



THE NEW JERSEY LIBERTARIAN

FEBRUARY

1988

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

January 16-- NJLP member Ralph Fucetola will speak on behalf of Ron Paul at the New Jersey Conservative Convention at the Sheraton Regal Inn, Piscataway, NJ. For more information call 201/438-0798.

January 27-- Volunteer Day! Join the National LP in celebrating a new holiday--15 years of a volunteer army. See article January **NJL**.

February 17-- NJLP State Committee Meeting, 6:30 PM at Farrell's Ice Cream Parlour (tentative), Route 18 South, (Brunswick Square Mall), East Brunswick. All NJLP members invited and welcome.

February 27-28-- 1988 Regional Workshop--"Improving Our Political Campaign Skills", sponsored by the Council of LP State Chairs. To be held in the Baltimore, Md. area. Contact coordinator Alicia Clark at 818/796-8231 for more information.

March 5-- 15th ANNUAL NJLP STATE CONVENTION, Kenilworth Holiday Inn, Exit 138 Garden State Parkway, 201/241-4100. Speakers: **Ron Paul**, LP candidate for President; **Karl Hess**, Editor of LP News; **Dick Zimmer**, Republican State Senator from Hunterdon County; and **David Walter**, Vice-Chairman of National Libertarian Committee.

!!! NJLP CONVENTION !!!

Don't miss our 15th Annual NJLP State Convention on March 5, 1988 at the Kenilworth Holiday Inn. Enclosed is a convention brochure. Clip the registration form and send it in before February 12 for the \$55 Early Bird Special. Note: Because of federal regulations, John Galendak cannot appear. In his place will be State Senator Dick Zimmer, a Republican from Hunterdon County.

Reasons to create an Independent PAC
rather than to have an NJLP PAC.

by Dan Maiullo

The Federal Election Campaign Act classifies PACs (Political Action Committees) into two types: Nonconnected Political Committees (NPCs) and Separate Segregated Funds (SSFs). An NPC does not have a "connected organization," that is, it is not connected to or supported by a corporation or labor organization, or established by any candidate for Federal office, or by any party committee. A party committee is defined as a political committee which represents a political party and is part of the official party structure at the national, state or local level. Under New Jersey law, the NJLP is not a political party, however, it is a corporation. Therefore, any PAC established by the NJLP would be an SSF. An NPC would have to be established by an individual, partnership or unincorporated association. An NPC may have a sponsor, from which it may receive limited support. Such a sponsor

Nothing so needs reforming as other people's habits.
—Mark Twain, *Pudd'nhead Wilson*

See Reasons ... Page 5

Running Against History

Can the Libertarians beat the 3rd party jinx?



By Bill Winter

As the 1988 presidential campaign heats up, and Ron Paul wages his uphill battle for the White House, one question continues to haunt supporters of freedom: Does the Libertarian Party *really* have a future as a force in American politics?

If you use history as a guide, the answer is a resounding no. Since 1860—when the Republicans used the issue of slavery to unseat the Whigs to become a major U.S. political party, no other 3rd party has come anywhere close to getting a President elected. And even worse, the two men in the past 50 years who have achieved to most success outside the Republican/Democratic hammerlock on presidential politics—George Wallace in 1968 and John Anderson in 1980—were both one-shot defectors from the major parties, not 3rd party candidates. So, for the past 30 Presidential elections, the history of 3rd party movements in the United States has been one of utter failure.

Or has it?

The surprising answer is once again no. Because despite what election results may say, 3rd parties have played an important roll in American politics. And if the Libertarian Party—certainly the most potent 3rd party force in the past 50 years—can learn why past presidential contenders have failed, and learn what factors can lead to election success, they could very well break the Demopublican stranglehold on the Oval Office.

Why so durable?

But before we can look at what it takes for a new political party to succeed, we should first look at why they fail. Why has the two-party system been so durable?

One political scientist, Frank Smallwood, lists seven major reasons why the major parties maintain their power.

First, there is the "wasted vote" fear. Major parties tell their followers that a vote for anyone other than a Republican or Democrat is a "wasted vote." Third parties can't win, the logic goes, so why vote for them? You need look no further back than 1980, when both the Republican and Democratic parties used that argument against John Anderson. And it worked: while between 20% and 30% of the public said they supported Anderson, only about 6% voted for him. In politics as in sports, Americans like a winner.

Second, candidates of major parties remain as vague as possible on the issues so they will appeal to as broad a base as possible. That's why every election is rife with promises to

"make America proud again," or to "rebuild this country." These are vapid, "feel-good" sentiments—but they won't get anyone mad at a candidate, and won't alienate any supporters. That's why, in the 1988 presidential primaries, the frontrunners are the ones evading the tough questions the best. Major party politicians see every controversial issue as a potential landmine—so they tip-toe around them.

And in a broader sense, major political parties shift with every change in the political weather. In the early '70's, for instance, when the country's mood seemed more liberal, Richard Nixon, an arch-conservative, leaped at the opportunity to increase welfare, institute wage and price controls, and become friends with Communist China. However, in the early '80's, when the mood was more conservative, dozens of liberal Senators and Congressmen voted for lower taxes, less welfare, and more military spending. Like bacteria, major political parties mutate to survive in changing conditions.

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In one of the more disgusting stories of the past month, a Des Moines police officer went to a hospital emergency room to deliver traffic citations to a critically injured 17-year-old girl. The tickets, for failure to control the car and failure to wear a seat belt, were given to the girl's mother shortly before the girl died.

Thank goodness for the seat belt law. Without it, accident victims might never be properly punished for allowing themselves to be injured. And of course, hats-off to the Des Moines police department for their diligent enforcement. It would be a shame for good judgement to stand in the way of the law.

Campus Review, Oct. 1987

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From:
Libertarian Lines
January 1988

Running Against History

Third, the major parties have a habit of swallowing up any minor parties before they can become too powerful.

Take for example the Populist Party. Organized in 1891, the Populist Party was basically a farmer-orientated, agricultural reform movement. They ran a candidate for President in 1892 who carried several midwest states and won 22 Electoral College votes. In 1894 their congressional candidates amassed 1.5 million votes, and they managed to get six Senators and seven Representatives elected. Clearly, the Populist Party was on the way up, and were representing a serious threat to the two-party system.

The Democrats, seeing the danger, nominated William Jennings Bryan for President in 1896 on a platform that was very similar to that of the Populists. The Populist Party, realizing that Bryan had a better chance of being elected than any candidate they could choose, rallied behind him in support. So the Democratic Party absorbed the Populist Party, much like a large corporation will buy a small, upstart competitor before it gets large enough to hurt it.

Only human nature.

Fourth, human nature works against 3rd parties. Studies show that over 70% of the children in this country will belong to the same political party as their parents. So political affiliation is passed down generation to generation much like religion—making it difficult for 3rd parties to win support.

Fifth, ballot access laws help the major parties. Over 100,000 petition signatures are required for a 3rd party to get a presidential candidate on the ballot in California, for example, while the Republican and Democratic candidates are put on automatically. All 50 states have some sort of ballot access laws, so a 3rd party must gather over 1.2 million signatures to be on the ballot nationwide—which requires a massive expenditure of time and money.

Sixth, federal campaign spending laws are designed to help the major parties, and hinder newcomers. For example, in 1984 both Reagan and Mondale received almost \$30 million from the federal government for their campaigns, just because they were the major party nominees. Third party candidates received no up-front money. So where are they supposed to get their cash? Obviously from private contributors, but the government has closed that avenue too. Federal law limits the amount that any one person can contribute to a campaign to \$1,000. This wouldn't really matter to the major parties—who have millions of potential donors—but it can be deadly for small parties with relatively few supporters. Federal election campaign laws are doing their best to institutionalize the two-party system.

Seventh, the mass media represents a vicious circle that keeps 3rd parties from getting publicity. Basically, the problem is that only candidates with a chance to get elected (read: major party candidates) will win a spot on the network news, but unless a candidate gets that TV exposure, he will never have a chance. The problem is especially acute because over the past 30 years television exposure has to a large degree superceded local party organizations as the basic building blocks of a campaign. So, a 3rd party candidate can't win unless he gets on TV, and can't get on TV unless he can win.

The important factor

With these seven strikes against them, why then do people continue to vote for 3rd party candidates who have almost no chance to win? There are three factors that influence 3rd party votes. The more of these factors a 3rd party has going for them, the greater number of votes they will get.

One factor is whether or not the country is undergoing a crisis of some sort. American history shows a definite relationship between national unrest and the willingness of voters to jump to 3rd parties. For example, the 4-year old Republican Party vaulted into power because of their stand on the hotly debated topic of slavery—an issue which was to break out in open warfare the next year. A less dramatic example was in 1968, when George Wallace's "Law and Order" platform and his harsh stands against Civil Rights disturbances and Vietnam War protests offered simple solutions to a nation rocked by turmoil—and won him almost 10 million votes.

Going hand-in-hand with conditions of crisis is another factor; voter dissatisfaction with the major parties. When voters feel that the major parties can't handle a problem, they look for an alternative. George Wallace capitalized on that sentiment, too, during his '68 presidential bid when he urged Americans to vote for him because, "There ain't a dime's worth of difference between Republicans and Democrats."

The final factor is the prominence of 3rd party candidates. History shows that the more well-known a candidate is, the better he will do. For instance, when ex-President (and ex-Republican) Teddy Roosevelt ran in 1912 as the presidential candidate for the "Bull Moose" Progressive Party, he garnered 28% of the vote. In politics, fame equals votes.

Yet, despite the fact that all these factors have been present in the U.S.A. at one time or another over the past 120 years, the Republicans and Democrats have managed to maintain their stubborn hold on this country's elected offices. And 3rd parties, according to the history books, have remained a mere footnote in American politics.

A profound influence

But despite the lack of electoral success, a good case can be made that 3rd parties have influenced American politics in some profound ways.

One such way is the willingness of 3rd parties to tackle tough issues first—the kind of issues that the major parties try to duck for as long as possible. Two historic examples: In the 1840's, the Free Soil Party began demanding an end to slavery; a position neither the Whigs or Democrats would take for fear of alienating large blocks of their supporters. And in the early '60's, it was the socialist and communist parties who first urged the U.S. to get out of Vietnam; years before the Republicans and Democrats took up the cry. In other words, what 3rd parties are talking about today, the major parties will discover five to 30 years down the road.

The second—and by far the most important—effect of 3rd parties has to been to come up with new ideas and programs, and act as a sounding board for people to hear about them. Since 3rd parties don't get elected, they never get a chance to put their policies into action—but the major parties have been more than happy to steal some of these ideas and use them. In 1988, you need look no further than Jack Kemp and his "Enterprise Zones," and Pete duPont's ideas on partially privatizing Social Security.

The Libertarian advantage

With all these variables in mind, what, then, is the future of the Libertarian Party?

If we look at the three factors that influence 3rd party voting, we see that in 1988 the Libertarian Party has several big plusses.

Starting with the "dissatisfaction factor," statistics show that the American voter is more disgruntled with the government than at almost any time in history. Some examples: From 1960 to 1980, 10% of the voting age population stepped out of the voting booth for good.

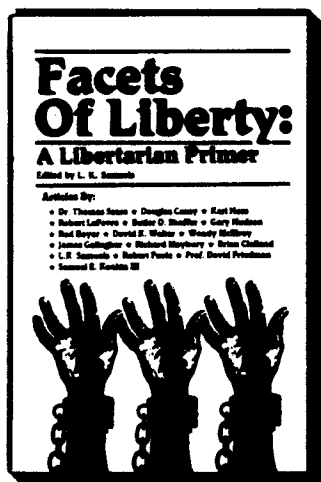


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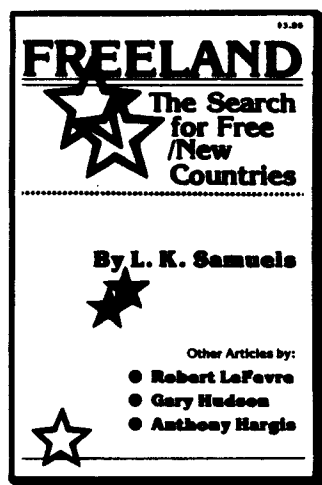


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Hon. Ron Paul

REMEMBER THIS DATE: MARCH 5, 1988!

15th ANNUAL NJLP STATE CONVENTION

Kenilworth Holiday Inn Exit 138 * Garden State Parkway

REGISTER TODAY!

AGENDA

- Registration
- Welcome Address
- Morning Address
- Business Session - Part I
- Luncheon Address
- Afternoon Address
- Business Session - Part II
- Cocktail Hour (Cash Bar)
- Dinner & Keynote Address
- Evening Address
- Hospitality Suite

Registration begins at 9:30 am.

General Information:

Directions: The Kenilworth Holiday Inn is located at exit 138 off the Garden State Parkway. You may telephone (201) 241-4100 for further directions.

Disclaimer: Views and ideas expressed by the speakers are not necessarily those of the organizations with which they are affiliated.

More Convention Info: Silkscreen T-shirts bearing the Party logo will be available for \$7.00 at the Convention.

Welcome to the 15th Anniversary celebration of the New Jersey Libertarian Party. We are pleased to present you with guest speakers who are so dedicated to the principles of Liberty:

- **Hon. Ron Paul** - the 1988 Libertarian Party candidate for President of the United States.
- **Karl Hess** - welder, philosopher, and current editor of the LP News.
- **John Galendak** - President of the Foundation for Free Enterprise.
- **David Walter** - Vice-chairman of the National Libertarian Committee and co-founder of the Society for Individual Liberty.

Whether you are a member of the growing and increasingly well-respected libertarian movement, or are just interested in the freedom philosophy, you are invited to attend this gala and historic event!

REGISTRATION INFO

Register before February 12, 1988 and save more than 10 percent off Regular admission price! Or come for just the Evening Special and enjoy dinner with us and hear our evening speakers -- all for a special, low price!

Feel Free. Come Join Us!

15th ANNUAL

NEW JERSEY LIBERTARIAN PARTY STATE CONVENTION

Kenilworth Holiday Inn
Exit 138 * Garden State Parkway
(201) 241-4100

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Reasons ...

cannot be a corporation or labor organization.

An NPC must pay for all the costs of running the committee itself, using contributions. The sponsor, if any, may help pay the committee's expenses, but any financial support received is considered a contribution and is subject to a yearly contribution limit of \$5,000. In the case of an SSF, the connected organization is prohibited from making any contributions, but may directly pay all of the committee's administrative and solicitation costs without limit.

An NPC may solicit contributions from any individual, group or committee. An SSF may solicit only from a specifically defined restricted class of individuals.

An NPC becomes a political committee, and must register as such, when it receives contributions or makes expenditures exceeding \$1,000 per calendar year. An SSF becomes a political committee as soon as it is established by a connected organization.

From: Libertarian Lines
(January 1988)

And yet one more reason why the Communists will never take over the world: — The war is over in Korea, but the battle of the loudspeakers continues. Along the 151-mile Demilitarized Zone that has separated North and South Korea since 1953, giant loudspeakers on both sides blare at each other 18 hours a day, 365 days a year. However, while the North Koreans blast the sayings of "the beloved great leader" of communist North Korea (typical example: "Forward goes the progress of the people under the inspired guidance of the great leader"), the South Koreans play the Rolling Stones. (*The Boston Globe*)

Running Against History

While 62% voted in the 1960 presidential election, only 53% did so in 1980. So we have a situation where almost half of American citizens don't see the use of voting. Also decreasing is the number of voters affiliated with the major parties. In 1960, only 23% of voters identified themselves as Independents. However, by 1980, that number leaps to 40%. Obviously, voters are flocking from the major parties in droves.

Why? Probably because voters believe that it no longer matters who they vote for—since nothing the government does will improve matters. Americans—to an amazing degree—have lost their once childlike faith in government. For instance, a recent Gallup poll that measured "the public confidence in honesty and ethical standards" showed that only 20% of the people said they had faith in Senators, and only 14% in Congressmen. Also: a Harris survey showed that while 42% of the public had a "great deal of confidence" in the Presidency in 1966, only 24% did in 1980. Another recent Harris survey showed that a whopping 75% of the people thought that politicians put special interests ahead of the good of the country.

If we look at the "crisis factor," the recent stock market crash also bodes well—in a sad kind of way—for the Libertarian Party. Add the fact that many prominent economists are predicting a major depression, and you have exactly the kind of serious crisis that makes American voters look for a new type of politics. Libertarians still have to convince people that free-market economics is the solution to the crisis, but the American public is beginning to realize that the status-quo politics of Washington just isn't working.

The final wild card in 1988 is the "fame factor." Ron Paul is the first Libertarian candidate who has held national office, has some name recognition, and has experience in fund-raising and campaigning. Coupled with the American disenchantment with the Demopublicans—and the economic crisis that looms ahead—Americans may take his causes and campaign seriously enough to vote for him in large numbers. Realistically, it is foolish to predict that he will win. But it is not foolish to predict that he could lay the foundation for a future Libertarian presidential candidate who will win.

Or, in an alternative scenerio, if Paul could get close to 10% of the vote, it could scare the Republicans—who are currently scrambling for a coherent national policy—into borrowing more Libertarian ideas, or into shifting toward Libertarian values to recapture that block of voters.

Either way, the Libertarian Party has a fighting chance to do what few 3rd parties have been able to accomplish in the past 120 years: make a serious contribution to the political future of America.

NJLP STEERING COMMITTEE

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Vice-Chair:	Jerry Zeldin	609/783-4306
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NJ LIBERTARIAN

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Editor: Ginny Flynn

201/591-1328

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Full Page	\$30
Half Page	\$17
Quarter Page	\$10
Eighth Page	\$6
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Inserts \$15/sheet

These rates only apply to ads submitted camera-ready. There will be a charge for any additional preparation needed.

Material must be received by the 27th of the month to be in the following issue.

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