



# Premise

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The Unofficial Official Newsletter by and for NJLP Members

## Freedom Revived in NJ

By Premise Staff

This newsletter is the result of an effort of a group of NJLP members who wish to bring news directly to our fellow members. This issue is not sponsored or paid for by the New Jersey Libertarian Party. There is a long history of Member initiated mailings when a group of members believe that the board or a portion of the board is not acting in our members best interests.

The title "Premise" and the logo reflects our hope to bring the Party back to its roots – Liberty for all. Premise was the name of our first newsletter from 1972 until 1973. The party adopted the Libersign (arrow angling upward) and TANSTAAFL slogan (There ain't no such thing as a free lunch) over an outline of the state of NJ as the party's emblem. Even the title of this article is a flashback to the very first article in the very first NJLP newsletter title.

Last year, a group of NJLP members formed a committee to bring the New Jersey Libertarian Party back to its purpose and towards success. We have recognized that our declining membership has been a result of unprofessional leadership, poor messaging, lack of candidate and activist support, and abandonment of the purpose of the NJLP as specified in our Bylaws and our Platform.

Our goal in the following pages is to educate our members on what has been going on with both the State Party and the National Party. We hope to present a new direction forward where we can once again unite in the fight for our libertarian ideas.

This newsletter has been entirely funded with private donations from NJLP Members. ♦

[Read more about our work at savethenjlp.org!](http://savethenjlp.org)

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## Amid Scandal McArdle Resigns, Mises Caucus Collapses

By Jake Porter, [jakeporter.substack.com](http://jakeporter.substack.com) Reprinted With Permission (minor changes for length made)

Within two weeks of releasing my [bombshell Substack](http://bombshell.substack.com), detailing the Libertarian Party Chair covered up continuing to pay her domestic partner \$4,000 per month through a hidden Delaware LLC after the board ended his contract, the party has changed course by electing a new chair and denying her chosen replacement the position.

On January 23rd, two days after releasing the Substack, the Libertarian National Committee launched a vote to decide if they would begin an investigation of McArdle.

On January 25th, Chair McArdle announced her resignation shortly after midnight as the board was voting overwhelmingly to launch the investigation.

McArdle attempted to pick her replacement, founder of the Mises Caucus, Michael Heise. Heise, a paid Libertarian Party contractor hired by McArdle, was responsible for the takeover of the Libertarian Party in 2022 which led to McArdle being elected Chair.

Despite an aggressive email campaign from the Mises Caucus and state Chair's forcing national committee representatives to resign, the majority Mises Caucus endorsed Libertarian National Committee abandoned the caucus founder and elected At-Large Representative Steven Nekhaila as Chair in a 9-6 vote on February 2nd.

Heise was grilled by LNC members for his endorsement of Donald Trump and his claims that he would not release the names of private donors who would pay him to become Chair.

I've released a series of investigative reports showing former Chair McArdle [withheld information](#) from the board about meeting with Trump at Mar a Lago, received over [\\$700,000](#) in payments from Robert Kennedy supporting PACs, and that her domestic partner was being [paid secretly](#) through a hidden Delaware LLC through the party's [controversial](#) and [legally questionable](#) joint fundraising committee.

Each of these stories were big. This story was different though. It didn't involve Kennedy money, which while showing a major conflict of interest, was able to be brushed aside by the committee as not harming the party. I have been told these previous articles were "nothing burgers". I disagree and believe that these stories should have caught the committee's attention.

That said, this story involved misleading the LNC, potentially causing them to violate their fiduciary duty, and opened them

up to member criticism regarding declining membership and fundraising. It brought potential legal issues up for the committee as well.

Obviously, the board was not doing its due diligence. Part of the reason was there was a culture where board members were ridiculed for asking questions of the chair. Additionally, the Chair took on the role of Executive Director, which allowed her to authorize the contract with no oversight.

In this case, the board was confronted with something they couldn't cover their eyes to any longer. They turned on McArdle because they had to. The LNC had to break from the Mises Caucus completely to restore credibility and to save the party.

There are also some inner conflicts that I am sure existed where at least one member of the board may not have been a fan of Heise or McArdle and didn't want to defend her when the report came out.

It was leaked to me by several sources that the Mises Caucus was telling their leaders that they had to support Heise as part of a plan to bring in "Kennedy Libertarians" as members and donors. I was also told by a state chair that they were planning to keep a joint fundraising committee ongoing with Kennedy. I should note, Heise was paid by a Kennedy PAC last year while working for the Libertarian Party.

There are two derivative lawsuits that are headed either in discovery or about to be in discovery although it is unclear how these recent changes impact that. It is likely this information would have eventually been discovered if the suits weren't eventually tossed. The legal system is slow though and this information could have taken most of 2025 to be discovered if it ever was.

Attempts to overtake the Mises Caucus were scattered or focused on out-organizing the Mises Caucus. They targeted a variety of people such as Michael Rectenwald, Dave Smith, Michael Heise, Angela McArdle, Tom Woods, etc. This report didn't mention the LNC or Mises, etc. as no one other than McArdle was responsible. Sure, the cult atmosphere created by the Mises Caucus allowed this to happen, but McArdle is responsible. It also didn't require anyone to whip votes from delegates, which takes a ton of time and doesn't always work.

The Mises Caucus is very top down controlled just like the Soviet Union was. Their messaging, strategy, and tactics are almost entirely centrally planned. McArdle was the de facto head of the Mises Caucus. When she and Heise lost control of their own hand-picked LNC, they lost control.

Heise overplayed his hand when he ran for Chair without first having the votes. They barely won the LNC at the last national convention and lost the Presidential nomination. With their support divided, it is likely they cannot rebuild and remain a collapsed caucus.

Where do we go from here? It is my hope that the current LNC majority alliance continues to work together to restore strong party operations and that the delegates return the party to strong principled messaging going forward. We aren't the party of Bill Weld nor the party of RFK Jr. and Donald Trump.

We won't keep things going in a positive direction if we play the "I told you so" game and I will not engage in it. This is a time of healing and working with people we don't necessarily want to. The board took my reporting seriously and did the right thing and for that they should be commended.

In 2026, we can pick a new LNC and hopefully repair the damage caused. Until then, it is a divided LNC that hopefully sticks together to do some good and investigates party bank accounts, contracts, and the joint fundraising agreement. ♦

## The Oral Arguments in Ian Freeman's Appeal: A Critical Analysis

By Christopher Fox

On February 5, 2025, oral arguments were held at the First Circuit appellate court at the Moakley Courthouse regarding the case of Ian Freeman. His legal team focused extensively on the registration charge, arguing that the statutory framework for money transmission businesses was not designed to encompass Bitcoin transactions. This article will break down the key points raised during the hearing, the arguments made by both sides, and the potential outcomes of the appeal. The full audio of the hearing can be found at [njl.org/freemanhearing](https://njl.org/freemanhearing).

Ian Freeman's appeal centers on three primary convictions:

- 1. Failure to Register as a Money Transmitting Business** – The prosecution contends that Freeman was required to register his Bitcoin business with the federal government, while his defense argues that the law was never intended to apply to cryptocurrency, which did not exist when the statute was enacted.
- 2. Income Tax Evasion** – The prosecution claims that Freeman failed to pay required taxes, the defense highlights that the IRS was uncertain as to whether he actually owed any taxes.
- 3. Conspiracy to Launder Money** – The most concerning charge, which carries the most severe penalty. However, the defense did not challenge the conspiracy conviction in its appellate brief, a point that has raised significant concerns.

Freeman's strongest argument pertains to the definition of "funds" in the statute. His defense contends that when the law was originally enacted, Congress had no intention of including digital currency like Bitcoin. One of the appellate judges acknowledged that if Congress were to clarify the law today, that would indicate that the current statute is ambiguous.

The government, however, argues that courts have already held that Bitcoin falls under the definition of "funds" and that the registration requirement should be upheld. This remains a contentious issue, and the decision could go either way.

During the oral arguments, one of the appellate judges raised a significant issue: the prosecution's own IRS witness admitted that they were unsure whether Freeman actually owed taxes. This is a crucial point because, in a criminal case, the burden of proof lies with the government. If they cannot definitively prove that taxes were owed, the charge should not stand. This raises the likelihood that the tax evasion conviction may be overturned.

One of the most troubling aspects of the appeal is that Freeman's defense did not challenge the conspiracy to launder money conviction. Legal analyst Jacob Hornberger expressed concern over this omission, pointing out that this charge alone justifies Freeman's eight-year sentence. He noted that while appellate briefs have a word limit, Freeman's defense could have compressed their other arguments to make room for this critical issue.

If the appellate court only overturns the first two charges but leaves the conspiracy charge intact, Freeman could still serve

the full sentence. This raises concerns about whether the defense strategy was adequate in fully protecting Freeman's rights.

There are three possible outcomes from the Circuit's decision:

1. Affirming the Conviction – The court could uphold all charges, leaving Freeman to serve his full eight-year sentence.
2. Overturning Some Charges – The court could strike down the registration and/or tax evasion convictions but leave the conspiracy charge intact. This could lead to either a resentencing hearing or a situation where Freeman still serves eight years solely based on the conspiracy charge.
3. Ordering a New Trial – If the appellate court finds that the jury's exposure to improper charges prejudiced the verdict, they could send the case back for a complete retrial. This would be the best possible outcome for Freeman.

If Freeman's appeal is unsuccessful, he still has legal options. He could request a rehearing by the full First Circuit or attempt to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. However, Supreme Court petitions are rarely granted, making this a long shot.

Additionally, there was discussion about the possibility of bail pending appeal. While the court has the authority to release Freeman on an appellate bond, given that a ruling is expected within the next two months, it is unlikely they will grant bail at this stage.

The oral arguments highlighted the complexities of Freeman's case, particularly regarding the definition of "funds" in the context of Bitcoin. The most pressing concern remains the conspiracy charge, which was left unchallenged in the appellate brief. If the court does not grant a new trial and instead only overturns the registration and tax evasion charges, Freeman could still be forced to serve his full sentence.

Supporters of Freeman remain hopeful that the appellate judges will recognize the flaws in the case and rule in favor of a new trial. The coming months will determine whether this case takes a major turn or whether Freeman's legal battle will have to continue through additional appeals. ♦

## The Libertarian Party's Internal Crisis: A Critical Assessment

By Bill Sihr

The Libertarian Party finds itself at a critical crossroads, marked by profound leadership challenges that have fundamentally undermined its core principles and organizational integrity. We find ourselves at a pivotal crossroads between the restoration of our principles or total organizational collapse.

**Leadership Challenges** Angela McArdle's leadership has been characterized by controversial strategic decisions that dramatically deviated from traditional Libertarian values. Her approach included bringing former President Trump to the 2024 National Convention, actively diminishing support for the party's presidential candidate Chase Oliver, and establishing a questionable funding arrangement with Robert Kennedy Jr. She is also the subject of an ongoing lawsuit brought by Caryn Ann Harlos.<sup>1</sup> The National Board is currently investigating potential

<sup>1</sup> [reason.com/2024/10/10/libertarian-party-secretary-files-lawsuit-to-remove-party-chair-angela-mcardle/](https://reason.com/2024/10/10/libertarian-party-secretary-files-lawsuit-to-remove-party-chair-angela-mcardle/)

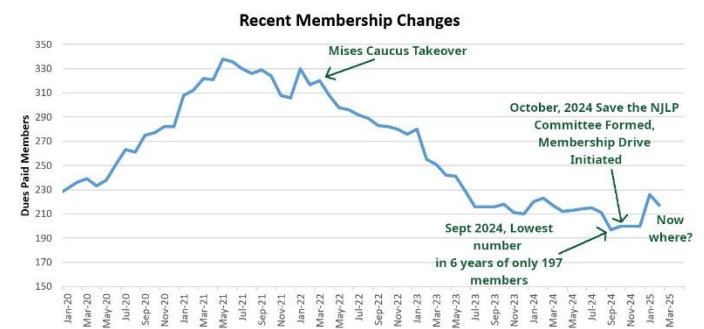
misappropriations of Party funds associated with her administration.<sup>2</sup>

**Ideological Transformation** What emerges is not merely a leadership problem, but a fundamental reinterpretation of "libertarian" into a "minor-league Republican" organization. From National to the States there is a push to have Libertarians back out to formally support Republicans, and for the various States to show support for the Trump administration. There has also been a shift in the way liberty is being presented, from an inclusive and welcoming ideology governed by a commitment to non-aggression, to one that encourages the use of slurs and attacks to invite negative online engagement. This strategic shift represents a profound departure from core Libertarian principles of individual liberty and principled non-interventionism.

**Consequences of Strategic Missteps** The leadership's approach has resulted in significant negative organizational outcomes. Membership has declined, financial stability has been compromised, and the party's credibility has been substantially eroded. The party's reputation has been further damaged by controversial alliances and strategic decisions that seemingly prioritized short-term political gains over long-standing philosophical commitments. Membership numbers have dropped across the country, with our own State seeing over 100 members depart since this recent shift. We also have seen a rise of internal schisms, and a drop in activism and funds.

**A Call for Renewal** The document urgently calls for party members to recommit to core Libertarian values, elect principled leadership, and reject opportunistic political alignments. The path forward demands an unwavering commitment to the party's foundational principles of individual liberty, constitutional adherence, and principled governance.

**Conclusion** The Libertarian Party stands at an existential precipice. Without a decisive return to its original mission of championing liberty above all else, the party risks complete irrelevance. The future depends on recommitting to the principles that have always distinguished Libertarians: an uncompromising dedication to individual rights, minimal government intervention, and a steadfast rejection of the false left-right political dichotomy.



## A Classical Liberal Vision for Libertarians

By Steve Friedlander

The Libertarian Party needs to broaden its appeal in order to attract a wider spectrum of voters. It can do this by embracing classical liberal principles that are an integral part of America's

<sup>2</sup> [x.com/ErikHofvander/status/1883180609562128874](https://x.com/ErikHofvander/status/1883180609562128874)

tradition. Its messaging should convey the idea that voting Libertarian is a vote for these time-honored principles. Even though most people may not be familiar with the term, classical liberal principles are quintessentially American and should appeal to a broad segment of the population.

1. Classical liberalism is a tradition that grew out of the Enlightenment of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and was articulated by thinkers like John Locke and Adam Smith among others. Their ideas of individual freedom, limited government, free trade, and democracy were embraced by America’s founding fathers and embodied in the Declaration of Independence and U.S. Constitution. Modern day libertarians should be “squarely in the great classical liberal tradition that built the United States and bestowed on us the American heritage of individual liberty, a peaceful foreign policy, minimal government, and a free-market economy.”<sup>3</sup>

2. In its messaging, the Libertarian Party should emphasize that it’s part of a broader national and international pro-liberty movement, a movement that consists of think tanks like the Cato Institute, legal defense groups like the Institute for Justice, academic societies like the Mises Institute, publications like *Reason*, and numerous other groups, including a few elected politicians like President Milei in Argentina. We need to convey the idea that voting Libertarian is not just a vote for obscure candidates that have no chance of winning – it’s a vote that supports a much broader pro-liberty movement and the policies it advocates.

3. The Libertarian Party supports practical approaches to today’s problems that are advocated by other pro-liberty groups in areas such as:

- Limiting the federal government’s activities to those authorized by the Constitution, thereby providing greater autonomy to state and local governments, private associations, and individuals.
- Upholding civil liberties by opposing victimless crime laws, civil asset forfeiture, eminent domain abuse, excessive government surveillance, the “war” on drugs, and qualified immunity for government officials.
- Upholding free trade by opposing tariffs, trade sanctions, import quotas, export subsidies, the Jones Act, and restrictions on travel and immigration.
- Promoting a freer economy by supporting school choice, privatization of public enterprises, and opposing government price controls, occupational licensing and restrictions on building homes.
- Upholding freedom of speech by opposing any government attempts to suppress speech that some may consider hateful, racist, homophobic, untruthful, or originating from a “foreign” entity.
- Promoting a peaceful international order by opposition to war and foreign intervention.

Most of these positions are supported by expert opinion and have been implemented to some degree in various states and other countries. They are practical and doable, but don’t receive adequate support from most politicians and the mainstream news media. (They will be spelled out in more detail in an upcoming platform.) The Libertarian Party should emphasize

<sup>3</sup> Murray Rothbard, *For a New Liberty*, page 320.

its support for practical solutions rather than proclaiming that “taxation is theft” and espousing fanciful notions of abolishing the state.








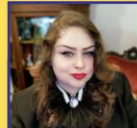
4. A fundamental pillar of classical liberalism is respect for others. We respect the right of people to make their own choices in life. It is also important to respect the opinions of others and their “good intentions”. Rhetoric that demonizes opposing viewpoints and blames our problems on an evil-minded “establishment” should be avoided. We should not stoop to the same level as other politicians who routinely vilify their opponents.

Any comments or suggestions? Interested in our monthly lunch gatherings, usually in the Hillsborough area? Contact Steve Friedlander at [friedlander2@aol.com](mailto:friedlander2@aol.com). Also, check out the LP’s Classical Liberal Caucus at [lplc.org](http://lplc.org). The views expressed here are those of the author and do not represent the Classical Liberal Caucus.

## NJLP Members Committee Recommend Leadership Slate

By Committee to Save the NJLP

We recommend the following slate for the 2025-2026 State Board. We have a vision of a unified effective New Jersey Libertarian Party dedicated to the progress of Liberty.

<b>OFFICERS</b>					
	<b>Bruno Pereira</b> Chair	<b>Ken Kaplan</b> Vice Chair	<b>Jade Pao</b> Secretary	<b>Jay Edgar</b> Treasurer	
	<b>VPS</b>				
		<b>Dan Krause</b> Programs	<b>Bill Sihr</b> Public Relations	<b>Vic Kaplan</b> Membership	<b>Lana Leguía</b> Political Affairs

Our desire is to restore our party's commitment to non-aggression and collaboration by rejecting division and fostering a welcoming environment to new and existing members.

## My Libertarian Journey

By Jim Tosone

Fifty years ago, I became a libertarian. I have consistently supported every Libertarian Party candidate, cementing my commitment with lifetime memberships in both the national and state Libertarian Parties. As Vice Chair of the New Jersey Libertarian Party (NJLP) in 2016 and 2017, I lead the redesign of key elements of our party structure, replacing At-Large members on the State Board with the current Vice President positions and establishing our Regional framework. I also ran as our candidate twice for the New Jersey Senate and twice for the U.S. House of Representatives, always advocating for the classic libertarian tenets of personal liberty, civil liberty, economic liberty, limited government, and peace.

In 2022, the national party witnessed a shift in leadership. Like 1792 France and 1917 Russia, an organized minority was able to take power from an unorganized majority. The new leaders had some valid criticisms of the party's historical progress and promised radical changes, so I approached their tenure with a cautious optimism and a wait-and-see attitude. Unfortunately, over time, it became evident that the new leadership was more philosophically aligned with the MAGA Republicans than with the foundational principles of libertarian philosophy.

The true intentions of the Libertarian National Committee (LNC) became unmistakably clear in 2024. During the National Convention, the LNC extended invitations to Donald Trump and Robert F. Kennedy Jr. This move was met with strong opposition from many convention attendees who, in a decisive act, rejected the LNC's hand-picked presidential candidate in favor of Chase Oliver, a classical libertarian. The aftermath of this decision saw the LNC embarking on a campaign to undermine Chase Oliver's candidacy, favoring instead the presidential aspirations of Trump and independent candidate Kennedy. The LNC's actions not only betray the core principles of our party but also undermine the integrity and independence that many of us have cherished and fought for over the years.

At our state party convention in March 2023, the election of a new state board initially filled me with trepidation, echoing concerns about the national party's direction. As 2024 unfolded, my fears were realized as our state party's identity began to blur, aligning more closely with Republican ideologies. Our messaging, our lukewarm support for our presidential candidate, and our flirtations with Trump and Kennedy all pointed to a troubling shift away from our core libertarian principles. Despite my continued involvement in various committees and even running as a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives, I found myself distancing from our party in my public communications. The risk of tarnishing my hard-earned reputation as a classical libertarian became too great.

The developments are alarming. Membership and membership dollars in both the national and NJ state parties are down. Libertarian Party candidates for President and Congress in New Jersey have, for the first time in decades, come in fourth, behind the Green Party candidates. If this trend continues, both the national and state parties risk sinking into irrelevance or collapse, leaving MAGA supporters free to return to their natural home in the Republican Party. But classical libertarians will be politically homeless. This isn't just disillusioning; it's an existential problem that demands immediate attention.

However, hope springs eternal. Just as the national party has appeared to have course-corrected with new leadership, I see a chance for the same at our upcoming March convention. To that end, I wholeheartedly endorse the alternative slate of candidates for our State Board. Their election could herald a return to our foundational values. If successful, I eagerly anticipate the day when I can once again proudly promote both our National and State parties, encouraging like-minded individuals to join our cause and lend their support. I implore you to stand with me in this crucial effort to reclaim our party's soul and reignite the flame of liberty in our state.

## From Our VP Political Affairs

By Lana Leguia

I am excited at the prospects for our candidates this year. Reflecting on my performance in 2024, I can confidently say that I did the best I could with the limited resources I had and the internal and external barriers I had to break through. I can also confidently say that given everything I have learned, the connections I have made and the experience I gained - there is plenty I could have done better. I am far from perfect. It is no secret that my priorities as a board member have always been what is best for the New Jersey Libertarian Party's integrity and what is best for our candidates. Everything I have done up to this point and everything I plan to do in the future will be to elevate the NJLP and its candidates.

First, let's have a clear idea of what the responsibilities of the VP of Political Affairs are.

"The VP of Political Affairs has overall responsibility for election related activities. The responsibilities outlined for this position encompass a broad range of critical functions that are essential for fostering a robust political presence and ensuring the effective promotion of Libertarian ideals.

- **Candidate Recruitment:** Actively identifying and engaging potential candidates who align with Libertarian principles, ensuring a diverse and capable slate of candidates for various offices.
- **Candidate Training:** Developing and implementing training programs that equip candidates with the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively campaign and represent Libertarian ideals.
- **Candidate Campaign Development:** Assisting candidates in formulating comprehensive campaign strategies, including messaging, outreach, and fundraising efforts, to enhance their chances of electoral success.
- **Legislative Outreach:** Establishing and maintaining relationships with legislators and key stakeholders to advocate for policies that reflect Libertarian values and to promote the party's agenda.
- **Political Advocacy:** Promoting the principles of the Libertarian Party in a manner consistent with the party's platform, ensuring that advocacy efforts resonate with both the electorate and the broader political landscape. In addition to these responsibilities, the VP of Political Affairs will be tasked with creating an annual strategic plan for programs, which will be subject to review by the State Board. This strategic plan will serve as a roadmap for the party's electoral activities and initiatives.

Furthermore, the VP of Political Affairs will collaborate closely with regional leadership to coordinate the recruitment and support of candidates within specific regions. This collaborative approach ensures that local, county, statewide, and presidential candidates running under the Libertarian banner, as well as those in non-partisan races endorsed by the New Jersey Libertarian Party (NJLP), receive the necessary support and resources to succeed."

Here are my key goals moving into 2025:

**Candidate Recruitment** - Finding principled Libertarian candidates with the heart to spread the liberty message will continue to be my goal. With the help of my deputy, we have

sent out mailers and texts to registered Libertarians as well as outlets such as email lists, social media and word of mouth to recruit what I feel to be a solid slate of candidates this year. Recruitment never stops, we have until June to get a full slate. I have streamlined the process of candidate screening and plan to implement a 'candidate contract' to avoid situations such as what happened in 2023 with Peck, 2023 with Cifrodelli and 2022 with Biasco. I will also encourage recruitment of candidates to run for local office such as school board, sheriff, town councils or appointments such as recreation, land use or environmental boards.

**Candidate Training** - In former years, candidate training has been abysmal. Candidates have been left to fend for themselves yet take all the blame when they underperform come election day. I am trying to change that. We cannot expect people to put their name on the line under our banner when we offer them very little in return in support. I already have two separate full days on the calendar for candidate training. These seminars will include all the institutional knowledge our party has in regard to ballot access, petitioning, data interpretation, as well as guest experts to guide our candidates in campaign building, messaging, media and strategy.

**Candidate Promotion** -Last year, it was made clear to me by the current board that there has been a precedence of not promoting candidates as a party with targeted social media ads, yard signs, media outreach, sponsoring public events or debates or facilitating volunteer coordination for things such as door knocking or gathering signatures for our statewide candidates. Let's be honest. We do not have the resources of the two parties, nor the member base. We have to work together. Should a candidate coordinate their own volunteer squad and fundraise most of their campaign? Yes, ideally. Can they realistically do this given the current climate in New Jersey for 3rd parties and current infrastructure of the NJLP? No, they cannot. I think it's time we start investing volunteer power and money into our candidates. Can you think of a better investment for the party's growth and influence in New Jersey?

**Legislative Reform** - I will continue to fight against ballot access laws in New Jersey. S3994/A5117 passed, nearly in secret, with the Governor signing it into law within 3 days. I will continue to represent the party in Trenton and at different town councils across the state. I formed the Political Affairs Committee to help me in this effort. This committee, along with aiding in candidate support, has been attending town councils speaking out against unconstitutional laws on their books. I hope to expand this committee from its current 5 members to at least 20. I have been nurturing relationships with other 3rd parties, organizations and grassroots groups to communicate and come together against the two-party system and the corruption in New Jersey.

**Improving Party Culture** - I see the party like a ship being pulled by the waves in one direction, the wind in another, with two captains fighting to steer the wheel in opposite directions. Everyone on board has to choose between watching with growing migraines and avoidable sea sickness or an abandoned ship. This cannot go on. We are going nowhere fast. Put simply - support leadership with a shared vision, commit to consistent messaging of our platform, immediately connect new members to opportunities to contribute, discourage spiteful behavior, and foster a collaborative environment instead of a combative competitive one.

**Help Bring Liberty to New Jersey** - I believe my commitment to the aforementioned is how I can, as a board member, as your VP of Political Affairs, help spread liberty in New Jersey. It isn't groundbreaking, nor will it bring overnight results but with consistency and teamwork, we could see change.

## Member Submitted Bylaws Recommendations

By Jay Edgar

Editor Note: As of the printing date of this newsletter, the Bylaws Committee has not published an official report

I propose two bylaw modifications to the membership. Both have previously been submitted to the Bylaws Committee.

**Proposal 1.** Add to Paragraph 8. Trustees at the bottom:

The State Board may appoint a Deputy Treasurer to be included as a Trustee for banking purposes only.

**Rationale:** banks are now not allowing anyone other than those named on the account to deposit checks and they won't let us add anyone other than Trustees.

**Proposal 2.** Fix definition of a delegate to Convention. Change convention Rule 1 as follows (underline indicates an addition):

who were members on or before the first day of the month preceding the month when the Convention is held.

**Rationale:** Currently a strict reading means that a member could expire at the end of January, renew on February 2nd and not be eligible. Traditionally this is how we have interpreted this rule in the past, but we should fix it to be what was intended.

## Trump and Liberty?

By Jay Edgar

Recently the Trump administration has taken several exciting policy changes. Several days into his administration he pardoned Ross Ulbricht. Ross is now free! Trump has created the temporary organization, Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE). DOGE has been rooting out government waste and abuse. These are developments that libertarians should be excited about.

Trump, like his predecessors, is using Executive Powers as his means of both slashing government and growing government power. Many of his actions have been challenged in court and at the time of writing have been placed on hold. It is to be seen what the final result will be.

This is not the first time we have been through this, Theodore Roosevelt's 1905 Committee on Department Methods headed by Charles Keep. The rationale for the committee was huge delays in procuring items for government use. The committee made lots of recommendations that streamlined government bureaucracy. Under Theodore Roosevelt the national debt grew 22%.

In 1982 Ronald Reagan formed the Grace Commission, Private Sector Survey on Cost Control. The came up with 2,478 policy recommendations. Many of these recommendations were not followed. Mirroring [the increase in the deficit under Trump's first term](#), the debt and deficit tripled under Reagan's term.

In 1993, the Clinton-Gore administration launched the National Performance Review. Similar to the Grace Commission the

goal was to shrink and streamline the federal government. They came up with about 1,200 recommendations. About two-thirds of these were implemented during Clinton’s term. Like Trump, instead of layoffs they offered an incentive of up to \$50,000 for federal employees to leave the workforce. The results were again modest. About 400,000 federal positions were eliminated. The national debt grew 28.6% during Clinton’s eight year presidency.

### Top 12 Percent Debt Change During Presidency

President and Years in Office	Percent Increase of National Debt
Franklin D. Roosevelt (12 years in office)	791.8% (+65.9% per year)
Woodrow Wilson (8 years in office)	789.9% (+98.7% per year)
Ronald Reagan (8 years in office)	160.8% (+20.1% per year)
George W. Bush (8 years in office)	72.6% (+9.1% per year)
Barack Obama (8 years in office)	64.4% (+8.1% per year)
George H. W. Bush (4 years in office)	42.3% (+10.6% per year)
Richard Nixon (4.5 years in office)	34.3% (+7.6% per year)
Donald Trump (First 4 years in office)	33.1% (+8.3% per year)
Jimmy Carter (8 years in office)	29.9% (+3.7% per year)
Bill Clinton (8 years in office)	28.6% (+2.9% per year)
Theodore Roosevelt (8 years in office)	22.6% (+3.6% per year)
Joe Biden (4 years in office)	16.7% (+4.2% per year)

Source: <https://www.investopedia.com/us-debt-by-president-dollar-and-percentage-7371225>

The question becomes, what should the role of the Libertarian Party be? The Libertarian Party should always be at the forefront of pushing for less government in both the fiscal sense and in the interference of the lives of human beings.

Democrats have consistently demanded a larger government when it comes to welfare, education, environmental protection, and corporate control. Republicans have consistently supported a larger government when it comes to defense, social security, cultural control of others, and protectionist corporate policies. Only libertarians consistently oppose larger government and support for free markets and free people.

Our primary purpose is to run and support Libertarian candidates that adhere to our Platform. While doing so we must also consider an additional goal – to move the Overton window towards embracing liberty and understanding the many advantageous of living in a more open and free society. We must not forget our Purpose as specified in our Bylaws:

Specifically, the NJLP is a political organization organized and operated primarily for the purpose of achieving or otherwise influencing the selection, nomination, election or appointment of Libertarian candidates to federal, state, county, municipal, or regional public or political office; the election of Presidential and Vice Presidential electors; and the passage or defeat of public questions.

While we can and should praise Trump for actions that we agree with, we should be extremely vocal against Trump for the many ways he wants to grow the power and scope of the federal government.

## The Mises Caucus: The Loss of Illusion

By Vic Kaplan

The year was 2022. I was approached by Dan O’Neill. “How would you like to join the Mises Caucus?” After reading an intro, how could I say “no”?! After all, it was the energy and the excitement of how people felt about Ron Paul – my antiwar hero, that was promised to be a part of those young rebels leading the Libertarian Party. It was promised that there would be no “culture war” that the Libertarian Party would be engaged in – something that was already dividing the Party. After seeing the National Chair, Nicholas Sarwark trying to go after people like Tom Woods for not signing a pledge against bigotry - which seemed “too woke” to digest for many Libertarians, and after seeing the national Libertarian Party drop the ball during 2020 – a year from hell, a time seemed ripe for a change.

At the National Libertarian Convention in Reno, Nevada in 2022, the Mises Caucus was swept into power, through the cheering and the excitement of the delegates. Earlier, the same occurred in the state of New Jersey. Rather than clinging onto power, what the Mises Causes supporters called “the prags” just walked away, which allowed the Mises Caucus members to get elected, only facing token opposition. After all, appearances do matter, and a unanimous vote had to be reserved for George Washington, not the “young bloods” of the incoming sweep. The Mises Caucus of New Jersey promised to work with Libertarians outside of it.

The Mises Caucus on the national level saw the “Rage Against the Machine” rally. The national Libertarian Party Chair Angela McArdle even stated that she saw the federal government using money saved from warfare to pump into social programs as a better choice than the status quo – echoing statements made years earlier by Ron Paul. While the latter is a “god” to plenty of libertarians, I never saw him as “perfect”, as he did support a number of pro-Iraq War members of Congress, while in office, simply because they had joined the Republican Liberty Caucus. Others perhaps only would have reserved the word “perfect” for Jesus, but I digress.

Pumped up by my excitement about Angela McArdle, as a Mises Caucus supporter, I voted for her at the 2024 National Convention in Washington, DC. Voting for delegates in the Mises Caucus, just because they were in the Mises Caucus, admittedly made me no different than Ron Paul. Nevertheless, I came to regret my decision, echoing the later words of the podcaster and a comedian Dave Smith, “I would certainly say there were people the Mises Caucus supported who we should not have.” Even for a Mises Caucus supporter like me, the post-Convention moves by Hannah Goodman regarding her support for RFK, Jr., contra the duly chosen nominee, were just too much to accept. With an independent streak in me, I did support 3 different presidential candidates for President, but when it came to the last vote, I voted along with most of the Mises Caucus supporters in that room – NOTA. What was my objection to Chase Oliver? His lack of condemnation of puberty blockers and hormone injections for children was unacceptable to me. Adults? I could care less, but to have irreversible procedures for children, who might decide later to change their minds? How can children give fully informed consent? Do they even understand the consequences of these procedures? Was I being too loyal to the Mises Caucus in that room? Was I willing

not to have a nominee, just so that I could stick a middle finger at Chase Oliver and please the Mises Caucus?

At the end of the day, Chase Oliver did not see a federal government role in the matter. I certainly could not find it in the US Constitution. Nevertheless, I went with the crowd. My concern was that Chase Oliver's position would be an albatross around the Party's neck in the mind of the public at large, a concern that I later would see as overblown. What would harm his campaign, would be the boycott by the Mises Caucus.

Prior to the vote, I spoke to Joe Hauptmann from Indiana, a Chase Oliver supporter. I knew him to be the top Libertarian vote-getter in US history in congressional races, featuring two major party candidates. I did not tell him that I was from the Mises Caucus. I struck a conversation, where I focused on that one stance of Chase Oliver. I sensed that Joe Hauptmann was a good and decent man, and I left the conversation, questioning if the party infighting was necessary. "How different are we, after all?", I asked myself. I felt terrible. Here was a man that I was supposed to hate, yet I felt no hate towards him and found him to be both intelligent and likable. He implied that others did not accept Chase Oliver because he was gay. I really had no idea what he was talking about. My questions continued, as I found one Mises Caucus member highly objectionable, due to this person's support for denying voting rights to one half of the population.

At the time, I thought that while the behavior of a number of Mises Caucus members in New Hampshire and other states was unacceptable and giving the Party a bad image nationwide via the national media, I viewed this behavior as an exception to the rule. On that note, I agreed with Dave Smith. Nevertheless, I was already finding Facebook posts objectionable in New Jersey, and the earlier promise not to engage in a culture war (via social media), turned to be a promise, that was not kept. Never did I think, that within a few months, in our own state, that comments about Chase Oliver's sexual orientation would be permeated with homophobic slurs like "faggot" to describe him. It was at that point that I realized that Joe Hauptmann might have been right. "This is not what I signed up for!", I thought. To add insult to injury, "communist" was added to describe Chase Oliver. On a national level, lies were being spread by Angela McArdle and those below her, about how Chase Oliver was supposedly visiting nothing but pride parades. I knew that to be a lie, because Chase Oliver visited all 50 states before he was nominated. I attended one event with Chase Oliver, and it was most certainly not a pride parade. As a Mises Caucus supporter, I felt betrayed. Why were these Mises Caucus leaders lying to their supporters and lying to the public?! When the Libertarian presidential nominee Michael Badnarik visited pride parades in 2004, no one cared. "What happened to this Party?", I thought.

After Michael Rectenwald (a man I voted for) made a post in support of removing people who practice Judaism from their homes, a number of people in the Mises Caucus in New Jersey came to defend his support for removal. I could not believe what I was hearing. I suggested that perhaps Michael Rectenwald was drunk. Instead, I heard an affirmation of his comments. I swiftly came to the defense of people to practice any religion of their choice and be safe and secure in their homes and left it at that. A light bulb went up in my head. These are the same people who were praising Jeremy Kauffman from New Hampshire – a man who supports making life for

neighbors so uncomfortable (simply for sharing a different political opinion), that they would leave on their own.

On a state level, I saw opposition of supporting candidates for office, in direct contrast to something that has been a practice for decades. I could not understand why at the State Board level, there was not only opposition to donating any funds to candidates (which has been a practice for decades), but to even having a PAC, where supporters could offer their funds voluntarily. After the PAC was created, of course, there was a change of heart, but the behavior of the State Board members left me bewildered. "Isn't one of the purposes of a political party is to run candidates? What kind of a political party does not run candidates?", I thought. "The things have surely changed". After scoring one victory in November, rather than expressing any satisfaction in that victory, there was an expressed sentiment of discomfort, because the winner happened to be trans.

After promising to work with people who were not members of the Mises Caucus, I saw attacks against members outside of the caucus, with the names being used like "social democrat" and "woke". One member was attacked for getting a Covid vaccine. Well, Mises Caucus readers, I have been vaccinated, too. In retrospect, I would not have done it, again, if I had all of the information. After seeing cultural war posts on Facebook (contrary to the promise made in 2022), a false quote by Dostoyevsky, and a membership that is in an overall decline, my early sense of excitement has been replaced by disappointment. You can't make Libertarians the enemy and then hope to use the Joint Fundraising Committee with RFK, Jr. as an excuse to make up for the lost funds. Stop treating Libertarians as the enemy, and they will contribute. After burning those bridges, there is now a desire to find scapegoats and delete social networks posts that turn those "woke" Libertarians that you hate so much, off. My question is, "Why did you have to wage war against them, in the first place?" Worse, there is an effort to turn to Republican supporters to raise money, making it more likely that voters won't be able to tell the two parties apart - a sure death of the Libertarian Party. Sure, the freeing of Ross Ulbricht was a victory, and credit should be given, where it is due. But the "greatest victory" of the Libertarian Party? What about people who are alive today, because of the end of the war on medicinal marijuana? Don't those lives matter, too? Is getting one man out of prison more important than those saved lives?!

In the end, it is not about trying to finally please the disappointed members of the Party. The requests of change have been rebuffed in the past. Concerns were ignored. Members have left in disgust. Given past behavior, the late effort to pretend to finally care about what the members think, can only be seen as damage control. I was a true believer. This is why it pains me so much, to acknowledge that I was deceived. What I discovered didn't make me feel any better. The Mises Caucus originally began in the Republican Party, not the Libertarian Party. Hence, the proposed plan appeals to GOP donors to donate to the Libertarian Party. I have connected the dots. The endorsements of Donald Trump, a man who shares responsibility for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children in Yemen... It all made sense... I ask you, "If you care about the Libertarian Party, please do not let it die!"



# CONVENTION INFO

**March 21-22, 2025**  
**Rutgers Cook Campus**

We are excited and pleased to announce the details for this year's Convention being held on the Rutgers Cook Campus in Multipurpose Room C, Cook Student Center located at 59 Biel Rd., New Brunswick, NJ

On Friday March 21 there will be an online only option. Zoom link will be published at [njlp.org/zoomlink](https://njlp.org/zoomlink). During this meeting there will be presentations and member Q&A. This will be your opportunity to hear from the potential candidates for office and those seeking board positions.

The Convention business is Saturday March 22nd from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. Business will be open to all members and registered guests. Meals are available to attendees who have purchased them as part of a package or à la carte. Note: only valid members will be allowed to vote. Agenda is at [njlp.org/agenda](https://njlp.org/agenda)

Registration is requested for business and required for lunch/speakers. A noon Lunch will be available. Coffee, a light snack, and water will be available in the morning.

We accept all credit cards on the registration page. Reminder that business meetings are free to members. Registration requested.

Schedule:

8:00 AM - 9:00 AM Credentialing

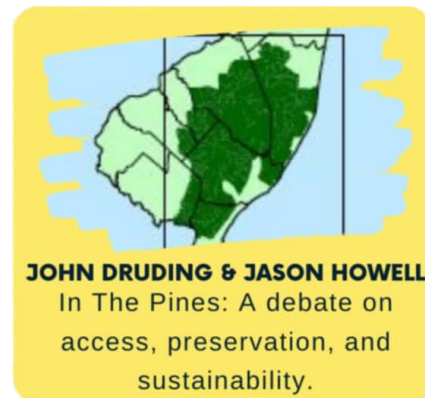
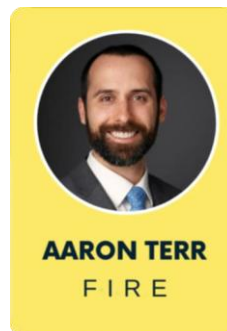
9:00 AM - 12:00 PM NJLP Business Meeting

12:00 PM - 1:00 PM Lunch Break

01:00 PM - 2:00 PM Additional NJLP Business

2:30 PM - 6:00 PM Speakers and other events

Register today at [njlp.org/convention](https://njlp.org/convention)



## NJLP Convention Form

Check here to use address from mailing label on reverse

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Town: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP: \_\_\_\_\_

Email Contact: \_\_\_\_\_ Phone Contact: \_\_\_\_\_

Full Convention Package \$80 \_\_\_\_\_

Speakers Only (no lunch) \$40 \_\_\_\_\_

Business meeting (no lunch) is free.

Online registration is highly recommended and is at [njlp.org/convention](https://njlp.org/convention).

Mail this form with payment to: NJLP Convention, P.O. Box 56, Tennent, NJ 07763

This issue of Premise was paid for by donations from friends of the New Jersey Libertarian Party. Opinions, published herein do not necessarily represent official NJLP positions unless so indicated. Contact us at: [info@savethenjlp.org](mailto:info@savethenjlp.org). A digital version of this newsletter that includes links and more information and expanded articles can be found at [savethenjlp.org](https://savethenjlp.org).



Our state level candidates need your contributions, both money and time. Donations to the State Fund shall be used to support state and local candidates for political office. Your generous contributions are greatly appreciated.

All donations to the NJLP State Fund must meet the requirements for an Ongoing Political Committee. You must be a US citizen or a permanent resident alien. All donations to the general fund must come from your personal funds.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Street Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ St: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

Employer: \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

I wish to support the NJ Libertarian Party by donating to the NJLP State Fund. Enclosed is my contribution of:

\$250  \$100  \$50  \$10  Other:

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to "NJLP State Fund." or visit <https://njlp.org/statefund>

Send checks to: NJLP Treasurer

PO Box 56

Tennent, NJ 07063

NOTE: We respect your privacy and will keep the identity and amount of our supporters' donations confidential to the extent permitted by our insane laws. Individual annual contributions to Political Committees like the NJLP State Fund are limited to \$25,000 per calendar year, and contributor information for donations over \$300 must be reported. We do not report contribution information for any donation unless required by law



Friends of NJ Libertarian Party

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