access drive.

"We won't know how many signatures we'll have to get until after this election's results are certified, but it will probably be close to 69,000 valid signatures — which means we'll need more than 100,000 raw signatures," said Sean Haugh, executive director of the NCLP.

Petition signatures are still trickling in from that one day of collections, Haugh said, noting in mid-November that he already had about 6,650 in hand and was expecting about 2,300 more from petitioners around the state — giving the state a "good jump start" on the job of achieving ballot access through the 2008 election.

The signatures collected at polling places are particularly important because they are usually about 97 percent valid, compared to about 65 percent validity for signatures on other days, he noted. Haugh also reported other "hopeful trends" resulting from this year's elections: "We had some candidates who ran two or four years ago and then again this year, who did up to three times as well this time as they did last time. That's very encouraging."

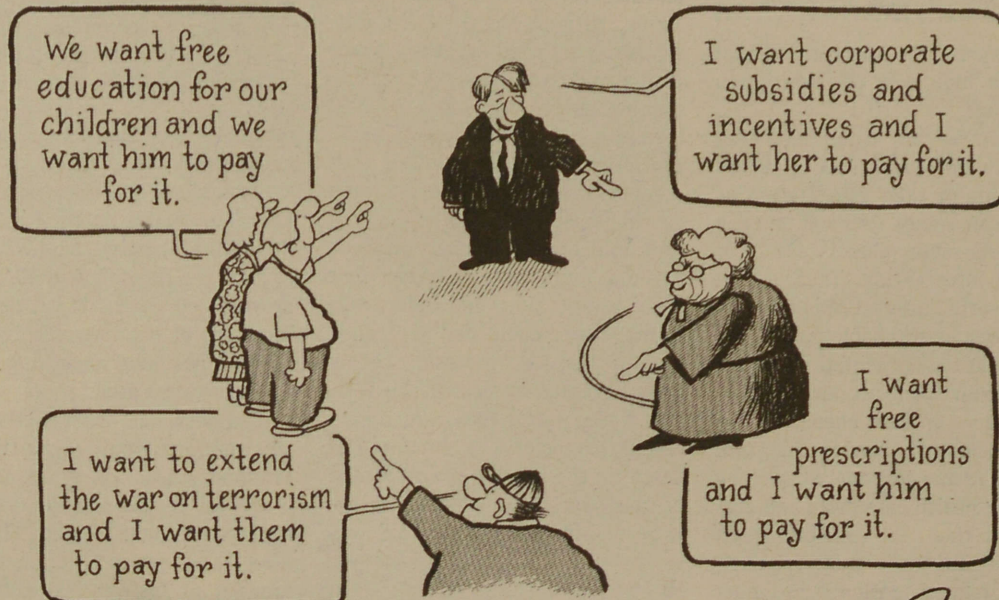
"Usually, after the elections, there are people who tell me they're disappointed in the results and are giving up, and I'm not seeing that this time. Also, we have candidates who are realizing that we haven't been doing the things we need to do to win — like raising money throughout the year for advertising, or going out and knocking on doors, just getting to know people in our areas."

"That realization has been a welcome, swift kick in the ass. People are getting ready to work. Several have told me they are going to start campaigning now for the next election cycle. It's never too early."

Did the North Carolina LP sweep elections this year? No, but they took advantage of Election Day nonetheless by getting about 13 percent of their ballot access petitioning out of the way in one day; candidates are already getting psyched up about the next election season; and activists there are ready to get a good head start.

They're feeling the wind under their wings. And they're not alone.

2004 ELECTION CYCLE SCHEMATIC



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THE MAILBOX

Environmentalism

I just wanted to drop a note and congratulate you on your excellent work, free-market environmentalism. [See November 2004 LP News, *Libertarian Solutions*.]

Please allow me to share a couple of thoughts. My first wife was Czech. When she was working on Wenceslas Square in Prague (previous to 1989), Czech "socialist" industry was devastating the mountains in Northern Bohemia and the health of many citizens as well.

Occasionally, groups of Czech citizens would attempt to protest the devastation of their environment.

Socialist countries are, of course, particularly sensitive to dissent. When the people ruled by such governments protest, this undermines the notion that their designs "for the greater good" are not being met with the satisfaction we should reasonably expect in the vast majority of their citizenry.

Eva personally witnessed the Czech police showing up with dogs and turning on fire hoses to disperse the protesters.

The next day, government officials would show up at every business with a window on the front where workers might have witnessed the events.

The management and workers in these stores were asked to sign documents acknowledging that they had seen the police disperse the protests — and that they (the management and workers) approved not only of them doing so, but also of the methods they employed.

What so few "Greens/Socialists" fail to realize is that the government can only assist in the environment while it is genuinely an outside party between the citizens and

industry.

In Czechoslovakia (and, of course, Russia and the Eastern Bloc generally) once the socialists had assumed the reigns of industry, there was no incentive for the bureaucrats who reaped disproportionate benefits from the profits of industry to impose costly environmental controls or to improve working conditions.

EDITORS NEED NEWS.

Good solid news that is not considered 'fringe or nut case' will be printed or telecast. We're getting there....

—GERALD SHIDELL

If the Greens are successful in their socialist ambitions here, I can assure you they will meet with the same results. Eventually, they would become the people who ordered that protests regarding the environment be dispersed — and dispersed violently if need be.

I would strongly recommend that you also purchase a copy of [former Czech president] Vaclav Havel's work *The Art of The Impossible*.

In the first essay in that book (being a copy of his first New Year's Eve Address — the Czech equivalent of our State of the Union Address) Havel spoke extensively of the communists who had proceeded him as "the men who refuse to look out of airplane windows."

He pointed out that the former communists refused to look out of

their airplane windows because they did not want to see the devastating consequences of their actions.

By the way, I know how bad the air was in Chattanooga in '81: I graduated from the McCallie School in Chattanooga in 1982.

—JAMES HINES
Fairhope, Alabama

Not tonight, honey

Thanks to 56 years of atrocious foreign policy in the Middle East, the United States has created enough rabid enemies that it can proclaim an Orwellian perpetual "War on Terror."

War is great for growing government and war industries at the expense of liberty, truth, justice and taxpayers (present and future).

The warnings of libertarians were ignored. Now what?

Those who watched Thomas Barnett, the chief strategist for the Secretary of Defense describe the "Pentagon's New Map, War and Peace in the 21st Century" on C-SPAN got a glimpse of the intent of the Bush Administration and its rationale: Bush is on a crusade to convert Muslims and make the Middle East safe for Israel.

—BILL HOLMES
Lancaster, California

Suggested pledge

To all of you that run the party for us, thank you for all of your hard work!

I have been a Libertarian all of my life, and in 1984, I learned that there was a political party that represented me: the Libertarian Party. It has been my hope that one day I will talk to people about the LP and they won't say "I won't vote Liber-



THE MAILBOX

tarian because they have no chance of winning."

I was doing some math after the election. Michael Badnarik received 376,000 votes and received around \$1 million in contributions. This averages to \$2.76 donated by every person who cares enough to vote Libertarian. I don't know how many party members that we have, but if each of those 376,000 voters would pledge \$5 per month to go strictly to running one commercial, repeated over and over on national TV, that would get our name known.

By the time our next candidate runs for president we could achieve vote totals that we have never seen before.

This advertising should be strictly for "brand recognition" like Coke and Pepsi do. We should not attempt to advertise any particular positions, but should direct people to look for more information on our Web site or by toll free number.

I believe that if each Libertarian was asked to pledge \$5 per month, totaling \$60 per year, the response would be overwhelming.

It must be made clear that these funds would be used only for national TV advertising running on prime time shows and that other funds will still be needed for running the office, etc. I for one would keep my standard monthly pledge and make a secondary pledge to this cause.

By the way, I know that the Badnarik campaign ran a few ads before the election. To this date, I have never seen one. This is understandable with the high cost of air time. Imagine what \$5 a month as described above can do.

—ANDREW COHEN
Coral Springs, Florida

■ Better coverage

I would like to commend the *LP News* for the welcome increase in political coverage over the past few months. For those of us who work in the trenches every day, it is great to see the coverage of all of the hard-fought campaigns around the country.

As a political party, it is our job to elect Libertarians. By showcasing political successes, hopefully more Libertarians will work towards political victories to go with our moral victories.

—BRAD KLOPFENSTEIN
Executive Director, Indiana LP

■ The new left?

Where is the liberal opposition to the PATRIOT Act?

Where is the liberal alternative to Bush's No Child Left Behind?

Where is the liberal alternative to the anti-First Amendment Bi-Partisan Campaign Reform Act?

Where is the liberal defense of the right to a speedy trial?

Where is the liberal defense of the right to privacy?

Where is the liberal defense of the right to decide what to put into

your own body?

Where is the liberal opposition to corporate welfare?

Where is the liberal support for people to contract to marry with whosoever they please?

Where is the liberal call for a quick exit from a reckless military adventure?

It is with the same party that stands by the second amendment — the Libertarian Party.

The LP has a huge opportunity in the next two years.

The Democrats have run right into the ditch. The Republicans are a strained coalition of oxymoronic neo-conservatives, small "l" libertarians and intolerant evangelicals that will start pulling the party in different directions in Bush's second term.

We need to work together to let the Democrats who feel betrayed on civil liberties issues and the small "l" libertarians in the Republican Party know that they have a home in the Libertarian party.

In change lies opportunity. Both tax-funded parties will be going through some soul searching and change. This is a year for Libertarian Party building.

Step up your outreach activities: Buy 1,000 of the World's Smallest Political Quiz cards and leave one or two every place you go; find an opportunity for an OPH booth and staff it; write a letter to the editor every month; forward Libertarian articles to friends and family; join Toastmasters and make every speech about a Libertarian topic.

In 2006, we're going to need campaign fund donors and voters. Now is the time to start getting them.

—BRENT SULLIVAN
Houston, Texas

■ Immigration

Platform plank I.18 Immigration:

Isn't that the very same plank that our 2004 Platform Committee struggled with for so long and ultimately characterized as a conundrum? (For those of us educated in government schools, that means a "puzzle or riddle without solution.")

I believe that the majority of those who have looked at this plank with respect to other Libertarian principles and positions will no doubt agree with the committee's characterization. Those who do so may also notice that this plank contains several issues and characterizations that are unrelated by definition to immigration.

Then any attempt to address even the most unrelated issue is seen as a direct assault on immigration. Compounding that problem is the fact that several issues in this mix are so emotionally charged that a rational approach to developing a tenable solution or transition is viewed as an assault on the basic principle.

The problem we are facing is this: How do we protect the natural right

of those deserving souls "...seeking subsistence and happiness..." and at the same time exclude those who enter for destructive purposes or to avail themselves of services that ultimately place a burden on the rest of us?

Sure, just get rid of welfare and the problem goes away. Reality really begs a presence here, since we know that there are criminal and terrorist elements that are not enticed by welfare.

The October 2004 edition of *LP News* contained a letter by Michael Edelstein with several comments relative to George Squyres's statement that "borders must be controlled, and immigration must be regulated."

I have spoken with Mr. Squyres on this very subject and will tell you that his statement is based on a very broad and in-depth understanding of the issue and not on any lack thereof.

For the Libertarian Party to be viewed as credible, we must acknowledge the existence and nature of the problems associated with the open borders concept, objectively define those problems, form positions and make proposals that lead to viable and tenable solutions.

—D.J. GLENN
Roswell, NM

■ Global warming

I attended the breakfast at the Atlanta Convention at which Carl Pope spoke, and was very bothered by what I heard. Not during his talk, but during the Q&A session afterward.

[Some attendees] almost got into a shouting match with our guest about global warming. I was disappointed that Mr. Pope did not choose to end this shouting by asking a single question.

Given that so much about this debate appears to hinge on scientific questions ... I will ask anybody who cares to answer what I believe to be a crucial question.

What evidence would you accept as sufficient for you to accept that global warming is real, that it is a real threat (to our survival, to our wealth and health, to personal property, etc.), and that it is at least partially anthropogenic (caused by human activity)?

I ask the nay-sayers to go out on a limb, and say what evidence they require to agree that global warming is real. Because up to now, all I have heard from libertarians amounts to insisting that global warming can't be real — that because it goes against libertarian ideas, it can't be real.

It is past time for Libertarians to participate in the debate seriously.

Our own intransigence has marginalized us. If we do have something to offer to the discussion that does not amount to saying, "You're all wrong," then we owe it to ourselves and to the rest of humanity to get ourselves heard.

Insisting that the scientists — at least some of whom are just trying to understand climate, and are genuinely concerned that their warn-

ings are being aggressively ignored — are simply wrong does nobody any good.

—DAN KARLAN
Waldwick, New Jersey

■ Responsibility

One of the things I've discovered over the past few months is that many people on the left do not want anything to do with the LP because of our stance on corporations. Specifically, they assume that we don't care what corporations do to the environment or to their employees.

To counter that perception, I'd like to propose a new plank for the platform called Corporate Responsibility. It would read as follows and will be posted to the yahoo discussion group, lpplatform-discuss@yahoogroups.com for discussion.

Issue: Some businesses have failed to behave in an ethical manner by, among other things, polluting the environment, damaging their employees' health or hurting their employees' financial status through changes in the pension plan.

Principle: Publicly traded limited-liability businesses that are created or chartered by the government should be subject to oversight by the government.

Solution: Repeal any laws based on corporations having "natural person" status and return corporations to "artificial person" status, thus limiting their constitutional protections. Prohibit limited liability for some actions such as harm to employees or the environment.

Transition: Congress should pass a Sarbanes-Oxley type bill to require accountability for actions that affect employees and the environment. Change bankruptcy laws to exclude modification or elimination of health care plans and pension plans for a period of two years after the bankruptcy is filed to give employees some time to make other arrangements.

To reduce corporate influence on government, enact a four-step program that would:

1. End corporate subsidies
2. End all corporate taxes because they are simply passed through to the purchaser
3. End all regulations except those that govern ethical conduct
4. Ask, not tell, corporations to reduce the price of their goods and services by 10 percent to compensate for steps 1 through 3.

—DAVID AITKEN
Denver, Colorado

■ 'Woe is us!'

We spent incredible amounts of money and thousands of hours of valuable time to get on the ballot in 48 states. Ralph Nader was on nine fewer states than we were and still managed to outpoll us by approximately 17,000 votes.

What did our effort get us? Where was the great benefit in the usage of these two valuable resources — money and time? Then the first words out of the mouths of our party leaders were: "That proves

once again how much celebrity candidates benefit from the media coverage that is showered upon them."

We are becoming a bunch of cry babies! "Woe is us."

I have a suggestion: Let's focus less on the over-rated ballot access problem and start producing vote totals so they can't ignore us.

Forget the extremely hard ballot access states. Concentrate on those states where access is easy. Take the limited resources we have and work those states hard. Get our message out to the people. Let them hear the principled message we have. Let them hear the alternative to big government and why it will work.

We spread ourselves too thin, exhaust our money and tire our people out before the real race begins. We can't get our message out because we are drained financially and physically in attempting 50-state ballot access.

The media ignored us, to a large extent, when we did achieve 50-state access, and they ignored us once again this time.

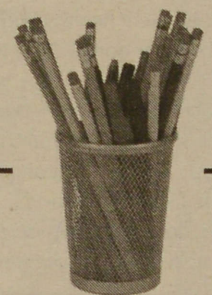
We need to concentrate on getting state representatives elected; holding vote totals that will tip the balance of the election one way or the other in key races; running ads so that even the most brain-dead editor of a paper must see them and run stories about our party; and, in general, creating our own buzz so we get the publicity we then deserve.

Crying about celebrity status getting all the coverage only diminishes our status in people's eyes.

Editors need news. Good solid news that is not considered "fringe or nut case" will be printed or telecast.

We are getting there, but the pace is so slow that my grandchildren will still be writing letters like this one when they are in their 50s. Let's move in a positive direction with concrete results with the limited resources we have. If we don't, we're doomed!

I've been a Libertarian since 1976, even when I was elected mayor in my city in 1978. I can't wait much longer to see freedom start to come back into vogue in this coun-



Make Your Voice Heard!

LP News welcomes letters.
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THE MAILBOX

try. I want to leave a legacy for my children and two grandchildren that will see them living in freedom in their lifetimes.

—GERALD SHIDELL
Rhineland, Wisconsin

Libertarian enough

I am writing in response to a reader's letter entitled 'Jesse Ventura' by Tony Correnti. [See October 2004 LP News]

I believe he hits on an excellent point which needs to be expounded on. One particular sentence caught my attention: "Members who continue to discuss whether our candidates are 'Libertarian enough' miss the bigger picture."

Occasionally, I fall into this trap myself with members, can-

didates or self-proclaimed libertarians which does more harm than good in the long run. Instead of trying to keep the Libertarian Party absent of any such members who might disagree with some portion of libertarian philosophy, no matter the relevancy of it, we should be opening our arms to the masses by asking them to join our cause.

We have so many common and accepted beliefs that I can honestly state that we have something to offer every citizen. There are many people out there that only share half or a quarter of our views, but instead of shunning them as "the enemy" let us attempt to recruit them by emphasizing those points in which they agree.

To me, someone who has just one

libertarian belief is a friend — and a potential full-blown Libertarian — because they have that kernel of libertarian thought which just needs to be cultivated.

—KEVIN KURZAWA
Orlando, Florida

'Insurgents'

For months the U.S. news media have accepted the term "insurgents" for those fighting against the U.S.-installed Vichy-type government in Iraq rather than using the usually accepted term "the resistance" for those fighting against foreign occupation.

On Oct. 23, the Associated Press accepted more government newspeak as Army propagandists went a step further: In an AP article run in Gannett newspapers under the headline "U.S. Marines, insurgents clash again in Fallujah," it was re-

ported that "the U.S. command said it had no information on 'anti-Iraq forces' killed."

The U.S. Army referred to native Iraqis fighting against foreign occupation as "anti-Iraq forces," and the Associated Press first put quotations around the term.

Later in the article it was reported that "multiple secondary explosions were seen but the military said it had no information on anti-Iraq forces killed," and this time the phrase "anti-Iraq forces" was not in quotations — so it is possible that we will be seeing more of this term.

Using these new, Orwellian definitions, those in Holland fighting against German occupation during World War II were not "the Dutch Resistance," but "anti-Holland insurgents."

—TOM PALVEN
Farmingdale, New Jersey

to accomplish something, and not just feel good about having given, then we need to pay attention to what the recipients use the money for. Is the money actually spent for programs, or for overhead and fund raising? Does the organization have a standard for a successful program, and do they measure theirs against it regularly?

Various rating organizations provide this information as a service; there is a Web-based one that is free and quite good.

The problem with it is that of the list of seven charities I had in hand when I visited their site, not one was rated by them. When I inquired, they responded that they rate only a few hundred of the largest charities.

So there is a niche waiting to be filled, a service libertarians need — and need to be told that they need: rating the efficiency and effectiveness of organizations that solicit donations to further the cause of liberty.

The LP should not comment on organizations' goals, we can decide about those ourselves from the solicitation; it is the technical analysis of their efficiency and effectiveness that involves massive duplication of libertarian labor, and that is where the LP should come in.

Supporting effective small government and free market nonprofits is an important part of the struggle for liberty, but we need to know which are, and are not, effective. If it is not the LP that fills this need, then who will?

—MICHAEL LAMBOLEY
Goletta, California

Environmentalism II

I liked the latest op-ed on free-market environmentalism. I think that it is worth pointing out that government "protects" land by buying it. That means that, whatever its professed motives were, the government now owns the land and exercises exclusive control over it.

—ANDREW KVOCHICK
Cleveland, Ohio

'Wasted-vote syndrome'

Comparing Michael Badnarik's pre-election poll numbers in New Mexico (5 percent in August) to his actual vote totals on Election Day (about 0.3 percent) convinces me of something I have felt for some time: The "wasted vote" syndrome is a very important factor that should be constantly met head on.

In my opinion, all LP candidates should mention to voters and interviewers that we are gradually building up a strong third party so future voters will have three realistic choices, not just the present two. Many voters may not realize that Abraham Lincoln was a third-party candidate.

—JOHN C. SPROUL
Rochester, NY

Rated 'E' for effective

I have a suggestion for something effective the LP can do for liberty, and at the same time, return a useful service to its members. Pretty good combination, is it not?

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— Dave Hoesly, Webster, NY
Computer engineer (retired)

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Regulations too expensive

Continued from Page 15

tinued their exploration of natural products, rather than abandoning them. With more prevention, we would have less need for cure. Indeed, without the 1962 amendments, we would likely enjoy a level of health and longevity that we can barely conceive of today.

Again: Before we are regulators, drug company employees, cost-conscious consumers, or even libertarians, we are human beings who will

one day need a life-saving pharmaceutical or medical intervention.

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SOURCE MATERIAL: CHAPTER 6 OF DR. RUWART'S *HEALING OUR WORLD IN AN AGE OF AGGRESSION* (SUNSTAR PRESS: 2003) AVAILABLE AT WWW.RUWART.COM AND "IS EXCESS REGULATION RESPONSIBLE FOR SOARING PHARMACEUTICAL PRICES?" AVAILABLE AT WWW.RUWART.COM/AAPS.PDF.

About the author: Mary J. Ruwart, Ph.D., is best known for her books *Healing Our World in an Age of Aggression* and *Short Answers to the Tough Questions*. Her "Ask Dr. Ruwart" column is featured at the *Advocates for Self-Government Web site*, www.theadvocates.org/ruwart.

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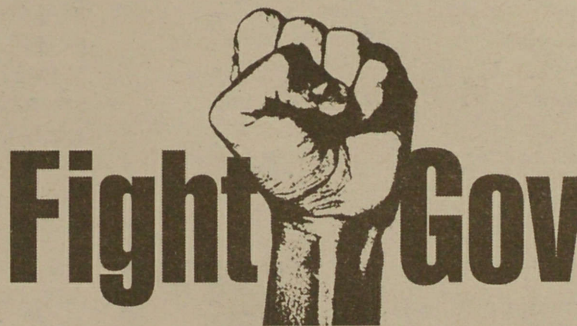
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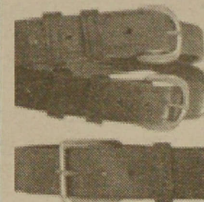
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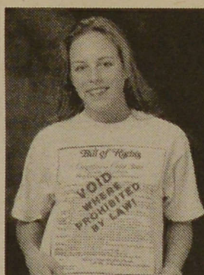
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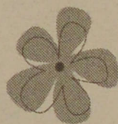
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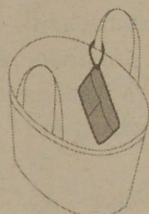
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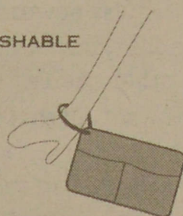


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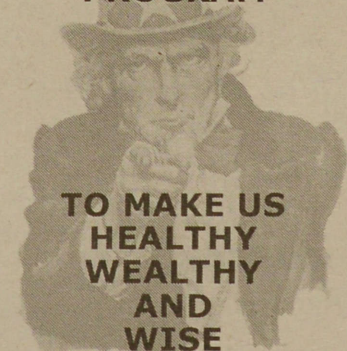
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LP NEWS EDITOR

J. Daniel Cloud

CONTACT LP NEWS

Libertarian Party / Attn: LP News
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UPCOMING

December 2, 2004

"Liberty, Technology and Prosperity," a seminar co-sponsored by the Cato Institute and *The Economist*, to be held at the Crown Plaza Cabana in Palo Alto, Cal. Speakers to include Maren Christensen of NBC Universal; Lee Hollaar, professor at the University of Utah; Les Vadasz; Fred von Lohmann, Electronic Frontier Foundation; and Rick White, president and CEO of TechNet. For more information or to register, go to www.Cato.org or call (202) 789-5229.

December 3, 2004

The Foundation for Economic Education, in Irvington, N.Y. "The greatest mistake in American history: Letting government educate our children," a talk by investment analyst (and 1996 and 2000 LP presidential candidate) Harry Browne. Doors open at 6:30. Speech at 7:40 p.m. The event is free of charge. For more information or to reserve your space, call (914) 591-7230, e-mail evenings@fee.org, or go to www.fee.org.



■ Browne

December 10, 2004

Cato Institute Seminar Luncheon, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, N.Y., from 11 a.m.-2 p.m. Featuring author Christopher Hitchens; Judge Andrew Napolitano, senior judicial analyst for Fox News Channel; and Raymond Keating of the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Council. Co-sponsored by the Donald and Paula Smith Family Foundation. Registration: \$75 per person. Register online at www.cato.org/events/041210cs.html. For more information, call Lesley Albanese at (202) 789-5223 or e-mail lalbanese@cato.org.

January 21-23, 2005

Libertarian State Leadership Alliance Conference, Renaissance Hotel at the Lambert Airport in St. Louis, Mo. Panel discussion with LP candidates and elected officials: What state organizations can do to support candidates and elected officials. Other speakers to include LNC Treasurer Mark Nelson; Glenn Nielsen, MO LP; LNC representatives George Squyres and James Lark; and LNC Chair Michael Dixon. Indiana LP Chair Mark Rutherford to talk about the Indiana LP's path to success; and Trevor Southerland, of Campus Libertarians, to discuss campus organizing. For more information, contact Bob Sullentrip (LNC secretary and MO LP chair) at rwsully@charter.net or go to www.statechairs.org.



■ Dixon

February 4-6, 2005

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

March 17-19, 2005

Austrian Scholars Conference 2005, The Mises Institute, Auburn, Ala. To include 80-plus presentations on economics, history and philosophy, with speakers to include: Thomas J. DiLorenzo of Loyola College; Mark Thornton of The Mises Institute; Alberto Mingardi of the Bruno Leoni Institute; and Edward Feser of Loyola Marymount. For more information, call (334) 321-2100, e-mail pat@mises.org, or go to www.Mises.org.



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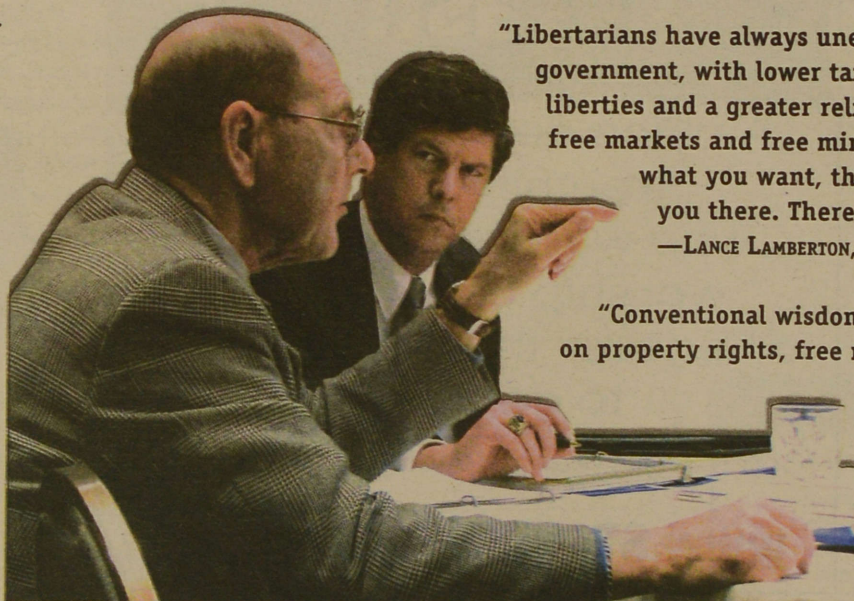
■ **PAGE 1** Badnarik for President campaign wrap-up

■ **PAGE 3** Judge Buttrick wins another term

■ **PAGE 13** Incorporating your state party

■ **PAGE 15** The high cost of regulation

FIRST WORD



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—LANCE LAMBERTON, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, October 15, 2004

"Conventional wisdom says Libertarian candidates — with their focus on property rights, free markets and limited government — appeal to conservative Republicans. But Libertarians' laissez-faire philosophy can extend to social issues such as abortion, marriage and drug policy, which means they can appeal just as strongly to liberal Democrats."

—REBECCA COOK, *The Sun*, Bremerton, Washington, November 7, 2004