



LP News

The Party of Principle™

January 2011

The Official Newspaper of the Libertarian Party

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Libertarian Party Founder David Nolan Dies

David F. Nolan, viewed by many as the father of the Libertarian Party, died unexpectedly on November 21 in Tucson, Arizona at the age of 66.

In 1971, *The Individualist* magazine published an article by Mr. Nolan titled "Classifying and Analyzing Politico-Economic Systems." The article included the two-dimensional diamond-shaped chart which became known as the Nolan Chart, and which is currently used by the Advocates for Self-Government in their popular World's Smallest Political Quiz.

On August 15, 1971, Mr. Nolan and several other libertarians were meeting at his home in Westminster, Colorado. They watched President Richard Nixon announce on television that he was going to institute wage and price controls, and that he was taking the U.S. dollar off the

gold standard. The group was outraged, and decided that America needed a Libertarian Party.

The Libertarian Party was officially founded in Colorado Springs on December 11, 1971 by Mr. Nolan and seven others.

Mr. Nolan remained active in the Libertarian Party during the following 39 years. He ran several times as a Libertarian candidate, including a 2006 run for U.S. House in Arizona against incumbent Gabrielle Giffords, and a run for U.S. Senate in Arizona last year against incumbent John McCain.

Last May, Mr. Nolan was elected as an at-large member of the Libertarian National Committee.

Mark Hinkle, Chair of the Liber-

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David Nolan, viewed by many as the father of the Libertarian Party.

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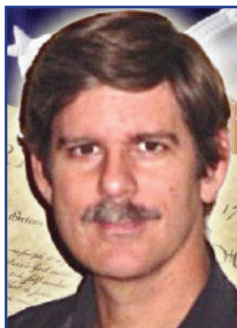
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CHAIRMAN'S CORNER

Remembering David

by Mark Hinkle



I'm sure every LNC Chair would prefer to write a Chair's column filled with good news. Unfortunately, this one is going to start with sad news: the death of our co-founder David Nolan.

When I was elected LNC Chair this past May and started to preside over the first meeting of the new LNC, I looked around the room and was thrilled to have such a talented and experienced Libertarian National Committee. And the frosting on the cake was that I got to work with the co-founder of the Party: David Nolan.

I've known David for many years, but this was the first real opportunity to spend significant time working with David, especially since he was Chair of the Convention Oversight Committee, the committee charged with reviewing bids from many hotels in many cities. Following the leadership that Admiral Colley provided on the previous Convention Oversight Committee, David jumped right in and took charge. I was very happy he took the initiative.

Elsewhere in *LP News* is a more extensive review of David Nolan's contributions to the LP and to the cause of freedom.

To me, David Nolan is and was to the LP, what Bill Gates is to Microsoft: a co-founder and a guiding light. He will be sorely missed and will never be replaced.

Thank You David Nolan.

As with most elections, 2010 was a mixed bag for the Libertarian Party.

We obtained significant media attention during 2010, thanks in part to our 800+ candidates, weekly

Monday Messages from the LP HQ, and dozens of press releases that earned us many interviews with the media, especially radio talk shows.

Our vote totals and percentages in individual races were all significantly higher. Yet, not quite high enough in Illinois and New York, where we had hoped to gain ballot status. The LNC provided significant funds in both these states with the hopes of gaining ballot status through 2012 or 2014.

I'm very pleased to report that the LNC took a significant step towards establishing the LP as "the" third party. They have authorized the creation of a building fund that seeks to raise the capital necessary to buy our own building or office condo. Our lease in the infamous Watergate building is due to expire in February, 2012. So, we have a short window in which to raise the down payment. We estimate about \$250-300K should enable us to proceed.

That's a significant amount of money, especially in a "non-election" year and in a tough economic climate (thank you Bush & Obama). However, the long-term financial benefits are huge. Former LNC Chair Geoff Neale is heading up a fundraising committee comprised of Dr. Mary Ruwart, Dr. James Lark, former LNC legal council Bill Hall, and Wayne Root.

Under FEC rules, building funds come with special restrictions. Funds donated to this project can only be spent on the purchase, and related expenses, of a building or office condo. If we don't raise enough to get the job done, we'll have to give the money back. No shifting of funds to other projects like we see in government circles. More details will be forthcoming, but the bottom line is this makes very good business sense and it'll allow more of your donations to go towards advancing the cause of freedom in our lifetimes.

Please help us celebrate the Party's 40th anniversary (December 11, 2011) by funding our move into a permanent LP Headquarters.

Mark W.A. Hinkle

Want to become a Monthly Pledger?



Monthly Pledgers receive the insider's *Liberty Pledge Newsletter*, and are vital to funding our LP Headquarters operations.

Ready to Renew Your Membership?

Send a gift of \$25 or more. Write "renew" on your check or contribution form.

You can renew or sign up for a monthly pledge:

- online at LP.org
- call 202-333-0008
- use the enclosed postage-paid envelope, or mail your contribution to:

Libertarian Party
2600 Virginia Avenue NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20037

LP News

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The Purposes of the Libertarian Party:

The Party is organized to implement and give voice to the principles embodied in the Statement of Principles by: functioning as a libertarian political entity separate and distinct from all other political parties or movements; moving public policy in a libertarian direction by building a political party that elects Libertarians to public office; chartering affiliate parties throughout the United States and promoting their growth and activities; nominating candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, and supporting Party and affiliate party candidates for political office; and, entering into public information activities.

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Thanks for making 2010 a fantastic year!

Help make the future even better!

Dear Libertarian,

It's been an honor serving as your Executive Director.

I am especially thankful to our 15,000 dues-paying members, 1,200 monthly pledgers, and other loyal donors who help fund our party operations and outreach efforts.

Unlike the Republicans and Democrats, who are swimming in millions and even billions of special interest dollars, we rely on the support of principled, dedicated individuals like you.

There are so many wonderful things to appreciate about Libertarians, I thought I'd list several:

- I'm thankful to David Nolan for having the vision to found the party in 1971.
- I'm thankful for the opportunity to have worked directly with Mr. Nolan this past year: he was an energetic contributor, generous with praise, yet forthright with concerns.
- I'm thankful for the over 800 people who boldly offered their visions and reputations as candidates for public office this year.
- I'm thankful to the family members who supported our candidates—and probably kept them from going overboard from time to time.
- I'm thankful to the many volunteers who helped manage campaigns, make websites, file paperwork, design brochures, and distribute yard signs.
- I'm thankful for the many Libertarian county chairs and other officers throughout the U.S., who often are the only ones willing to take on their leadership roles.
- I'm thankful for the many random comments people write on their donation forms or when they donate online. We can't respond to all of them, but we do notice most of them!
- I'm even thankful for the meanest, nastiest, bitterest complaints we receive, usually by email: some are unwarranted, some are helpful (even if not worded politely), and some are downright hilarious! Please don't stop!

I want to remind you about some of our accomplishments in 2010:

- 800 candidates—in 2008 we had 593, and in 2006 we had 596.
- Over 15 million votes for Libertarians—in 2008 we re-

ceived 12.6 million, and in 2006 we received 12.8 million.

- About 650,000 Quiz Across America door hangers were distributed.

Why do we keep up this hard work? Because it's the right thing to do.

Freedom and prosperity are not guaranteed. We have to work hard to earn them and keep them.

It is especially troubling that no matter which Republicans or Democrats get elected, they seem to continue growing government. Republicans talk smaller government on economic issues, but deliver the opposite. Democrats talk about civil liberties, then violate them.

It's up to Libertarians to point out those hypocrisies and to stand up proudly for free markets and civil liberties.

I do wonder if—in 20 years—America will be one of the nicest places to live, or if it will be another declining civilization fraught with poverty and abuse that your children want to leave.

The future of America may depend on the Libertarian Party pushing her towards liberty and away from tyranny.

I hope you will stand by the Libertarian Party and help us give America its best chance for freedom.

If you can, I hope you will support the efforts of the Libertarian Party by sending a generous contribution today in the included return envelope.

You can also donate online at LP.org, or call (202) 333-0008 to donate by credit card over the phone.

Sincerely,

Wes Benedict, Executive Director

P.S. So many wonderful Libertarians accomplished so much in 2010. Please rush your contribution back to me today so we can provide more support to our activists and make 2011 an even better year!

November 2010 Election Results

by Arthur DiBianca

Thanks to our over 800 candidates for taking the time and energy to run for office.

We have collected results for 798 candidates. (Unfortunately, several of our candidates had to run as write-ins

in states that refuse to report results for them.)

Libertarians received a total of more than 15,200,000 votes.

Pamela Brown, running for Lieutenant Governor in California, got 574,640 votes. That is the second-high-

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Top ten vote-getters

Richard B. Sanders	WA	Supreme Court, Position 6 (nonpartisan)	971,803
J. Randell Stevens	TX	Judge, Court of Criminal Appeals, Place 2	684,005
Dave Howard	TX	Judge, Court of Criminal Appeals, Place 5	661,160
Pamela Brown	CA	Lt. Governor	574,640
Mary J. Ruwart	TX	Comptroller of Public Accounts	417,523
Richard Bronstein	CA	Insurance Commissioner	372,684
Andrew Favor	CA	Controller	292,440
Bob Roddis	MI	Supreme Court (nonpartisan)	262,654
Timothy Hannan	CA	Attorney General	246,584
Edward Teyssier	CA	Treasurer	218,387

Top ten percentages (partisan single-member election, facing at least one opponent on the ballot)

Bob Dempsey	CO	San Miguel County Coroner	42.33%
Sandra Darby	NV	Nye County Commission, District 4	41.25%
Bob Isgrigg	IN	Clark County Surveyor	37.87%
John Sams	NC	Chowan County Commissioner, District 3	35.54%
Rachel A. Kielsky	AZ	Maricopa County Justice of the Peace	34.95%
Sean T. O'Toole	MO	State Representative, District 40	33.42%
Steve Murphy	MO	Clark County Presiding Commissioner	31.76%
Brad Hyatt	IN	State Representative, District 56	31.57%
Jon Bell	IN	Henry County Council	31.02%
Mike Calpino	MD	Wicomico County Council, District 2	30.37%

Top ten percentages (partisan single-member election, facing both a Republican and a Democrat)

Steve Murphy	MO	Clark County Presiding Commissioner	31.76%
Rex Bell	IN	State Representative, District 54	20.79%
Gayle Bond	IN	Wayne County Council, District 2	18.90%
Thomas Zmyslo Sr.	IN	St. Joseph County Council, District A	15.49%
Tim Mullen	PA	State Representative, District 120	14.91%
Dan Cox	MT	State Senator, District 44	11.91%
Daniel Ferris	IN	Madison County Council, District 1	10.84%
Tom Thacker	WV	State Senator, District 11	10.66%
Wil Losch	WI	State Assembly, District 34	10.02%
Gregory Kolver	IN	LaPorte County Council, District 1	9.98%

Top ten percentages (nonpartisan single-member election, facing at least one opponent on the ballot)

Scott Stewart	AZ	Pima Community College Board, District 4	67.27%*
Carol Morris	FL	Fort Myers Beach Fire District Board, Seat 3	63.78%*
Jim Culberson	FL	Sebastian Inlet Taxing District, District 5	62.07%*
Kathy Woolsey	SC	Charleston County Soil and Water Commission	53.06%*
Richard Sanders	WA	Supreme Court, Position 6	49.85%
Stuart Coffin	FL	Duval County Soil & Water Conservation District, Grp. 5	49.68%
Bob Odden	MN	Columbia Heights Mayor	42.35%
Phillip Laibe	FL	Duval County Soil & Water Conservation District, Grp. 1	41.03%
Mary O'Connor	MN	Hennepin County Commissioner, District 1	39.31%
Violet Skinner	FL	Duval County Soil & Water Conservation District, Grp. 3	36.32%

*indicates race won

Federal Election Results

by Arthur DiBianca

On November 2, there were 20 Libertarians on the ballot for U.S. Senate, and 162 on the ballot for U.S. House. Several Libertarians also ran for Congress as write-in candidates, and we have obtained results for two of them.

Based on posted official results, Libertarian candidates for U.S. House received 1,063,653 votes. According to Ballot Access News, Libertarians received 1,078,179 votes for U.S. House in 2008, and 650,614 votes in 2006.

Among candidates for U.S. House, the highest vote-getter was Christopher Dwyer of Missouri. He received 46,817 votes (22.3%) running against a Republican.

The highest percentage went to Angelia O'Dell of Oklahoma. She received 45,646 votes (23.2%) running against a Republican. (Because of Oklahoma's harsh ballot access laws, O'Dell appeared

on the ballot as an independent.)

Seventeen U.S. House candidates got over 5% of the vote, in races with both a Republican and a Democrat. We're not aware of any past election in which so many Libertarians passed that threshold. Three Libertarians passed 5% in 2008, one in 2006, and two in 2004.

Among U.S. Senate candidates, Rebecca Sink-Burris of Indiana received the highest percentage, 5.4%. The late David Nolan of Arizona received 4.7%. They are the first Libertarian U.S. Senate candidates running against both a Democrat and a Republican to get more than 4% of the vote since 2000.

According to the most recent FEC reports, the five Libertarian congressional candidates with the highest campaign expenditures were John Anderson of Ohio (\$157,128), Jim Prindle of Texas (\$41,906), Alex Snitker of Florida (\$37,005), Ed Mishou of Texas (\$32,858), and Edward Gonzalez of California (\$32,512).

Top five percentages for U.S. Senate

Rebecca Sink-Burris	IN	U.S. Senator	5.4%
David F. Nolan	AZ	U.S. Senator	4.7%
Jonathan Dine	MO	U.S. Senator	3.0%
Chuck Donovan	GA	U.S. Senator	2.7%
Michael Labno	IL	U.S. Senator	2.4%

Top five percentages for U.S. House (either no Republican or no Democrat)

Angelia O'Dell	OK	U.S. Representative, District 1	23.2%
Christopher Dwyer	MO	U.S. Representative, District 9	22.3%
David Sparks	TX	U.S. Representative, District 24	18.4%
Bob Townsend	TX	U.S. Representative, District 7	18.0%
Bill Oliver	TX	U.S. Representative, District 31	17.5%

Top five percentages for U.S. House, running against both a Republican and a Democrat

Carlos Rodriguez	CA	U.S. Representative, District 28	8.0%
Edward Gonzalez	CA	U.S. Representative, District 16	7.9%
Chard Reid	IN	U.S. Representative, District 5	7.7%
Marc Johnston	OH	U.S. Representative, District 2	6.8%
Jeffery J. Blevins	OH	U.S. Representative, District 16	6.6%

Putting the Libertarian Party in Your Will

In our January 2008 LP News, we reported how Mr. Raymond G. Burrington of Knox County, Tennessee left around \$200,000 to the Libertarian Party in his will.

Because of campaign finance laws, the portion of those funds over the 2008 limit of \$28,500 went into an escrow account, to be donated yearly to the Libertarian Party at the maximum level.

The Libertarian National Committee continues to benefit from the Burrington bequest, and has since received a few other smaller bequests as well.

To make a bequest in a will, it is as simple as writing, "I hereby give and bequeath [cash amount, percentage amount of estate, or property you are giving] to the Libertarian National Committee, Inc. (i.e., the national committee of the Libertarian Party in the United States of America), Washington, DC, for its general purposes."

If you are interested in making a gift to the Libertarian Party during your estate planning, don't hesitate to call the LP Headquarters for assistance at 202-333-0008.

Intern this Spring With the LP

by Kyle Hartz

The Libertarian National Committee is now accepting applications for our spring internship program.

Our program is focused on expanding communication between the national office, party members, and potential members. Our interns help with answering questions about the party platform, participating in grassroots events, and supporting online activism. Interns also assist with fundraising, blog writing, research, and administrative tasks.

Applicants should possess strong research and writing skills. Knowledge of libertarian philosophy is preferred, but not required.

Our former interns have gone on to

work or intern for a number of libertarian and classical liberal organizations, such as these:

- Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation
- Reason
- Cato Institute
- Institute for Justice
- Institute for Humane Studies
- Competitive Enterprise Institute
- Americans for Tax Reform
- Pelican Institute
- Students for Liberty
- Tax Foundation
- Atlas Research Foundation
- American Legislative Exchange Council
- Libertarian National Committee

To apply, please email your resume and cover letter to Kyle Hartz at interns@lp.org.

November 2010 Election Winners

by Arthur DiBianca

Eighteen Libertarians were elected or re-elected to office on November 2. They will have the opportunity to put Libertarian principles into action. Two were in partisan races in Indiana; the others were in nonpartisan races.

One of the biggest new winners was Kathy Woolsey in South Carolina, who won a seat on the Charleston County Soil and Water Commission with over 39,000 votes.

In Florida, Jim Culberson was re-

elected to the Sebastian Inlet Taxing District with over 51,000 votes.

Most of our elected officials won in smaller jurisdictions, and some were unopposed.

Local officials often have a lot of control over local tax rates, budgets, and regulations. There have been many instances in which Libertarian elected officials have reduced the burden of local government on their constituents. Congratulations to our newest elected Libertarians, and may they continue this fine tradition!

We have a complete list of Libertarian elected officials on our website.

Libertarian winners on November 2, 2010

Bob O'Brien	AZ	Northern Gila County Sanitary District	Unopposed
Scott Stewart	AZ	Pima Community College Board, District 4	34,278 votes
Rodger Musso	CA	Black Oak Mine Unified School District Board, Seat 2	Unopposed
Timothy Healey	CA	Fair Oaks Water District Board, District 1	Unopposed
Vern Dahl	CA	Lucia Mar Unified School District Board	12,711 votes
Jack Hickey	CA	Sequoia Healthcare District Board	24,291 votes
Robert Dickson	CA	Timber Cove Fire Protection District Board	Unopposed
Carol Morris	FL	Fort Myers Beach Fire District Board, Seat 3	2,203 votes
Ron Skrutski	FL	Lee County Soil and Water Conservation District, Grp. 2	Unopposed
Tom Clark	FL	Lee County Soil and Water Conservation District, Grp. 3	Unopposed
Kim Hawk	FL	Lee County Soil and Water Conservation District, Grp. 5	Unopposed
Jim Culberson	FL	Sebastian Inlet Taxing District, District 5	51,110 votes
Larry Frego	FL	St. Johns County Soil & Water Conservation District, Grp. 2	Unopposed
Cheryl Heacox	IN	Clay Township Advisory Board, Wayne County (partisan)	113 votes
Steve Coffman*	IN	Liberty Township Advisory Board, Henry County (partisan)	245 votes
Jeff Goforth	NC	Cabarrus County Soil and Water District Supervisor	16,987 votes
Robert Rosenthal*	NC	Durham County Soil and Water District Supervisor	34,390 votes
Kathy Woolsey	SC	Charleston County Soil and Water Commission	39,408 votes

* Effectively unopposed, because the number of seats up for election was equal to the number of candidates on the ballot.

State Legislative Election Results

by Arthur DiBianca

We had 321 Libertarian candidates for state legislative office in November, up from 279 in 2008 and 272 in 2006.

Particularly impressive was Rex Bell of Indiana, who got over 20% of the vote running against both a Republican and a Democrat. He almost beat the Democrat.

Five Libertarians got over 10% of the vote, running against one Democrat and one Republican. In 2006,

the last mid-term election, only Rex Bell passed that threshold. (Note, that only counts single-member districts where the Libertarian candidate appeared with the Libertarian label only.)

It has been very rare for a Libertarian to win a state legislative seat. The last time was in 2000, when Steve Vaillancourt was elected to the New Hampshire State House in a three-member district. (Voters could "vote for three," with the top three candidates winning. Vaillancourt came in third out of six candidates.)

Top ten percentages for state legislature (either no Republican or no Democrat in the race)

Sean T. O'Toole	MO	State Representative, District 40	33.42%
Brad Hyatt	IN	State Representative, District 56	31.57%
Scott A. Kohlhaas	AK	State Representative, District 20	30.10%
Jonathan Loya	MA	State Representative, Middlesex District 8	28.74%
Ron Cenkush	IN	State Representative, District 5	27.97%
Christopher Peters	IA	State Senator, District 15	25.22%
Fred Fogel	HI	State Representative, District 5	24.39%
Bob Ludlow	MO	State Senator, District 10	23.65%
Richard W. Shuey	TX	State Representative, District 43	22.44%
Don Crossley	IN	State Senator, District 27	21.72%

Top ten percentages for state legislature, running against both a Republican and a Democrat

Rex Bell	IN	State Representative, District 54	20.79%
Tim Mullen	PA	State Representative, District 120	14.91%
Dan Cox	MT	State Senator, District 44	11.91%
Tom Thacker	WV	State Senator, District 11	10.66%
Wil Losch	WI	State Assembly, District 34	10.00%
Chad Ricketts	OH	State Representative, District 91	9.93%
Gary Bryant	CA	State Assembly, District 3	9.04%
Erik Viker	PA	State Representative, District 85	8.97%
Heather Scott	TN	State Representative, District 57	8.93%
Andrea Garcia	AZ	State Senator, District 18	8.78%

2010 Results

...continued from page 4

est vote count in history for a Libertarian running against both a Republican and a Democrat. (The highest was Ed Clark's 1980 presidential candidacy. He received about 921,000 votes.) Obviously, Libertarian candidates generally get higher vote counts and percentages when they are not facing both a Republican and a Democrat.

Eighteen Libertarians were elected or re-elected to office. (More details on this page.)

We achieved or retained ballot

access for the 2012 presidential election in 27 states. That is a little higher than what we had coming out of the 2002 or 2006 mid-term elections. As always, we'll strive to get on the ballot in all 50 states and the District of Columbia.

On a related topic, more voters have registered as Libertarians. According to Ballot Access News, there were 278,446 voters registered as Libertarians in October 2010, up from 240,328 in October 2008. (16% increase in two years.)

(Note, many of the percentages below are based on preliminary results. The final official percentages are unlikely to change significantly.)

November 2, 2010 Results for Libertarian Candidates

Jim Rainwater	State Representative, District 28	2,605	14.3%	Jake Porter	Secretary of State	33,854	3.1%	Adam Goodman	U.S. Representative, District 9	2,601	1.0%					
Greg Noland	State Representative, District 36	663	4.2%	Rob Petsche	U.S. Representative, District 1	4,087	1.9%	Claude Beavers	U.S. Representative, District 10	3,750	1.6%					
Rob Jozwiak	State Representative, District 37	970	5.2%	Gary Sicard	U.S. Representative, District 2	4,356	1.9%	John J. Tatar	U.S. Representative, District 11	5,353	2.2%					
David Hinkle	State Representative, District 40	3,864	17.0%	Christopher Peters	State Senator, District 15	6,092	25.2%	Leonard Schwartz	U.S. Representative, District 12	2,342	1.1%					
Dennis Beatty	State Representative, District 44	697	3.9%	Dustin Krutsinger	State Representative, District 30	2,560	20.4%	Heidi Peterson	U.S. Representative, District 13	815	0.6%					
Chuck Hanneman	State Representative, District 52	599	4.2%	Tyler Pauly	State Representative, District 46	350	2.5%	Rick Secula	U.S. Representative, District 14	1,859	1.2%					
Rex Bell	State Representative, District 54	3,846	20.8%	Kansas							Kerry Lee Morgan	U.S. Representative, District 15	1,969	0.9%		
Sarah Jordan	State Representative, District 55	1,142	6.2%				Michael Wm. Dann	U.S. Senator	17,922	2.1%	Gregory Creswell	State Senator, District 2	808	1.5%		
Brad Hyatt	State Representative, District 56	2,939	31.6%				Andrew P. Gray	Governor	21,909	2.7%	Raymond Warner	State Senator, District 4	328	0.7%		
Edward A. Dilts	State Representative, District 59	603	3.9%				Stacey Davis	Lt. Governor (on ticket with Governor)								
David Murdoch	State Representative, District 60	633	2.9%				Phillip Lucas	Secretary of State	16,946	2.1%	Marlin Brandys	State Senator, District 7	1,127	1.1%		
Al Cox	State Representative, District 65	2,810	16.1%				Dennis Hawver	Attorney General	24,000	2.9%	Loel Gnadt	State Senator, District 8	1,093	1.6%		
Elizabeth Sepponen	State Representative, District 81	403	3.9%				Jack Warner	U.S. Representative, District 1	6,537	3.4%	Ronald Muszynski	State Senator, District 17	2,412	2.8%		
Paul Leslie	State Representative, District 85	2,953	14.1%				Robert Garrard	U.S. Representative, District 2	9,353	4.5%	Todd L. Richardson	State Senator, District 22	3,174	3.3%		
Joe Hauptmann	State Representative, District 87	3,219	13.8%				Jasmin Talbert	U.S. Representative, District 3	6,846	2.9%	Bradley D. Cook	State Senator, District 24	3,550	3.5%		
Kevin Vail	State Representative, District 90	2,944	15.7%				Shawn Smith	U.S. Representative, District 4	4,624	2.3%	Patrick Clawson	State Senator, District 27	2,167	2.8%		
Matt Amormino	State Representative, District 91	689	4.6%				Larry Monaghan	State Representative, District 2	167	2.6%	Jamie Lewis	State Senator, District 28	3,144	2.9%		
Jason Sipe	State Representative, District 92	717	4.0%				Michael Kerner	State Representative, District 17	339	3.8%	Bill Gelineau	State Senator, District 29	1,406	1.8%		
Kent Raquet	State Representative, District 93	2,702	12.9%				Jeffrey Caldwell II	State Representative, District 19	182	2.5%	Bruce Campbell	State Senator, District 30	2,976	3.1%		
Mike Smythe	State Representative, District 94	350	2.6%				Robert J. McElwain	State Representative, District 21	1,717	20.0%	Albert Chia Jr.	State Senator, District 32	702	0.9%		
John Meuser	State Representative, District 99	322	2.3%				Sean Tabor	State Representative, District 54	399	4.7%	Joshua Lillie	State Senator, District 33	2,429	3.1%		
Paul Dijak-Robinson	State Representative, District 100	292	4.2%				Troy Abbott	State Representative, District 56	229	3.5%	Nicholas Sundquist	State Senator, District 34	2,107	2.5%		
Duncan Adams	Brown County Sheriff	134	2.1%				Gordon Bakken	State Representative, District 83	501	6.0%	Allitta Hren	State Senator, District 35	2,521	2.8%		
Bob Isgrigg	Clark County Surveyor	9,947	37.9%				Randall Batson	State Representative, District 95	185	5.1%	Jesse Church	State Representative, District 13	754	2.8%		
Amy Hapner	Elkhart County Council, District 1	1,588	19.2%				David Thomas	State Representative, District 98	108	4.8%	Keith Edwards	State Representative, District 24	919	2.8%		
Mike Kole	Hamilton County Council, District 2	1,643	6.9%				Thad Bartley	State Representative, District 101	312	4.7%	James Allison	State Representative, District 25	413	1.4%		
Joseph Tucker	Hamilton County Council, District 3	2,761	17.1%				Bennie Ferguson	State Representative, District 104	413	3.8%	James Young	State Representative, District 26	938	3.2%		
Bill Claar	Henry County Sheriff	2,511	20.9%				Philip Breitmeyer	State Representative, District 106	1,031	15.5%	John Skosnik	State Representative, District 27	951	3.3%		
Jon Bell	Henry County Council	1,173	31.0%				Kentucky					James Miller	State Representative, District 31	792	3.2%	
Jerry Titus	Howard County Council, District 2	1,443	21.2%									Scott Dudek	State Representative, District 32	1,354	4.3%	
David Tyssen	Lake County Council, District 4	742	3.7%									Nathan Allen	State Representative, District 39	727	2.1%	
Jeanine Kirpec	Lake County Council, District 5	530	4.6%									Terry W. Mulawa	State Representative, District 42	857	3.7%	
Ryan Stewart	Lake County Council, District 6	848	5.2%									Thomas Johnson	State Representative, District 44	1,355	3.7%	
Janice Glueckert	Lake County Council, District 7	705	3.0%									Ronald Sanderson	State Representative, District 47	1,161	3.4%	
Mike Sloan	LaPorte County Commissioner, District 1	1,953	6.9%									James H. Lewis II	State Representative, District 66	1,218	3.1%	
Gregory Kveler	LaPorte County Council, District 1	722	10.0%									Patty Hone	State Representative, District 70	548	2.2%	
Daniel Ferris	Madison County Council, District 1	1,056	10.8%				Louisiana					William R. Wenzel	State Representative, District 72	908	2.6%	
Christine Nealis	Madison County Council, District 3	636	7.2%									Willard Heeren	State Representative, District 73	1,261	3.2%	
John Nichols	Madison County Council, District 4	676	6.0%									R.J. Stevens	State Representative, District 74	713	2.0%	
Joell Palmer	Marion County Auditor	11,052	5.3%				Maryland					Larry DeLeon	State Representative, District 75	462	1.7%	
Tamyra d'Ippolito	Monroe County Council, District 2	447	4.9%									Matthew L. Friar	State Representative, District 76	389	2.1%	
Victoria Foley	Rush County Commissioner	996	22.1%									Brian Boyer	State Representative, District 77	682	2.7%	
Joyce Morrell	Rush County Council, District 2	265	24.8%									Bill Bradley	State Representative, District 80	722	2.9%	
Thomas Zmyslo Sr.	St. Joseph County Council, District A	1,497	15.5%									Robin C. Van Loon	State Representative, District 86	909	2.4%	
Bill Leider	Steuben County Council, District 3	218	9.0%									Bob Willett	State Representative, District 87	1,406	4.3%	
Matthew Hisrich	Wayne County Commissioner, District 1	4,154	28.4%									Charlie Clegg	State Representative, District 88	1,091	3.3%	
Gayle Bond	Wayne County Council, District 2	951	18.9%									Terry Ashcraft	State Representative, District 89	1,127	3.5%	
Mark Harris	Wayne County Council, District 4	928	25.2%									David Smith	State Representative, District 94	811	2.3%	
Keith Henry	Center Township Board, Howard County	2,205	7.2%									Brandon Dickhausen	State Representative, District 97	1,392	4.8%	
Zachary Capehart	Center Township Trustee, Marion County	1,379	5.4%									J. Longtain	State Representative, District 98	3,619	14.1%	
Conley Tilson	Clay Township Advisory Board, Wayne County	106	15.5%									Nathaniel Hren	State Representative, District 100	725	2.7%	
Marvin Heacox	Clay Township Advisory Board, Wayne County	88	12.8%									Thomas Hren	State Representative, District 102	540	1.9%	
Cheryl Heacox	Clay Township Advisory Board, Wayne County	113	16.5%									Emily Salvette	Ann Arbor City Council	1,284	20.9%	
Kyle-Pierre Nfr	Coolspring Township Board, LaPorte County	799	7.4%									Robert Hornbrook	Ionia County Commissioner, District 6	443	18.3%	
Jared Wales	Decatur Township Trustee, Marion County	334	6.4%									Benjamin Serek	Kent County Commissioner, District 4	529	3.7%	
Lars Noldan	Fall Creek Township Trustee, Hamilton County	1,813	15.0%									Bettie Ellens	Kent County Commissioner, District 15	111	4.7%	
Terrie Cloud	Franklin Township Trustee, Marion County	2,267	19.0%									John Hargenrader	Livingston County Commissioner, District 1	1,010	14.1%	
Sheila Garriot	Kankakee Township Board, LaPorte County	385	12.2%									Rodger Young	Livingston County Commissioner, District 5	341	5.9%	
Tom Perl	Lake Township Trustee, Allen County	330	18.0%									Erin Stahl	Macomb County Executive	8,489	3.2%	
Christopher Bowen	Lawrence Township Trustee, Marion County	1,778	5.4%									Christe Langdeau	Macomb County Commissioner, District 1	572	3.6%	
Christopher Ward	Lawrence Township Constable, Marion County	1,528	4.7%									Dan Flamand	Macomb County Commissioner, District 3	439	2.6%	
Steve Coffman	Liberty Township Advisory Board, Henry County	245	31.0%									Scott McAtamney	Oakland County Commissioner, District 5	415	2.7%	
Mark Lindborg	Michigan Township Board, LaPorte County	1,666	11.6%									Andy LeCureaux	Oakland County Commissioner, District 25	945	7.5%	
Jon Henderson	Perry Township Trustee, Marion County	1,979	8.3%									Minnesota				
Erik Morris	Pike Township Trustee, Marion County	1,049	5.2%									Mary O'Connor	Hennepin County Commissioner, District 1	17,053	39.3%	
Mike Bishop	Pike Township Constable, Marion County	971	4.8%									Bob Odden	Columbia Heights Mayor	2,492	42.4%	
Ken Bisson	Pleasant Township Board, Steuben County	800	8.0%									Mississippi				
Mark Lambert	St. John Township Board, Lake County	900	1.9%									Harold M. Taylor	U.S. Representative, District 1	447	0.2%	
Barbara Adams	Van Buren Township Board, Brown County	122	5.5%									Kenneth Hampton	U.S. Representative, District 4	1,741	0.9%	
Josh Featherstone	Warren Township Trustee, Marion County	1,250	5.5%									Missouri				
Chris Sherman	Washington Township Board, Hendricks County	1,856	6.4%									Jonathan Dine	U.S. Senator	58,663	3.0%	
Todd Singer	Washington Township Trustee, Hendricks County	1,997	19.7%									Charles W. Baum	Auditor	70,672	3.7%	
Richard Cunningham	Washington Township Trustee, Marion County	2,295	5.4%									Julie Stone	U.S. Representative, District 1	5,223	2.8%	
Drew Bisson	Wayne Township Trustee, Marion County	1,338	5.6%									Steve Mosbacher	U.S. Representative, District 2	7,677	2.9%	
Iowa												Steven R. Hedrick	U.S. Representative, District 3	5,772	2.8%	
John Heiderscheit	U.S. Senator	25,290	2.3%									Jason Braun	U.S. Representative, District 4	6,123	2.7%	
Eric Cooper	Governor	14,257	1.3%									Randy Langkraehr	U.S. Representative, District 5	3,077	1.6%	
Nick Weltha	Lt. Governor (on ticket with Governor)												Kevin Craig	U.S. Representative, District 7	13,866	6.2%
												Rick Vandeven	U.S. Representative, District 8	3,930	2.0%	
												Christopher Dwyer	U.S. Representative, District 9	46,817	22.3%	
												Kevin Robert Parr	State Senator, District 8	13,143	20.6%	
												Bob Ludlow	State Senator, District 10	10,355	23.6%	
												Bill Slantz	State Representative, District 15	765	6.0%	

Results for Libertarian Candidates

Arthur Thomas IV	State Senator, District 25	40,937	17.4%	Bob J. Shelton	Judge, Tarrant County Probate Court No. 2	40,905	16.1%
J. Douglas Froneberger	State Representative, District 3	664	1.9%	Dean Autrey	Terrell County Judge	21	3.6%
Jon Fitts	State Representative, District 6	4,630	13.1%	Jan Patrick Baker	Terrell County Commissioner, Precinct 2	18	15.4%
Eric M. (Ric) Brandt	State Representative, District 7	2,583	8.7%	Mark Tippetts	Travis County Judge	11,470	5.0%
Samuel Calkin	State Representative, District 15	5,544	9.5%	Gillian Dreesen	Travis County Clerk	36,835	19.9%
Travis Hill	State Representative, District 17	1,290	3.0%	Matthew Finkel	Travis County Commissioner, Precinct 2	3,000	4.7%
Rhys M. Blavier	State Representative, District 18	3,125	10.4%	David Dreesen	Travis County Commissioner, Precinct 4	5,139	17.1%
David Floyd	State Representative, District 20	9,481	17.4%	Arlo J. Pignotti	Travis County District Clerk	37,943	20.9%
Joel Grace	State Representative, District 24	4,971	11.3%	Adam Sparks	Travis County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 1	3,001	13.8%
Joey Roland	State Representative, District 26	922	2.0%	Jaclyn Finkel	Travis County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 2	3,700	5.1%
Derek Grayson	State Representative, District 27	5,810	15.4%	Matthew Rafacz	Travis County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 3	3,553	4.8%
Jim Foreman	State Representative, District 29	5,966	15.3%	John Burton	Travis County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 4	2,782	15.6%
Richard W. Shuey	State Representative, District 43	3,477	22.4%	Michael Holt	Travis County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 5	5,443	16.3%
George E. Emery	State Representative, District 46	3,462	15.8%	Mike Burris	Travis County Treasurer	40,063	21.9%
Kris Bailey	State Representative, District 47	2,480	4.1%	June Forbing	Upshur County Clerk	410	4.2%
Ben Easton	State Representative, District 48	1,517	2.9%	Allen Weatherford	Upshur County Commissioner, Precinct 2	195	8.6%
Nathan Kleffman	State Representative, District 49	5,245	14.7%	Vance Lowry	Upshur County Commissioner, Precinct 4	155	6.0%
Emily Cowan	State Representative, District 50	1,480	3.4%	Sherril L. Little	Upshur County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 2	370	18.2%
Arthur DiBianca	State Representative, District 51	699	4.1%				
Charles McCoy	State Representative, District 52	2,010	4.5%	Utah			
Brian W. Holk	State Representative, District 53	4,090	10.1%	W. McCullough	Governor	11,714	2.0%
Penny Hendrix	State Representative, District 55	5,596	18.9%	Aric Cramer	Lt. Governor (on ticket with Governor)		
Neill Snider	State Representative, District 56	1,591	3.6%	Jared Stratton	U.S. Representative, District 1	4,307	2.2%
Derek Johnson	State Representative, District 57	712	2.6%	Jake Shannon	U.S. Representative, District 3	2,945	1.5%
Tom Stewart	State Representative, District 58	1,397	3.9%	Vincent Marcus	State Senator, District 21	669	3.9%
Richard Forsythe, Jr.	State Representative, District 61	5,505	13.8%	Mark Sweet	State Representative, District 23	151	4.0%
Kenneth Myers	State Representative, District 62	3,656	12.3%	Chelsea Travis	State Representative, District 35	271	6.2%
Diane L. Chisholm	State Representative, District 64	6,153	19.2%	Ryan Kelly	State Representative, District 39	243	4.7%
Ryan M. Gray	State Representative, District 65	5,797	17.4%	Sandra Johnson	State Representative, District 40	413	5.6%
Fred Jones	State Representative, District 71	3,312	11.9%	Erin Partridge	State Representative, District 44	187	2.4%
Robert A. Nowotny	State Representative, District 73	8,442	14.5%	George Hill	State Representative, District 55	450	4.6%
Timothy Flood	State Representative, District 79	1,964	15.7%	Barry Short	State Representative, District 72	1,324	16.5%
James A. Hudspeath	State Representative, District 87	830	3.8%	J. Robert Latham	Davis County Attorney	10,150	15.7%
Colin F. Seward	State Representative, District 93	799	3.1%	Jonathon Grimes	Salt Lake County District Attorney	8,808	4.0%
Richard A. Cross	State Representative, District 94	2,896	10.0%	Dale Peterson	Uintah County Commissioner A	812	11.4%
Rod Wingo	State Representative, District 97	4,448	13.6%	Dave Thomas	Uintah County Commissioner B	1,313	18.5%
Cecil Anthony Ince	State Representative, District 105	739	3.4%	Sean Hullinger	Utah County Attorney	12,761	13.8%
Gene Freeman	State Representative, District 106	439	2.0%				
Brandon Parsons	State Representative, District 107	678	2.2%	Vermont			
Jarrett R. Woods	State Representative, District 108	778	2.4%	Karen Kerin	Attorney General	6,171	2.7%
Troy Camplin	State Representative, District 112	4,470	16.8%	Ben Mayer	State Representative, Chittenden 3-3	254	7.2%
David W. Bell	State Representative, District 115	4,660	16.9%				
Douglas P. Hanson	State Representative, District 124	3,996	20.8%	Virginia			
Jeffrey C. Blunt	State Representative, District 125	4,543	21.5%	James Quigley	U.S. Representative, District 3	2,383	1.5%
Joe Spencer	State Representative, District 130	6,259	11.1%	Stuart Bain	U.S. Representative, District 6	15,309	9.2%
Michael Ryan	State Representative, District 132	982	2.1%	William Redpath	U.S. Representative, District 10	4,607	2.2%
Alfred N. Montestruc	State Representative, District 133	348	1.3%	David Dotson	U.S. Representative, District 11	1,382	0.6%
Gerald W. LaFleur	State Representative, District 136	4,260	11.4%				
Wesley Hamner	State Representative, District 138	532	2.0%	Washington			
Clifford Hessina	State Representative, District 144	339	1.3%	Richard Sanders	Supreme Court, Position 6	971,803	49.7%
Eric M. Holdt	State Representative, District 150	903	1.9%				
Dean Kareem Higley	State Board of Education, District 3	6,592	3.0%	West Virginia			
Mark Loewe	State Board of Education, District 5	20,030	4.5%	Tom Thacker	State Senator, District 11	2,843	10.7%
Jeff McGee	State Board of Education, District 9	35,381	11.1%	Tad Britch	State House of Delegates, District 44	747	1.0%
Jessica Dreesen	State Board of Education, District 10	18,826	4.1%				
Amie Parsons	State Board of Education, District 12	46,989	18.8%	Wisconsin			
John Pekowski	State Board of Education, District 15	28,180	11.0%	Terry Virgil	Lt. Governor	6,790	0.3%
Steve Mayer	Bexar County Judge	46,269	19.9%	Joseph Kexel	U.S. Representative, District 1	4,311	1.6%
James L. Thompson	Bexar County Clerk	10,785	3.6%	Leroy Watson	State Assembly, District 31	2,378	10.5%
Raymundo Aleman	Judge, Bexar County Court at Law 5	10,480	3.6%	Wil Losch	State Assembly, District 34	2,456	10.0%
Melissa Martinez-Carasco	Bexar County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 2, Place 2	5,524	6.3%	Ben Olson, III	State Assembly, District 50	429	2.3%
				George Meyers	State Assembly, District 61	2,166	17.8%
Clyde Garland	Brazos County Judge	4,271	13.5%	Anthony DeCubellis	State Assembly, District 62	403	2.1%
Linda Wilbert	Brazos County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 4	319	7.2%	Daane Hoffman	State Assembly, District 64	1,774	15.5%
				Jim Maas	State Assembly, District 85	830	4.2%
Brett Weiss	Burnet County Commissioner, Precinct 4	492	15.4%				
Debra A. Carlson	Dallas County Judge	14,370	3.5%	Wyoming			
Ethan Brockman	Dallas County Clerk	12,556	3.1%	Mike Wheeler	Governor	5,362	2.8%
Tim Miles	Dallas County Commissioner, Precinct 4	2,627	2.9%	Candice De Laat	Secretary of State	8,045	4.4%
Ed Woo	Dallas County Constable, Precinct 2	2,267	3.0%	John Love	U.S. Representative	9,253	4.9%
Vincent Venegoni	Denton County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 2	2,934	13.6%	Vernel Gail	State Representative, District 24	497	13.3%
Clifton Paul Wilson	Denton County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 5	1,267	13.0%	Rich Brubaker	State Representative, District 34	549	16.7%
Brandy Owens	Ellis County Judge	3,774	13.6%	Nicholas De Laat	State Representative, District 52	426	15.1%
Kellie Robinson	Ellis County Clerk	3,898	14.2%	Jon Wiltbank	State Representative, District 53	242	12.5%
Daryl Ray Spence	Ellis County Commissioner, Precinct 2	901	16.1%	Penny Gail	Park County Commissioner	2,377	8.5%
Shannon Hunter	Ellis County District Clerk	3,996	14.7%				
Terri Bernard Delgado	Ellis County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 1	920	14.1%				
Amy Sierra	Ellis County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 2	858	11.0%				
Mary Ann Bryan	Harris County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 5, Place 2	29,856	18.2%				
Nathan P. Lusk	Lubbock County Judge	3,934	8.1%				
David Meine	McLennan County Commissioner, Precinct 4	465	2.0%				
Clinton L. Chase	McLennan County Justice of the Peace, Precinct 7	285	8.3%				
Jimmy Myers	Tarrant County District Clerk	15,845	4.7%				

Libertarian Party Founder David Nolan Dies

...continued from page 1

tarian Party, said, "I am saddened by the news of David Nolan's death. He not only helped found the Libertarian Party, but remained active and helped to guide our party for the last forty years. We are now the third-largest political party in America, and one of the most persistent and successful third parties in American history, thanks in large part to David Nolan. We will feel this loss."

Sharon Harris, President of the Advocates for Self-Government, commented, "I am so shocked and saddened by Dave's death—what a loss for the cause of liberty!"

Wes Benedict, Executive Director of the LP, said, "While I've admired David Nolan for years, this year I finally had the pleasure of working directly with him. He was an enthusiastic and principled activist doing the hard work right alongside newer members."

Jack Dean, a longtime friend and political associate of Mr. Nolan, said, "David was the conscience of the Libertarian Party. He was always there to remind us what the party was about."

Regarding memorial services, Hinkle said, "Most likely a memorial service will be held in January, after the holidays to allow maximum attendance. In lieu of flowers, they are requesting donations be made in David's name to the Advocates for Self-Government." (The mailing address for the Advocates for Self-Government is 1010 N Tennessee St Suite 215, Cartersville, GA 30120. Their website is www.theadvocates.org.)

Please check the LP website, LP.org, for any available information about a David Nolan memorial, or call our office at 202-333-0008.

Mr. Nolan had submitted a resolution for consideration at the November 20-21 LNC meeting in New Orleans. Unaware of Mr. Nolan's death, the LNC adopted the resolution, which reads as follows:

"WHEREAS the Libertarian Party can grow only by attracting new members and supporters, and

"WHEREAS libertarianism is a unique political philosophy, distinct from both contemporary liberalism and contemporary conservatism, and

"WHEREAS we need the support of both former liberals and former conservatives who have come to realize that libertarianism and the Libertarian Party offer a better path to achieving a just, humane and prosperous society,

"The Libertarian National Committee hereby reaffirms that the Libertarian Party welcomes individuals from across the political spectrum who now accept the libertarian principles of self-ownership and non-aggression."

Mr. Nolan is survived by his wife Elizabeth.

Somalia: Failed State, Economic Success?

This article draws heavily on his research in "Somalia After State Collapse: Chaos or Improvement?" coauthored with Ryan Ford and Alex Nowrasteh, published in the *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, vol. 67, 2008. The article was originally published at TheFreemanOnline.org. Reprinted with permission.

by Benjamin Powell

Perhaps the title overstates the situation slightly. It is hard to call any country mired in poverty an economic success. Yet by most measures Somalia's poverty is diminishing and Somalia has improved living standards faster than the average sub-Saharan African country since the early 1990s. In that sense Somalia is at least a relative success story. The most interesting part of Somalia's success is that it has all been achieved while the country has lacked any effective central government.

For many, the "A" word—anarchy—conjures up notions of chaos. For others it simply means the absence of a single government ruling a geographic area. In this second sense, Somalia has been in a state of anarchy since the fall of Siad Barre's dictatorship in 1991. The result has been, in general, economic development rather than chaos—although there certainly have been chaotic periods. The interesting questions are how has development been promoted and what has caused the chaos.

Somalia, located on the eastern horn of Africa, gained independence from Italy and Great Britain in 1960. A democracy was initially established but it was overthrown in a military coup in 1969, when General Barre was installed as dictator. He ruled until his government was overthrown in 1991. Since the fall of Barre's government there have been multiple attempts to establish a new central government, but Somalia has remained an essentially stateless society.

Immediately after the central government collapsed the chaos many would have predicted came about. Rival warlords plunged the country into civil war as each attempted to install himself as the new head of state. During this period the famous "Black Hawk Down" incident, preserved in novel and movie, occurred. Eighteen U.S. soldiers and more than 1,000 Somali died in a violent conflict that followed U.S. and U.N. intervention. The foreign forces eventually withdrew in 1995.

With the withdrawal of U.N. forces the immediate prospect for installing a

new government diminished—and with it so did the fighting. Somalia's entire experience with formal government has been one of plunder and resource extraction by the ruling elite. As long as there was a prospect for a new government, each clan had a strong incentive to fight to make sure it was on the receiving, rather than giving, end of the plundering. Once there was no longer the immediate prospect for a new central government the clans began to settle back into their traditional customary and mostly peaceful relationships with one another.

Each period of violent chaos in Somalia has generally centered around outside attempts to establish a new government inside Somalia. The most recent of these, which is still going on, is the Ethiopian-backed Transitional Federal Government (TFG), which entered Somalia in 2006. Opposition to the TFG bolstered support for the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), which itself became a de facto government in some areas of southern Somalia, including the former capital, Mogadishu. In December 2006 Ethiopia invaded and overthrew the ICU and installed the TFG in the former capital. However, there is little popular support for the TFG. Its control is weak and there are frequent decentralized attacks against TFG officials and soldiers and their Ethiopian supporters. It remains to be seen whether the TFG will gain greater control over the country or if clan factions and warlords will overthrow it.

From the U.N. withdrawal in 1995 until Ethiopia's invasion, Somalia did have some violent crime, but nowhere near the level that existed during its civil wars. In fact the Somali were able to maintain a functioning customary legal system that not only provided law and order but also formed the institutional foundation that enabled them to achieve greater rates of economic development than they achieved while they had a state and greater rates than many of their African neighbors.

Customary Law in Somalia

Somali law is based on custom interpreted and enforced by decentralized clan networks. The Somali customary law, Xeer, has existed since pre-colonial times

and continued to operate under colonial rule. The Somali nation-state tried to replace the Xeer with government legislation and enforcement. However, in rural areas and border regions where the Somali government lacked firm control, people continued to apply the common law. When the Somali state collapsed, much of the population returned to their traditional legal system.

The Xeer outlaws homicide, assault, torture, battery, rape, accidental wounding, kidnapping, abduction, robbery, burglary, theft, arson, extortion, fraud, and property damage. The legal system focuses on the restitution of victims not the punishment of criminals. For violations of the law, maximum compensation to victims is specified in camels (though payment can be made in equivalent monetary value). Typical compensation to the family of a murder victim is 100 camels for a man and 50 for a woman; an animal thief usually must return two animals for every one he stole.

Clan elders chosen on the basis of their knowledge of the law judge cases. The elders cannot create the law. They only interpret the community customs. Elders who make decisions that deviate from community norms are not consulted in future cases. When a dispute arises between two members of different clans, their clan elders must reach a compromise. If they are unable to do so they appoint an elder from another clan to settle the dispute.

After a verdict is reached the criminal must compensate his victim the appropriate amount. If he is unable or unwilling, his extended family must pay the compensation. Every Somali is born into an insurance group based on his lineage to a common great-grandfather. Out of their own self-interest these insurance groups help enforce the judgment on wrongdoers. When an individual becomes particularly troublesome a family can publicly declare that he is no longer a member, effectively making the person an outlaw. Outlaws must find another insurance group willing to sponsor them, or they are expelled from the larger clan. In cases in which more formal enforcement of the law is necessary, clan elders can call for all clansmen to form a posse to enforce the verdict; clansmen are obligated to answer the call.



Somalia is located east of Ethiopia in Eastern Africa. It borders the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. Somalia's entire experience with formal government has been one of plunder and resource extraction by the ruling elite.

Since Somali courts are independent of one another, they often interpret customary law differently. Within clans, differences of interpretation are usually quickly resolved, but this process can take much longer on the national level. Ultimately, through the resolution of disputes the law is discovered and conflicts in interpretation are resolved. Although the interpretation of the law stems from clan elders, the clans are not de facto governments.

Throughout Somalia individuals are free to choose new insurance groups and elders on becoming adults. They are allowed either to form a new insurance group with themselves as head or join an established group, if it accepts them. Movement between clans is particularly widespread in southern Somalia: Some clans have more adopted members than native-born members.

The individual clans and insurance groups are not geographic monopolies. Geographic distribution of clans does not match territorial boundaries. As pastoral Somali move throughout their country, their legal system moves with them. So in any given area multiple clan governance systems can exist.

While local cleric courts became the dominant source of law in some regions, and Qur'anic law is traditionally applied to marriage and inheritance, the common law of Xeer and the accompanying elder dispute resolution and insurance groups are the main source of law in Somalia. The Xeer shares a focus on restitution and the protection of life and property with English common law and other polycentric systems. The traditional Somali legal system existed unofficially during the

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Lessons From Somalia

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reign of Siad Barre and since the collapse of the state it has emerged to provide some level of the rule of law on which coordination in the Somali economy could be based.

Economic Performance

There is no doubt that Somalia remains extremely poor today. However, as far as living standards can be assessed, they appear to be improving since the collapse of Somalia's national government. In fact, standards are improving faster in Somalia than in most of sub-Saharan Africa.

In other research my coauthors and I used the World Development Indicators to compare Somalia's performance with 41 other sub-Saharan African countries in both the current period and, when data allow, over time. All data from Africa—and perhaps Somalia in particular—should be treated with caution. But our findings are broadly consistent with the improvements other ethnographic and anthropological evidence has found.

Unfortunately, using a broad cross section of countries over a 20-year period for a region with often unreliable (or uncollected) data limits our metrics of comparison. We examined 13 measures: the death rate, infant mortality, life expectancy, child malnutrition, telephone mainlines, mobile phones, Internet users per 1,000 population, households with television, DPT immunization, measles immunization, percent of the population with access to sanitation and an improved water source, and cases of tuberculosis.

Although Somalia's 2005 standard of living was low by western standards, it compared fairly favorably with other African nations. Of our 13 measures, Somalia ranked in the top 50 percent of nations in five and only ranked near the bottom in infant mortality, immunization rates, and access to improved water sources. Although in 2005 the nation placed in the bottom 50 percent of countries on seven measures, it has actually improved performance relative to other countries since the collapse of the Somali state. Somalia ranked in the bottom 50 percent of all seven variables for which we have 1985-1990 data. In the last years of the Somali nation-state (1985-1990), its performance relative to other African countries deteriorated

from the early 1980s, with Somalia losing ground in life expectancy, death rate, and infant mortality as well as DPT and measles immunization. Only telephone landlines showed a slight improvement during this time.

Life expectancy in Somalia fell by two years from 1985 to 1990, but it has increased by five years since becoming stateless. Only three of the 42 countries improved life expectancy as much since 1990.

While Somalia's infant mortality ranking has continued to slide, its death rate has improved, jumping from 37th to 17th since 1990. While still in the bottom 50 percent in cases of tuberculosis, Somalia's relative rank has improved from 40th to 31st since the collapse of the government. Although Somalia's immunization rates for measles and DPT are among the lowest in Africa, its problems in this area existed before the collapse of the state. During the last five years of government rule Somalia's immunization rankings fell from 19th and 21st, respectively, to next to last in both categories. While the country has stayed near the bottom of this ranking, the percentage of children immunized has improved.

Access to improved water sources is a problem in Somalia. It ranks considerably better in access to improved sanitation facilities. Unfortunately, neither of these measures was available over a long enough time period to compare performance before the collapse of the state.

Telecommunications is a major area of success in Somalia. The one measure for which we have complete data, telephone landlines per 1,000 of population, shows dramatic relative improvement since Somalia became stateless, moving from 29th to eighth among the African countries included in our survey. It ranks high in mobile phones (16th) and Internet users (11th), while it ranks 27th in households with televisions.

In many African countries state monopolies and licensing restrictions raise prices and slow the spread of telecommunications. In Somalia it takes just three days for a landline to be installed; in neighboring Kenya waiting lists are many years long. Once lines are installed, prices are relatively low. A \$10 monthly fee gets a customer unlimited local calls, and international calls are only 50 cents per minute. Web access costs only 50 cents an hour. According to *The Economist*, using

a mobile phone in Somalia is “generally cheaper and clearer than a call from anywhere else in Africa.”

We also compared Somalia to a subset of African countries that have been peaceful to make sure that it was not wars in other countries that account for Somalia's relative improvement. We found basically the same results.

Although the data should be treated with caution, our findings are consistent with the evidence showing the rural pastoral sector growing and an increasing willingness of international businesses to open up in Somalia. Unfortunately there is one new international “business” in Somalia that has many observers concerned—piracy.

What About the Pirates?

Piracy has been on the rise in Somalia over the past year. In fact, if you have heard about Somalia in the news recently, it is likely because of the piracy. Some Somali have organized themselves into pirate bands that use small craft to raid large foreign ships passing by the country. They often hijack the cargo and crew and demand ransom. Somali pirates have attacked more than 100 ships in the last year. As of December they were still holding 17 ships with approximately 300 crew members for ransom. Estimates indicate that these pirates were paid nearly \$30 million in ransom over the last year.

Because of Somalia's strategic location at the entry to the Red Sea and Suez Canal, the Somali pirates are becoming an increasing international concern. The already well-armed pirates have used some of their profits to invest in more sophisticated weaponry, making themselves an even greater threat.

Although they are a concern, this is not merely a symptom of a “failed state,” as many media reports make it out to be. In one sense, that the piracy is committed against passing foreign vessels is a tribute to the internal effectiveness of Somali customary law. The pirates are well-armed and obviously not hesitant to use violence. Yet they do not plunder Somali ships. What's more, they interact peacefully with other Somali when they are on land. Although the total number of pirates is small, it has been estimated that 10,000 to 15,000 people are employed by the pirates indirectly in related industries such as boat repair, security, and food provision. (Other enterprising Somalis have set up special restaurants to cater to the hostages.) That pirates use voluntary

market transactions to purchase goods and services on land, rather than pillage, provides some evidence that Somali law is fairly robust if even these otherwise violent people respect it when conducting their internal affairs.

Somalia's pirates are criminals, of course, but the nonpirate Somali are not and should not be subject to retribution, including the imposition of an internationally “friendly” government, for the criminal acts of a few.

Instead, Somali pirates should be dealt with like any other violent criminals. Those responsible for crimes should be punished and stopped from committing future acts of piracy. This is probably best accomplished by armed ships protecting shipping lanes, not an internationally backed invasion or sponsoring of a new Somali government. Any government sponsored in Somalia would likely prey on the population just as Siad Barre's regime did. Such predation would likely result in many more criminal acts with far worse consequences than anything done by the pirates.

Somalia's Lesson

Somalia's lesson should not be overstated—it is no libertarian utopia. I certainly don't plan to move there anytime soon. But Somalia does demonstrate that a reasonable level of law and order can be provided by nonstate customary legal systems and that such systems are capable of providing some basis for economic development. This is particularly true when the alternative is not a limited government but instead a particularly brutal and repressive government such as Somalia had and is likely to have again if a government is reestablished.

Economist George Ayittey often refers to many African governments as “vampire states,” which suck the lifeblood out of their citizens and their economy. He recently wrote that the “rogue African nation-state should be left to the fate it deserves—implosion and state collapse.” Many would react with horror to such a suggestion and say, “If that happened you'd end up with another Somalia!” The lesson we should learn from Somalia is that that's not so bad—at least when compared to the often ghastly alternatives.

Benjamin Powell is an assistant professor of economics at Suffolk University and senior economist with the Beacon Hill Institute.

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LETTERS To The Editor

Nolan's Legacy

It's with real regret that I read of the recent passing away of David Nolan. I worked with David on a couple of media projects back in the 1990s, the California Liberty newspaper which was sold on newsracks throughout the state, and a radio program in Los Angeles. He was always a good guy to work with: informed, fun and on the point.

David's biggest legacy, of course, is the Libertarian Party. Regardless of numbers of votes cast for it, or candidates elected, the LP has had a major impact in bringing limited government and pro-free market ideas to the public.

Let's see us continue the fight for liberty.

Joseph Miranda
Northridge, California

Revision to the Quiz

I first became familiar with the Libertarian party two years ago when I took the World's Smallest Political Quiz on

Facebook and scored Libertarian. At the time I was in favor of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and after reviewing the party's platform, I realized that I wasn't a true Libertarian after all.

Since then, after an eye-opening stint in ROTC and extensive reading, my views on our wars have changed, and I can say in all honesty that I'm a Libertarian through and through.

I still think, however, that the topic of interventionist foreign wars, or preemptive, preventative, and offensive military strategies, should be included on the quiz somehow. If possible, it would also be good to include something about entangling military alliances that have dragged us into unnecessary wars in the past (and have the potential to do so again as China and Japan gear up their dispute over territory when we've still got a military alliance with Japan).

Surely foreign policy issues like these are crucial enough to merit a place on the quiz. That having been said, I think the quiz has been a great success and I've managed to bring several friends to our cause because of it. Thanks for all your hard work!

Lilia Weber
Knoxville, Tennessee

Libertarian State Leadership Alliance Meeting: Seattle, February 18-20

by Rachel Hawkrigde

Are you looking for a winter break? Bring your family to Seattle when you come for LSLA!

There are a lot of things for them to do, and a wealth for you, too. Networking, candidate training, campaign training, how to talk about sensitive subjects, exciting speakers, MORE!

The conference will be at the Best Western Executive Inn, Seattle. We have negotiated a fabulous rate of \$79.00/night. The price of the conference is just \$119, and includes a social/registration on Friday, February 18, and all day Saturday, including lunch, dinner, entertainment and enough learning opportunities to stuff your brains full! Full, hot breakfasts are available Saturday and Sunday for about \$7.50.

The hotel is directly across from the

Seattle Center, which means that you and your family can walk across the grass to the Center, visit Experience Music Project and Science Fiction Museum and Hall of Fame and the Space Needle; then ride the Monorail to downtown Westlake Center for shopping. Or, from there, walk a few blocks to the waterfront and Pike Place Market.

More information at State-ChairsConference.org. Call the hotel directly to register for your room at 1-800-351-9444, and ask for the Libertarian event rate. Do register ASAP—time is running short. You can currently fly from the northeast (Boston & NYC) for less than \$300.

We'll see you there!

Rachel Hawkrigde is the Chair of the LSLA.

Keeping the Faith

It always interests me to see letters about how the LP can win elections. There are many good tips, especially for local races. Having said that, I am a realist. The only thing that will break the presidential, or any national race is gigantic sums of money. We will not have a giant impact until a billionaire runs and puts forth a minimum of \$100 million up front, ala Ross Perot. And that's just for starters. It will take \$500 million total to really push the envelope. A super high profile name might make a significant impact, ala John Stossel, but even then it would require the \$500 million.

If and when we get such a candidate, it will still not likely elect the president, but it will likely put many LP'ers in statewide offices, and probably a few at the national level. That's when all bets are off. After that, we can run on our record. Until then, we should continue to be monthly pledgers, and vote LP at every opportunity.

To vote D or R is a total waste as proven by the W Bush era, who outspent Clinton. And if you are scared of the national scene, at least vote LP at ALL statewide and local levels. This is rational, since at the state and local levels, they can't PRINT money and/or run deficits. And even in California, they can't

pass taxes, and so they will go bankrupt, which is actually good at the state level. It will negate all those pensions etc for government workers. (Along with thousands of other stupid government waste).

This is the real problem at the federal level. If they couldn't print money and/or run deficits, they couldn't pass enough taxes to run their scams.

So please don't lose the faith, as we keep growing, and I am certain, one day our ship will win.

Dean Brittain
Mount Vernon, Washington

Do You Have Something to Say?

If you have something to say about an article you've read in LP News, you can submit a letter to the editor at editor@lp.org. Remember, not all letters received will be printed, and those that are printed may be edited for content, grammar, and length. Please keep letters under 200 words, and include your name, city and state with your letter.

Submit your letter to the editor to editor@lp.org

Local elections coming up. Run and win!

by Wes Benedict

I hope you will consider running for local office in 2011. The November 2010 elections were certainly exciting. Lots of Libertarians ran for statewide and federal offices, most of them knowing they probably wouldn't win. Our candidates also ran to get out our message, to give voters a choice for liberty, and to make as big a footprint as possible for the LP on the political landscape.

In odd-numbered years, federal elections aren't on the ballot. But many states have lots of local elections for city councils, school boards, hospital districts, soil and water boards, and other governmental bodies. We currently have 154 elected Libertarians listed on LP.org. I want that number to go up!

Recently we hired Bob Johnston to serve as our Candidate and Affiliate Support Specialist. He's here to help guide

you through the process and direct you to helpful resources. He will be happy to speak with you to find an appropriate office to run for depending on your age, issues of importance, and long-term political goals.

You can sign up to run for office at <http://www.lp.org/run-for-office>, or call us at 800-ELECT-US and we'll put you in touch with Bob.

When I lived in Texas, I ran for Austin City Council three times. Austin is a big city, and although I didn't win, I did get 35% once, and helped to build brand recognition for the Libertarian Party as well as myself.

Our Texas state chair, Pat Dixon, ran for office in Lago Vista, a smaller town. He won, and that inspired several other Texas Libertarians to run and win later.

I think you'll find running for local office to be rewarding. And if you win, you can implement Libertarian policies directly!

AFFILIATE NEWS AND EVENTS

Affiliate news and events are provided to LP News by Libertarian Party state affiliates.

California Convention Location Selection

The Libertarian Party of California has chosen April 8 to 10, 2011 for their annual convention. The selected location is Harvey's Harrah's Resorts & Casinos, 18 Highway 50, Stateline, NV 89449. For more information, contact Beau Cain at 818-782-8400, or visit the web site: www.ca.lp.org.

Illinois 39 Day Challenge

The Illinois Libertarian Party is pleased to introduce five Patriots running for office. Please reach out to these Patriots directly to thank them or to offer campaign support: Edwin Everly, Rantoul Township High School Board; Karen Green, Bloomington City Council Ward 2; Doug Marks, Carpentersville Village Trustee; Don Stover, Greenville City Council; Karin Vermillion, Mahomet Library Board; Brian T. Wolf, Arlington Heights Village Trustee.

Mike Labno now holds the record as the top Libertarian vote-getter in an Illinois U.S. Senate race. His numbers were nearly two percentage points higher than those in the 2008 election. We can only imagine how much higher Mr. Labno might have scored had the Republican and Democrat candidates not been neck-and-neck.

Similarly, gubernatorial candidate Lex Green received more votes than the previous two Libertarians in statewide elections in Illinois, the Presidential elections of 2004 and 2008. He would have gained further support from Illinois voters had he been invited to participate in the same number of debates and forums that his Republican and Democratic opponents enjoyed.

Both Julie Fox and Josh Hanson received more than 115,000 votes each, which reminds us that there are many Liberty loving individuals to whom we can reach out in the coming months.

In honor of the 39-year anniversary

of the founding of the Libertarian Party, the ILP has issued the 39 day challenge. Supporters are challenged to make a \$39 contribution and to engage in 39 days of activity dedicated to promoting the Party and the path to Liberty. To make your donation, go to, <http://ipillinois.org/donate-39PayPal.php>.

For questions, comments, or additional information, please email news@ipillinois.org

Michigan Advice Offered

Shortly after the November 3 general election, Bill Hall of the Libertarian Party of Michigan reported the raw election results, with some important footnotes regarding possible impacts on those results. Go to http://www.mi.lp.org/Lists/Announcements/DispForm_Original.aspx?ID=207&Source=http://www.mi.lp.org/default.aspx if you haven't seen that report.

Active campaigning makes a difference. The three highest percentage vote getters for State Representative in 3-way races—Brandon Dickhausen 4.8%, Scott Dudek 4.3% and Bob Willett 4.3%, were active campaigners. If the LPM had more of its 83 candidates willing to actively campaign, more of its candidates likely would have done better at the polls.

Active affiliate parties make a difference. In West Michigan, the LPWM fielded 29 candidates; including many State Senate candidates in both 2006 and 2010, and had monthly meetings leading up to the election that routinely drew as many as 20 activists. If one looks at just those LPWM State Senate races run in both 2006 and 2010, average percentages rose an incredible 42%, from 1.9% (lower than the 2006 statewide average of 2.2%), to 2.7% (higher than the 2010 statewide average of 2.3%). And four out of five of the highest State Senate vote percentages in 3-way races came from West Michigan—Bradley Cook 3.5%, Bruce Campbell 3.1%, Josh Lillie 3.1% and Jamie Lewis 2.9%. The newly revitalized Great Lakes Bay Region (formerly Tri-City) Libertarian Party enthusiastically fielded seven candidates. In addition to Brandon Dickhausen's excellent results noted above, Jay Longtain took

14.1% in his two-way State Representative race. And, LPM's dynamic new Livingston County affiliate fielded five candidates. Todd Richardson received 3.3%, the LPM's second highest vote percentage for State Senate. Ron Sanderson took 3.4% in his State Representative race. The encouragement and support local party affiliates provide is an important factor in garnering good election results.

Now is the time for candidates and local affiliates to consider what lessons they learned from the recent election results. They need to identify those lessons, record them and make sure they are followed in fashioning future election strategies. And with luck, next time the LPM will get better results.

Nebraska Election Results

The Libertarian Party of Nebraska, after regaining ballot access through a statewide petitioning effort, maintained that access through 2012 after its candidate for Auditor, Michele Sallach-Grace, received 88,000 votes and won 34 precincts in the general election. The Sallach-Grace for Auditor campaign quadrupled the percentage of votes needed for Libertarians to remain a recognized political party in Nebraska. While the LP of Nebraska is much smaller and not as well funded as its government insider opponents, the message of smaller government, lower taxes, and more freedom seemed to resonate with the electorate. Libertarians can expect to see many more candidates in Nebraska in future election cycles thanks to Ms. Sallach-Grace's achievement.

New Hampshire Looking Ahead

On Dec 11, we held the LPNH state convention and our winter social, which was also a birthday celebration for the Libertarian Party. It was a very busy term for us all, dealing with important election reform legislation, local elections and Liberty Forum in March, through our petitioning season, outreach at fairs and festivals, marching in the Independence Day parades in Amherst, Andover, and Merrimack, and of course the fall campaign season. The outgoing board thanks everyone who pitched in from our candidates and petitioners, to other volunteers

and our donors.

The LPNH has seen major growth in our online reach, with a doubling of our Facebook group, a new Twitter feed (@LPNH), a LinkedIn group and adding several hundred address to our in-house email list. Our back-office operations are in good shape.

Several of our candidates spoke, talking about the challenges and victories they faced on the campaign trail and dealing with the media. Brendan Kelly, who ran for state rep, did increase his vote total from 2008 and received a lot of bullet votes, but wasn't able to raise as much money, which did hamper the campaign. John Babiarz, who ran for governor, detailed the active media blackout against the campaign, and how many people heard about him from the thousands of signs we had placed and the radio and TV ads he bought. If the 10,000 voters who did not make a selection for Governor had voted for him, we'd have major party status now.

We went all-in with online marketing, generating 1.2 million Facebook impressions and 80K impressions on NH news sites in the last two weeks of the campaign. George Phillis ran online ads through his federal PAC, the only outside help we got, generating a few million impressions.

The new executive committee of the LPNH will be: Chair, Rich Tomasso; 1st District vice chair, Brendan Kelly; Alternate, Don Converse; 2nd District vice chair, Howard Wilson; Alternate, John Babiarz; Treasurer, Rich Khan; Secretary, Tom Kershaw; Membership Director, Chris Maden; Judicial Committee Chair, Ken Blevens.

Faith Cook is our 2010 Libertarian of the Year. She helped in many areas including testifying at the state house, recruiting candidates, working outreach booths, collecting petitions, fundraising and marketing ideas, and working on college outreach.

Our main goals for 2011 will be ballot access reform (we are lining up cosponsors for the bill), generating our own media (video, podcasts, flyers), growing our membership and creating exciting branding for the Libertarian label.

After convention business, we had dinner and celebrated the LP's 39th birthday with cake. Members old and new exchanged ideas and stories, and plans were started for growing the party and improving our brand in 2011. Several of us stayed at the bar for another hour after the social talking local politics and the course of the party the last few years.

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Campaign headquarters for Tim Mullen for Pennsylvania State Representative. Mr. Mullen received 14.9% of the vote, which was the second highest percentage in the nation for a candidate running for state legislature against both a Republican and Democrat.

What have you missed recently on LP.org?

- LP Chair Mark Hinkle on Baldy & The Blonde radio show
- Libertarian sign at One Nation March in DC: Obama Out of Afghanistan
- Cleveland's main newspaper endorses Libertarian candidate Matthew Cantrell
- Economic Catastrophe Unfolds: Why Every Bank in America is Bankrupt
- Libertarian candidate Warren Redlich in televised debate
- 82% of voters get to vote Libertarian
- USA Today on Carla Howell's MA tax rollback initiative
- Elected Libertarian Erik Viker vying for higher office in PA
- Democratic Incumbent Switches to Libertarian Party
- It's official: Libertarians show the most political courage
- Libertarian Julie Fox endorsed by Chicago Daily Observer editor
- Pollster Scott Rasmussen says Americans "want to govern themselves"
- Remarkable decade for Travis County LP
- Libertarian candidate Pamela Brown gets historic vote total

WHAT'S GOING ON IN YOUR STATE?

A complete list of Libertarian events can be found online at LP.org/event. You can get more information by visiting the Web site of your state affiliate. (See a list at LP.org/states.) If there is an event you would like to see listed here or on the Web site, please send details to:

EVENTS@LP.ORG

OR CALL THE LP HEADQUARTERS AT
(202) 333-0008.