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April 14, 1993

**BY HAND DELIVERY**

Honorable Joan D Aikens  
Commissioner  
Federal Election Commission  
999 E Street, N W  
Washington, DC 20004

Supplement To  
AOR 1992-44

Re Proposed Advisory Opinion 1992-44

Commissioner Aikens

This letter responds to proposed Advisory Opinion 1992-44 regarding the national committee status of the National Committee of the U S Taxpayers Party. The proposed Advisory Opinion is based on information that is either erroneous or outdated. In particular

- 1 (Page 5, Lines 24-25) The Committee has published several press releases that have been distributed to press entities. These are a form of advertising (Exhibit 1)
- 2 (Page 6, Lines 10-11) The National Committee has had a bank account from which disbursements have been made, since December 1992 (Exhibit 2)
- 3 (Page 7, Lines 6-17) One of the candidates of the U S Taxpayers Party failed to get on the ballot only because of ballot signature misconduct (Exhibit 3)
- 4 (Page 8, Lines 19-30) The American Independent Party of California is in fact affiliated with the U S Taxpayers Party, as certified by the parliamentarian of the California group (Exhibit 4)

**WEBSTER, CHAMBERLAIN & BEAN**

Honorable Joan D Aikens

April 14, 1993

Page Two

The General Counsel relies heavily on the assumptions in the above-referenced cites. Because, as shown, such assumptions are erroneous, the Commission is respectfully urged to reject the recommendations of the General Counsel and grant national committee status to the National Committee of the U S Taxpayers Party

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Alan P Dye".

Alan P Dye



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

For further information, call  
Mark Weaver, 703-281-9426

STATEMENT OF TED ADAMS, CHAIRMAN, U.S. TAXPAYERS PARTY

**U.S.  
TAXPAYERS  
PARTY**

\*\*\*\*\*  
**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

- TED C. ADAMS**  
South Carolina  
*Chairman*
- WILLIAM K SHEARER**  
California  
*Vice Chairman*
- JULIE MAKIMAA**  
Illinois  
*Secretary*
- JOE SANGER**  
Michigan  
*Treasurer*
- WILLIAM C. GOODLOE**  
Washington  
*Parliamentarian*

- JAMES P. CLYMER**  
Pennsylvania  
*Chairman, Eastern States*
- RANDON BRAGDON**  
Maine  
*Co-Chairman, Eastern States*
- WASLEY KROGDAHL**  
Kentucky  
*Chairman, Southern States*

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- JACK PHELPS**  
Alaska  
*Co-Chairman, Western States*

- STEPHEN C. GRAVES**  
Arkansas

- ALBION W. KNIGHT, JR.**  
Maryland

- HOWARD PHILLIPS**  
Virginia

On April 15, 1993, we have good news for millions of overburdened taxpayers who are weary of having the financial rewards of their labor confiscated from them and from their families by a government which has far exceeded its legitimate authority---and which oppresses far more than it serves.

In 1987---just six years ago---annual Federal spending was \$1 trillion per year. Now, just six years later, both the George Bush Republicans and the Bill Clinton Democrats propose \$1.5 trillion in annual expenditures, and both parties have signed on to some level of tax increase in an effort to sustain their out-of-control spending.

But, no matter how the Washington Establishment strives to raise our taxes, their outlays invariably outrun their income.

The U.S. Taxpayers Party offers the American people a simple plan for invigorating the economy, creating more jobs, strengthening our families, reducing our taxes, and balancing the Federal budget.

Last year, the Federal income tax generated revenues of less than \$500 billion---roughly one-third of what the

- more -

Clinton Administration proposes be spent this year.

Instead of a colossal tax increase, and even more Federal spending of the kind endorsed by both the Democrats and the Republicans, the U.S. Taxpayers Party proposes that both taxes and spending be comprehensively reduced by a like amount---cut spending by \$500 billion and cut taxes by \$500 billion.

Rolling back outlays to 1987 levels would not impoverish the Federal government. After all, \$1 trillion is not small change. In fact, it's more than ten times what John F. Kennedy proposed spending when he became President, and it's roughly twice what Jimmy Carter was spending at the end of his administration.

Under the U.S. Taxpayers Party proposal, every Federal program would be forced to do what ordinary citizens are now obliged to do---get more from less. We agree with Republicans and Democrats alike that the deficit is a serious problem. It is for that reason we think it is necessary for the Federal government to operate at actual 1987 spending levels instead of at proposed 1993 spending levels.

For those in government, implementation of that plan might seem to be bad news---but, for the over-burdened taxpayer, it will be welcomed as good news---because a rollback of taxes by \$500 billion would mean that the Federal income tax could be eliminated entirely with no increase whatsoever in the annual deficit.

If the income tax yields less than \$500 billion annually (the actual number last year was \$476.5 billion)---and if spending is cut by a like amount---we can, even as we eliminate the income tax, actually reduce the deficit in static terms, not to mention the dynamic impact on the economy which would result from the transfer of \$500 billion of spending capacity from the non-productive Federal

bureaucracy to the highly productive American private sector.

Every Federal income tax payer, under our plan, would become a former Federal tax payer. Instead of having Washington politicians and bureaucrats spend the money which we have earned, our families will get to spend it ourselves, as they should.

Whatever taxpayers might lose as beneficiaries of Federal spending, they will gain through renewed control over their own money.

In 1996, the U.S. Taxpayers Party will strive to be on ballot lines in all 50 states, and to offer the American people a real policy alternative to the proposals for more spending and higher taxes being put forward by the present powers that be.

We invite our fellow Americans to register their support for the U.S. Taxpayers Party's agenda by contacting us at 1-800-2-VETO-IRS.

###

# FIRST AMERICAN BANK

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE U S  
TAXPAYERS PARTY  
450 MAPLE AVE E  
VIENNA VA 22180

ENCLOSURES  
A  
PAGE NUMBER 1  
TAXPAYER ID  
54-1646503

STMT DATE. 12/31/92 ACCT NO: 0737-4879

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\*\*\* HAPPY NEW YEAR \*\*\*

CHECKING ACCOUNT SUMMARY

ACCOUNT NO.	0737-4879	COMMERCIAL
CLOSING BALANCE 12/17/92		00
1 DEPOSITS/CREDITS		2,813.00+
0 CHECKS/DEBITS		.00-
SERVICE CHARGES		.00-
ENDING BALANCE 12/31/92		2,813.00

TRANSACTION DESCRIPTION

DATE DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	AMOUNT	BALANCE
12/17 PREVIOUS BALANCE			00
12/18 DEPOSIT	502311502	2,813.00+	2,813.00



Legend CM - Checking M - Mortgage Loan MONEA - Money Exchange  
 SV - Savings TD - Time Deposit CL - Commercial Loan  
 CC - Credit Card IL - Installment Loan LC - Line of Credit

IF YOU SEE DIFFERENCES IMMEDIATELY



APR 09 1993

EXHIBIT 3

Vince Thornton  
1243 Fairview Ave.  
Greenville, MS 38701

Howard Phillips  
U.S. Taxpayers Party  
450 Maple Ave. East  
Neshoba, Mississippi 38750  
Dear Mr. Phillips:

Thank you for the contribution and the help of the U.S. Taxpayers Party in my attempt to become ballot qualified for the 2nd Congressional District race, here in Mississippi.

I originally became interested in running for this position in January when I knew that Mike Espy was going to resign after his nomination to the position of Secretary of Agriculture. I notified Kari Falster of the Mississippi Taxpayers Party at the end of January and we got started by getting the necessary paperwork from the Mississippi Secretary of State. According to the law here in Mississippi, potential candidates for U.S. House of Representative seats, for a special election, must gather 1000 signatures of registered voters and have those signatures "certified" by the circuit clerks in the various counties where those voters reside. I did not know at the time that some of those circuit clerks would be very strict about the accuracy of the information regarding the certification of those signatures. For instance, 77 signatures were gathered in Yazoo City, which is in Yazoo County, but only 27 of those signatures were certified. Two volunteers, who had worked in this county, told me that they had taken 1 page of 20 signatures to the Circuit Clerk to have them certified while they were gathering signatures in Yazoo City. They later picked up this 1 page from the Circuit Clerk and went back out to a particular area to gather more signatures. While they were gathering more signatures, a man came back by the area who had signed that original (now certified) page and noticed that his signature had not been certified. This man became perturbed and told the volunteers that the Circuit Clerk knew him and had been knowing him for years and that he had been registered and voting in that county for 20+ years and that he may get an attorney to call her (the circuit clerk) to see what was the problem. He then signed another page and instructed the volunteers to tell the Circuit Clerk what he had said. They did as he instructed and they later told me that the Circuit Clerk became angry and refused to certify that signature as well. With all of this information in mind, I decided to check into this myself.

Out of the 77 signatures gathered in that county, 27 had been certified. So I looked through the remaining 50 and wrote down all the names and addresses, exactly as they were written on the original signature sheet, 38 in all because 1

could not read the other twelve. I drove to Yazoo City to visit the Circuit Clerk and review the voter registration role to see why so few signatures had been certified. I compared my list with the Circuit Clerk's list of registered voters and discovered that some of the addresses did not match and some of the names were not signed exactly as they appeared on the voter role. In at least 1 case, the name and address were exactly alike. In another case, a lady who signed did not put her middle initial, however, everything else was exactly the same. I gave a copy of this list to Karl Falster but we have not pursued this issue any further.

I discovered that the only Republican candidate on the ballot is originally from this town and that many of the people in this town and county are very familiar with him and his family, who are farmers.

The breakdown of the total number of signatures gathered and certified and the population is as follows:

County	Signatures		
	Cert.	Total	%
Hinds	32	13	41%
Leflore	31	26	84%
Madison	168	97	58%
Sunflower	36	22	61%
Warren	456	190	42%
Washington	669	524	78%
Yazoo	77	27	35%
	1469	899	

POPULATION		
Total	Black	White
514,665	= 324,027	+ 190,638
Total > 18	Black > 18	White > 18
345,823	= 200,760	+ 145,063

This Congressional District has been re-zoned several times at the "request" of the U.S. Justice Department in an attempt to help insure the election of a black candidate. This was finally achieved in 1986 when Mike Espy was elected to the position and he has held it since that time.

There were originally 7 or 8 candidates who published intentions to run for this Congressional seat as Republican candidates. However, the Republican Party succeeded in convincing all but 1 to withdraw from the race.



There were originally 10 - 12 candidates who declared their intentions for the position as Democrats with only 7 of these achieving ballot qualification. A total of 8 candidates were ballot qualified altogether. One is a Republican (white, male) and 7 are Democrats (2 white males, 1 black female, 4 black males).

The Republican candidate, got 38% of the vote, one of the black male candidates got 28%, another 20% and all others fell below these percentages. There will now be a runoff election between the two candidates with the greatest number of votes.

The economy in this part of Mississippi is greatly dependent on transfer payments to continue its operation. There are many people whose livelihoods are completely dependent on welfare checks, Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security. There are a tremendous number of farmers, who complain about negroes living on welfare, but who would gladly vote for the devil himself, so long as he promised to increase their farm subsidies, give more money to the ASCS offices or increase grain sales to other countries. They are completely unconcerned about the negative effects of "free trade agreements" or doing business with communists and other 3rd-world, totalitarian regimes. Because of this, they are concerned about getting candidates elected to office who can negotiate more transfer payments.

The cards and flyers printed by the other candidates for distribution had no information about any political issue. The flyers which I used spelled out a position on several issues and attracted much attention from working-class Americans, such as factory workers and other voters who were not dependent on federal transfer payments as a means of livelihood. I, and the volunteers, disseminated these flyers while gathering signatures and this apparently caused a great deal of discussion in the cities of Vicksburg and Greenville. In fact, I discovered that a special "dinner" was arranged in Greenville, Mississippi for our Republican Governor, and my candidacy was addressed at the meeting.

I am glad to have had this opportunity and I hope that this will be a step toward building an awareness about the MS Taxpayers Party and result in greater political involvement by other patriots. I thank you for your help and pray that GOD will bless you, your family and the U.S. Taxpayers Party.

Sincerely,



Vince Thornton

**DUKE, GERSTEL, SHEARER & BREGANTE**

- F O R M E R L Y K N O W N A S D U K E , G E R S T E L , S H E A R E R &amp; B R E G A N T E

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April 14, 1993

VIA FACSIMILE

Federal Election Commission  
 999 E Street, N.W.  
 Washington, D.C. 20463

Gentlemen:

I am the elected parliamentarian and one of the National Committeemen of the California American Independent Party, and served as parliamentarian at the state convention and organizational meeting of the State Central Committee on August 29-30, 1992.

At the organizational meeting of the State Central Committee a resolution was unanimously adopted affiliating the American Independent Party of California with the U.S. Taxpayers Party. The delegation of the California A.I.P. to the National Convention of the U.S. Taxpayers Party was seated and participated in the U.S.T.P. convention. The California American Independent Party certified to the Secretary of State for placement on the California ballot the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the U.S. Taxpayers Party.

The American Independent Party has, since 1992, continuously maintained its affiliation with the U.S. Taxpayers Party and has actively participated in the work of its National Committee.

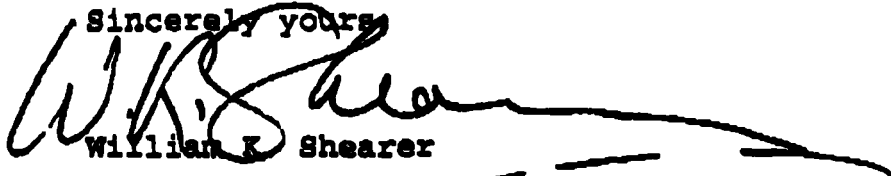
Enclosed is a report of the A.I.P.'s August 29-30 convention and organizational meeting, which I prepared and published shortly after the meeting, and which accurately reflects the transactions at the convention and organizational meeting of the A.I.P. State Central Committee.

**DUKE, GERSTEL, SHEARER & BREGANTE**

**Federal Election Commission  
April 14, 1993  
Page 2**

Because of the shortness of time between notice and the hearing, I am faxing this response. If further information is required, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely yours,



William K. Shearer

WKS:gnw



**The  
American  
Independent**



**WILLIAM E. SHEARER**  
Publisher

8158 PALM ST. \* LEMON GROVE, CALIFORNIA 91945

619/460-4484

October, 1992

## **PHILLIPS, KNIGHT WIN PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS AT AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY STATE CONVENTION**

Howard Phillips of Virginia, was the winner of the American Independent Party's nomination for President of the United States at the A.I.P.'s August 29, 1992 state convention in Sacramento. He is joined on the ticket by Vice-Presidential nominee Brig. General Albion Knight, USA (Ret.) of Maryland. A slate of 54 presidential electors, pledged to Phillips and Knight, has been certified to the Secretary of State, assuring placement of the Phillips-Knight ticket on the November California ballot.

Nomination of Phillips and Knight was the highlight of the American Independent Party's silver anniversary convention. Founded in 1967, the A.I.P. has been a ballot qualified party in California continuously since January, 1968.



**Smiles of victory shine on the faces of Brig. Gen. Albion Knight, USA (Ret.), and Howard Phillips, following their respective nominations by California's American Independent Party**

2.



James C. (Jim) Griffin, pictured at left, is the newly elected state chairman of the American Independent Party for the 1992-94 term. Merton D. Short, 1990-92 chairman, is shown, at right, presiding over the A.I.P.'s August, 1992 convention.

Phillips won the A.I.P. nomination, overcoming an effort by the supporters of James (Bo) Gritz, Populist candidate, to influence the convention to nominate Gritz.

Phillips, who was unopposed in California's June presidential preference primary, defeated Gritz by a convention vote of 40 to 8. Knight was nominated by acclamation.

Gen. Knight was present at the convention, and addressed the delegates during the nomination process, as did representatives of the Gritz campaign. Following the convention, Saturday evening, Phillips, who campaigned in the east during the day, arrived in Sacramento to deliver a stirring address at the party's silver anniversary banquet. Phillips described his successful campaign efforts to qualify for the ballot in various states, and discussed the national platform on which he is seeking the presidency, including commitments to fiscal responsibility, America's traditional moral values, and an America first foreign policy.

In addition to nominating Phillips and Knight, the A.I.P. convention adopted its 1992 state platform. The platform is in general conformity to previous platforms, but included new language endorsing term limitations for elected officials and executive level administrative appointees; opposing tax funded welfare and educational benefits for, or voting by, aliens; condemning trial of police officers, accused of crimes subject to prosecution under state law, by the Federal Government under so-called civil rights statutes; opposing a national convention to re-write or amend the U.S. Constitution; opposing the televising of trials by which "solemn judicial proceedings are turned into media circuses"; endorsing the traditional family as "the basic unit of a healthy society"; and opposing Federal interference in state election processes "by such devices as federally mandated bilingual ballots and voter registration procedures."



**American Independent Party Presidential nominee Howard Phillips (top row, second from right) exchanges a strong commitment of support with A.I.P.'s California candidates: (top row from left), Gary Odom, Congress, 43rd district (Riverside County); Jerome McCready, U.S. Senate (6 year term); Gordon Mora, Congress, 5th district (Sacramento County); (bottom row from left): Robert Lewis, State Assembly, 80th district (Los Angeles County); and Paul Meeuwenberg, U.S. Senate (2 year term).**

**In the area of foreign policy, language was added to the A.I.P. platform opposing: use of U.S. troops as a part of United Nations peace keeping operations; foreign aid to the republics which comprised the former Soviet Union; the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Mexico, and the fast track procedure under which the agreement will be considered by Congress. The platform supports amendment of the U.S. Constitution to preclude automatic citizenship status to children born in the United States of illegal immigrant parents, and opposes the placing of women in combat roles in the military.**

**On Sunday, August 30, the American Independent Party held its 1992 organizational meeting of the State Central Committee, at which party officers were elected for the 1992-94 term.**

**Elected chairman was James G. (Jim) Griffin of Riverside County, who defeated John Rakus of Sacramento County by a vote of 127 to 42.**

**Griffin, a founder of the American Independent Party, was its nominee for U.S. Senate in 1980, when he proved to be one of the party's most popular vote-getters, and its nominee for Governor in 1982.**

**Jack McCoy, also of Riverside County, was elected state vice-chairman. Like Griffin, McCoy proved to be a big vote-getter in his campaigns as A.I.P. nominee for the U.S. Senate in 1974 and 1976.**

4.



Honored at the 1992 silver anniversary banquet of the American Independent Party was Winifred Laymon of San Bernardino County, who has served continuously as the party's treasurer since 1974. She was presented with a silver lollipop, engraved with the party name, and that of the Laymon Candy Company, by Parliamentarian William K. Shearer. At right, Rep. William Dannemeyer of California, a major speaker at the organizational meeting of the A.I.P.'s state central committee, is shown addressing the committee.

Joining Griffin and McCoy as party officers for the 1992-94 term are: Paul Meeuwenberg of Los Angeles County, secretary; Winifred Laymon of San Bernardino County, treasurer; William K. Shearer of San Diego County, parliamentarian; Joel R. Short

of Butte County, Marilyn Stevens of Madera County, and Nancy McCoy of Riverside County, womens chairmen; Stephen M. Delaney of Sacramento County (also a nominee for State Assembly in Sacramento County's 10th district), and Ashley Brown of Los Angeles County, youth chairmen; Robert Lewis of Los Angeles County, state organizational liaison; David F. Hines of Butte County, Gordon Mors of Sacramento County, Nicholas Kudrovzoff of San Mateo County; Jerome McCready of Monterey County, Theodore J. Nicholoff of Los Angeles County, and Nathan Johnson of San Diego County, area directors; Dorothy Robbins of Shasta County, chaplain; Art Jacques of Orange County and Louis Robbins of Shasta County, sergeants-at-arms.

**SINCE 1927**  
**Manufacturers of Quality**  
**Candies**



444 Colton Ave.  
 Colton, California 92324  
 Lon L. Laymon Area Code 714/825-4408



Discussing the American Independent Party's bright future are (left) National Committee member Eileen M. Shearer and State Vice-Chairman Jack McCoy; and (right) alternate National Committee member Nancy Shearer and National Committee member Ellen Van Buskirk, who was the party's first vice-chairman in 1967-69.

Elected to serve on the party's national committee are: Dr. Edmon V. Kaiser of Fresno County; Lon L. Laymon of San Bernardino County; past state chairman Merton D. Short of Butte County; Nada Hansen and Eileen Shearer of San Diego County; and Ellen Van Buskirk of Los Angeles County. National Committee alternates include: Dolores Kaiser of Fresno County, Nancy Shearer, William K. Shearer, and Caroline Mae Smith of San Diego County, Theodore Nicholoff and John Rakus.

An additional 46 members were elected to serve with the officers on the party's state executive committee.

Other than the chairmanship, the only contested offices were the three national committeeman posts, for which there were four candidates. Elected were M.D. Short with 159 votes, Lon Laymon with 153 votes, and Dr. Edmon V. Kaiser with 136 votes. They defeated Joe Fields of Los Angeles County, who received 32 votes.

The A.I.P. Central Committee voted unanimously to affiliate the California party with the national U.S. Taxpayers' Party, founded by Presidential nominee Howard Phillips, and to send a delegation representing the California party to the Taxpayers' Party convention in New Orleans, Louisiana, on September 4-5, 1992.

In addition to the speeches by Phillips and Knight highlights of the convention and organizational meeting included addresses by U.S. Rep. William Dannemeyer of California, A.I.P. nominees for U.S. Senate Jerome McCready and Paul Meeuwenberg, Congressional nominee Gordon Mora, and the A.I.P.'s other California candidates.

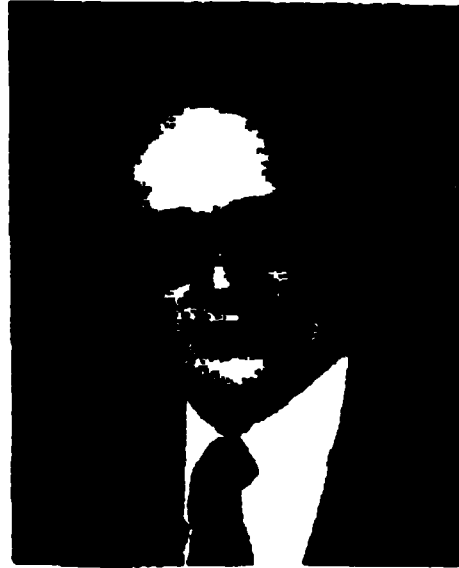


*Veto the Income Tax and the I.R.S.*

**Elect**

**HOWARD PHILLIPS, PRESIDENT  
ALBION KNIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT  
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY**

*For Fiscal Responsibility For Life For America First*



**HOWARD PHILLIPS**

**ALBION KNIGHT**

*Elect American Independent Party candidates who will  
back up the Phillips-Knight program in Congress!*

**U.S. SENATE  
[6 year term]**

**U.S. SENATE  
[2 year term]**

**REPRESENTATIVE  
[8th district]**

**REPRESENTATIVE  
[43rd district]**



**Jerome  
McCREADY**

**Paul  
MEEUWENBERG**

**Gordon  
MORS**

**Gary  
ODOM**

**Help restore honest, representative government! Send your contribution to:  
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY c/o Winifred Laymon, State Treasurer  
1084 West Marshall Blvd., San Bernardino, CA 92405**

# THE NEXT FOUR YEARS

A  
VISION

HOWARD PHILLIPS

Submitted

4-15-93

approx 9:00 AM

--Hand delivery to  
9th floor

APR 1992-44

**THE NEXT  
FOUR YEARS**

# THE NEXT FOUR YEARS

A Vision  
of Victory

Howard Phillips



Adroit Press  
Franklin, Tennessee

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# FOREWORD

*Joseph Sobran*

**D**o conservatives want to put another Republican—even a Reagan—in the White House?

I ask this question because the Republican pattern has been to consolidate the accumulated gains of the Democrats, never threatening, much less seriously attempting, to repeal them. The federal government continued to grow under Reagan, and got an extra boost from Bush. What will be the point of replacing Clinton with a Republican who at best will play goalie, but won't try to score?

Howard Phillips, running for President on the US Taxpayers Party ticket, thinks it's time conservatives got serious about rescinding the Great Society, the New Deal, the Federal Reserve System, and the personal income tax. In other words, he has a conservative agenda that is more ambitious than blocking the next liberal initiative, while coming up with "market-based" conservative versions of them (such as en-

terprise zones, "private" health care plans, etc.) He wants to restore the US Constitution

Even conservatives are in the habit of thinking like liberals in some respects. As Phillips puts it, they ask for half a loaf as a bargaining position, serving notice that they will settle for less. Meanwhile, radical groups like organized homosexuals demand the whole loaf, and despite their small numbers and the revulsion they inspire, wind up getting most of what they want. The failure of the conservative approach is evident everywhere, but most discouragingly in the recent abortion ruling of the Supreme Court—eight of whose members have been appointed by Republican presidents (The sole exception, Byron White, a Kennedy appointee, has been on the side of the angels.)

Without endorsing Bill Clinton, Phillips points out that when we have a liberal Republican in the White House, we get two liberal parties in Congress—because even most conservative Republican congressmen will vote with the President out of party loyalty. And as Michael Kinsley gleefully observes, Bush is, in effect, a liberal. The only reason liberals oppose him, after vast spending increases, tax increases, a Clean Air act, a handicapped rights bill, and a racial quota bill, is that he hasn't quite given them *everything* they want. They aren't half-a-loafers.

Both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* have run recent front-page articles on the alleged problem of "gridlock" in Washington. It seems that not enough legislation is passing, be-



cause the White House and Congress can't cooperate. Tact message We need Clinton.

But note the assumption that we somehow need more and more laws. Passing laws is a good thing in itself. The government's job is to keep legislating incessantly. Like the empty slogan of "change," the cry of "gridlock" is thoughtless—or it's an attempt to induce thoughtlessness in readers. What the two great liberal dailies are lamenting is really checks and balances. Never mind that every law constricts our freedom a little more, and that enough laws will leave us with no freedom at all. That people can talk this way even now is an awful comment on the quality of the Republican leadership we have had for so many years.

The whole loaf we should be fighting for is a conservative Congress whose chief business will be chopping down the jungle of bad laws that oppress us, laws that range from misconceived to iniquitous and unconstitutional. The real opposite of a legislating party is not a foot-dragging party, but a party of repeal.

We may as well get started. Phillips has the foresight to see what is needed, even though it doesn't exist yet. In time others will come to see it, too. He has been working hard to build something, even while nobody was paying attention, while George Bush looked unbeatable, while Ross Perot was the national sensation. He has not only kept the faith, he has supplemented his fortitude with great political insight. I myself am just beginning to realize things he appreciated long ago, and I admire

# **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

**T**he great opportunity we have today to redeem our heritage of liberty would not have come to pass without the sacrificial efforts of thousands of people all over America who have—without one penny of taxpayer funding or government subsidy—worked hard to lay the foundations for our new political party and to qualify its candidates for the ballot, whether by petition or primary victory or convention. They come from states all over America—from Michigan to Mississippi, from Maine to Minnesota, from Iowa to Arkansas, from Nevada to New Jersey, from California to South Carolina, from Massachusetts to Utah, from Tennessee and Kentucky to Alaska and Washington State, from Rhode Island to Louisiana, from Nebraska to New Mexico, from Wisconsin to Vermont.

It's impossible to acknowledge everyone at this time, but let me express particular gratitude to those whose successful efforts were far above and beyond the call of duty.

Mark Weaver, without whom there would be no US Taxpayers Party

him immensely He deserves millions of votes, and I regret that I can only give him one But I won't feel that that one is wasted. I will feel that it has been consecrated to something worthy

Dan Hansen, Chuck Horne, Lucille Lusk, Janne Hansen, and all the leaders of Nevada's Independent American Party.

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The wonderful Woltmann family of Minnesota may their numbers multiply

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I thank each and every one of you—those who succeeded and those who did not. I thank those who *have*, and those who *will*. Those who were at our inaugural convention, and those who couldn't be with us on that historic occasion.

I also want to thank all of the great speakers at our convention, beginning with my wise counselor, the great R J Rushdoony, and our magnificent keynoter, Otto Scott.

What a grand coalition has been represented here. Jack Gargan of THRO, who launched the Draft Ross Perot movement more than a year ago. Ron Paul, who was the Libertarian presidential nominee for whom I voted in 1988, and Congressman Bill Dannemeyer, the conscience of the Republican Party in the United States House of Representatives. I appreciate each and every one of our other speakers. Emmanuel McLittle, George Grant, Ed Vieira, and

one of America's very greatest ambassadors, David Funderburk of North Carolina

I want to thank another man who was not at the convention, Rus Walton of the Christian Committees of Correspondence, who, together with Tom Duskin and Al Krught, did such a tremendous job in crafting a platform which, I think, is superior to any other I have ever seen

Let me especially thank my family for the support they have provided and the sacrifices in which they have shared my wife, Peggy, my daughter, Alexandra, my son, Sam—and my other children Doug and his wife, Beall, Amanda, her husband Brian, and our grandson, Ben, and our son, Brad, and our daughter, Jenny I especially thank my mother, in Massachusetts—the great Bay State where I was nurtured and born

## **PUBLISHER'S INTRODUCTION**

**T**his is a book about change—change for the better

We are living at a time when the frustrations of the citizenry seem to be at an all-time high. Uncertainty runs rampant. No area of life seems exempt from a looming sense of dread. The doom-and-gloom rhetoric of the professional socio-political soothsayers has finally permeated the masses. Thus, second-guessing foreign policy decisions has become almost second-nature. The collapse of Communism and the redrawing of the map of Europe—once the cause for joyous celebration—has raised disturbing new questions about the stability of our world. And the looming specter of Japanese strength has sent ominous signals around the globe.

Meanwhile here at home, the economy is perceived as unstable, at best. The federal deficit has grown to Babylonian proportions. The tax burden continues to weigh heaviest on the average citizen. The integrity of the family is sorely threatened. Educational standards have utterly collapsed. Crime and violence seem to be raging out of con-

Control Scandal and corruption have compromised the foundational institutions of faith, politics, and civility. Racial tensions have once again erupted in our inner cities. Abortion, environmentalism, radical feminism, AIDS, pornography, drug abuse, and homosexual activism have fragmented and polarized our communities. The basic values of our nation are now persistently called into question. Patriotism has very nearly succumbed to cynicism. And in the midst of this long litany of woe, public distrust of government is epidemic—while public distrust of government officials and wanna-be government officials is pandemic.

By all accounts, politics as usual simply will not be sufficient to wrench us out of our cultural malaise. People are ready for change. They want answers. They yearn for a voice of reason. They are tired of the hype, the hyperbole, and the hypocrisy. They have lost patience. They want to see action in fact, throughout most of the 1992 campaign season it seemed as if the favorite presidential candidate of the majority of Americans was "none of the above." Voters seemed to be caught in the nether realm between the languor of sheer electoral pragmatism and the lassitude of a lesser-of-evils abnegation.

As a result, this may very well be one of the most bizarre political episodes in our nation's history. The common wisdom has been utterly confounded time after time. According to Joe Sununu, "We may need a whole new vocabulary to describe the oddities of the political twists and turns of the nineties." Michael Kinsley agrees:



ing, "I've practically run out of words to describe the strange events of this political conundrum"

Since the entrenchment of the two-party system in America, independent or third-party candidates for federal office traditionally have not done terribly well. Theodore Roosevelt ran the last genuinely viable third-party presidential race back in 1912. And despite his overwhelming coast-to-coast popularity, he lost—while simultaneously destroying the reelection chances for the Republican incumbent, Howard Taft. But as the Perot phenomenon has shown, historical precedent may not be the most telling factor in the decade to come. This could very well be the time of a kind of political *Aquarius* when an independent *Jupiter* aligns with the *Mars* of voter discontent.

Stranger things have happened.

Recognizing that fact, a group of concerned citizens, community leaders, public officials, political theorists, and grassroots activists gathered in New Orleans on September 4–5, 1992 for an historic meeting: the first national convention of the U.S. Taxpayers Party (USTP). This book is a collection of the speeches that they gave and the platform that they drafted.

The contributors include some of the most prominent names in the modern conservative movement.

• Howard Phillips, chosen by the convention to represent the USTP as its first presidential candidate, has a record of overcoming great odds to achieve results. As director of the U.S. Office

of Economic Opportunity (OEO), he fought to end the use of Federal funds as ideological patronage for the radical Left. Married, with six children, Phillips, age 51, has been the chairman of The Conservative Caucus since 1974. A 1962 graduate of Harvard College, where he was twice elected student council president, Phillips was chairman of the Boston Republican Party from 1964-1966. He has led national campaigns to aid anti-communist freedom fighters, to defeat anti-defense disarmament treaties with Moscow, to deploy the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), and to dramatically reduce Federal taxes, spending, and regulation.

- **Brig. General Albion Knight** has more than thirty years experience in nuclear weapons policy as well as in logistics and communications. He has served in key management nuclear weapons positions in the Army, Department of Defense, Atomic Energy Commission, and the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA). General Knight resigned from ERDA in protest over President Carter's arms control policies. Since then he has written and spoken widely against unilateral disarmament, appeasement, and trading with the enemy. He has also been an ordained clergyman since 1954. He was chosen as the Presidential running mate of Howard Phillips.
- **Congressman William Dannemeyer** has been described as "the conscience of the Republican Party in the U.S. House of Representatives," for his leadership against the militant homosexual and abortion lobbies.
- **George Grant** is the author of more than a dozen books on politics, social issues, and history.

including critical biographies of H Ross Perot and Hillary Rodham-Clinton as well as exposés of Planned Parenthood, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the radical environmentalist movement. He has been a leader in the pro-life movement for the last two decades

- **Otto J. Scott**, a freelance writer and Chalcedon Foundation associate, is a biographer and historian. He has written books on James I, Robespierre, and John Brown. A former oil company and ad agency executive, he has lived in South America and travelled widely. He once served as Senior Editor of *Conservative Digest* magazine
- **Emanuel McLittle** is the publisher of *Destiny* magazine. McLittle attended the University of Detroit, was educated as a psychologist, but turned editor in an effort to produce the country's first widely distributed magazine for black conservatives
- **Edwin Vieira, Jr.**, author of *Pieces of Eight*, a history of constitutional money, is a graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School. He also earned a Ph D in chemistry from Harvard University
- **David B. Funderburk** was U S Ambassador to Romania from 1981 to 1985. In 1985 he resigned in protest against the U.S. State Department's support of Communist Dictator Nicolai Ceausescu. Since then he has written *Pinstripes and Reds* and *Betrayal of America*
- Elected to represent his south Texas district in Congress four times, **Dr. Ron Paul** was the 1988 Libertarian Party presidential nominee. In addition, he is a practicing physician and a prolific author

- R. J. Rushdoony is a prolific writer and one of America's most influential theologians today. He is president of the Chalcedon Foundation and the author of more than thirty books on philosophy, theology, and world and American history.
- John J. "Jack" Gargan is the founder of THRC (Throw the Hypocritical Rascals Out) who launched the Anti-incumbent movement in 1990.

It is clear from their speeches assembled here—as well as from the platform that follows—that these men do not hold utopian aspirations for the restoration of the great American experiment in liberty. They fully recognize that maintaining liberty is hard. It requires something of us. Of all of us. The institutional hedges that afford us freedom necessitate a certain level of upkeep. They require both diligence and vigilance.

The doctrine of the *separation of powers* is a cherished constitutional concept whereby each of the *separate* branches of government maintains *separate* authorities, *separate* jurisdictions, and *separate* functions. This kind of separation is the practical keystone for another hallowed constitutional concept: the doctrine of *checks and balances*. Theoretically, the judicial, legislative, and executive branches are to restrain one another from inordinate influence. The Founding Fathers saw the separation of powers—and its corollary checks and balances—as essential for the maintenance of freedom in their nascent experiment in liberty.

But they were not new or original ideas. The notion of separate powers and the imposition of checks and balances did not suddenly dawn on Washington, Adams, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and Morris. Nor were they unique to those men's mentors: Rutherford, Cromwell, Witherspoon, Smith, and Locke. Instead, the doctrines come straight out of the American cultural tradition of decentralized responsibility.

Interestingly though, the idea of distinct jurisdictions and balanced institutions is not limited in that long and venerable tradition simply and solely to the area of civil government. According to that unique perspective, the family, the community, and even the church are divinely established institutions right alongside the state. Each of them has its own authority, its own jurisdiction, and its own function. Each of them is a *separate* power. And each of them is to hold in check and weigh in balance each of the others.

What that means is that separation of powers and checks and balances are not simply functions of state action. Instead, they are to be carried out in contradistinction to the state by the family, the community, and the church. To center all the cultural power and activity around politics and state is nothing more than *statism*.

Even those conservatives who spend all their time and energy trying to *limit* the size and influence of the state are ultimately statist because their worldview is centered in the political realm. They are statist~~s~~ struggling for a small limited state,

while liberals are struggling for a large universal state. But they are both statist. The fact is that all men who break with the American tradition of a balanced, multi-jurisdictional culture are ultimately statist, because they have nowhere else to turn to establish life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness than the state.

The traditional American perspective of social transformation is *personal*. It includes politics. It includes vibrant and decisive leadership. It includes influencing local government, legislators, the executive branch, the judiciary, and the bureaucracy. It includes grassroots mobilization, revitalized civic accountability, and committed community caucusing. It includes all these things. But it includes a whole lot more. That whole lot more is not statist—centered in and around a single sovereign institution. It is personal. It is separated out among, and balanced between, several decentralized institutions and the people that compose them.

Ultimately, that means that there are no easy answers. Not in mere ideology. Not in mechanical quick fixes. Not in alluring leadership. Not even in the establishment of new movements, coalitions, or parties. Instead, the restoration of our republic will come when we do the hard work—the vigilant work—of preserving liberty one person at a time, one family at a time, one community at a time, and one church at a time.

George Washington, in one of his final statements to the young nation that he had taken such a pivotal role in establishing, said

I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all, to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion, for without an humble imitation and example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation

He understood only too well that in order to secure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in this land, a foundation had to be laid first—a foundation rooted in personal commitment and responsibility

That takes work Hard work

And that is what the US Taxpayers Party and the contributors to this volume offer the opportunity to work hard over the next four years to restore this republic to its once firm foundations in every realm and in every jurisdiction of life and culture

