

California Freedom

January 2005

The official publication of the **Libertarian Party of California**

Libertarians Do the Doo Dah!

Photo: Dave Ruprecht



• Even Pasadena teenagers found our message compelling enough to participate.

Isn't it interesting that the Rose Bowl Parade disallows political expression? Lots of pretty flowers, zombie-esque waving beauties, and really loud music...but no politics.

Well, there's another famous Pasadena parade whose "Unorganizers Unofficial Committee" not only permits personal expression, it encourages it...and the less orthodox the better. Sounds like a job for the Southern California Libertarians, doesn't it?

On November 21, the streets of Old Town Pasadena were lined with 45,000 people, there to watch the 28th annual Doo Dah Parade. Of course the parade contingents included the Synchronized Precision Briefcase

Marching Drill Team and the Killer Clown Doctors from Outer Space. But marching alongside all this imaginative self-expression was a dedicated group of Libertarians gleefully encouraging an end to our Nation's ridiculous Drug War. Needless to say, they found an enthusiastic and open-minded audience.

Organized by California Vice Chair **Mark Selzer** and financed by Orange County Activist **Paul Studier**, the troupe passed out Libertarian flyers as well as leaflets showing the irony of Tommy Chong's imprisonment for selling bongos over the Internet, while Osama Bin Laden runs free as a bird.

O.K., there may have been a few of Chong's customers lining Colorado Boulevard, but most of the folks clamoring for the information were just regular folks—families, yuppies, and college kids who were very receptive to the Libertarian message of stopping this wasteful and ineffective War on Drugs.

As San Gabriel LP Chair **Ted Brown** helped carry the Libertarian banner (thanks, Paul!), year 2000 Vice Presidential candidate **Art Olivier** drove the float, cheered on by his children. Mark Selzer and his bullhorn were very effective, engaging in good-natured banter with the onlookers, while Libertarian

Party co-founder **David Nolan** and Executive Director **Dave Ruprecht** carried signs and distributed pamphlets to the eager outstretched hands of interested observers. Hey, what would a parade be without the "Marijuana Fairy," **Jill Stone**, as well as "Lady Liberty," **Vibeke Seymour**, and her Libertarian Bodyguard, **Marc Solomon**?

• See **DooDah** page 8



Photo: Dave Ruprecht

• It's not the Secret Service, but Marc Solomon who protects Lady Liberty, Vibeke Seymour, at the Nov. 21 DooDah Parade in Pasadena.

Photo: Dave Ruprecht



• Southern California LP members marched again for liberty at the 28th Annual DooDah Parade.

■ Campaign 2008

"Operation Breakout 2008"

by **Robert Bakhaus**
Chairman, United Against Tax Abuse

Libertarian Party co-founder **David Nolan** makes several valid points in his analysis of the Badnarik presidential campaign of 2004 (*California Freedom*, Dec. 2004, page 1). Primarily, he sees the LP presidential effort as stuck under a half million votes. To break out of this long standing rut, something must change for us. Nolan suggests finding a flamboyant celebrity candidate for president in 2008, or "depart[ing] the Presidential arena and focus on areas where we can have a real impact: local, state, and Congressional races, ballot initiatives, and other

contests where the playing field is closer to being level."

I agree with everything Nolan says, except the idea that this is an either-or choice. I believe these are mutually dependent actions. Since I believe we will not attract a truly smashing celebrity candidate (such as former General Norman Schwarzkopf) until we've shown our ability to generate grassroots support for one, I think we must "earn" a celebrity candidate's interest by building up to the 2008 presidential campaign for the next four years, with hundreds of imaginative grassroots ballot initiatives.

Between now and November, 2008, at least 12 elections will be held in each community across America, not counting special elections. All it takes to place libertarian measures on local ballots in tens of thousands of these towns is to gather fewer than 200 signatures on petitions. Generally, filing fees are refunded once you've qualified for the ballot, so costs, if any, are minimal. As long as there is one local county resident to sign as the proponent, most communities can be petitioned by "outside agitators" from around the same state. Most communities can be fully petitioned in a single day—if it's an election day with

large polling places. Even the 20+ states without statewide petition-initiative processes do have county/town petitioning of one kind or another.

We certainly don't lack for issues worthy of ballot consideration by grassroots America. Issues such as sunseting local taxes, institutionalizing Tax Freedom Day, supporting Decriminalization Day on July 3, and renaming local streets after libertarian heroes, can easily be written to fit all community municipal codes. We needn't even worry about *winning* the ballot questions we bring to public attention. Taking issues to the ballot by petition is not quite the alienating, partisan, popularity contest that running

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FROM THE CHAIR

I'm so glad it's the beginning of a new year: a time to take a deep breath, regroup, and plan. If you are in need of a resolution for 2005, consider one where you donate more time and/or money to the Party.

A number of you have asked whether I plan to run for another term as Chair. The answer is yes. There's still much work to do and I'm still excited by our future prospects. I just hope that this year brings us more progress than last year.

Last year was tough. It was one of those years when we were forced to play defense in order to survive. Sometimes that happens in politics. Had Proposition 62 passed, it would have spelled our political doom. Much of our focus was drawn toward survival. We met with newspaper editorial boards and worked with other political

A New Year

parties to defeat this measure. Since the measure's defeat, I have met with the author of Proposition 62. I'm hoping to get him focused on something else so that he doesn't bring this back anytime soon. Perhaps we can even find some common ground and work together.

Sometimes in politics we're forced to play defense in order to survive.

Our accomplishments last year were limited. The best news is that we won eight races for office during 2004 and we had one of our members appointed to an elected board. Our partisan candidates did somewhat better this year, but clearly we need to do more to field high-caliber candidates willing to run real campaigns. We need to remain committed to making the transition from

a debating society to a political party. After an extensive search we found an executive director, and our finances are the best in the party's history.

I anticipate that the first few months of 2005 will be a base-building period. There are a number of challenges ahead of us. We need to find a vendor who can compile a mailing list of

the more than 29,000 elected officials in this state so that we can reach out to them and find those among them who are worth approaching to join our party. We need to figure out how to reach out effectively to the small business owner community, a promising source of credible candidates. We need to get our guest opinion project off the ground. Having an executive director on staff means that progress on these goals and other projects will be truly attainable.



The best news is that we won eight races for office during 2004.

Elsewhere in this issue you'll read about our convention in February. I want to encourage each and every one of you to be there. If you didn't have the chance to attend a local party meeting to get selected as a delegate, please don't let that stop you from going. I don't recall the last time someone who attended was denied the opportunity to participate as a voting delegate. I'm committed to getting anyone who is qualified seated as a delegate.

Whether I get to see you at the convention or not, I want to wish all of you a prosperous and happy 2005.

Toward liberty!

Aaron Starr, Chair



FROM THE EDITOR

Come to the Party!"

That's the motto of "Shut 'em Down" campaign leader **Scott Wilson**. In this issue, Wilson shares his sheer joy at seeing his friend **Frank Manske**, now an elected Libertarian, be sworn in to office ("Profiles in Courage"), thus driving the first nail in the coffin of one unneeded government bureaucracy in LPC's East Bay region.

Mark Selzer, our Southern Vice Chair, overflows with ideas for the rest of us to chip away at other facets of big government in whatever way we can, with this month's installment of "101 Actions a Volunteer Can Take."

Allow me to add Wilson's appeal to Selzer's list: Come to the party! The February state LP convention festivities, that is. This year's theme is "Winning Campaigns," but you don't have to be an office seeker or campaign manager to benefit from the weekend's programs. The annual convention is one of the

Conventional Wisdom

best opportunities for us lovers of liberty to gather, scheme, be entertained, learn, imbibe, campaign, and be merry. A time for some of us to campaign for Party office, some of us to vote on Party candidates and



administrative matters, and for all of us to simply party! Take a friend! Take your business cards! Take your open mind! And perhaps most importantly, take a break from those who don't support—or even understand—your values of individual liberty, personal responsibility, and smaller government.

Please, come to the party!

Time for Bush

Speaking of government bureaucracy, *Time Magazine* has named President George W. Bush its "Person of the Year" for 2004. Said *Time* Managing Editor Jim Kelly, "Many, many Americans deeply wish he had not won." So true.

"And yet he did." Uh, yeah—well put, Mr. Kelly.

If each of us doesn't take Selzer up on his call to action,

or follow the leadership example of such dedicated activists as Frank Manske, we'll face another four years of watching idly while Republicans let their leader get away with increasing the federal deficit, infringing on our personal liberties, failing to put his money where his mouth is about an all-volunteer

military and end selective service registration, and waffling on such matters as gun rights.

Please, come to the Party!

Toward greater liberty!

Elizabeth C. Brierly, Editor

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Letters to the Editor



The Root Cause of War

I wish to take respectful issue with the claim of Mr. Samuels (reinforced by the Ayn Rand reference) that authoritarianism leads to rebellion and war ("The Root Cause of War," Dec. 2004, p.6). While I very much dislike being told what to do by anyone, the ability of government to do so lies in a basic cause—land control.

In the history of man from the ancient to the most recent, all warlike conflicts have been over land control. In every case, the conflict has been to have authority over the gifts of nature. Those gifts are a fundamental need of all human beings. For those who have authority over the land, authority over the people who reside there follows inevitably.

The rebellions against such authority arise mainly out of recognized needs to have freedom to use the land for [activities] such as growing crops, access to things like ores and oil, sites to build dwellings and manufacturing plants, and all functions that require site ac-

cess. Sadly, the route to that freedom has always been inhibited by those who rise in power if the rebellion succeeds. Once more, authoritarianism takes over, leading to the next fray. Those in authority decree who shall have use of the land (think about the humungous giveaway to the railroad barons in our country).

If the root cause of war is to be addressed, it must be a solution to the matter of land control. A solid approach to that is to have land site occupiers pay for the privilege of using a gift of nature to the exception of all others. That payment should be based on the market value of the sites and should go to the society which created the value.

Where approaches to this method have been employed (the State of Pennsylvania in our country), the results have been excellent. Peaceful exchanges of land titles have led to better use of the sites, increased building activity, and increases in employment.

—George Amberg
El Cerrito

Libertarian Policy

We have been dues-paying members of the Libertarian Party for over 15 years.

We believe that the Party might best focus on broad issues, such as small limited government and low taxes, rather than on divisive issues, such as legalization of drugs and gun rights. Votes for candidates, at this point, are quite secondary. We need to influence public opinion on these critical issues.

This is the strength of the Libertarian message. Ditch the rest, and really work to make a difference in the attitudes of the electorate.

—Will and Marilyn Smith
Fallbrook

Libertarian Principles

There is no question the Libertarian Party must remain the party of principle. We must, however, in order to succeed, be the party of popular common sense. The

people (sheeple) follow the polidioticians because they promise things—mostly things they can't deliver or have no intention of delivering.

What can Libertarians promise to people who have been deluded that they have their liberty? Most Americans do not realize how intrusive their "government for the people" has become. The tyranny of the majority has little impact on the majority, so they support school prayer and national identity cards.

In order to gain a significant voting pool, Libertarians must pick out very intrusive government programs to battle. Taxes are always unpopular, but every politician since Caesar has promised to lower taxes; few have, so no one believes such a claim.

How about our Potemkin airport security, much sound and fury signifying less than nothing? Even in 2001 the odds of being killed in a commercial airplane were an acceptable million to one. No one enjoys the long lines at the airports, which ostensibly deter terrorists, yet failed to stop any of the September 11 hijackers. Tons of penknives and nail clippers are confiscated, mysteriously turn-

ing up on eBay. Thousands of lives are disrupted by flight delays, reroutings, or terminal closures, but how many valid arrests? Can the TSA honestly claim to have prevented a single skyjacking?

When hijackers didn't want to die, sky marshals did such an excellent job that they put themselves out of work. Why not bring them back, incognito, and in significant numbers? Why do the FAA and TSA drag their feet on arming pilots? Surely a veteran military pilot who can be trusted with 400 lives and a \$60,000,000 airplane can be trusted with a .45! Why can't the cabin crew be taught basic martial arts, so they can't be easily subdued by hijackers? Why can't explosives screening be automated and unobtrusive? Because polidiotics is about showmanship [and] bogeymen! The appearance of doing "something about it" has reelection value. A problem solved leaves nothing about which to campaign.

Libertarians standing on principle should be pushing for unobtrusive security, so we all can go back to arriving 30 minutes before flight time.

—Ken Obenski
San Diego



Welcome Aboard!

Were they exasperated by the poor choices in the Nov. 2 election? Quite possibly! But regardless of their motivation, the LPC welcomes these folks who in November joined the California chapter of the largest "third" party—actually that makes us *the* third party! The new members of LPC include geologist Whitney Behr, police officer Gerald Dailey, students Brian Gleeson from Merced College and Eric Tener from U.C. Irvine, baker Joseph Havoc, general contractor Harry Green, Jeff Keen, a real estate analyst, Josh Pendergrass, a loan officer, schoolteacher Lisa Sellars, and James Ostrander of the U.S. Navy. We hope you'll assuage any exasperation by attending our annual convention in February!

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Have YOUR viewpoint printed right here at *California Freedom*. Send us your letters to the editor, photos, reports on local LP events, op-ed articles, or critique of the latest book you've read about politics or economics.

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■ LPC Program Issues

Losing Individual Health Coverage: Market Failure?

by **Bruce Dovner**

Coordinator, 2005 LPC Program Committee

People generally understand that one's health insurance rates rise as one ages. Most people also assume that, for individual "group" health plans, so long as one acquires one's insurance policy before the onset of any subsequent health conditions and pays one's premiums faithfully, one's health insurance premiums will rise *not due to changes in one's health*, rather, due only to age. That assumption is not true.

If one acquires a serious condition—for example, cancer or a cardiac condition—one's rates will rise due to that condition alone, in addition to premium increases associated with one's age. The rates can rise without limit, making it extremely difficult to afford, especially if one is sick. This is true of indi-

vidual "group" plans, regardless of whether one acquired the policy before the onset of the health condition, and regardless of whether one faithfully pays premiums to retain the plan.

But doesn't one's individual group policy protect one from rate increases because one's premiums cannot be raised individually, but only when the rates for the whole group are raised?

No. It provides only limited protection. Here's how it works.

When one acquires an individual "group" policy, one is assigned to a "group." The group is *not* everyone who holds a similar policy issued by the company, but only a very small portion of subscribers who hold similar policies. A group is typically open for a set enrollment period, after which it is



Photo: Elizabeth C. Briely

• **Bruce Dovner**

closed to any new subscribers. Once closed, the group size never increases. It can decrease, however. Therefore, it is not difficult for the company to raise the premiums for everyone in any one group, since each group is only a small subset of total policies.

Naturally, over time, subscribers of the group will acquire health conditions. Hence, their average health expenditures increase; and thereby the expenditures for the entire group also increase. Of course, the company then raises the rates to cover the higher costs. Now, the people with better health realize that they can reapply for other very similar plans at low, new-subscriber rates similar to the original rates of the current policy. Often, the company will mail solicitations for the "new" similar health plans. When one applies for the "new" policy, one's health will be reevaluated. However, if one has acquired certain health conditions, most likely one will be disqualified for the "new" policy. Or one will be offered the "new" policy at the lower, new-subscriber rates; but health conditions will be excluded from coverage under the "new" policy, even though they were acquired while covered by the company under the current policy.

So, as the healthy people flee the group, and as the remaining less-healthy people who cannot flee acquire more health conditions over time, and since the group is closed to new healthy subscribers, the cycle continues and the premiums are further increased. This cycle continues until no one, not even the sick who desperately need it, can afford the policy. This is what is known as the "Spiral of Death" for individual group health plans.

All health insurance companies deny that they engage in individual re-underwriting—reevaluating the individual subscribers' health risks and adjusting the individuals' premiums accordingly. The process described so far can best be described as "group re-underwriting"—evaluating the group's medical costs and adjusting the group's premium accordingly. It has the same effect—purging the companies' rolls of higher risk individuals or excluding individuals' health conditions, even though the health conditions were acquired during the

term of their policies with the company, and while their premiums were paid faithfully.

Market failure?

Most importantly, this is what supporters of socialized health care and opponents of market-based health care claim to be "market failure." That is, even if one purchases one's individual group health insurance policy before acquiring any health conditions, and even though one faithfully pays the premiums, if one subsequently

A libertarian solution might be to offer tax credits for guaranteed, renewable health insurance.

acquires certain health conditions, one will still be faced with eventual exorbitant premiums and inability to obtain other coverage for the acquired condition.

A note regarding health maintenance organizations

Kaiser Permanente, and quite possibly all HMOs, do not engage in this or any similar practice. For most HMOs, the rates for current subscribers are the same as those for new subscribers in the same age bracket. There are no separate groups of subscribers, rather a combined risk pool of all subscribers within the HMO. And the "group" never closes. Instead, HMOs keep the premiums at a level that will attract new subscribers. (Warning: before purchasing any health coverage, investigate the practices of the specific provider. The information here is not complete for all providers and could change over time.)

However, aside from HMOs, the opponents of market-based health insurance can still plausibly claim that *despite taking personal responsibility for oneself*, the free market provides no way for an individual to protect against exorbitant premium increases and loss of individual health coverage if one gets sick, at least not via individual health

insurance plans currently on the market. Is there a libertarian solution?

Guaranteed renewable health insurance

A study presented at the Cato Institute by Mark Pauly of the University of Pennsylvania and Bradley Herring of Emory University proposes "guaranteed renewable" health insurance. (See www.Cato.org/events/021101pfb.html.) With guaranteed renewable health coverage, in addition to insuring against actual health care costs, a portion of one's premium is devoted to insuring against rises in the premium itself, triggered by changes in one's health rating.

One example of how this can be implemented is as an optional rider to one's health insurance policy. The rider would entitle one to purchase from the provider any policy with similar or less coverage, without one's health being re-evaluated, at rates for new subscribers, with the health rating one had when one originally purchased the rider to the policy.

Informed consent

It can reasonably be argued that the advertising and marketing practices of the companies who engage in "group re-underwriting" are false or misleading, hence fraudulent. Therefore, it would be in accord with libertarian principle to require those sellers of individual health insurance to inform their customers about the underwriting practices which will be applied to their policies. To fail to do so could be considered fraud and could reasonably be prosecutable or constitute a tort.

Informed consent could be implemented by requiring that any policy subject to group re-underwriting have a prominent disclaimer stating that the claims history of the group as a whole will be evaluated periodically. It could also state that, most likely (inevitably), the premiums will be raised accordingly, and that nothing in the policy guarantees that one will be eligible to purchase a similar policy at new-subscriber rates, nor to purchase a policy based upon one's original health rating.

Such a disclaimer likely would cause many to purchase other forms of insurance, such

• See **Insurance** page 5

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Insurance

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as HMOs, or to reduce the sales of group re-underwritten individual health plans. The industry would be likely to introduce guaranteed renewable insurance of some form that would not require the disclaimer.

LPC Program

So, a libertarian solution might be to offer tax credits for guaranteed renewable health insurance (including HMOs) and to require informed consent disclaimers. Tax credits are a decrease in taxation, and therefore in accord with libertarian principle. Since the practice of group re-underwriting without a disclaimer or advisory notice could constitute fraud, requiring such disclaimer would also be in accord with libertarian principle.

The opponents of free-market health care can truthfully attack group re-underwriting of individual health plans as a market failure, and nail libertarians in public debate. These reforms, if added to the LPC Program health care plank, will provide Libertarians the public policy tools we need to answer this challenge.

For a complete description of the LPC Program health care plank, see section III at www.LPC.org/program/. To help direct the LPC 2005 Program Committee in this and other important policy matters, be sure to attend the LPC annual convention in Los Angeles, February 18–20. ●

Active in the LP since our country's bicentennial year, Bruce Dovner conceived of and spearheaded development of the LPC Program to provide practical policies to implement the Party platform. He has served as the Program's coordinator since its inception in 2002. Dovner is an instructor of mathematics at several Los Angeles colleges. You may reach him at BDovner@ArtNet.net, or by telephone at (562) 961-6919.

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Web Watch

Citizens Against Government Waste

www.CAGW.org

In 1982, President Reagan directed the Grace Commission to "work like tireless bloodhounds to root out government inefficiency and waste of tax dollars." For two years, 161 corporate and community leaders led 2000 volunteers on a waste hunt through the federal government. The search, funded entirely privately, cost taxpayers nothing. The Commission made 2,478 recommendations which, if implemented, would save an average of \$141.5 bil-

lion a year, without eliminating essential services.

Founded in 1984, Citizens Against Government Waste (CAGW) is the legacy of that Private Sector Survey on Cost Control. Known as "America's #1 taxpayer watchdog," CAGW is a private, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization with more than a million members and supporters. Their mission is to "eliminate waste, mismanagement, and inefficiency in

the federal government."

In a little over two decades, CAGW has helped save taxpayers \$758.7 billion. *Government WasteWatch* is the group's quarterly newspaper. The annual *Congressional Pig Book Summary* is CAGW's famous exposé of the most glaring and irresponsible pork-barrel projects in appropriations bills.

In conjunction with Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, CAGW has just published the

"2004 California Piglet Book." Richard Rider, LPC member and Chair of San Diego Tax Fighters, points out these two items of special interest to California Libertarians:

- California state employees are now the most highly paid state workers in the nation, earning higher salaries and retirement benefits than they would receive in the private sector for the same work.

- Despite having a monopoly,

• See **Web Watch** page 7



101 Actions a Volunteer Can Take

Installment Two—10 More Ideas

by Mark Selzer

Southern Vice Chair, LPC

1 Call a talk radio show. The more local a show is, the easier it is to get on the air. Make sure you're persuasive and able to convince listeners of your position. Always be polite. Make your points but make sure the listeners will like you. If the host is hostile do not become hostile in return. State the web address and phone number of the Libertarian Party.

2 Attend protests. Find protests organized by allied groups and distribute flyers stating why Libertarians agree with their position. Be sure to include a membership application on your flyer, as well as phone numbers and web addresses.

3 Be a City Council watch-person. Visit local city councils and speak out against new laws, regulations, or taxes as a representative of the Libertarian Party. Find opportunities to praise when and if the council does something commendable. If a new regulation is proposed, recruit a group of local business owners to attend and speak against it. Report on this at your local LP meeting, in the newsletter, and on the web site.

4 Be an opposition researcher. Your LP candidates may need ammunition against their opponent. If he cannot win his race, one thing a Libertarian candidate can do is to use the race to expose any waste and dis-

honesty among the incumbent politician(s). If you can find the dirt, go to the newspapers and see whether they will do more than just sweep it under the rug.

5 Join Toastmasters International. This organization is dedicated to teaching its members how to speak in public, and is very supportive and offers plenty of constructive feedback and encouragement. You can visit different chapters' meetings before officially joining. Find a Toastmasters club near you by visiting www.Toastmasters.org, and clicking on "Find a Club."

6 Raise funds. Each local, county, and state LP affiliate should have a fundraiser, whose job it is just to raise money for that organization. Attend meetings, plus make phone calls, if appropriate, to solicit funds. They should also stage fundraising events. Money is the mothers' milk of politics—perhaps that is why some say it is the root of all evil.

7 Help a college or high school found a Libertarian club. Some information on how to do this is available at www.LP.org. It's best to find a student at that school who is a libertarian. Placing an ad in the school newspaper or visiting the school with flyers could smoke out some likely candidates.

8 Collect signatures. Signatures always need to be collected for something—either for candidates or propositions being sponsored by Libertarians in whole or in part.

Some people get paid to gather signatures for some petitions; paid petitions can be a way to earn some dollars during your volunteer work for liberty. Just get signatures for those too while you work.

9 Become a translator. Pamphlets, books, and web sites need to be translated into other languages. Spanish is the most obvious for California, but Korean, Vietnamese, and other languages of groups escaping authoritarian countries are good targets as well.

10 Join the parade! Many cities and towns have many different parades, such as Pasadena's DooDah Parade, featured in this issue of *California Freedom*. Make sure the LP is included, and make sure your



team shows up in force, with plenty of big signs, banners, bullhorns, literature, and costumes if appropriate.

In next month's installment: cell phones, city councils, and subscriptions! ●

Mark Selzer is an internet business owner. Active in the LPC since 1998, he ran for State Assembly in 2000 and has served as the LPC's Southern Vice Chair since 2001. He lives in Hollywood and hosts a cable access television talk show called "The Libertarian Alternative." He can be reached at Liberty64@JPS.net.



Photo: Elizabeth C. Brierty

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February 18-20, 2005

**Sheraton Gateway Hotel
at Los Angeles International Airport**

Speakers include:

- ★ **Jim Babka**, President of both American Liberty Foundation and Real Campaign Reform
- ★ **Bob Burg**, Television news anchor
- ★ **Richard Burke**, Executive Director, LP of Oregon, and elected Libertarian, Commissioner, Tualatin Valley Water District
- ★ **Tom McClintock**, Calif. State Senator and 2003 Gubernatorial Candidate
- ★ **Chuck Muth**, Author, and Political Consultant and Campaign Manager
- ★ **Gary Nolan**, 2004 candidate for LP Presidential nomination
- ★ **Kate O'Brien**, elected Libertarian, Rancho Simi Park & Recreation District

List of speakers is subject to change without notice.

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City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

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For PayPal go to www.CA.LP.org/conv/2005/

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Convention packages:

- \$299 Full** – The "everything" package, including break-out sessions.
- \$249 First Class** – Meal events and Floor Pass for all 3 days. Does not include breakout sessions.
- \$69 Activist** – Workshops, panels, and training. Includes floor pass. Meals sold separately.
- \$39 Basic** – Floor pass, all 3 days. (Required for delegates not purchasing above packages.)

Contact hotel separately for room reservations.
Tel: (310) 642-1111

For the convention agenda, visit www.CA.LP.org/conv/2005/

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Breakout continued from page 1

candidates is. In fact, ballot measures will unify the LP! Half of California's 89,000 registered Libertarians failed to vote for Badnarik for president in 2004. All of them, however, will sign petitions and vote for local LP ballot measures.

Nor do we have to bust any budgets to advocate for our causes. Winning ballot measures is an educative process in which repetition trumps glitz. Even if we do lose elections our first or second time out, we still don't walk away empty-handed. Every time we petition, we identify a single-issue constituency. Supporters actually talk to us as they sign, giving us their names, addresses, opinions, and more. Plus, we acquire an objective measure of the popularity of our chosen issue, despite having failed to tutor the masses to our point of view. Nor do we have to petition forever to gain a publicity foothold. Once a ballot measure wins, it's implemented forever until repealed. This is completely unlike a candidate, who will have to run every time they want to convey an idea, and inevitably they burn out.

How does placing a "losing" measure on a local ballot build

support for our 2008 celebrity presidential candidate? By building media respect, by "focus group" testing of relevant issues in relevant markets, and most of all, by building local activist networks. When local media see our issues covered in hundreds of other media markets, they'll pay closer attention to us at home. When we petition, we learn the best argument for our case and the best rhetoric for nudging folks into our camp on November 2, 2008. In short, we learn the territory, and the voters get to know us through our issues. Finally, prospective celebrity candidates get to see just how effective at mass communication these Libertarian Party activists can be.

But, you might ask: "We already bust our hump with petition drives for 50-state ballot status. Why should we expand on that to include thousands of towns and cities?" Not a bad question. The answer: "Operation Breakout" does not strive for permanent statewide ballot status for a political party enjoying only 2% public support, with all the costs and huge signature requirements that implies. Instead, we're

striving for episodic municipal ballot status for issues on which we know much of the public already agrees with us, and at such low costs that it can be done by volunteers who already live in the neighborhoods and merely need national networking leadership. Our biggest obstacle will be centrally providing the technical legal advice about local petitioning that many areas lack. That will take some specialized staffing.

What libertarians need to learn is that ballot access is a much broader electoral tool than merely pushing a "full slate" of "losertarian" candidates. The electoral process can be as broad a publicity tool as could petitioning to institutionalize Ayn Rand's birthday as an official holiday (without pay for all public servants, of course), petitioning to rename local streets after libertarian heroes, mandating public referenda on all local government expenditures over \$1 million (a popular law in Carlsbad for decades), or dozens of other great ideas. Want to see Tax Freedom Day proclaimed by all public institutions with plaques, programs, and anthems? Take it to a ballot by petition. Even if you fail to get a majority vote in support, you still earn the publicity of the ballot question itself.

Consider the "Freedom Rider" list-serves available on line at: www.silcom.com/~taxabo. They cost nothing to maintain. The Freedom Riders themselves tell us about libertarian petitions circulating in their area. The volunteer petitioners travel and room at their own expense. Total cost: nada; zip.

Consider the petition drives. Usually filing fees are refunded when you succeed in meeting ballot access requirements. But part of the process is "publishing" your "Declaration of Intent to Circulate" in legal classified ads. That's probably your sole expense, as long as you're not paying petitioners. Given the Election Day petitioning power of volunteers at the polls, petitioning need not cost a cent nor take more than a day. Oh sure, photocopying the petitions can add a few pennies to the classified ad cost. But you might be able to use a volunteer's office copier. Total cost of a successful petition drive for a grassroots ballot measure doesn't have to be over \$300 tops, unless you want to splurge on a victory pizza party. I know; I've done it several times now. By using petition-initiatives (and supportive litigation), I've successfully forced city councils in my county to implement term limits, hold council meetings after

work hours, consider sunset-ting all local taxes, respect the Brown Act (open meetings law), stop electioneering with taxpayer monies, etc.—all without significant funding and without breaking much of a sweat.

So, are you up for it? Do you want to "earn" a celebrity presidential candidate? It's as simple as modeming in and subscribing for free to a "Freedom Rider" list-serve at our web site. I hope to see you at the polls next election day, petition in hand, earning a celebrity candidate's interest, a mass market's attention, and a little more self-respect for what local libertarians can do! It begins with you, right now, where you're sitting. Sign up as a Freedom Rider! Visit www.silcom.com/~taxabo/. Then under Tools, click on the "Carry a Petition" link. Happy petitioning and PR-generating! ●

Robert Bakhaus is Chairman of United Against Tax Abuse (UATA), a web-based grassroots libertarian lobby "publishing, petitioning, and litigating for a libertarian reformation of tolerance, civility, and equity." Bakhaus has been an activist in the LPC for years, and you may reach him via e-mail at Taxabo4@AOL.com.



■ Profiles in Courage

Party or Policy?

Activist Wins Chance to Lessen Government

by **Scott Wilson**

Former Editor, *LPC Monthly*

To the cheers of family, friends, and supporters, Frank Manske was sworn in to public office as a Director of the Mt. Diablo Health Care District on December 2. Other than the Nurses' Union Representative, who is paid to be there, we were the only ones in the audience. There was no public support for the re-election of the incumbents.

As I watched my friend Frank, dressed in his Sunday best, raise his right hand and swear to "uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States and the State of California," I could think only, "This guy really means it." So begins this Libertarian's transformation from Activist to Politician. No longer screaming from without, he is working from within.

Frank Manske's résumé fighting for Lady Liberty is long and varied. A lifelong libertarian, he became active in the East Bay LP in 1998 attending meetings and volunteering for Operation Politically Homeless booths, which he still does today. Quickly earning the respect of his fellow activists, Manske has been elected repeatedly to represent the EBLP at the LPC Executive Committee, and has served a term as the EBLP Chairman. Recruited by Ted Brown in 2000 to run for State Assembly District 11, he has continued his run in 2002 and 2004. Having assisted me with a nonpartisan campaign to

close the redundant Mt. Diablo Health Care District, Frank took on a dual candidacy at the last minute, when a previously recruited *Shut 'em Down!* candidate moved away from the district.

The *Shut 'em Down!* campaign was managed by me, Scott Wilson. My goal was to elect three Libertarians to the Mt. Diablo Health Care District, forming an instant majority on the Board. Acting as a majority, they would then implement the three Grand Jury reports calling for this District's closure.



• **Scott Wilson**

It was my first direct assault to try to make government smaller rather than just stop them from getting bigger. It won't be my last.

My unique campaign strategy focused on high school students as a primary resource. Unfortunately, the opposition blackballed us with the local teachers before we could recruit the students, severely limiting their participation and our success. Although we did recruit many gifted students outside the District, their participation lacked the "McDonald's Effect" ("Mom, would you sign my petition?"). Had we five more student-described "really cool teachers" like Mr. Gerneart in our District, we would have slaughtered them. The mistakes in this campaign are lessons learned for the next. To learn more, visit the East Bay LP's hospitality suite at the LPC con-

vention in February, or e-mail me at *SWilson@Astound.net* with the subject line: "How did you do it?"

The MDHCD had six candidates running for three seats. Each voter could vote for up to three. A total of 150,687 votes were cast, meaning only a little over 50,000 individual voters cast a ballot in this race.

Did you join the Libertarian Party to make it bigger or did you join the LP to make government smaller?

Frank Manske, running a nonpartisan race with an in-your-face libertarian *Shut 'em Down!* campaign, was elected with 46% of the vote or 23,367 votes from Republicrats, Libertarians, and independents on his first try. The other two *Shut 'em Down!* co-candidates received over 40% of the vote.

In contrast, Frank Manske, running in his third bid for Assembly District 11 as a Libertarian, received only 5.0% of the vote, or 7,162 votes from Libertarians and independents.

This raises a most significant question: "Should the Party leadership continue to focus its efforts to increase membership by running losing paper candidates trying to sell the whole Libertarian Party, or should we focus on leading and winning local elections focusing on one



• **Frank Manske speaking at a fund raising event at Westover Vineyards in Castro Valley in June.**

Libertarian Policy that actually could reduce the size of government, thereby increasing membership in a successful political party?"

To put it another way: "Did you join the Libertarian Party to make it bigger or did you join the Libertarian Party to make government smaller?"

There's no doubt that we must run select partisan campaigns in order to maintain ballot access, but if we are to be successful, we must start winning!

I urge every California Libertarian in every region to attend the LPC convention! (February 18-20, Sheraton Gateway Hotel, Los Angeles Airport) Significant changes in our bylaws and these important questions need to be discussed and decided.

When I asked Frank Manske that most significant question, he responded: "I just want us to be successful!"

Now that's a politician's answer that everyone can agree with! ●

Scott Wilson first realized he could make a difference in politics when, as an avid motorcyclist, his letter to Governor Deukmejian encouraging him to veto a helmet law elicited a response. After participating in Harry Browne's 2000 Presidential exploratory committee, Wilson became active in his local LP (East Bay). He served as regional newsletter editor for 5 years, editor of LPC Monthly, and now Contra Costa County Chair. He ran for Congress in 2002 (District 7) and Mt. Diablo Health Care District in both 2000 and 2004. Along with Frank Manske, he is active in Alliance of Contra Costa Taxpayers, an ally of LP in defeating a \$650 million sales tax increase.

Web Watch

continued from page 5

the L.A. Department of Water & Power has paid more than \$20 million for public relations work to Fleishman-Hillard Inc., even while the department maintains an in-house PR staff.

CAGW's web site (www.CAGW.org) features such resources as *WasteWatcher*, a monthly publication revealing such spending as "Medicare to Cover Viagra?" and "Tax Dollars for Terrorists," and the *Porker of the Month* award, given to government officials and candidates who

have shown a blatant disregard for the interests of taxpayers. Previous recipients include Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) and Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Penn.). Visitors to the web site are invited to nominate big spenders for this dubious honor.

The web site also features an interactive web log called *Waste Blog*, where recent citations include New York City Board of Elections paying to chauffeur employees home after hours, while letting their voting system go without upgrade,

and D.C. schools, paying far too much for overdue window repairs. Most timely is the *Pork Advisory System*, modeled after the terror alert level system, with the spending alert at the time of this writing set at "severe"—the pinnacle of the five-level scale.

For LPC parents whose children are interested in politics and are considering a Washington D.C. internship, this might be the most libertarian way to achieve that. CAGW offers internships year-round in research, lobbying, communications, and development. ●




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■ Spreading the Word 

Libertarian Ideas Going out over the Airwaves

Free and Clear

Host: **Don J. Cormier**
LPC Member

For over ten years, **Don Cormier** has been associated with "Free and Clear," a radio talk show airing on KKUP Cupertino, 91.5 FM. The program features discussions of current events and community issues from a variety of political viewpoints.

Cormier, a longtime member of the LP of Santa Clara, represents a libertarian perspective, while his co-hosts, Valli Sharpe Geisler and Yolanda Reynolds, present the Reform Party and liberal Democrat viewpoints. This mix makes for lively and, hopefully, instructive explorations of the problems that society faces.

Frequently the hosts interview candidates from the newer political parties. They also interview community activists who seek donations and volunteer support, such as **Zander Collier**, who ran against Rebecca

Cohn and Ernie Konnyu on Nov. 2 for Assembly District 24.

KKUP is a listener-sponsored station, meaning that there is no commercial advertising, and that the station's funding comes from donations and subscriptions. The station receives no government or corporate support. Cormier and his fellow programers are all volunteers, and there is only one full-time paid employee, the station's on-call engineer. While the lack of funds is sometimes restricting, Cormier reports that the fact that they are not beholden to any large sponsor gives him a wonderful sense of freedom.

To Listen: 

Where: KKUP, 91.5FM, in the S.F. Bay Area's south bay

When: Second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, 6:00 A.M. to 8:00 A.M.

The Libertarian Alternative

Host: **Richard Rider**,
Chair, San Diego Tax Fighters

On Aug. 3, LPC's own **Richard Rider** launched a web-based "radio" show called "The Libertarian Alternative." It ran evenings from 8:00 to 9:00 through the November election, with his wrap-up show airing post-election, on November 9.



Photo: Elizabeth C. Brierty

• **Richard Rider**

The great news is that even if you missed the live performances, the station has archived the program, so you can still be informed by Rider's depth of knowledge about issues of interest to California libertarians, entertained by his wit, and inspired by his positive outlook. Guests have included **Adrian Moore** of Reason Foundation on privatization, **Randall O'Toole** of Independent Institute on mass transit, **Edward Teyssier**, Chair of the LP of San Diego, and **Brian Doherty**, Senior Editor of *Reason Magazine* and author of *This is Burning Man*.

Rider enthused, "As far as I'm concerned, the show is an unabashed advertisement for the LP."

To Listen: 

Where: On the Web at www.WSRadio.com; click on "Archive," then "The Libertarian Alternative"

When: Any time

Freedom 21 Santa Cruz

Host: **Michael Shaw**
Abundance
Ecologist, Proprietor
of Liberty Garden

Michael Shaw is a true ally of libertarians. Flouting the idea of scarcity of resources, he founded Liberty Garden as a private sector response to anti-private property environmentalists. He is also a principal figure at Freedom 21 Santa Cruz, a freedom policy center that celebrates the principles of self-governance and individual liberty which inspired our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. They advance the freedom of all by promoting and strengthening the practice of Constitutional administration in local, state, and national government.



Photo: Elizabeth C. Brierty

• **Michael Shaw**

country, Freedom 21 Santa Cruz launched the weekly two-hour program on on March 3, 2004. Made possible through joint efforts of Radio Liberty (www.RadioLiberty.com) and internationally syndicated radio host Dr. Stanley Monteith, the show features topics related to the advancement of freedom in the 21st century, such as "The Danger of Sustainable Development," "Why Private Property Matters," and "EdWars: the Federal Grab for the Control of Education." For more information, phone (831) 684-2232.

To Listen: 

Where: Tune in to KFER 89.9 FM in Santa Cruz, or download past shows' MP3 files from the web at www.Freedom21SantaCruz.net/; click on Radio, then Audio Archives.

When:
Live call-ins: Weds. from 8:00 to 10:00 P.M.
Rebroadcast: Thursdays from 4:00 to 6:00 P.M.
On the web: Any time. ●

Many shows are archived, so you can enjoy them at your leisure on the internet.

After many successful guest appearances on radio stations in Santa Cruz and around the

It's next month—
LPC STATE CONVENTION 2005

Winning Campaigns 

February 18-20, 2005
Los Angeles

Registration form
on PAGE 6.

TIRED OF WATCHING THE MAP GO RED AND BLUE?

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TOGETHER WE CAN FIND OUT WHAT COLOR A FREE STATE WILL BE!

WWW.FREESTATEPROJECT.ORG

Doo Dah Parade continued from page 1

Regular folks were receptive to the message of stopping the war on drugs.

Among those joining in the fun were Southern California Libertarians **Kristine Orr**, **Bud Bates**, and **Jason Jenkins**, as well as **James Ford** and his daughter **Henna**, who got interested in libertarianism while watching Selzer's TV show, "The Libertarian Alternative."

We even met a large group of teenagers who thought what we were doing was so cool that they asked to march with us—



Photo: Dave Ruprecht

way to cultivate those future Libertarians!

There are many ways to skin a cat and there are many ways to peel the hypocrisy from our failed Drug War. These Southern California Libertarians had a great time increasing awareness and getting the Libertarian banner prominently in front of the public and in the press. ●

• **LPC Southern Vice Chair Mark Selzer** trades his business suit for stars & stripes and a bullhorn to rally libertarian spirit at the Nov. 21 parade.