

**BEWARE  
OF THE  
LIBERTARIAN**

Owner assumes no responsibility.

*They keep asking.*

*Now we answer:*

*Libertarian  
vs Freedom*

*page*

**11**

**\$5**

**Freedom Flyer**  
#40 - The official newsletter of the Freedom Party of Ontario  
Winter, 2013

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Alert!**

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Locomotive Award!  
Fireman's Award!  
Freedom 200 Pins!**

**Freedom Party's  
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**Reading,  
Writing,  
and  
Relativism!**  
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Above, Left to Right: Robert Vaughan, Robert Metz, Paul McKeever, Stephen Anderson, Michael Coren, and Salim Mansur  
at Freedom Party's '3 Rs' dinner in Toronto on October 27.

## Openers...

## I'M STILL SEEING RED! - by Robert Metz

*{The following commentary was adapted from the speech presented by FP president Robert Metz to attendees at Freedom Party's Red Alert! dinner held in Toronto on October 27, 2012.}*

## A Black-And-White Alert About Red!

When I first ran as a political party candidate (for another party believe it or not) I had no real interest in politics and didn't know left from right from center - or blue from orange from green from red.

In fact, I went so far as to reject all political colours and all labels, in a naïve belief that I could avoid any label or colour being stuck on me. The next thing I knew, I found myself being described as any and all variants of "blue-conservative-right-wing-libertarian-anarchist-objectivist-extremist," topped off with a few of the usual irrational insults and anti-concepts calculated to prevent or stop a debate. So I soon learned the cardinal rule: "Define, or be defined."

Alarming, I learned something else: when it comes to colours in our world of political and social ideas, the colour most people think and vote in is: Red. It's the same colour that has led the world from one political disaster into another. From

war to famine and crisis, Red is the colour of the ideas that inevitably lead to those consequences. I vote we make R.E.D. stand for "Reason's End = Death." But then, I might be called an "extremist."

Red is, of course, the colour metaphor understood to represent the left: *Liberals, New Democrats, Socialists, Communists, etc.* To the left (and to many voters), red is the colour of social security, economic equality, altruism, free health care, and of course, a "democratically controlled government" to institute, regulate, and control these and other material benefits.

So where, and what, is the 'right'?

"Those who value security more than freedom, will assuredly lose both; Those who value freedom more than security, will always achieve both." Originally attributed to Benjamin Franklin, variants of this wisdom hold as true today as in any time in history. That, in a political nutshell, defines the great political divide: the left from the right.

Those who believe that the purpose of government is to provide security are on the left. Their colour is Red. Those who believe that the purpose of government is to protect freedom are on the right, but unfortunately the party that most

people would recognize as "right-wing" is the **Progressive Conservative Party** and the colour of that party is Blue.

But on which side of the great divide --- security or freedom --- do *Conservatives* sit? Answer: Very distinctly on the side of security; very Red; very Liberal; very Socialist; very Communist --- because all of these things mean the very same thing and share the same colour.

Former PC premier **Ernie Eves**, not once, but repeatedly when challenged by FP leader **Paul McKeever** on a Toronto open-line radio show, literally said: "the purpose of government is to redistribute wealth!"

To McKeever's reaction: "and what about freedom?" Eves replied, "oh yeah and that too..." as if freedom was some assumed given and permanent existent - *as if freedom could possibly co-exist with a government determined to "redistribute wealth."*

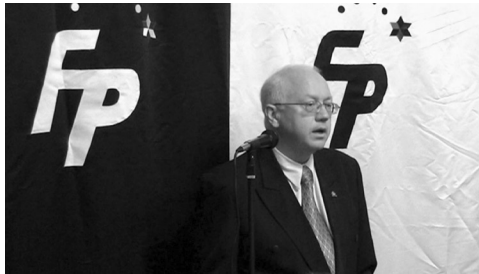
*Conservatives* and other sundry parties have escaped the smear of the colour Red due to their consistent misrepresentation of themselves as the opposition, both politically and philosophically. Since the **Liberal Party** already has a claim on the colour, there simply aren't enough 'red' colours to

*[RED - continued on page 7...]*

## FP Dinner Event...

## BREAKING WITH TRADITION

*Below: FP executive member and Master of Ceremonies Robert Vaughan (left), president Robert Metz (center), and leader Paul McKeever (right) deliver their views of the recent past, and visions for the future, of Ontario. In addition to the speakers, dinner attendees were also treated to video previews of upcoming Election '11 FP TV ads along with a few other surprising video highlights. All of the action can still be seen on Freedom Party's Youtube Channel.*



**LONDON - November 20-21, 2010** - It was an early kickoff to the 2011 election, bringing with it a newly focused **Freedom Party** - one now ready and determined to win an Ontario election - one now prepared to govern the province of Ontario with a clearly defined agenda.

Held at the *Station Park - All Suite Hotel* in the downtown of the city, the Saturday evening dinner event was accompanied by a Sunday morning **Freedom School**, a "freedom-based electoral tutorial" presented by FP leader **Paul McKeever** to a limited discussion group. Both events were recorded and archived on **Freedom Party's Youtube** channel, where they remain permanently accessible to the public.

FP leader **Paul McKeever** reviewed highlights of the impressive record of **Freedom Party's** past campaigns and activities. From beating Sunday shopping prohibitions to winning dozens of anti-tax campaigns, including the prevention of the federal, provincial and municipal governments' spending taxpayer dollars on the 1991 *Pan-An Games*, **Freedom Party's** record during its days of single-issue oriented activism are indeed something to be proud of.

While winning ad hoc "issue-oriented" campaigns is a great road to popularity and credibility, it is unfortunately not the road to Queen's Park. That requires winning elections. Winning elections requires fielding candidates, enough of them to be able to form a majority government. That was the ambitious goal set by McKeever for the upcoming election, a goal that had never

been achieved by the party in the past. And to top it all off, McKeever also announced the creation of a set of **Freedom Party** TV ads, each reflecting a "practical plank for 2011." Originally expected to be aired on *A Channel*, the ads ended up being aired daily on *Sun TV* during the election period.

In breaking with its own tradition, **Freedom Party** has blossomed into a fully-electable Ontario political party. By now making the winning of elections the main party priority, McKeever has set the party towards a new tradition where a new tone, attitude, and agenda are the order of the day. We have proven that we can indeed "beat city hall," defeat inappropriate tax initiatives, end Sunday shopping prohibitions, beat the Human Rights Commission at its own game, and win many other major victories.

**Freedom Party** is ready. But are Ontario voters ready to break with their voting tradition? That's the tradition that most requires breaking. (end)



*At Left: FP leader Paul McKeever with Dominika (of the Palm Beach Megatan tanning salon) as they appear in McKeever's Youtube video feature: 'Reason's Harvest.' Previewed at FP's Breaking With Tradition dinner event, the video highlights can also be seen on FP's Youtube channel.*

FP Dinner Event...

## RED ALERT! - note of warning followed by celebration

*“In the beginning was the word...”*

- Inscription on Freedom Party's 'Free Speech Award' -

**TORONTO - APRIL 21, 2012** - With Ontario's other political parties in deep denial about the province's fiscal crisis, **Freedom Party** sounded a Red Alert! to highlight the fiscal, political, and ideological similarities between them: Liberal, PC and NDP. (See Openers - pg 2)

Held on the top floor of the downtown *Primrose Hotel*, FP's **Red Alert!** dinner event was also a celebration of **Freedom Party's Election '11** effort, accompanied with the awarding of 14 '**Freedom 200**' pins to the deserving recipients in attendance (see page 7).

Other highlights of the evening featured:

(1) the presentation of **Freedom Party's** first official **Free Speech Award** to **Mary Lou Ambrogio**: *“For her dedication to the promotion and defence of free speech.”*;



(2) the presentation of **Freedom Party's** first **Locomotive Award** to recipients **Christopher Goodwin** and **Erin Gorman**: *“For exceptional and successful efforts to recruit, motivate, and assist Freedom Party candidates and supporters in Election 2011.”*;

(3) the presentation of **Freedom Party's** first **Fireman's Award** to **Paul Blair** *“For his unyielding financial commitment to Freedom Party's success.”*; and

(4) the release of **Freedom Party's 2012 Opposition Budget**. (illustrated above)

The dinner event featured speakers **Robert Vaughan**, **Robert Metz**, and **Paul McKeever**, who each spoke to the evening's 'red' theme.

**Mark Vandermaas** (*Caledonia Victims Project, Israel Truth Week*) had the honour of presenting FP's **Free Speech Award**, while **Bjorn Larsen** of the *International Free Speech Society*, delivered a message to the **Freedom Party of Ontario** from **Geert Wilders**.

How we managed to fit all of those speeches, announcements, awards, and presentations into a single evening still remains one of the great mysteries of 2012. One thing remains certain however: there is simply not enough space within these pages at this time to uncover that mystery.

Fortunately, every moment has been recorded and preserved to allow for the entire evening's event to be experienced and re-experienced at will and as a proud record of progress and accomplishment for all involved. Check out FP's *Youtube* channel on line and share with your friends and acquaintances! {end}

Below: Paul McKeever presents Erin Gorman and Christopher Goodwin with Freedom Party's first 'Locomotive Award' in recognition of their volunteer and organizational commitment to the party.



## Make It Go!

*“Money  
fuels the train  
to freedom.”*

- Inscription on Freedom Party's 'Fireman's Award' -

*“Like locomotives,  
we are all strong on the track,  
but weak anywhere else.”*

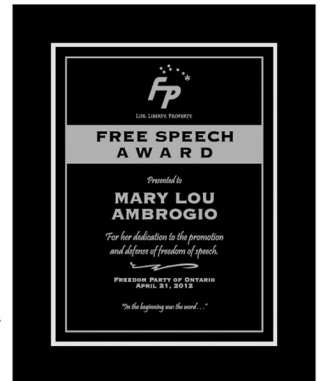
- Inscription on Freedom Party's 'Locomotive Award' -



Below: Paul McKeever presents Paul Blair with Freedom Party's first 'Fireman's Award' in recognition of his financial commitment to the party.



Above: On Freedom Party's behalf, Mark Vandermaas presents the party's first Free Speech Award (pictured at right) to free speech advocate Mary Lou Ambrogio at Freedom Party's Red Alert! dinner in Toronto on April 21.



Above, Left to Right: Robert Vaughan, Paul McKeever, Mary Lou Ambrogio, Mark Vandermaas, Gary McHale, Eva Ryten, Al Gretzky, Robert Metz, Bjorn Larsen at Freedom Party's Red Alert! dinner in Toronto on April 21.

FP Dinner Event...

# ANDERSON, MANSUR, COREN SPEAK OUT ON 'the 3 Rs' READING, WRITING, and - - RELATIVISM!

**TORONTO - OCTOBER 27, 2012** - Held at the *Primrose Hotel* in the heart of the city, **Freedom Party's** \$100-a-plate dinner event attracted an audience who certainly got a bang for their buck. Featuring speakers **Stephen L. Anderson**, **Salim Mansur**, and **Michael Coren** (all pictured at right) each was worth the price of admission on his own.

There is no doubt that the appearance of three such differing views at a **Freedom Party** event may have led some to believe that we had succumbed to the very moral relativism which the dinner was held to warn against. Yet, despite differences between the philosophical groundings of each speaker, and of **Freedom Party** itself, a commonality of purpose and perspective ruled the evening, as the discussion focused on the uniting theme of the event: ethics and morality, specifically, **moral relativism**.

Each speaker was invited to give his view about the inculcation of moral subjectivism in our public schools, and how it might affect students and society. Chosen because of some expertise/notoriety in this area of public discussion, each speaker offered contrasting views about what constitutes a proper social code of morality.

Differences aside, singularly shared by all in the room was a reasoned resistance and opposition to the prevailing view that there is no such thing as right and wrong, better or worse. Free to speak their own minds, the opinions expressed were those of the speakers and did not in any official way reflect the views of the **Freedom Party of Ontario**.

Through their very evident frankness, openness, and sincerity, each speaker himself validated his own association with the party, and demonstrated what we had always hoped would be the case: not only that "Some things are black and white" but that this view is far more widely shared than commonly believed. Selected highlights of each speaker's presentation appear on the following page.

Electorally speaking, a very encouraging message expressed at the event was that of Stephen Anderson's initial impressions of **Freedom Party**, beginning with his confession that he had never heard of the party before being invited to speak: "I have a lot to learn about (Freedom Party), and I hope you will prove to be patient teachers. You've been very very kind so far. Thank you."

And with that, Anderson unexpectedly directed "a few words to the **Freedom Party** in specific" before beginning his presentation on the evening's main theme:

"I find it very exciting to think of a party that has a focused interest in defending basic human rights. If the **Freedom Party** is about anything, it seems to me it's about freedom! It's about the idea that the chief task of politics is to safeguard the right of free, rational individuals to make informed choices about their own lives and about the communal rules under which their freedoms are safeguarded.

"The founding declaration of the party is, and I quote: 'that every individual, in the peaceful pursuit of personal fulfillment has an absolute right to his or her own life, liberty and property.'



STEPHEN ANDERSON  
AUTHOR, SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHER

*"When the public system educates for morality, it tends to do so through privatism, the belief that all judgements are merely personal - or - relativism, the belief that they are valid only within a limited sphere, and until further notice. Not surprisingly, this is not particularly helpful to students in developing strong convictions of any kind."*



SALIM MANSUR  
AUTHOR, PRINT JOURNALIST, PROFESSOR

*"In our own home, under one roof, we're speaking English, French, Arabic, Urdu, and Bengali. (Language) is not a problem, but I'm a Canadian, not a hyphenated Canadian, and that is what I want my daughter to grow up to be."*



MICHAEL COREN  
AUTHOR, PRINT JOURNALIST, HOST OF TELEVISED POLITICAL TALK SHOW

*"Sun TV presents absolute appalling fascist imperialist running-dog scum like me and Ezra Levant and Brian Lilley and Charles Adler and... actually, they're your sort of people!"*

"Now it won't have escaped your notice that basic human rights like this are under severe challenge today from many quarters. Thus it becomes crucial for your success that you possess a powerful rational defence for those rights against the cynics, against the skeptics, and against those who throw away individual rights in pursuit of their vision of the collective good.

"You will need to talk to the next generation, so that they become firmly grounded in the convictions that you cherish - and willing to perpetuate them. How do we substantiate the claim that life, liberty and property are what we owe one another?"

[3Rs - continued on next page...]

## “ relatively quotable on relativism “

### Anderson

*“We are inheritors of an old folly, ...the naïve belief that all cultures, all ideologies, all ways of life, and all people are essentially committed to a substantial common core of morality... This belief has been taken up in the absence of evidence or any real research into the various beliefs that exist in our country in this respect.”*

*“I would suggest that the educational system of today is ill-equipped for the task of teaching children how to think in moral categories. It is largely a pragmatic institution, one which sees its job as serving various practical goals.”*

*“In an age where all public schools are involved with moral education initiatives of so many kinds - violence prevention, women's rights, social justice, human rights, environmentalism, global awareness, sex education, multiculturalism, anti-racism, homosexual equality and character education - in every school, it is puzzling that so few of these sorts of preachments seem to issue the kind of improved moral judgements that their education advocates might wish.”*

*“The education system of today has one imperative that transcends all others: KEEP THE PEACE.”*

### Mansur

*“Liberal democracy is a unique culture of universal importance - a culture distant from, and, I want to emphasize, superior to all other cultures. The core principle of a liberal democracy is individual freedom and unalienable rights inherited from Judeo-Christian teaching, but which are a universal value.”*

*“In contrast to liberal democracy, multiculturalism promotes the idea that all cultures are equal. Once this premise is turned into official doctrine, as is happening in Canada, what is set in motion, logically speaking, (intentionally or not) is a doctrine that insidiously undermines liberal democracy from within.”*

*“The sheer absurdity! The National Post claims to be a conservative paper, whatever ‘conservative’ means in Canadian politics, I more and more do not recognize it any more.”*

*“What we need, therefore, is dispensing with the arguments about culture, and taking philosophy as the standard of our measure. ...philosophy, not history or anthropology, is the most important human science.”*

*“Liberal democracy remains fragile in a world that is predominantly non-liberal, if not anti-liberal.”*

### Coren

*“(Unlike today's liberals), classic liberalism is defined by free speech and free trade.”*

*“Today, people believe in anything they want to. We're under attack by two particular groups: the gay community and the Islamic community.”*

*“It wasn't that long ago that gay people were imprisoned for their homosexuality, which should be repugnant to anyone who does embrace even basic freedom. But (their) next step was not one of winning tolerance and has nothing to do with equality. It's about affirmation: it is (that) you must agree, you must like, and you must approve of me in everything I do.”*

*“Truth is exclusive. If you tolerate intolerance, in the end you won't be tolerated any more. The most intolerant people these days are those who scream about being tolerant all the time, and by golly they won't give you any room to speak your mind at all.”*

*“(Am I) brave? No, just very stupid. But what I really mean is I'm just very conscious that my kids have to live in the world that I leave behind. And unless we change the path now, I'm not going to die a happy man.”*

[...3Rs - continued from previous page]

“This is a very important task. Maybe there are parties around who can, to one degree or another, duck the task. But, **Freedom Party** has imposed upon itself a primary duty to be the party of truth and openness. Likewise, this means that **Freedom Party** has voluntarily disdained and cut itself off from all illegitimate means of persuasion, such as lies or manipulation, or indoctrination. If it is dedicated to freedom it is dedicated to using honest and transparent means for only the kind of choice where individuals are supplied with good information and left to choose according to their realization of right reasons.

“Only that can be the **Freedom Party's** aim, if I have rightly understood where you guys are coming from.”

Stephen Anderson's perception of what **Freedom Party** is all about was as accurate a “first impression” as one could possibly hope for. Most significantly, it is a far cry from some “first impressions” of the party that we have addressed in other sections of this newsletter. What makes this so encouraging is the fact that Anderson's view of the party appeared to be formed by a review of the party's history and philosophy as it can be seen and found in the public domain. This is a sign that **Freedom Party's** real essence is at last emerging through a cloud of public preconceptions and misconceptions.

Anderson's assessment of **Freedom Party** provides evidence of what makes dinner events of this sort a two-way street. Not only are our guest speakers on a stage, submitting their views to the judgement of their host audience, but we too, as **Freedom Party** executive, members, and supporters are “on a stage” standing before our guests who will take - and share - their impressions and judgements of **Freedom Party** and its supporters with them when they leave.

From the feedback heard so far, both dinner attendees and guests reported having had a great time - good food, good company, great ideas, and memories of a shared experience that will retain its value and significance for years to come.

Share the experience yourselves. Readers are invited to watch and hear the presentations for themselves, which are always available on **Freedom Party's** Youtube channel on line. (end)

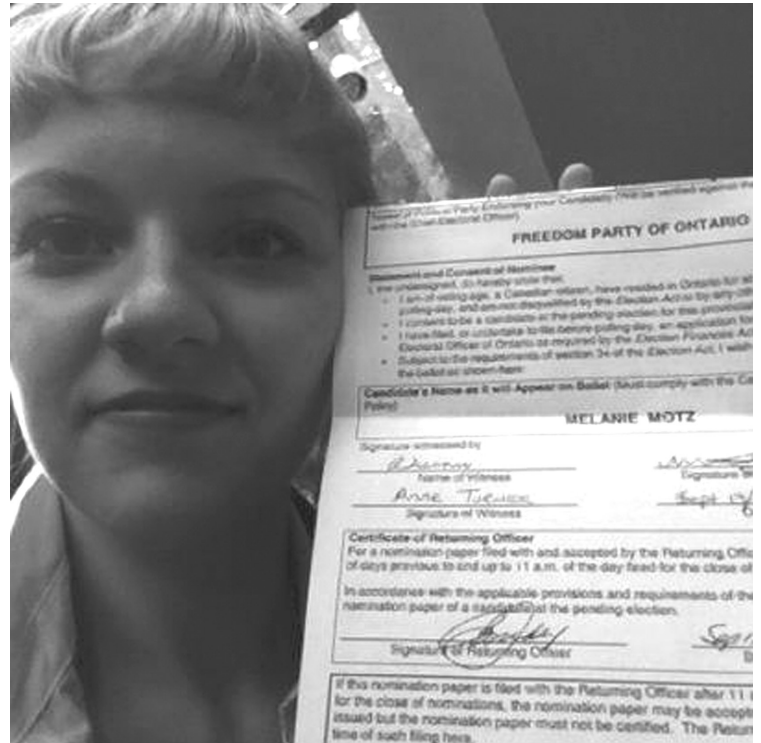
***Below Left and Below:** Master of ceremonies Robert Vaughan addresses the dinner audience prior to introducing Freedom Party's guest speakers for the evening.*



# 57 FREEDOM PARTY CANDIDATES ESTABLISH NEW ONTARIO MILESTONE!

## ELECTION 2011 CANDIDATES

Ancaster-Dundas-Flamborough-Westdale: Peter Melanson  
 Barrie: Matthew MacKenzie  
 Beaches-East York: Naomi Poley-Fischer  
 Brampton West: Ted Harison  
 Brant: Dustin Jenner  
 Burlington: Andrew Brannan  
 Davenport: Franz Cauchi  
 Don Valley East: Wayne Simmons  
 Don Valley West: Soumen Deb  
 Durham: David Strutt  
 Eglinton-Lawrence: Michael Bone  
 Elgin-Middlesex-London: Paul McKeever  
 Etobicoke Centre: Marco Renda  
 Etobicoke-Lakeshore: Mark Brombacher  
 Etobicoke North: James McConnell  
 Glengarry-Prescott-Russell: Carl Leduc  
 Haliburton-Kawartha Lakes-Brock: Charles Olito  
 Halton: Gina van den Burg  
 Hamilton Centre: Christopher Lawson  
 Hamilton East-Stoney Creek: Philip Doucette  
 Hamilton Mountain: Brian Goodwin  
 Kingston And The Islands: Paul Busch  
 Kitchener Centre: Bugra Atsiz  
 Kitchener-Waterloo: Melanie Motz  
 Lambton-Kent-Middlesex: Tom Jackson  
 London-Fanshawe: Dave Durnin  
 London North Centre: Mary Lou Ambrogio  
 London West: Tim Hodges  
 Mississauga East-Cooksville: Jonathon Dury  
 Mississauga-Erindale: Gerald P Jackson  
 Mississauga South: Mark Harris  
 Nepean-Carleton: Marco Rossi  
 Niagara West-Glanbrook: Geoff Peacock  
 Oakville: Steve Hunter  
 Oshawa: Ben Fudge  
 Ottawa-Orleans: David McGruer  
 Parry Sound-Muskoka: Andy Stivrins  
 Perth-Wellington: Robby Smink  
 Peterborough: Alex Long  
 St Catharines: Dave Unrau  
 St Paul's: Mike Rita  
 Scarborough-Agincourt: Sabrina Wall  
 Scarborough Centre: David Driver  
 Scarborough-Guildwood: Matthew Oliver  
 Scarborough-Rouge River: Daniel Walker  
 Scarborough Southwest: Caroline Blanco-Ruibal  
 Thornhill: Erin Ashley Gorman  
 Timmins-James Bay: Robert Neron  
 Toronto Centre: Christopher Jason Goodwin  
 Toronto-Danforth: Stephane Vera  
 Trinity-Spadina: Silvio Ursomarzo  
 Whitby-Oshawa: Douglas Thom  
 Willowdale: Amy Brown  
 York Centre: Ron Tal  
 York-Simcoe: Mark Harrison  
 York South-Weston: Eric Compton  
 York West: Kayla Baptiste



*Above: Election '11 Kitchener-Waterloo Freedom Party first time candidate Melanie Motz proudly displays her filed nomination papers with Elections Ontario, assuring her of a spot on the election ballot.*

**ONTARIO - September 15, 2011** - "It's official," wrote FP president and CFO **Robert Metz** to all of **Freedom Party's** 57 candidates after the closing of candidate nominations: "Ontario history has been made today! ...A new party, capable of forming a MAJORITY government in Ontario. **Freedom Party** - your new choice, now! Simply awesome. Cheers and celebrations!"

The candidates who made this historic milestone possible are all listed at left, alphabetically by riding. Thanks to their involvement, commitment, and efforts, **Freedom Party** became one of only five officially-registered Ontario political parties capable of electing a majority government to the legislature in Election 2011.

**Freedom Party** members and supporters have every reason to celebrate. In fact, that's exactly what they did at the first post-election dinner event held in Toronto on April 21, 2012. Photos of **FP** party president, leader, and a number of our Election '11 candidates at the dinner event appear on page 7, at right.

Space simply does not allow us the opportunity within these pages to expand upon the critical significance of the issues and efforts brought into the greater election campaign by the candidates themselves. Many of their stories and reports from the front lines of Election '11, along with the incredible campaign of party leader **Paul McKeever** in the riding of *Elgin-Middlesex-London*, will be among key features you can expect to see in future issues of *Freedom Flyer*.

Right now, the candidate priority that faces us is the challenge of *increasing* the number of **Freedom Party** candidates fielded in the next provincial election. To that end, your personal invitation to become a **Freedom Party** candidate appears on the back cover of this newsletter. The time to volunteer or become a candidate in Election '13 is now. Contact **FP** today to let us know what you can do to support or help.

Candidates, volunteers, money. They are fuel that fires the freedom train. Climb on board. Help make it go. (end)

[...RED - continued from page 2]

go around for all the Red parties we get to choose from each election!

*Conservatives* disguise their Red roots by using the colour blue along with vague talk of 'free enterprise,' 'privatization,' and other 'right' sounding rhetoric that gives the public the false impression that *Conservatives* are free market capitalists, low tax advocates, etc., which simply does not and never has applied to the *Conservatives*.

It has recently struck me, thanks to my recent review of Paul McKeever's archiving of the various publications we produced as long ago as the early '80s, that we have been sounding the *Red Alert!* about *Conservatives* from the very beginning.

Over and over again, we have been making the argument - and demonstrating the fact - that the *Conservatives* (*Progressive*, no less, in Ontario --- another term used to disguise the Red it very explicitly represents) are complete collectivists, and no different from their political opponents.

When *Progressive Conservative Party* leader **Tim Hudak** declares: "Ours isn't a revenue problem; it's a spending problem," he wants us to think he's saying something different from left-wing union bully **Sid Ryan**: "Ours isn't a spending problem; it's a revenue problem."

But both declarations are really just two sides of the same coin of fiscal bankruptcy --- two shades of the same colour of philosophical and moral bankruptcy: Red.

So what's the colour of freedom? Answer: Freedom doesn't have a colour. It is clear.

The 'colour' of Freedom is transparent; it lets the light shine through. The clarity that is provided by recognizing that some things are black and white, wrong or right, removes the coloured lenses through which we incorrectly view the world.

No coloured agendas. Just a black-and-white commitment to individual freedom.

#### Climb Aboard The Train To Freedom

If you don't care where you're going or if you just want to go wherever the wind takes you, a hot air balloon just might be your ideal mode of transportation. Just as political hot air inflates the fortunes of the directionless political parties that have been governing Ontario, so too the hot air of a balloon does not determine its direction, only its height.

In the hope of finding direction, too many voters have only been listening to the hot air. Some climb aboard the Red balloon of Liberalism; some

climb aboard the Green balloon; some on the Blue Tory balloon, and still others ride the Orange balloon of the NDP.

But all of them are drifting along in the same leftward blowing Red Wind.

Among the many political choices drifting along in the same wrong direction, for the first time ever, there is now a Clear option that is moving in the opposite and right direction.

We can choose to hop on any number of coloured balloons, all being carried by a Red Wind towards the redder fires of socialism and communism, or: We can climb aboard the train to freedom, which sits on a track, pulled by a locomotive pointed in the right direction - and incapable of changing that direction - because that track has already been laid towards a clearly defined destination.

Even if the train only manages to move a single inch in a given period, at least it's an inch in the right direction, which is infinitely preferable to moving miles in the wrong direction, or in no direction at all.

The Red Wind cannot affect the locomotive, which has the power to move through the headwind undeterred by the winds of whim.

[RED - continued on page 12...]

## 14 NEW 'FREEDOM 200' PIN RECIPIENTS INCLUDE PARTY LEADER McKEEVER



TORONTO - APRIL 21, 2012 - FP leader **Paul McKeever** was among 14 new *Freedom 200 Pin* recipients who were awarded the pins of recognition at FP's *Red Alert!* dinner (see page 3). The other recipients, all candidates in the past Ontario election, listed alphabetically were as follows: **Mary Lou Ambrogio, Andrew Brannan, Franz Cauchi, Brian Goodwin, Christopher Goodwin, Erin Gorman, Ted Harlson, Tim Hodges, Charles Olito, Matthew Oliver, Wayne Simmons, Andy Stivrins, and Douglas Thom.**

One anomaly of qualifying for the pins is that in addition to recognizing past contributions and involvement with **Freedom Party**, they are awarded only at selected FP in-house dinner events, the last having been to newspaper columnist **Rory Leishman** way back on October 23, 1999. Consequently, this was McKeever's first opportunity to receive the recognition he had earned so many years ago. *Youtube* viewers can see it all for themselves on FP's on-line channel.

{end}

Above: "Hey, what's it take to get a pin outta this guy?" jokes FP leader Paul McKeever upon finally receiving his 'Freedom 200' Pin. The pin was awarded to him by party president Robert Metz at the *Red Alert!* dinner in Toronto on April 21, 2012.

At Right, Below: After having been awarded his own pin, Paul had the pleasure of being able to award thirteen more to the Election '11 candidates in attendance. Each bearing the original FP logo with a trillium inside a maple leaf, there are only 200 such pins in existence and can be awarded only once to a particular recipient.



# 18 FREEDOM PARTY ELECTION PLANKS

## - 18 STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION!

**ONTARIO - September 7 - October 6, 2011** - Through the course of the Election'11 official campaign period, **Freedom Party** released an amazing eighteen (18) planks, each with its own produced television commercial ad. A majority of the ads were aired daily and repetitively on *Sun TV*, while all eighteen ads were consistently accessible on *Youtube*, where they remain available to the present day.

## ELECTION 2011 PLANKS

### BANS

Eliminate Dalton McGuinty's Pesticide Ban  
End Forced Religious Observance: Shopping Bans  
Cancel the 2012 Ban on Incandescent Light Bulbs

### EDUCATION

Close Ontario's Race-based Public Schools  
Separating Public Schools and Organized Religious Practice

### ENERGY

Affordable Electricity  
Cancel the 2012 Ban on Incandescent Light Bulbs

### HEALTH CARE

Restore Choice in Health Care  
Safe, Convenient Access: Cannabis Medicine Centres

### LCBO & THE BEER STORE

Beer, Wine & Spirits: Convenience, Wider Selection, Lower Prices  
Eliminate the Hidden Beer and Wine Taxes

### PEACE & SECURITY

Freedom, Justice, and Peace During International Political Meetings

### RELIGION & GOVERNMENT

Separating Prayer from Official Government Proceedings  
Separating Public Schools and Organized Religious Practice

### TAXES

Scrap the \$2.9B/year Health Premium  
Eliminate Hidden Beer and Wine Taxes  
Eliminate Ontario's Gasoline Tax

### TRANSPORTATION

Restore Fair Auto Insurance  
Restore Sensible Highway Speed Limits  
Eliminate Ontario's Gasoline Tax

### VOTING & ELECTIONS

Secure, Private, Convenient Voting  
Electing Ontario's Senate Nominees



*Above: Listed alphabetically by broad category, each of Freedom Party's Election'11 planks is available in video, audio, and text formats. Many of the planks may again re-surface in the upcoming expected 2013 Ontario general election.*

In order of their release, each plank addressed the following issues: (1) electricity, (2) voting, (3) senate nominations, (4) cannabis clinics, (5) HST-health care premium, (6) prayer in the legislature, (7) the beer sales tax (BST), (8) race-based schooling, (9) the 2012 incandescent light bulb ban, (10) Ontario's gas tax, (11) auto insurance, (12) medicare in crisis, (13) pesticide bans, (14) shopping bans, (15) LCBO and Beer Stores, (16) 400 highway speed limits, (17) G20 policing, and (18) school prayer.

Several of **FP's** election planks could be applied to differing areas of governmental concern, as, for example, with release #7, the elimination of Ontario's discriminatory Beer Sales Tax (BST). This plank might be considered both a tax issue and an issue of the government's monopoly and control of alcohol sales (as illustrated in the summary at left).

However viewed, the major distinguishing characteristic of each of **Freedom Party's** planks lay in the fact that it was not possible for any of Ontario's other political parties to credibly adopt them. From *Communist* to *Libertarian*, and most certainly with respect to *Liberals* and *Progressive Conservatives*, each of **FP's** planks stand in direct opposition to positions taken by any and all of Ontario's other officially-registered political parties. For them, to advocate or adopt any of **Freedom Party's** Election'11 planks would mean abandoning their previous positions and actions taken, while simultaneously contradicting their own current philosophies and policies (unprincipled flip-flopping aside).

Still, **Freedom Party's** Election'11 planks broke with the party's own tradition in several ways. Unlike the previous two **Freedom Party** platforms (2003 and 2007), which focused exclusively on the 'big' issues such as health care, education, and electricity, the party expanded its field of electoral concern to a broader range of issues, from raising speed limits on the 400 highway series to cancelling the planned 2012 ban on incandescent light bulbs. (See "a brief history..." on page 9.)

The new strategy was put into effect long before the dropping of the writ, with the first plank (on electricity) being released in October 2010, a full year before the election. In addition to the television video formats, each plank was also made available in both text and audio.

Most significantly, **Freedom Party's** Election'11 planks proved to be among the top news stories and controversies following the election and to this day. In the London area, where **Freedom Party** is headquartered, the school prayer issue first became a top news story only on election day itself, while in the Toronto area it had been an on-going story for quite some time.

**FP's** Election'11 planks and strategy made news and created a few controversies along the way, not the least of which was the **CTV Globemedia's** failed attempt to have one of our video ads removed from *Youtube*, citing copyright violations. This and many other events relating to the election will continue to be reported and commented on in future issues of *Freedom Flyer*. To get a head start on the details, remember, you can always visit **Freedom Party's** web site online at: [www.freedomparty.on.ca/archive](http://www.freedomparty.on.ca/archive) for a comprehensive and growing library of **FP's** principled history. {end}

## ANOTHER FREEDOM PARTY FIRST !



On the day of the September 7 writ drop, **Freedom Party** established another first: the release of the world's first political party election platform audio book. You can view the platform and download the audio book from the **FP Archive** at the following address:

<http://www.freedomparty.on.ca/archive/2011/09/07/freedom-party-of-ontarios-2011-election-platform/>

2003 - 2007 -2011...

## a brief history of FREEDOM PARTY's ELECTION PLATFORMS

**FREEDOM PARTY - January, 2013** - Under **Freedom Party's** constitution, election platforms are put forward by the party leader. During the past three elections, that leader has been **Paul McKeever**. Since his election to that position by FP's executive and to this day, McKeever continues to be fully and enthusiastically supported by **Freedom Party's** executive members - along with a growing number of candidates, members, activists, and public support.

As with all political parties, how to best release platforms and planks is an on-the-job learning experience for all concerned. To complicate matters, there is but a single opportunity - every four years or so - to apply lessons learned from previous experiences to the next.



Though the 2003 election occurred in October of that year, by May 15, **Freedom Party** had already released its 2003 Election Platform, one focused almost exclusively on the big issues: health care, education, welfare, taxes, electricity, and equal treatment for all. An extensive, supplemental plank on scrapping 'no fault' auto insurance followed in the summer of 2003.

That election produced a *Liberal* majority under **Dalton McGuinty**, who used the opportunity to introduce fixed 4-year election terms. For the first time under Ontario's electoral system, it was now possible to

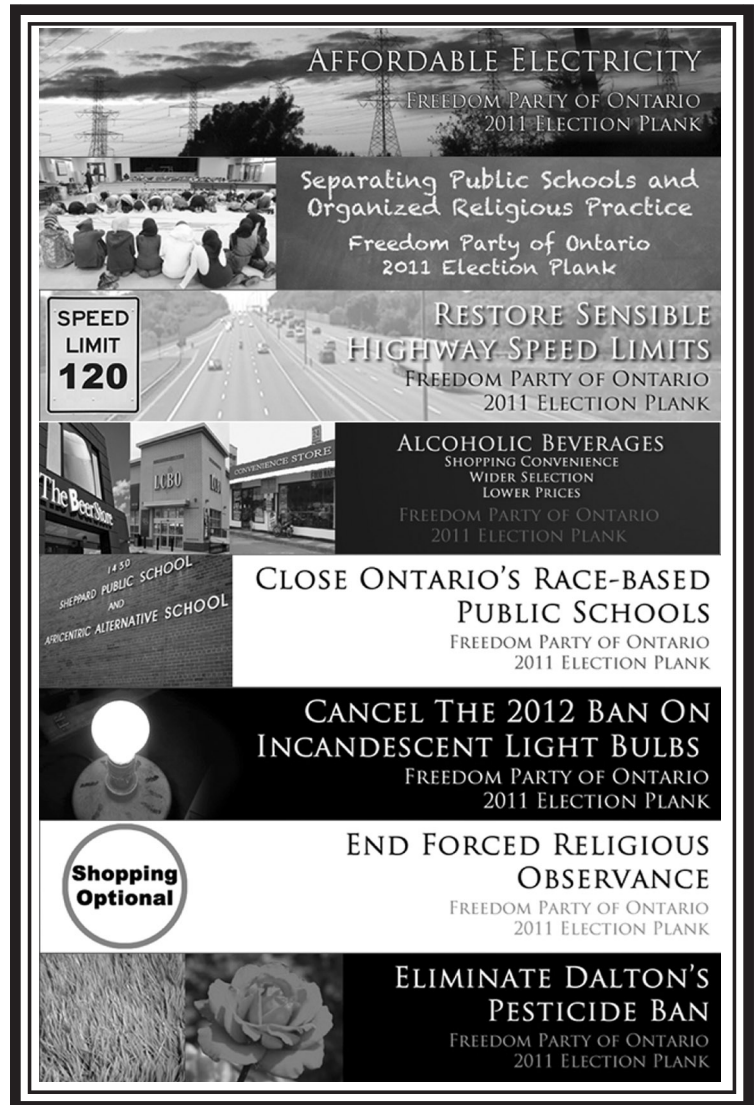
predict with some accuracy the exact date of the next election (barring minority governments). So, to test the waters for the 2007 election, **Freedom Party** released its Election Platform for that year a full two years in advance - in 2005 - accompanied by the launch of a new web site on the same day.

Again, the 2007 election platform focused more exclusively on the major issues: the provincial income tax, property taxes, opening up OHIP to competition from private sector insurers, the introduction of choice in education, improving the supply of electricity, and restoring fair auto insurance. What did change in the 2007 platform was the addition of a moral dimension: "Some things are black and white," insisted 'Frank,' FP's white tiger mascot introduced at **Freedom Party's** 'Who Is Frank?' dinner in London.

While this move appears to have alienated some (particularly libertarians and leftists), it began to attract others, and from a wider base of interest and support. However, the so-called 'big' issues proved not to be the driving issues that logic and political pundits would seem to suggest.

So, ignoring popular advice and intuitive logic, McKeever embarked upon a radical new strategy for Election '11 - emphasizing issues that were not usually on the electoral radar, and even issues being aggressively avoided by the other parties. Of course, planks on the 'big' issues remained a critical component of FP's over-all strategy.

The results were enthusiastically positive, and in many ways overwhelmed our ability to adequately respond to media and public interest, something for which we'll be better prepared in Election '13.

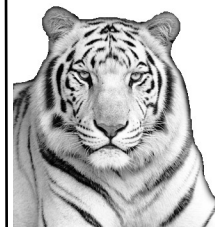


*Above: a sampling of Freedom Party's Election '11 planks. All 18 are listed on page 8. Unlike the Platforms released in the previous two elections (2003, 2007, at left), FpO's Election '11 Platform (cover on page 8) was released one plank at a time, beginning in October 2010.*

**Freedom Party's** planks made numerous headline stories in the riding of *Elgin-Middlesex-London*, where McKeever was FP's candidate, and in one case was the front-page story (another first for the party). McKeever received dozens of major radio program interviews and soon found himself appearing on *Sun TV's the Arena* with **Michael Coren**, and on *Byline* with **Brian Lilley**.

All of these events, interviews, and news reports are available through **Freedom Party's** official web site. The three platforms can be accessed at:

**Below: Who Is Frank? Freedom Party's white tiger mascot, adopted and introduced with the addition of a 'moral dimension' to FP's 2007 Election platform. Symbolic not only of FP's fundamental principles, 'Frank' is also symbolic of the 'frank' and open approach to Freedom Party's discussion of the issues.**



FRANK SAYS

*Some things  
are  
black and white.*

"Freedom is the expression of reality." - Robert Metz

"A government must govern rationally." - Paul McKeever

## Freedom's Principals



Freedom Party President  
Robert Metz

on

Freedom Party Leader  
Paul McKeever

## Freedom's Principles

**LONDON - December 20, 2012 - Freedom Party's leader Paul McKeever and president Robert Metz** were heard together from 11am to noon on **Just Right**, the weekly radio talk-show aired every Thursday on **CHRW 94.9 FM**, and hosted most times by regulars Metz and **Robert Vaughan**. On this, the 2012 year-end broadcast finale, Metz and McKeever joined forces to address some of the most perplexing questions and issues faced by those who sincerely wish to achieve measurable progress on the road to a free society.

From basic definitions and principles to numerous examples of how they impact on the concrete issues that affect us daily, this show goes where no one has gone before.

Listen in yourself using the **Freedom Party** link provided on page 11, or on *Just Right's* originating site at...

**www.justrightmedia.org**

...where it is archived as show number **281, Freedom's Principals on Freedom's Principles**, accompanied by the photo shown above.

Global warming and climate change. Electric Power. Pesticides. Public schools. Moral relativism. The protection of children. Copyright. National defence. The true heart and substance of each of these issues, and many others, were starkly revealed in the context of the Four Pillars of Freedom: reality-reason-self-consent.

Inevitably, the conversation led to a discussion on unhealthy skepticism and public apathy, which in turn led to a discussion of libertarianism.

Libertarianism has been falsely associated with the goal of "more freedom through less government," because that's one of the better known slogans that the *Libertarian Party* has frequently used. A slogan that has come to be shared by Libertarians and many conservatives alike, it is also recognizable as the calling card of the conservative *National Citizens' Coalition*.

Even the *Democratic Party* south of the border has been courting 'libertarian' policies, while two of the *Republican Party's* most notorious personalities going into the 2012 election were "libertarians" Ron Paul and Paul Ryan.

Indeed, it appears that "libertarians" can increasingly be found in almost every political movement and party - except **Freedom Party**, where they are most noticeably absent.

**Freedom Party** was from its founding days in 1984 a party that insisted that there is a specific and limited purpose to government. It should come as no surprise that those who believe there is *no* purpose to government (libertarians) - or - those who believe that there can be *any* purpose to government (statists in all parties) - should shun **Freedom Party**.

[PRINCIPLES - continued on page 11...]

"'Self' means that government must always serve one purpose: the individual's peaceful pursuit of his or her own happiness." - Paul McKeever

## the Four Pillars of Freedom

REALITY  
REASON  
SELF  
CONSENT

## Just Right - Show Highlights

By no means exhaustive, the rarely discussed principles listed below were the ones elaborated upon by Metz and McKeever during their December 20 broadcast of *Just Right* #281 - *Freedom's Principals on Freedom's Principles*.

### Principles of a Free Society (Metz):

- (1) A free society operates on the principle of individual rights, under a government that is committed to protecting life, liberty and property.
- (2) To both government and the individual, consent is the operative principle.
- (3) The only way to violate this principle is for either individuals or governments to obviate consent between other individuals or governments.
- (4) In a free society, both individuals and governments may use justifiable force in the defence of life liberty and property, but the legal use of retaliatory force is delegated to the government, in order to place that force under objective laws that apply equally to all.
- (5) Governing always and ultimately requires the use of force. Force is what is what must ultimately must be used to govern behaviour.

### Principles of Government in a Free Society (McKeever):

- (1) Government is ultimately a decision-maker; government makes and enforces laws and policies.
- (2) Every decision-maker operates on a philosophy. Every decision is based on a philosophy, even if that philosophy has not yet been identified.
- (3) The philosophy of the decision maker depends upon the goal of the decision maker; differing goals demand differing philosophies.
- (4) If the government's goal is a free society, then there is only one philosophy that can possibly achieve that end.
- (5) That philosophy has four pillars: Reality, Reason, Self, and Consent.

"The principle of 'consent' is protected when governments make the protection of life, liberty and property their main priority." - Paul McKeever



LIFE  
LIBERTY  
PROPERTY  
FREEDOM PARTY

[...PRINCIPLES - continued from page 10]

Yet, despite the conspicuous absence of libertarians - or libertarian policies - in **Freedom Party**, it has become a growing frustration for FP executive and leadership to be continually associated with a 'libertarian' movement that actually and openly opposes the principles on which **Freedom Party** is founded.

This unfortunate association with 'libertarianism' is resurrected each election, as media reporters and commentators continually assume that **Freedom Party** is a 'libertarian' party. Examples featuring McKeever with television talk-show hosts **Steve Paikin** and **Michael Coren** were also heard on the radio show broadcast, and McKeever's responses to each are reproduced below.

The confusion surrounding libertarianism has proven to be a tremendous obstacle to FP's growth, which is why FP executive and leadership have now made a public disassociation from 'libertarianism' a higher priority than in the past. It must be stressed that libertarianism is not a political philosophy, and is at best, mere sentiment. Libertarians are capable of moving in every political direction - away from freedom.

Libertarian objections to the **Freedom Party** idea that there is essentially only one philosophy capable of achieving the conditions of a free society, combined with their objections to the **Freedom Party** idea that moral judgement is both necessary and good, are their way of saying that they reject **Freedom Party** entirely. Since radical skepticism and moral subjectivism are the explicit objectives of libertarianism, this self-imposed growing absence of libertarians from FP's midst may be a long-overdue development.

However, the challenge of establishing a clear identity for **Freedom Party** is a constant one, as other political 'movements' and parties, as they say, 'try to steal our ideas.' In their hands, freedom is truly a lost cause. Just how credible did Ontario *Progressive Conservative Party* leader **Tim Hudak** sound when he started promising to 'look in to' allowing corner store sales of beer and wine?

The association of any conservative or libertarian parties with the four pillars of freedom listed on page 10 is absurd on the face of it. Yet that is precisely what is implied each time **Freedom Party** is seen as being similar to either. This presents dangers to both the party and to freedom itself. Broadcasts like December 20th's *Just Right* are just a beginning to a solution. (end)

**"The Libertarian Party is largely a social group that sits around talking about libertarian writers."**



**"Freedom Party objects to the moral relativism that founds the (libertarian) movement."**

- FP leader Paul McKeever to Steve Paikin on *the Agenda*, 2007 election.



**"Libertarians are a scraggly bunch of anti-government protestors."**

- FP leader Paul McKeever to Michael Coren on *the Arena*, 2011 election

**"If we libertarians are attempting to bring about a new world order, one person at a time, then we must include everyone within our fold, anarchists, statists, and collectivists of all stripes and everything in between."** - Ontario Libertarian Party leader **Allen Small**, 'Anarchy and Libertarianism' (2011)

**BEWARE OF THE LIBERTARIAN**  
Owner assumes no responsibility.

- as found on FACEBOOK

**They Keep Asking. Now We Answer:**

## FREEDOM versus LIBERTARIAN

**ONTARIO FP ARCHIVE - December 21, 2012** - The word "libertarian" is used in both a formal sense and an informal sense.

When a socialist Liberal politician exclaims that the state has no place in the bedrooms of the nation, he is called a civil "libertarian." When a theocratic Conservative politician calls for a reduction in taxes, he too is called a "libertarian." And when an "anarcho-capitalist" economist calls for the elimination of government, he is called a "libertarian."

So what does the word actually mean?

Given the broadly varying contexts in which the word "libertarian" is used, it should not come as a surprise that when Ontario's **Freedom Party** calls for an end to a ban on holiday retail sales, or calls for elimination of the provincial income tax (introduced by the province's *Progressive Conservatives* in 1969), or proposes that the budget be balanced and health care fixed by subjecting the province's government health insurance monopoly to competition, the party invariably gets asked: "What is the difference between **Freedom Party** and the *Libertarian Party*?"

A similarity has been assumed since **Freedom Party** was formed (in 1984). In fact, Ontario's *Libertarian Party* does as much as it can to convince people that **Freedom Party** is a libertarian party (which is a bit like saying that an atheist is just another type of believer in something about God).

In the early years, **Freedom Party** executive and leadership saw no point in getting into discussions about libertarianism: the party instead focused on, and stood upon, its practical proposals for "a better Ontario."

Indeed, one of FP's founding slogans, repeated on each and every piece of literature printed by the party, insisted that "The purpose of government is to protect individual freedom of choice, not to restrict it." This was something that the *Libertarian Party of Ontario* would not touch with a ten foot poll - because that party is in no small part comprised of anarchists (who believe there is no purpose for government at all).

In recent years, we've come to the unavoidable conclusion that it is necessary for us to publicly clarify what sort of governing philosophy *must* prevail if a free society is to result. Unfortunately, many of these ideas have fallen under the umbrella of "libertarianism," which is most emphatically something they are *not*. This is no mere matter of semantics.

It must be demonstrated why a "libertarian" party *cannot* deliver a free society, and what a "libertarian" government would deliver instead, were a population ever hoodwinked into electing one. Thus, a proper understanding of these topics requires that we answer the questions: (1) How does **Freedom Party of Ontario** differ from the *Libertarian Party of Ontario*? and (2) Who should - and who should not - call himself a "libertarian?"

Those were the very two questions addressed and answered in the December 20, 2012 year-end broadcast of *Just Right*, when FP leader **Paul McKeever** and FP president **Robert Metz** co-hosted the show on the theme of freedom's principles. Originally broadcast on *CHRW 94.9 FM* radio in London, the show has been permanently archived on **Freedom Party's** official web site at the following URL:

[http://www.freedomparty.on.ca/archive/audio/2012-12-20\\_justRIGHT-281-FREEDOMsPRINCIPLES.mp3](http://www.freedomparty.on.ca/archive/audio/2012-12-20_justRIGHT-281-FREEDOMsPRINCIPLES.mp3)

Highlights of the show are reviewed on page 10.

And, please: if you know anyone else who constantly makes the mistake of thinking that Ontario's **Freedom Party** is some kind of "libertarian" party - or who makes the more grave mistake of thinking that a "Libertarian government" (?!?) would deliver a free society - be sure to share this article and the link above. (end)

[...RED - continued from page 7]

Freedom is the track we're on, and we've never strayed from it.

All this is mere metaphor and symbolism, of course. But the reality reflected by the symbolism is a reality that commands our critical and serious attention. The symbolism has a true meaning.

Ontarians need and deserve a real choice. They need a true opposition party with a leader who is ready to lead. Today. They have both: **Freedom Party** and **Paul McKeever**.

What was accomplished in Election '11? What do now we have as an asset to carry us down the track we must follow?

**Freedom Party** has now passed its gestation period and has today emerged as a mature and complete entity demonstrably capable of governing. **Freedom Party** now has all its basic components and ingredients in place: a solid constitution; a statement of principles; policies; platforms; planks; a web site second to none in any field anywhere; a powerful on-line presence in all media formats: print, audio, visual; a growing network of influential contacts, both here and abroad; an executive whose prime function is to protect and assure that the statement of principles is not violated; and a party leader, Paul McKeever, who is ready to lead in a clearly defined direction: towards freedom, not away from it.

How can we accomplish this? Only with your financial help, and never without it. At this point in the game, money is the single key to our gaining public exposure and acceptance. The progress only touched upon in this newsletter is a testament to what was accomplished in the last Ontario election, in significant measure, by advertising on television.

It is still a reality that most people do not know about or clearly understand what **Freedom Party** is all about. We've addressed some of these concerns in this newsletter.

But for the broad public to know what you now know, we must 'force' knowledge of our existence into the traditional media via paid advertising. We must seize every opportunity to create our own media distribution sources. We must prepare for the next election. Volunteers, candidates, organizers, members and financial supporters are always the essential components of any such efforts. All of this requires the fuel that drives political efforts of all kinds: money. It too comes in many colours and all colours are welcomed.

You're invited to join us on our journey in the right direction; it is only with growing continued financial support, involvement, and interest that we can, as our political opponents so like to remind us, "move forward together."

**Freedom Party.** Because some things are black and white. And some things are just right. (end)

## FREEDOM PARTY OF ONTARIO



# INVITES YOU

## TO BECOME A FREEDOM PARTY CANDIDATE IN THE UPCOMING 2013 ONTARIO ELECTION!

There's a lot to be excited about, and while there's still time to get prepared, it's always best to start as early as possible. Start now!

Becoming a **Freedom Party** candidate is easier than you might think. Your signature on a piece of paper is the basic requirement.

Right now, our greatest political challenge is our own progress! Having achieved the ability to form a majority government in Election '11, we must now endeavour to exceed that remarkable accomplishment.

57 is now the number to beat, while 107 remains the ultimate objective.

Fielding candidates in each of Ontario's electoral ridings is a necessary step in our continued progress on the road to Queens Park.

That's why **we need your support**.

As a **Freedom Party** candidate, **you'll have our support**.

Since Election '11, information resources available to **Freedom Party** candidates have increased exponentially, thanks to this past year's establishment of **Freedom Party's** on-line archive, which is unlike anything offered by any other political party. Discover it yourself, at:

[www.freedomparty.on.ca/archive](http://www.freedomparty.on.ca/archive)

If **FP's** archives demonstrate nothing else, it is that every **FP** candidate and supporter's participation becomes his or her personal legacy in freedom that extends far beyond any current election campaign.

**You are cordially invited to become the only candidate  
in your riding offering voters their only real choice for choice:  
Freedom Party.**

To sign up, or simply to find out more -  
Contact us! - by E-mail, snail mail, or phone.  
(See bottom of page for addresses and numbers).

## Freedom Flyer #40 - Winter 2013

is published by the **Freedom Party of Ontario**.

Written and edited by Paul McKeever and Robert Metz

### FREEDOM PARTY OF ONTARIO

**Freedom Party of Ontario** is a fully-registered Ontario political party. Contributions are tax-creditable for Ontario residents.

**Membership:** Basic: \$10 per year;

**Statement of Principle:** **Freedom Party** is founded on the principle that:

*"Every individual, in the peaceful pursuit of personal fulfillment, has an absolute right to his or her own life, liberty, and property."*

*Freedom Party advocates capitalism solely because it is the only system compatible with reality, reason, and the pursuit of one's own happiness.*

**Executive Officers:** William Frampton; Tim Hodges, Paul McKeever (Party Leader), Robert Metz (President & CFO), Gordon Mood, Wayne Simmons, Robert Vaughan

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