



From the Chair

By Dave Walter

The Libertarian Party is about to convene in Philadelphia to decide the strategies for "Proclaiming Liberty" in the 1990s.

The LP was born in the early 1970s and, to quote David Nolan, "made great sense" because "electoral politics provided the perfect soapbox from which to proclaim liberty, and the campaign process was an ideal outreach program, tailor-made for recruiting like-minded men and women of action."

Today, complacency rules, campuses are quiet, there is relative prosperity, the welfare state—with its permanent underclass—seems to be legitimized, civil liberties are being abandoned with little protest in the name of a war on drugs, and the two-party system is entrenched with the only political argument being how to divide the spoils.

In Reason Magazine, our party's founder asks: "Is the Libertarian Party itself still a viable vehicle for change? Or should those who value liberty spend their time and resources elsewhere?" My answer is "No, not by a long shot." But it must change to confront the challenges of the 1990s which are different from the 1970s.

I think the 1990s will bring those dissatisfactions and those opportunities.

The Communist world is coming to realize that liberty works and, perhaps, even that liberty may be right. This turn away from totalitarianism and military belligerence will create a real opening for the U.S. to bring the troops home from Europe and Asia and start worrying about defending Americans in America.

Eventually the huge national debt will undermine the economy and cause problems that will displease the great middle class. Our role is to keep up the drumbeat, with hard-hitting examples, that government intervention causes these economic downturns and that the free market and sound money is the answer.

The welfare state, having survived the phony Reagan "onslaught," will begin trying to expand again. The existence of the homeless, the rising cost of health care, the problems with drug usage, the poverty of an underclass are all wedges of new drives to create new "rights" covering every unfortunate circumstance that befalls mankind.

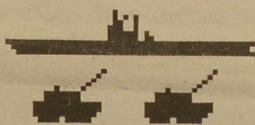
LP Program to Be Debated in Philadelphia

The following is a draft copy of the Libertarian Party Program which will be discussed, debated and, if approved, adopted at the 1989 national convention in Philadelphia.

The Program is designed to be a changing document covering a maximum of ten current issues and advocating interim or transitional measures to achieve the Libertarian goal.

Preamble

The Libertarian Party wants all Americans to be able to plan their own futures. Libertarians believe that individuals, families, associations, and businesses have the right and the ability to deal with their own problems by working with other people in a peaceful and honest way.



Defending Americans in America

An important reason for having the federal government is national defense. Its job is to defend Americans in America from foreign attack. The federal government should work to provide security for us at the lowest possible cost, in a way which does not undermine our domestic economic productivity or violate our civil liberties.

U.S. military spending is over \$300 billion per

year. Rather than defending America, the bulk of this pays for defending other countries. People in many of those countries pay less for their own defense than American taxpayers pay to defend them.

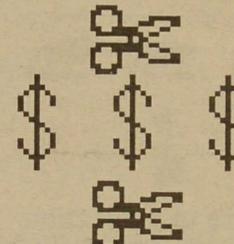
The United States has many thousands of nuclear weapons, more than needed to deter a Soviet first strike, yet we spend billions every year building more.

U.S. military intervention in Central America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East has not made Americans more secure. In fact, Americans are less secure, because U.S. military policy has made us more enemies than friends, making all Americans targets of terrorism.

The Libertarian Party proposes the following initial steps to improve the security of Americans and reduce the costs of defense:

- 1. Notify our allies that they must plan for their own defense needs and take responsibility for paying for them. Provide allies with a timetable for the return of American military personnel to America in order to defend America.
2. Negotiate arms reduction treaties which do not compromise our national defense.
3. Adopt a policy that Americans who travel abroad and companies which invest abroad do so at their own risk and are subject to the laws and customs of other countries while abroad.
4. Reject the "Reagan Doctrine," which engages the United States around the globe and risks the security of all Americans by increasing the possibility that the U.S. will become embroiled in

a foreign civil war.



Federal Spending Must Be Cut

Federal spending and federal taxation are connected. We must reduce spending to reduce taxes.

Unfortunately, the United States government has expanded its operations and spending far beyond the original constitutional plan. No matter what the subject, there is some group which wants government to regulate or subsidize it, and there are always those in Congress eager to take over more power and control.

In recent years the government has attempted to hide its expensive meddling by forcing private organizations and businesses to adopt certain expensive programs, rather than have the government implement them directly.

Libertarians join with the vast majority of Americans in calling for a smaller, less expensive, less meddlesome government. The following are some first steps in the process of bringing federal government spending under control:

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"Lehman Award" to Honor State Parties

By Carolyn S. Treynor

When we PROCLAIM LIBERTY at the national convention in Philadelphia August 31 through September 3, we are also going to honor state parties that have worked hard and successfully to bring new people into the party. The Robert E. Lehman Award is a new award which will be presented to state organizations that have achieved the most recognizable recent membership growth.

The award is named in memory of Bob Lehman, an activist known to Libertarians across the country, who died a year ago from brain cancer. He held many offices in both the Ohio and California Libertarian Parties.

Increasing party membership was one of Lehman's great passions, and in a letter and legacy he sent to many of his friends shortly before his death, he challenged them to focus their membership recruitment efforts, to remember that "your primary target should be registered Libertarians who vote, because they are 10 times more

likely to become active in the party!"

Spreading the word about freedom is an important part of what we are all about as Libertarians. We take advantage of each opportunity to tell potential new members about the party of liberty. But do we go far enough? Do we actively enlist each of them to unite with us in The Cause, to become members of the Libertarian Party?

In some states, there are active recruitment campaigns; through the Robert E. Lehman Award, those state parties and their members will be formally recognized for their efforts which have resulted in increasing the number of people who have joined us in our fight for freedom.

When Lehman became active in the party in Ohio during the mid-seventies, one of the first things he did was recruit his parents, LaVonne and Robert, Senior (who, by the way, have continued their affiliation with the party ever since Lehman said, "Forget the Democrats and Republicans; here's how you can really make a difference!")

When Lehman moved from Ohio to California, he continued his work in the Libertarian political movement. He personally registered over

1,000 Libertarian voters during the 1979 voter registration campaign, and was the originator of LONG ACTIVE, an outreach program for motivating Libertarian voters to find potential Libertarians in their own neighborhoods.

After receiving the coveted Karl Bray Memorial Award and soon after learning of his illness, Lehman left California to be with his family in Florida; however, even this crisis did not divert him from his activism. He immediately became involved in the Florida party and began laying the groundwork that ensured success of Florida's 1988 ballot drive.

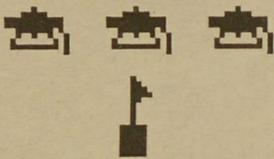
Presentation of the Lehman Award promises to be a highlight of the Ron Paul Awards Banquet at the Convention, and we hope you will enjoy giving applause to those activists who are wearing the badges of their achievement.

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# Party Program Will Be Discussed at National Convention

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1. Place the federal budget under a "cap" at current levels. Any increase in spending on any project must be accompanied by an equal or greater reduction in other spending.
2. Phase out spending on aid to foreign governments and international organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.
3. Phase out federal subsidies to all businesses such as the tobacco industry, the maritime industry, agriculture, or the military-industrial complex.
4. End federal subsidy programs to state and local governments. These programs merely take taxes out of the community and then send the money back, minus the amounts consumed by the government bureaucrats who administer them.
5. End all federally mandated programs forced on individuals, organizations, and businesses.



## Choice in Education

Government-run public schools have failed our children. Their cost keeps rising while student performance drops. Today one out of five teenagers can't even read at a grade school level, and colleges must teach many students how to read and write.

Poor children suffer most because they attend the worst schools. Only the wealthy can afford tuition for private schools while paying taxes for public schools. Private schools provide better education for a much lower cost.

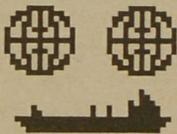
Most families have no choice but to send their children to the neighborhood public school, regardless of its quality. This makes public schools a protected monopoly. Like most monopolies, they do a poor job of serving the public. Education suffers.

This same lack of choice frequently compels families to send their children to problem schools. Youngsters are exposed to violence, drugs, and other threats. Without other choices, parents feel helpless to change this.

The Libertarian approach to education is to let parents choose the education that is best for their child.

The following steps should be taken immediately to promote choice and return control of education to parents and students:

1. Allow parents to send their children to the teacher and the school of their choice by implementing a voucher system.
2. Eliminate the U.S. Department of Education which spends billions on administration and educates no one.
3. Institute tax credits for any person or company which pays for the education of any student, or any number of students, at any school, public or private.
4. Remove restrictions which limit such private educational choices as home schooling.



## Free Trade and Neutrality

The Libertarian Party supports a foreign policy designed to promote peace and honest trade between Americans and all other people. Thomas Jefferson stated it: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." Libertarians would say: Free trade and neutrality.

Protectionism hurts consumers. It drives up the price of clothing, shoes, automobiles, and other goods by billions of dollars each year. Protectionism favors special interests, eliminates jobs, and raises the cost of living for all Americans.

Both Democratic and Republican administra-

tions have, for many decades, employed a foreign policy of intervention which disrupts free trade. Since Americans would never tolerate other nations interfering with our internal affairs, we should not interfere in theirs. We should stop using military and covert operations to prop up or topple any other government.

We should rely on the obvious benefits of trade to promote free markets and human rights throughout the world. Free international trade promotes peace because people trading with their neighbors do not want war to interrupt their prosperity. When trade is restricted by embargoes, quotas, and tariffs, history has shown that the likelihood of war increases.

The following are some steps which should be taken immediately to promote more harmonious trading relationships:

1. The United States should return to its historical foreign policy of free trade and neutrality.
2. The United States government should repeal all laws which hamper trade with people in other countries.
3. The United States government should repeal all laws which restrict the right of Americans to travel to other countries.



## AIDS

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is one of America's most serious health problems. The search for a cure or relief should be of the highest priority. Libertarians hold that the first line of attack should be to remove governmental obstacles to finding a cure and to educate the public regarding protection against the disease. While past governmental policy affecting AIDS has been disastrous, private action has been successful. The virus believed to cause AIDS was discovered by a small private research organization, the Pasteur Institute, in Paris.

It is obvious that nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of AIDS sufferers seeking relief or medical professionals trying to find a cure. The Libertarian Party proposes the following steps to further these ends:

1. Remove all impediments to research or testing regarding AIDS.
2. Allow any person who has AIDS or carries the virus to try any treatment or medicine regardless of whether that treatment or medicine meets any other government regulations.
3. Federal Communications Commission and Postal Service regulations currently prevent people from getting information they need about AIDS research, treatment, and prevention. These regulations should be eliminated.
4. Public schools and universities should suspend any regulations which prevent teachers, administrators, or student newspapers from distributing information about AIDS research, treatment, or prevention.



## Taxes: The Cruellest Burden

One of the Libertarian Party's goals is to replace taxation with voluntary methods for financing government services.

The government uses force to collect taxes. If you don't pay taxes voluntarily, your property may be seized and you may be imprisoned. Our earnings and property are taken by force if we don't cooperate. If any organization or person other than our government tried this, we would call it stealing. If it is wrong for private citizens to take others' property, it is wrong when government does it. Private citizens and companies would be called criminals for using such methods, so it must be criminal for our government to do it.

When taxation takes money or property from

private citizens and transfers it to government, economic productivity declines. Employers cannot expand, businesses fail, and jobs are lost. We have seen this repeatedly, particularly during the past 70 years since the federal income tax was introduced. Even successful businesses must still pass on the cost of taxes to consumers. Everyone loses except the government.

Experience shows that government is inefficient. Most government services can be provided better by private businesses, private charities, and other community organizations.

To begin the process of replacing taxation with voluntary financing of government activities, we propose the following:

1. Neither Congress nor any state legislature should create any new tax or increase any tax rate from this day forward.
2. A "sunset" provision should be added to every tax statute. Such a provision would end the particular tax after two years unless it is re-enacted.
3. The U.S. Constitution and the state constitutions should be amended to provide for a binding initiative process where the voters can repeal any tax by majority vote.
4. Tax money should no longer subsidize any government service which can possibly be provided in the private sector.



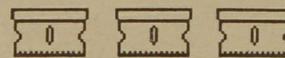
## Pollution Is Trespassing

Pollution is trespass. One person or company removes trash, foul air, or foul water from his property and dumps it on the property of others without their consent. The victims of pollution should be able to sue the polluter, require him to stop, and collect damages.

The best way to understand why we have the high level of air and water pollution we have today is to recognize that responsibility for protection of the environment has been turned over to a government bureaucracy. Today's failures are a result of the ineffectiveness of the government to deal with such important issues.

Faceless bureaucrats can never be as effective in fighting pollution as individual citizens—provided that we give the citizens the tools they need to do so. The following are some initial steps to deal with pollution:

1. Clearly establish the legal right of individuals or groups to claim that pollution of their body, their property, the water on or under it, and the air above it is a trespass. This would include adoption of a broad definition of property rights to include air and water.
2. End all regulatory attempts to define an acceptable level of pollution or pollutants. Setting such standards has the effect of legally sanctioning that amount of pollution, even when it might be reduced below that level. It also deprives citizens of the right to successfully claim damages from lesser levels of pollution.



## Solving the Drug Problem

Libertarians want to see all Americans healthy and free of drug dependence. However, we recognize that criminal penalties for sale, transportation, possession, or use of drugs have not solved and cannot solve this problem. Similar penalties were tried when alcoholic beverages were outlawed over 60 years ago. The failure of this approach was recognized, and Prohibition was repealed.

Prohibition spawned organized crime. Today's drug laws keep it going. Criminal penalties for drug trafficking reduce supplies, force drug prices up, and make drug dealing very profitable. High prices lead to violent crimes committed by a small number of addicts who may steal or murder to feed their habit. Most victims of these crimes are innocent non-users.

Prohibition resulted in many deaths from "bathtub gin." Today we read of deaths from the use of adulterated drugs. There is no difference.

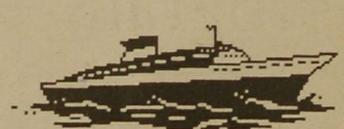
There is no consumer protection for impure, illegal drugs. Dead users cannot prosecute their suppliers.

The substance that causes the greatest problem is alcohol. The most physically damaging and most addictive is tobacco. For every death caused by the use of illegal drugs, there are almost 100 deaths caused by the use of alcohol or tobacco. Yet few suggest that either alcohol or tobacco should be banned.

The Libertarian Party does not advocate the use of drugs. The Libertarian approach recognizes that the drug problem is worsened by the use of criminal law to attempt to halt drug use. However foolish people may be, they should have the right and the responsibility to determine for themselves what to put in their own bodies. The law should reflect that.

The following reforms should be instituted immediately:

1. Decriminalize the possession of marijuana, cocaine, heroin, and other controlled substances for personal use. Alaska and the Netherlands have already done this for marijuana and experienced no problems. The British have done this for heroin with similar results.
2. Hold people who commit crimes or cause accidents while under the influence of any drug (including alcohol) fully liable for their actions.
3. Repeal all laws and regulations which impede the establishment of private drug programs.



## Immigration

America grew and developed as a result of the efforts of millions of immigrants who fled their homelands to seek a better life in our land. Libertarians believe that all Americans are best served if the doors to our nation remain free and open.

Many fear that the welfare programs which we have created would act as a magnet to draw immigrants to America. Some say that being poor in America offers a higher standard of living than many can attain in their homelands. We agree. However, this is not a good reason to slam our doors shut on those who seek freedom and an opportunity to prosper through their own honest efforts. If anything, the situation calls for the reform or end of these welfare programs.

Others fear that immigrant labor would throw Americans out of work. In fact, what will happen is that greater competition will develop for jobs, particularly in the area of unskilled labor. The principal result of this competition can only be a reduction in labor costs which will ultimately be passed on to all American consumers in the form of price reductions on labor-intensive goods and services. Those who object most strenuously to an "open door" policy are those labor groups which stand to gain the most from monopolizing the labor market.

America was once respected around the world as a symbol of peace and freedom—a land of opportunity. People voted with their feet. They left much behind to come to the United States. We should return to the proud tradition of welcoming all who would join us, wishing them well, and allowing them to earn their way.

To quickly achieve an open door policy, we endorse the following immediate steps:

1. Amend all welfare and benefit programs to exclude coverage and services for anyone who is not a U.S. citizen.
2. Repeal all laws and regulations which require a work permit or other form of government approval for a foreign citizen to work in the United States.
3. Eliminate all immigration quotas.

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## IS ABORTION AGGRESSION?

Libertarian arguments against abortion and for parental obligation. Literature packet, \$3. (For information only, please send SASE.)

Libertarians for Life  
13424 Hathaway Drive, #18  
Wheaton, MD 20906, 301/460-4141  
Doris Gordon, National Coordinator

# Valtrans Fails in Arizona: Libertarians Play Key Role

By John Semmens and Rick Tompkins

Libertarians recently played a key role in the defeat of the largest public transit proposition to be put before voters in U.S. history! The \$10 billion "Valtrans" plan to inflict rail transit and 1,500 buses on the Phoenix metropolitan area was soundly rejected, to the unending consternation of the local politicians and power brokers who tried their best to bilk the taxpayers yet again.

The voter turnout of 43 percent was unusually large (much larger than expected) for a single issue ballot at an odd time of year. The 20 percent turnout in the recent Los Angeles mayoralty race is more typical, and the 10 percent turnout in Houston last year in which a rail transit plan was approved show how little interest may be generated. The margin of defeat, a whopping 61 percent against to only 39 percent for, literally stunned the well-financed proponents. The Phoenix mayor was shown on television immediately after the results were in, saying "the people just didn't understand"!

Advocates of the Valtrans plan had all the advantages: A public transit bureaucracy with a budget of \$8 million spent more than three years promoting the scheme. Proponents lined up many community leaders, all the area mayors, most city council members, all but one local chamber of

commerce, all the media except for a few weekly newspapers, and a list of corporate donors who dumped in cash support amounting to more than a million dollars in campaign funds.

In contrast, the opposition raised less than \$20,000. In campaign outlays alone we were outspent by 50 to one. Only a handful of hard working people were able to devote much time and energy to opposing this massive boondoggle, and when early opinion surveys showed voter support running two to one in favor, the challenge appeared great.

What proved decisive was the high quality of the opposition's arguments, and the determination of those who carried those arguments into battle.

The effort was led by the research of John Semmens and Diane Kresich of the Laissez Faire Institute. (The Laissez Faire Institute is a small

Libertarian think tank located at 1202 W. Malibu, Tempe, AZ 85282, 602/966-8476. For more information, send SASE.)

The opposition group known as VAST (Voters Against Senseless Transit), which was made up of both Libertarians and non-Libertarians, was able to demolish the pseudo-arguments of the plan's proponents.

Semmens and Kresich, having provided the bulk of research data used by all the opposition forces, also personally appeared in several televised debates. Other Libertarians who engaged in numerous speaking and debating sessions during the two months of the campaign were Arizona LP Chair Rick Tompkins, Maricopa County LP Chair Ken Van Doren, and Tim Jeffrey, and also helping out was Ross Dean of the Scottsdale City Council.

The Laissez Faire Institute prepared a series of "Issue Briefs" on various aspects of the transit

plan, and designed and wrote the brochure that was distributed to 50,000 voters by VAST.

While it would be inaccurate to portray the campaign as a purely Libertarian effort, Libertarian ideas and people were indispensable to the successful defense of the taxpayers in this campaign. Attempts by Valtrans supporters to deride the opposition as "merely" Libertarian did not impress the voters.

The lesson to be learned from the Valtrans campaign may be that Libertarian ideas may be more successful than Libertarian political candidates. A few dozen people armed with these ideas were able to mount an eminently successful effort against an entrenched and unified establishment. Perhaps the role of citizen activist, rather than paper candidate, is more suitable for many of us for the promotion of Libertarian goals.

## The Program

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### Health Care and Health Costs

Health care is far too important to trust to the government.

That simple statement may sound extraordinary, but it is quite true. What can be more important to each of us than the continuing health of ourselves and our loved ones? Yet over the past decades we have increasingly allowed our government to have a greater and greater involvement in our health care. Perhaps this might make sense if the government had a strong record for achievement in this area. Unfortunately the opposite is true.

The Food and Drug Administration has a dismal record. The time required to approve new drugs and treatments for use by doctors is far too long. Many patients suffer or die while bureaucrats cause long delays. Terminally ill patients who have no other hope are routinely denied experimental drugs which may have a beneficial effect on their condition. Only the wealthy can afford to travel abroad to obtain treatment denied here.

Increasing subsidies for health care, including Medicare and Medicaid, have resulted in skyrocketing medical costs and extensive fraud. Our government has failed to recognize that providing services at low or no cost can only lead to an overutilization of scarce medical resources and force the dramatic rise in medical costs which we have all experienced. It is no coincidence that the explosion in medical costs occurred at the same time that government involvement in health care grew.

Among those who do not understand the problem, there is a growing cry for more government involvement in medicine. Surely, throwing more oil on the fire cannot put it out! We advocate the following immediate actions to return to a period of affordable, quality health care:

1. Return decision making regarding medication and treatment to patients and health care professionals. Eliminate government interference in these important decisions.

2. Return all medical research to the private sector where scarce resources can be focussed on life-saving results rather than bureaucracy.

3. End government medical insurance and subsidy programs. Return these functions to private insurance companies and charitable organizations.

Television is the most powerful force in America today, in terms of shaping the social and political agenda. The average American watches nearly five hours of TV every day, and gets most of his or her information about the world through this medium.

And because television is a highly visual, highly emotional medium, TV news tends to focus on "human interest" stories, and to encourage simplistic thinking.

Each time some lunatic shoots up a schoolyard or hamburger stand, it's splashed all over the evening news, and the cries for gun control grow more intense. Every time someone is shown huddling over a heat vent to keep warm, the advocates of socialized housing gain ground.

TV does not lend itself well to lengthy, complex, cerebral arguments. The typical TV news story is about 90 seconds long, and relies primarily on visuals. It is the absolute antithesis of the abstract, verbal style that most Libertarians are comfortable with.

By its nature, TV focuses on the here-and-now. It can show Lee Iacocca asking Congress to bail out Chrysler, but it can't show the enterprises that don't exist because the Feds sucked up investment capital to keep inefficient companies in business.

Likewise, TV reporters can interview people who have been harmed by Thalidomide, but they can't interview those who died because the drug that would have saved them was kept unavailable by the FDA.

And TV news increasingly dominates the electoral process. The three major TV networks effectively define who is a "real" and "serious" candidate. By simply ignoring Libertarians, they shut us out of the national consciousness. Then, having done so, they can conspire on Election Night to black out any reporting of the Libertarian vote... and get away with it!

# LIBERTV

A plan to bring the vision of Liberty to the American people.

The bottom line is this: until Libertarian ideas are presented credibly and effectively on TV, we will continue to lose ground!

We must do two things to meet this challenge.

The first is to produce and run a series of high quality 30 second ads which address key issues from a Libertarian perspective.

These must be ads with emotional impact, produced to the same standards of excellence as commercials for cars, cereal, beer, and other consumer goods. They can't be the same old shoestring-budget "talking head" spots that Libertarians have been producing and running for years.

Second, we must start accumulating funds to buy control of a TV network! This will take a vast amount of money, but it's not impossible. Broadcast TV has fallen on hard times in recent years, as viewers are being lost to cable... while the art of leveraged buyouts has been greatly refined. We may be five to ten years away from realizing this goal, but if we start now, it's not unattainable.

LIBER/TV is being established to start the ball rolling on these two projects. During 1989, we will simply accumulate funds; expenses will be kept to a minimum.

In 1990, we will produce as many ads as funds permit, and make them available to LP candidates and anyone else who will air them. In 1992, we will attempt to buy spots on national network news shows, during the election campaign period.

We are asking Libertarians who support the idea of LIBER/TV for "seed money" to begin the fund-raising process. Any amount is welcome, but to encourage larger contributions, we make the following pledges:

1) If you contribute \$50 or more, you will be sent a Progress Report in the Fall of 1989, and another in mid-1990, to keep you posted on how much has been raised and spent. If support is insufficient to justify its continuation, we will terminate this project and funds on hand will be disbursed to \$50-and-up contributors on a pro-rata basis.

2) Those who contribute \$500 or more will be consulted on an ongoing basis, and, if they wish, will be listed on LIBER/TV's Board of Advisors.

Your support is needed! Please send your contribution today.

David F. Nolan  
Chairman, LIBER/TV

### LIBER/TV

Suite 101-358 4330 Barranca Parkway Irvine, CA 92714

Yes! I agree that we need to get our ideas on TV! Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

(Make checks payable to LIBER/TV)

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

I would especially like to see ads on the following topics:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

# Locality and Charity: LP Concerns

By Chris Brockman

Libertarians are in grave danger of being characterized in the popular mind as not only losers, but as having little or no significance. At the present time, we don't seem to be a factor in national elections—despite the fact that Ron Paul ran a very good, professional campaign.

We also are in danger of thinking of ourselves as losers and/or insignificant. We need to gain a winning attitude and a winning reputation. Local elections are the only ones we can win. We can win because we can run on very nearly an equal footing with other parties' candidates.

The few hundred to few thousand dollars needed to run a competitive local campaign can be raised much more easily than the few million needed for national campaigns. Candidates serious about winning could put up most of the money themselves; in-kind contributions can be made to go a long way.

Publicity on a local level should be open to all serious candidates. It is generally only necessary to convince the local media you're serious. That shouldn't be hard if you understand the dynamics of the office for which you're running, make intelligent, relevant comments and suggestions for improvements, and do a first-class job of public and press relations. Local papers will run press releases if you offer them and if they say something. You will be invited to speak at candidate nights if you have demonstrated that you have something

to say.

There is another problem that seems deeply to affect the Libertarian movement. It is, apparently at least, hard-heartedness. Perhaps it's our Randian heritage or maybe an elitism that comes from being revolutionary. Whatever the reason, we come off as *not caring about people*.

We advocate a philosophy that has and will continue to benefit all of humankind far beyond any other system of social organization. We should

**We should be the ones who are considered as humanitarians.**

be the ones who are considered as humanitarians. But there are so many Libertarians who are primarily concerned with being left alone. They could hardly care less about the average Joe and Jane, let alone those who are down and out for a thousand different reasons, including probably their own stupidity or irresponsibility.

This makes it hard for many Libertarians to think about the homeless and their plight. It makes it hard to participate in marches against hunger, to work in soup kitchens, to be a Big Brother or Big Sister. It makes it hard for the Libertarian Party to be advocates, much less activists, for the "underprivileged" or even those suffering from genuine injustice.

And it makes it hard to win elections on a local level, where government deals much more directly with real individuals who have real problems. The solution to these problems may in fact be reliance on private charity. But that said, how many Libertarians are interested in starting a charity or working for one?

George Bush understands that elections are won by appealing to a wide range of voters. He realizes that the Republican Party has a reputation of being for the rich and powerful, a reputation enhanced by Ronald Reagan.

George Bush wants to make his a "kinder and gentler" administration. Pursuing politics as usual, he won't succeed in actually doing it. But he wants to make it seem as if he's accomplishing something, or at least that he's trying.

Libertarians, especially those running for office before the next presidential election, need to take a lesson. Let's not suffer the Democrats or the Republicans to glory in unearned reputations as "parties of the people." Nothing can be kinder and gentler than freedom. We need to make that connection in our own minds, be able to show how it works, and take that message to the people.

Every decent man is ashamed of the government he lives under.

**H.L. Mencken**

## Illinois LP Sets Goals

Illinois Libertarian Party members have set 1989 goals that could be useful for party members anywhere:

Name leaders of student organizations. Find daytime speakers. Increase membership by 50 percent. Win three non-partisan elections. Form a campaign organization.

Form two new local clubs per year. Join two community groups. Run target campaigns. Run statewide elections. Run candidates in five state districts. Target against really bad candidates. Target one to three issues per year.

Publicize. Write letters to the editor. Follow up on [pro-Libertarian letters to the editor written by other people]. Raise \$100,000. Increase circulation of [local Libertarian publications]. Hold public protests. Have a legislative watch group. Form a speakers' bureau. Run newspaper ads once a week. Set up an award system. Set up a telephone tree. Recruit a well-known person.

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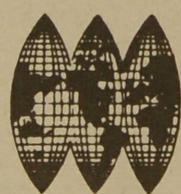
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# Local LP Columnist Offers Advice for Getting Started

By Douglas Merritt

I borrowed a shoestring and made a million. You too can become a movie actor. They laughed until I sat down and played.

You have heard such opening lines of flimflams but I am telling you the truth. This is for real. Send no money. Trust me.

Recently I received my first check from a newspaper for writing my now professional political column, THE LIBERTARIAN VIEWPOINT. Let me tell you how simple it was.

I started from nowhere eight years ago. I had no training in journalism and I knew four ways to spell most words. I did, however, have an intense desire to promulgate the Libertarian philosophy.

At that time I was the mayor of our town of 12,000 which was served by a daily paper. I started writing "letters to the editor" as mayor. I presented a slanted viewpoint quite contrary of the one written by the news reporter. It caught on. After I lost the election in 1985 I continued to write letters to the editor presenting the Libertarian viewpoint. I established a following because of my style and my variant views.

I had learned that the newspaper, while not admitting it, needed me (generic me) as much as I needed them (again generic). The appeal of their editorial page was shaped, in large measure, by the letters it contained. Many people turn first to the editorial page to relish the controversial and off-the-wall ideas and the later rebuttal of such. Small towners delight in a public feud. Me being Libertarian, that part was easy.

About a year ago I began submitting column length letters every three weeks with the suggestion they be used as "guest columns." I named my column THE LIBERTARIAN VIEWPOINT. (Using all caps I avoided the Large L/Small L controversy.) They agreed. Two months ago they asked that I submit one each week for pay. Don't get that word "pay" confused with real pay; it is only \$5/column but that is what Jack Anderson gets for his column in the same paper so I am happy.

I am writing this to encourage other Libertarians to do what I have done. We have bright people in our ranks and we have a vital message to send. Political columns are another method of spreading our message.

I have a few suggestions:

Start now! Visit your newspaper and meet the editor. Find out what are the ground rules. Get on

a first name basis. Call in, from time to time to report any newsworthy item even if not related to the party. He needs all the help he can get. Many papers want to restrict letters to no more than one in so many weeks. If so, don't break that rule. They like to be in charge. Ask about signatures. Some will not allow the use of titles in signatures. If you can use the word "Libertarian" in your signing, you then need not use it in the body, but do try to get it in somewhere.

Be certain to spell correctly and use proper grammar. (A word processor was my salvation.) An editor who must slash your work with corrections of spelling and

grammar will be in a mood to slash further on your content. Find out what he wants and give it to him.

Remember, he wants to publish your work; make it easy for him.

Whenever someone comments to you favorably on your recently published letter, hand him a paper with the name and telephone number of the editor and ask that a phone call be made to repeat the comment. But, needless to say, in a small town the editor will see through the gimmick if your mother calls more than twice.

Spend most of your time constructing a great opening paragraph. Never write about more than

one subject in a letter.

However global your subject is, make it local in application.

Do not assume that your reader knows what you are referring to; spell it out.

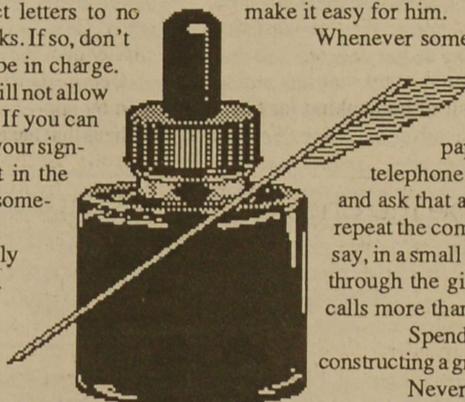
Make your point in the last paragraph, ending with a zinger of a punch line.

Most importantly: begin now!

If any of you want to send my material to your local paper, I will gladly furnish copies. If you want to change it to fit your local situation over your name, please do so. I invite plagiarism from any sincere Libertarian. (Nothing evidences sincerity so much as self-addressed stamped envelopes.)

You can be the H. L. Mencken of your town. Trust me!

Merritt is former chair of the Kansas LP.



## "I am committed to a more successful Libertarian Party." —Matt Monroe



"The growth the LP has achieved has been the result of the dedication, generosity and hard work of our members, and the vision of our ideas. But for far too long, LP members have tolerated conditions that hinder the growth of our movement. The National LP has been characterized by in-fighting, bureaucratic waste, and outright incompetence.

It is time for the members to take control of the National LP, to use it as a tool for furthering our goal of Liberty. The LP needs sound management, competence and professionalism. That is why I am running for LP Chairman. There is work to do, and I want to see it done.

Here is a brief summary of what I believe the LP can accomplish:

- Increase membership from its current level of 6,800 to 10,000 by 1991.
- Increase revenues to \$40,000 per month from the current level of \$25,000 per month.
- Obtain ballot status in nearly all states prior to 1992, so we can concentrate our efforts on the campaign.
- Reform the National Office so that it provides assistance to state and local parties in a competent and cost-efficient manner.

To achieve these goals, I think we should do the following:

1. **Management for Growth:** Hire the best people we can find to manage the LP National Office, with a high priority on efficiency, competence, and reliability, so that we can achieve our goals.

2. **Reduce the size of the National Committee** to no more than 15, and encourage it to act as a Board of Directors overseeing LP activities, rather than a mini-legislature complete with bickering and in-fighting.

3. **The LP 2000 Program:** In the next century, the LP will be led and run by the people we recruit in the next few years. Now is the time for us to begin an active student organization, to develop recruiting campaigns, and to organize student conferences.

4. **The Permanent Campaign:** full-time professionals doing the work so far done only in election years: ballot access, lobbying, public speaking, candidate development, etc.

Achieving our goal of Liberty requires a lot. I am convinced that we can make substantial progress. To achieve that goal, I am committed to work with every element within the LP and the libertarian movement."

—Matt Monroe

### A Record of Achievement

As Texas LP Finance Chairman (1980-82):

1981: developed Independence Pledge program.

**Result:** raised more than \$200,000 for Texas LP since 1981.

As National LP Finance Chairman (1982-85):

1982: developed Liberty Pledge program, modeled after program in Texas.

1983: implemented professional telephone fundraising efforts.

1983: implemented regular, profitable direct mail fundraising campaigns, financing initial efforts out of his own pocket.

1984: developed the Torch Club for \$1,000 donors to attract and honor those who make larger gifts to the LP.

1984: instituted regular program of postpaid inserts in the LP News for fundraising.

**Result:** LP revenues increased 24% by 1984, reaching all-time high, excluding Koch-influenced 1980. (Since Monroe's tenure, revenues have fallen by 23%.)

As National LP Membership Chairman (1987-89):

1987: implemented the "instant membership" program advocated by Russell Means, printed and paid for 30,000 instant membership cards for prospective members; resulting in nearly 3,000 instant members.

1988: personally financed membership programs when National LP failed to provide promised funding.

1988-89: organized and mailed lists of prospects and new members to state organizations, co-ordinated and facilitated membership activities at the state level.

**Result:** National LP membership up 23% since 1987.

## Paper Clips

Although the Libertarian Party is not the most widely publicized of political organizations it still commands a steady attention from the press.

The party's national office, which subscribes to a commercial clipping service, received 45 clippings from major papers in a recent month. There probably were dozens more stories in papers across the land. These just represent a typical clipping service's cross-section.

The states in which major papers covered some Libertarian activity or statement were: California, with 13 clippings; Wyoming, 13, thanks to the spirited Congressional race of Craig McCune; Arizona, 3; Michigan 3; Oregon 3; Georgia 2; and one story apiece on Libertarian activities in Colorado, Illinois, New York, Nevada, Texas, and Vermont.

The single clipping from Vermont, from the Burlington Free Press, carried a particularly strong message for Libertarians everywhere:

"Vermont Libertarians, at their annual convention Saturday, declared local politics to be their top priority in future election bids.

"We need to pay our dues at the local level first, to make a name for ourselves and build credibility to get into the Vermont Legislature later," Ed McGuire, chairman of the Vermont party, said..."

"McGuire said the party must focus on offering more candidates in town elections and not worry about state elections for a while. The Libertarians did not win a single state post in last November's balloting, but they did win a few local races."

Yes! I want to help build a more successful Libertarian Party. Send me information on your program for the Libertarian Party and your race for Chairman.

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Dr. Matt Monroe 1213 Hermann Dr, #655 Houston, TX 77004

# "Either/Or" Discussion of Value to Libertarians

By Karl Hess

In a recent issue of one of my favorite magazines, *Analog*, the sci-fi author Ben Bova discusses the "either/or fallacy." It is a discussion that contains, in my view, great value for members of the Libertarian Party.



Bova's discussion uses the space program as an example of the fallacy:

"I define the Either/Or Fallacy as a frame of mind that falsely assumes two goals to be

in conflict with one another. In the hands of a cynical politician, the Either/Or Fallacy can be a nasty weapon indeed...Almost since the inception of the U.S. space program, in the late 1950s, the Either/Or Fallacy has been used by politicians to befuddle the public... Shall we push on with the exploration of space or feed the poor?"

"See the trick? If you say you want to feed the poor, then you've admitted that we should not push the exploration of space. If you say you want to do more in space, you're showing the world that you don't care about the needy."

For Libertarians, of course, that particular version of the Either/Or Fallacy wouldn't work. Libertarians oppose government programs in both areas and stress the greater utility, and morality, of exploring space and feeding the poor through voluntary initiatives.

But within the Libertarian Party and even more widely in the Libertarian movement, there is a version of the Either/Or Fallacy that strikes me as devastating to accomplishment and debilitating to cooperation.

The Libertarian Either/Or Fallacy is that you are either wholly committed to some particular ideological orthodoxy or you are against it.

The possibility of being *for* a particular orthodoxy but not *against* every other one is swept away by this zealotry.

For instance, it is the hard-line feelings of some Libertarians that, rather than fighting the state, the Libertarian Party ratifies the state tacitly by engaging in politics at all.

Sadly, most of us, probably all of us, regardless of our ideological purity, tacitly ratify the state

day after day simply by obeying most, if not all, of its laws, using its tax-paid facilities, buying from state-licensed corporations, and even using the state's fiat currency.

Some Libertarians claim that this doesn't count because they have no choice. Libertarian Party members claim that they do have choice and that they are exercising it responsibly by defending themselves against the state with what could be called counter-political political activity, actions always based on depreciating state power and never on enhancing it. Others claim that the tacit support just counts a bit since they want to preserve certain state institutions even in what they envision as a free and Libertarian society.

The old, insoluble, and so far meaningless anarchist versus minarchist argument is evident there.

And so is the Either/Or Fallacy. Minarchists and anarchists in the Libertarian movement can argue their points—as they do, interminably—and pretend that you either share their orthodoxy or become the enemy. But in practical terms all of the people involved, even the most zealous, must know that even the most flawed Libertarian is more likely to show up at your discussion group or supper club, or back your enterprise, than anyone else.

Libertarians of all sorts are, in fact, birds-of-a-feather who flock together. They even seem to enjoy denouncing one another as fervently as they enjoy denouncing the Great Satan State. The practical evidence is that there does not need to be, and apparently isn't, an Either/Or Imperative to separate Libertarians in their day-to-day lives.

I hear Libertarians denouncing one another as fiercely as their rhetoric will permit. I know that some even try to inhibit the activities of other Libertarians. But I do not know and I hope that I never hear of a Libertarian who would denounce another Libertarian to the police or resort to thugery to hurt the enterprise of another Libertarian.

Surely the movement toward liberty is large enough to accommodate "heresies." It does not have to be an Either/Or movement. And for a political party, the notion of Either/Or orthodoxy or purity can be deadly.

A political party is just that—a political party.

It engages in politics. Its ammunition is issues more than ideology. The members of a political party may share some aspects of an ideology. But in the matter of elections, and in the matter of winning them, the members of a political party reach out to people on the basis of specific issues.

Positions on issues may be shaped by an underlying ideology. But for Libertarians that underlying ideology is entirely too broad to be seen as an orthodoxy. The ideology ranges from

The point is that purity of thought in a political party is about as appropriate as virginity in a whore house.

the Libertarian Party's emphasis on a single ethic—the non-initiation of force—to the anarchist vision of the abolition of the state, to the utopian vision of voluntary communalism, through the minarchist vision of a restrained, Jeffersonian state.

On a strictly ideological basis, the Libertarian Party cannot expect to exert the sort of intellectual pressure that, for instance, the Cato Institute and Reason magazine exert. Cato and Reason, the Institute for Humane Studies, Fraser, Heartland, FEE, FREE, Pacific, Independent Institute, you name it—all of the wonderful free market and Libertarian research groups are directly and wholly involved in the influencing of opinion.

The Libertarian Party may influence opinion but its tool for doing it is the political tool itself. If the party is unhappy with that limitation it should be something other than a political party. But even that's not an Either/Or proposition. People in the party have ample opportunity to influence opinion in every other way possible—through supper clubs, discussion groups, articles, essays, letters-to-the-editor, TV and radio discussions, or support of or involvement with Libertarian research groups.

There are Libertarians who are beholden to narrow issues such as gold, or abortion, or dope and who judge and decry every other Libertarian simply on the basis of their special interest. And yet, when push comes to shove, Libertarians of

every kind and conscience know that their friends in the march toward liberty are other Libertarians. No matter how daffy or dubious those other Libertarians may seem, it is hard to imagine any of them being fatally dangerous to other Libertarians. Even at worst, it is easier to ignore other Libertarians whose positions may offend you, than it is to ignore even minor "public servants."

The Libertarian Party has its own share of Either/Or orthodoxists. They spend a certain amount of time making life miserable for any party members who will not accept a lock-step agreement with their particular version of Libertarian orthodoxy.

Purity of thought certainly has its place in cults, churches, salons, and other relatively small gatherings of people who enjoy immensely talking to one another. And this is not to deny that such pure groups often contribute important thoughts to the larger world. The point is that purity of thought in a political party is about as appropriate as virginity in a whore house. This does not for a moment condone absolute expediency. Every member of the Libertarian Party that I know would draw a general line on political positions based upon opposition to state coercion and full support for voluntary action.

But when it comes to opposing a particular tax, it is not prudent to demand that every voter support, also, opposition to *all* taxes. When it comes to opposing a particular horror of zoning injustice, it is not even likely that your voting neighbors will immediately want to oppose *all* government in a burst of Libertarian zeal. We delude ourselves if we think that most people are Libertarians. Many people seek some sort of liberty, from one thing or another. But that's it.

It's also a place to begin and to keep in mind that Either/Or-ism has led to many a purge and a pogrom but never to a great movement. Popular movements build on broad interests and on tolerance of difference within the movement while solidly opposing external and obvious oppression or inequity.

If there is an Either/Or-ism for Libertarians it might be Ben Franklin's famous adage that we shall either "hang together" or we shall certainly hang separately.

## From the Chair

continued from page 1

measure by the working classes in America: the feeling that actions have consequences and that those in desperate circumstances—who weren't put there by government action—may have largely themselves to blame.

Perhaps our biggest opportunity will be the war on drugs. This has the potential to be our Vietnam of the 1990s. We are still at the stage where the government is pouring in more troops in an effort to win, while protestors are scattered and ineffective. As in Nam, the enemy is everywhere and largely unidentifiable. Victory is impossible—the harder we fight, the more terrible the consequences. Our role is to protest the damage, the loss of lives and treasure. Like the peace movement, we may win when all sorts of non-ideological people climb on board.

Why the LP and not some non-partisan "Libertarian Alliance?" I agree with the three reasons given by Chester Alan Arthur in the January issue of Liberty.

- Because it educates people about liberty. Electoral campaigns are one of the few times average people consider political issues. LP candidates get our "foot in the door" by presenting Libertarian ideas in the one way most Americans will even consider.

- Because votes cast for any Libertarian candidate advance liberty. Once someone has voted for one of us, his or her attitude is forever changed. We become more respectable and the voter is more willing to listen, which reduces our cost per vote in the future. Dr. Murray Rothbard believes the only reason we now see textbooks presenting free market ideas is the attention Ed Clark's 1980 campaign received.

- Because even losses help advance liberty. LP ideas get co-opted—sometimes right away as

in Larry Dodge's race in Montana last year and sometimes later as in Clark's views on NATO, drugs, and education vouchers.

The LP is viable for the 1990s, but some strategies will be more effective than others.

- *We need to grow*, because membership is a media measure, not to mention a fiscal measure. Membership growth is everyone's business. I'd like to see 20 percent annual growth—that would bring us to more than 50,000 members by the year 2000. Impossible? Well, that amounts to each member recruiting only one new member *every five years*. If we can't do that, we'd better pack it in right now.

- *We need to emphasize community action*. I devoted most of my column in the May/June issue to this strategy.

- *We need to stop accepting second class citizenship*. Why do we politely step to the rear of the ballot access bus whenever some petty bureaucrat or tyrannical politician asks? It is time to raise the minimum rage concerning the injustices heaped on minor political parties. It's time to call attention to this injustice, this denial of our rights and, by extension, those of every voter, by engaging in selective civil disobedience. Obviously, this is not something to rush into. I have asked a group of Libertarian attorneys, activists, and academics to comment on the issue and draft a model policy that would describe what actions are appropriate and in what situations they should be implemented. It is time to shine the spotlight on ballot denials like the travesty in Missouri last year. Like the civil rights movement in the 1970s and the Chinese students this Summer, the LP has to stand up (or lie in!) for our rights.

- *We need to elect state legislators*. The LP needs to concentrate resources on a few winnable races or to attack particularly vulnerable incumbents. Winning will give us credibility and our winners can demonstrate the practical nature of Libertarian ideas. Eventually, this will produce

the candidates who can win congressional races!

- *We need to emphasize our program, not our platform*. Our public face should be our statement of principles and positions on up to 10 current, hot issues. There must also be room for reasonable Libertarians to disagree. Dogmatism guarantees a small, ineffective party.

- *We need to de-emphasize the national party*. Our state and local parties and leadership must be the focal point. The national party should communicate ideas and projects, facilitate action through workshops, and maintain a database. There should be less concentration on NatCom with our best activists working locally, not being co-opted for national service. I think the NatCom should be officers, staff, and not more than a dozen people to manage and guide affairs.

- *We need to go back to the campus*. Tomorrow's LP leaders are on campus today. We need to provide another influx of leaders from the campus, like the one we experienced 20 years ago. Don Ernsberger and Mary Gingell are spearheading a "back to the campus" project for this Fall. We hope to have 150 literature tables up and 50 Young Libertarian clubs functioning by year-end.

We are moving ahead with many of these strategies. In June, I called for the formation of three task forces, in addition to the campus one, to establish and provide ongoing projects in these areas: the war on drugs; overseas U.S. military presence; and taxation and spending. (If you would like to serve on one of these task forces, please contact me.)

Our LP is 18 years old. Lots of goals and strategies have come and gone. Many are disappointed with the results. What's been missing? I don't think it's that our ideas have no attraction to the American people. I do think two changes are particularly needed.

One, we have to have leaders—at all levels—who are elected and judged based on performance, not promises. Yes, we need strategists,

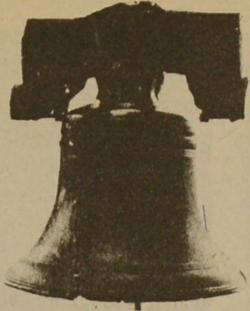
but we need managers, too, to accomplish the great strategies. Too often, we have settled for those who view our crusade as a hobby and not a vital cause where success is important. We have got to elect the most competent people to party offices rather than those with a "name" who are willing, but not able.

Two, we must have accountability. Those leaders we elect or appoint must be responsible and accountable. If they continually fail—even with good excuses—we can't continue to condone the bad performance. If they continually stir up factions—sometimes for what appears to be the fun of it—then they must be put aside. If they continue to attribute perverse motives to everyone with whom they disagree, they should be invited to find a movement where squabbling, and not teamwork and mutual respect, is valued.

The LP isn't the only way to advance liberty. The election of LP candidates isn't the only way we win. But, when all is said and done, even if progress has been slow, our LP is an effective way to PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT THE LAND. How effective is up to us and to outside circumstances. Let's build an LP that is super-effective in the 1990s and actively involved in promoting the right circumstances.

## Our Current Strength

There are now 6,701 dues paying members of the national Libertarian Party. In most states there also are people who are active in local LP affiliates but who have not chosen to pay dues to the national organization. Their number is estimated to be between 700 and 1,400. In addition, 592 people, who have not yet paid dues, have become "instant members" by signing the LP statement against the initiation of force. All national members receive the Libertarian Party NEWS. In addition, 839 people subscribe to the NEWS without being members of the party.



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# Saturday Is Outreach Day

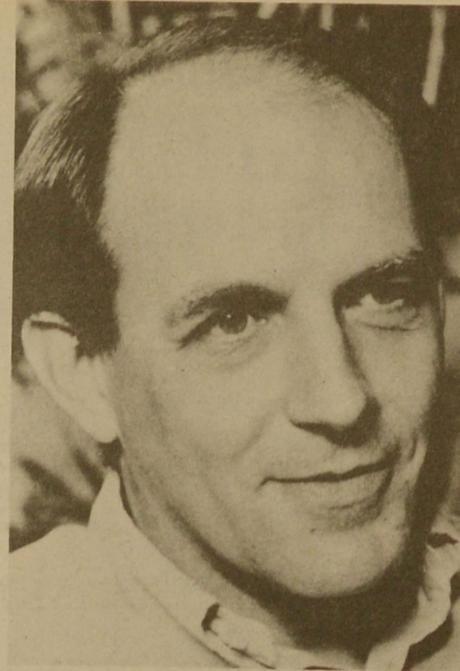
This year's convention is planning to use one entire day of breakout and convention lunchtime activities to provide an introduction to Libertarian Principles to newcomers to the party and to the Philadelphia area academic community. The Ernsberger to Congress Campaign and the endorsement of Ron Paul by Philadelphia's most popular radio talk show host, Irv Holmer, has resulted in a tremendous growth in visibility and contacts for the Libertarian Party in the Delaware Valley. This Outreach program will be an excellent event for all delegates and convention attendees who are first time convention goers. All spouses, friends, and party newcomers will find this special outreach day a valuable experience.

The outreach experience will begin on Saturday at 9:30 with an hour and a half session entitled "Introduction to Libertarianism" featuring the renowned speaker and motivator Mr. Marshall Fritz. This highly charged overview of the Libertarian Philosophy will serve to introduce convention attendees and Philadelphia regional guests alike to the basic principles and applications of Libertarian thought on the major issues of the day. The second phase of the outreach experience will premier from 2:00 to 5:00 later that same day as The Advocates organization host a presentation of "The answers to the Tough questions." The Advocates organization which has been responsible for development and promotion of the "World's Smallest Political Quiz" is expanding their "Quiz" approach by developing two levels of "answers to the tough questions" which are linked to each of the ten questions on the "World's Smallest Political Quiz." Advocate representatives and winners of their national "3 minute answer" contest will be featured in this workshop session. **THERE WILL BE NO BETTER WAY TO INTRODUCE YOUR SPOUSE, FRIEND, OR NEWCOMER MEMBERS TO THE LIBERTARIAN PHILOSOPHY THAN THIS TWO PART OUTREACH SESSION.**

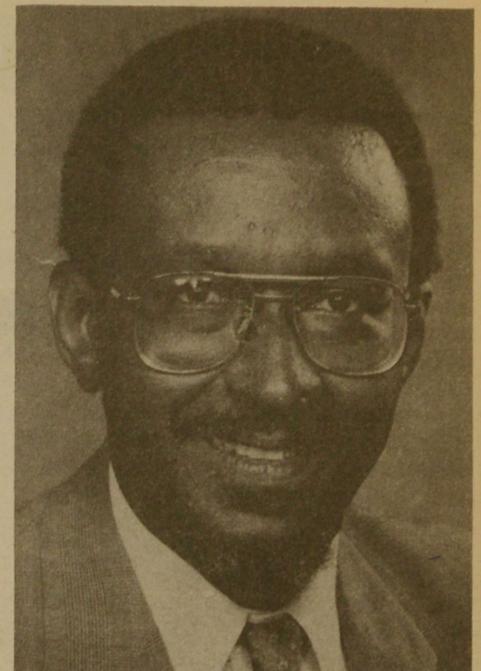
The other element in Outreach Day will be directed to Convention attendees and Philadelphia Area Academics and Citizens alike. The noontime Speaker before the entire Convention will be the nationally acclaimed Mr. Charles Murray who will address the topic—"Liberty, the State and the Poor." This overview of the failures of the "Welfare State approach" to end poverty and to institutionalize the inner city slum culture will bring hundreds of Philadelphia area professors, students, and interested citizens to our convention to debate and review one of the most important topics facing our society. Charles Murray has created a storm of attention in the media and on the college campuses with his shattering analysis of the Welfare state. He is frequently mentioned in newspaper editorials and on the pages of social science journals. For the first time ever a Libertarian Party Convention will provide a major outreach effort to gain National Newspaper and Media exposure.

## The Business Of the Convention

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| Tuesday, August 29    | Meetings of the Platform Committee, and Constitution/By Laws Committee  |
| Wednesday, August 30  | Meetings of the Platform Committee, Credentials Committee, and Constitution/By Laws Committee   |
| Thursday, August 31   | Keynote Panel<br>Presentation by the Constitution/By Laws Committee<br>Presentation by the Platform Committee<br>Presentation by the Program Committee  |
| Friday, September 1   | Opening of the Business Session<br>Report of the Constitution/By Laws Committee<br>Debate and Adoption of By Laws Proposals<br>Report of the Platform Committee   |
| Saturday, September 2 | Debate and Adoption of Platform<br>Special Guest: Charles Murray<br>Adoption of Convention Program  |
| Sunday, September 3   | Election of the National Chair<br>Election of the National Officers<br>Election of the At-Large National Committee Members<br>Selection by Delegates of Regional Representatives<br>Resolutions of the Convention |



Charles Murray



Walter Williams

## Proclaim Liberty Special Events Set

### Atlantic City Excursion

The first special event of the convention is scheduled for Thursday night: an excursion to Atlantic City, New Jersey!

The casinos are the major attraction, of course, but far newer than the famous Atlantic City Boardwalk with its Steel Pier and Miss America parade, not to mention wide sandy beaches, saltwater taffy, Atlantic Ocean, and rolling chairs.

For those into games of chance, the casinos offer all the popular games—slots, roulette, blackjack, craps, and baccarat. The Associates are bargaining with a number of casinos to give \$10 in quarters free to our attendees and possibly a free food coupon, too.

After your big score at the tables, there will even be time to walk barefoot in the surf while the moon shines down on you and your honey.

### Olde City Tour

On Friday evening, buses will take the attendees to the Independence Hall National Historical Park. There will be ample time to visit the Hall, see the Liberty Bell, and stop to reflect at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers of the Revolution. Jefferson's residence, where he wrote the Declaration of Independence, is nearby, as is Benjamin Franklin's home. Elfreth's Alley, the oldest inhabited

street in the U.S., is close by as is the Betsy Ross House, Christ Church, and other historically important buildings.

Before breaking for dinner, hoist a tankard at the City Tavern where many a delegate drank many a toast to Independence in 1776.

The most prominent area of the Philadelphia Restaurant Renaissance is close by, too. The Associates will arrange with 10 or more restaurants to give discounts to Libertarians who dine with them. These restaurants offer all kinds of ethnic fare, gourmet cooking, cordon bleu and ribs, seafood and tacos, \$ to \$\$\$\$.

Finish off the evening with a visit to a South Street nightclub (the sidewalks in Philadelphia no longer roll up at 9 pm) or drop in the shops at Head House Square or The Bourse.

### Banquet Gala

Saturday night is the time for the traditional Banquet. There will be a speaker that everyone wants to hear, and other special happenings that you won't want to miss. A chance to dress up and enjoy life before plunging back into the politicking on Sunday.

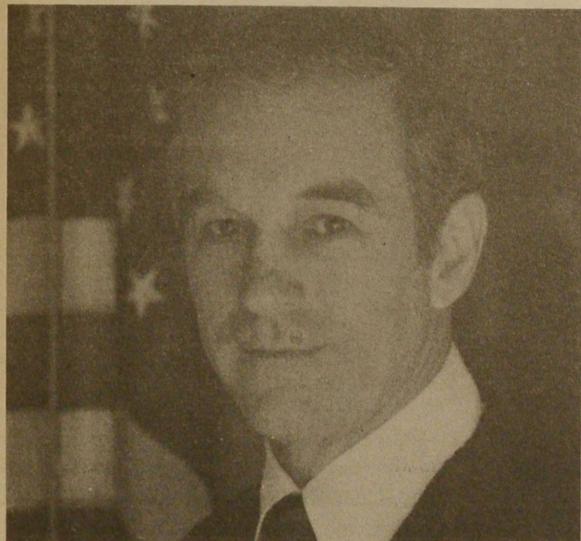
### Breakfasts

On Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday mornings, you can enjoy sumptuous breakfasts and hear from three top Libertarian celebrities while savoring the second cup of coffee.

## Attention Delegates!!!

Before you leave for Philadelphia be sure to mail a press release to your local newspaper along with a photo. Announce that you are a delegate to a National Political Party convention and include details on the agenda and the purpose of the gathering. All delegates will be receiving a sample release two weeks before the convention from Liberty Associates. Now is the time to get your favorite photo ready for use with this release.

# The Ron Paul Awards Banquet



Ron Paul

## Package Description and Price Schedule

Complete Package: All business sessions, all speakers and workshops, special events and banquet, three breakfasts.

\$259.95 Mailed 7/16 to 8/1

\$279.95 Mailed 8/2 to 8/25

Not available at door.

Delegate Package: All business sessions, all speakers and workshops, exhibits, Atlantic City trip only, Banquet (no breakfasts).

\$179.00 Mailed 7/16 to 8/1

\$199.00 Mailed 8/2 to 8/25

Not available at door.

Basic Package: All business sessions, all speakers, Atlantic City trip, all workshops (no meals).

\$129.00 Mailed 7/16 to 8/1

\$149.00 Mailed 8/2 to 8/25

Will be available at door.

## Special Events Of the Convention

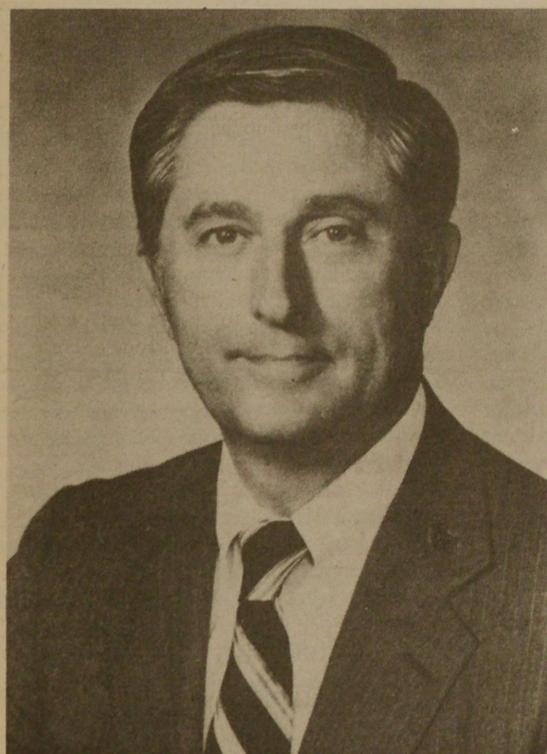
Wednesday August 30 Council of State Chairs  
National Committee Meeting  
SIL Banquet "Karl Hess Roast"

Thursday August 31 Nobel Prize Nominees:  
Leon Loew & Francis Kendall  
"War on Drugs" Panel  
The Philadelphia Food Experience  
THE ATLANTIC CITY TRIP  
"The Libertarian Roots...the 60's"

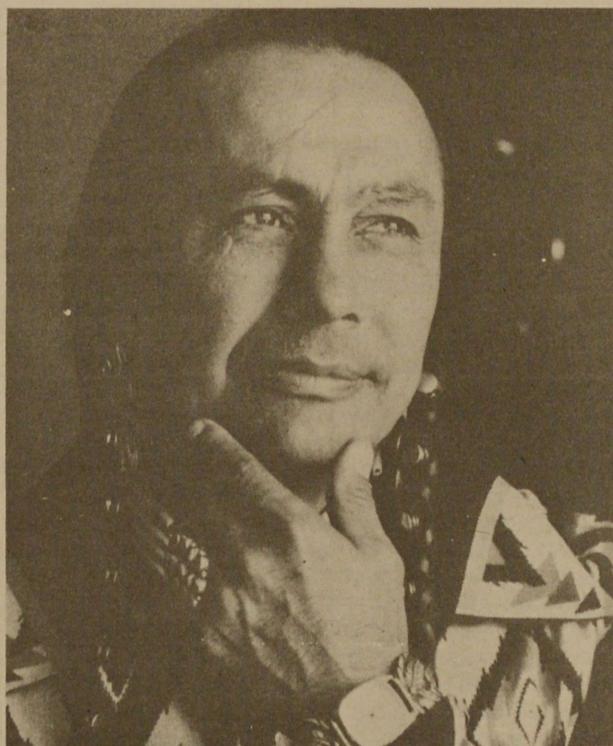
Friday September 1 "Our Allies in the Movement"  
"Liberty & The Media" Panel  
Issues Panel  
"Mind Focus" Michael Emerling  
"Religion & Liberty" Marshall Fritz  
"Individual Achievement &  
Individual Liberty" Dick Bodie  
INDEPENDENCE HALL EVENT  
INDEPENDENCE HALL

Saturday September 2 OUTREACH DAY  
RON PAUL AWARDS BANQUET

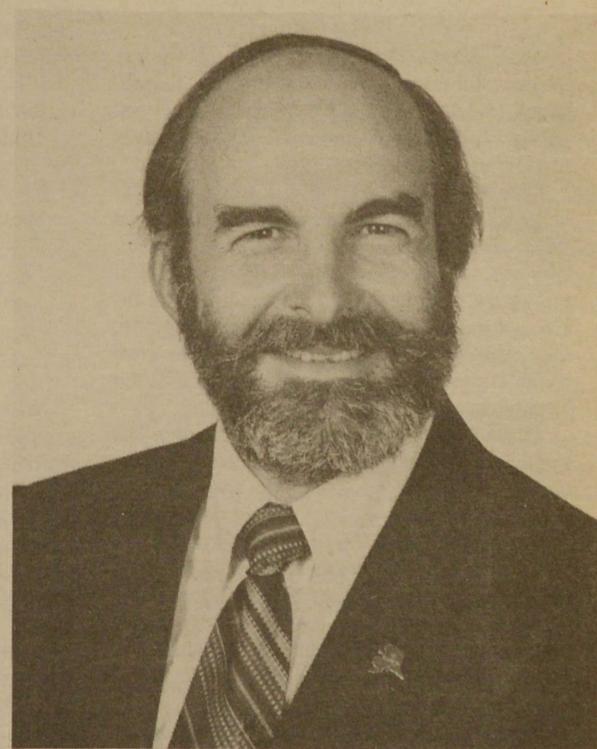
## Our Breakfast Speakers



Jim Lewis



Russell Means



Andre Marrou

**Presidents, No**

As a new Libertarian, I was very disappointed by the last election. A lot of money, and the work of many talented people was wasted going after the presidency. Where is it written that having a party means you have to run for the White House? That's the same centralized mentality that got us in this sorry state to begin with—everyone wants their own anointed king to ride in and save the country.

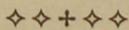
I live in a city that is falling apart. Jobs are fleeing, services don't serve, schools don't teach, drug wars in the streets. That is reality for a lot of people in this country; not some pie-in-the-sky theories from people who've never run anything.

A party that believes in decentralization should step out of the rigged game and change the rules.

Instead of blowing our resources tilting at national windmills, or filling ballots with anyone who'll volunteer, let's concentrate all that effort on electing a few *competent* Libertarians in a few key races in *one city*. No NES, no network behemoths. If we can present competent people with practical solutions we have a good chance to win.

And if we do a good job, Libertarianism will spread—from the bottom up, with a solid base. That's the only kind of change that lasts.

**Mike Branhut**  
Philadelphia, PA



**Campaigns, No**

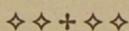
I don't want a whole newspaper telling me about election results, campaigning strategies, drawbacks, successes, etc., etc., etc!!!

I want to know what the Libertarian Party is like. I want to know what the Libertarian view is on not only issues, but events; i.e., the bombing of that 747, Libya, Nicaragua, the Iran-Contra scandal. I want the non "UPI, AP, CBS," etc., version of the news.

If the Libertarian Party NEWS is meant for those who campaigned and care about such statistics, fine. But call it the Libertarian Campaigners News and don't put Liberty Enlightening the World under it. And don't send it to me. What is so enlightening about campaign tactics? Who cares? Maybe your more active members, but not the 450,000 people that voted Libertarian last time but not this time. If they got this kind of mail and news, no wonder they didn't come back. I may not either if there is an acceptable Republican or Democratic candidate next time.

Maybe you only put out this kind of publication in the wake of the election, maybe not, but for a lot of people having their first encounter with the Libertarian Party, first impressions make a difference.

**Karen Ness Cate**



**Ballot OK**

Many people like to say that the LP combines the best of the traditional Democrats and Republicans. It also seems that we combine their worst points. We fight like Democrats and hold grudges like Republicans.

The most recent example is this fight over ballot access. In past years everyone forgot about ballot access until the next election. This year, however, we have been blessed with a couple of groups trying to keep the momentum going. Instead of quietly joining forces to help the party, they have been in a war the like of which we haven't seen since the Democrats fought the Republicans over Judge Bork.

I have met many of the people involved in this and they are all honest, good, hardworking Libertarians. As far as I know none have claimed perfection and I know of not one Libertarian that is getting rich over our fight for freedom.

I cannot believe that any of them have set out to be dishonest or to cheat fellow Libertarians. Mistakes may have been made by overworked, undercapitalized people trying to do everything with almost nothing. Those involved have tried to correct any errors they made.

This entire problem could have been ironed out months ago if we would have locked all the principals in a room with lots of salty popcorn, lemonade, and no bathroom. Come on, guys, give

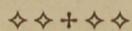


**Letters to the Editors**

**LP NEWS**  
P.O. Box 173  
Kearneysville, WV 25430

us a break. We have more worthy opponents to fight.

**Steven C. Jayne**  
Ocean Springs, MS



**BBS, Up**

I've recently brought my new computer bulletin board system online. Its information is as follows:

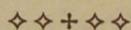
Name: Dan's Den. Sysop: Daniel Tobias. Location: Shreveport, LA. Phone: 318/424-9260. Baud: 300, 1200, or 2400. Online: 24 hours. FidoNet address: 1:380/7. System: Northgate 386/16 with 65 MB hard disk and a Packard Bell modem, running MS-DOS 4.01, DesqView 2.22, and OPUS-CBCS 1.03B. Topics: Libertarianism; discussion and debate on a number of other subjects; genealogy; science fiction; comics; Mensa and other high-IQ societies; download files for MS-DOS, Commodore, Apple, and other machines.

The LIBERTY echomail conference is publicly accessible, and LP members who call can gain access to the LPUS conference for internal party discussions.

My new system joins a growing number of BBSes around the country that support libertarian topics. I intend on using it for both outreach and internal communication. I would appreciate the upload of files of libertarian interest, such as descriptions of libertarian organizations, position papers on political issues, etc.

...I'd be happy to provide whatever assistance I can to other libertarians who wish to go online.

**Daniel Tobias**  
Shreveport, LA



**Oath, No**

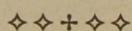
Isn't it about time we dropped the signing of the oath requirement, to be a Libertarian member?

As a new member, I resent that we are forced to sign an oath stating that we do not believe in force!

What a great way to welcome new members—tell them we believe in liberty and freedom for all, and then forcing them to sign an oath which represents a small portion of Libertarian philosophy. How long will this detrimental hypocrisy continue?

I think we should have no oath at all, or at most the statement: "I generally agree with the principles of the American revolution and freedom and liberty for all."

**John N. Maguire III**  
Myrtle Beach, SC



**NRA, Yes**

With all the things that we are doing in order to expand our party's efforts, I would like to relate my recent experiences and suggestions to you.

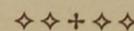
I was the central district state senate candidate in the last election. I had little or no support, no funds and showed about four percent in the returns. One of the things that hindered the campaign was a snub by the National Rifle Association of which I am a life member. I was totally ignored in the mailer they sent out with suggested candidates/endorsements. I won't go into the details but suffice it to say that I received a serious snub from the executive vice president, Mr. J. Warren Cassidy.

In the latest issue of the *Rifleman* (NRA's official journal), a letter appeared from a gentle-

man asking why there was so little support for the LP when we, of all people, most strongly support the constitution and the second amendment without the backsliding that the other parties have performed.

Frankly, we could use the support of NRA members and supporters. What we stand for is exactly what they stand for. I therefore suggest that any LP people who are NRA life members or better that have a voice or influence in the NRA will attend state or national NRA meetings to carry our message to them.

**Kirt R. "Sandy" Harmon**  
Tonopah, NV



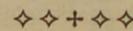
**Name Change**

I think the Libertarian Party would be more successful if their name was changed. Most Americans cannot define Libertarian. Even though they probably could not define Democratic or Republican, those words elicit a more favorable image.

Whenever I mention the Libertarian Party, people always ask what does Libertarian mean. Most associate the word with liberal, which connotes quasi-socialism.

Perhaps Liberty Party or Freedom Party.

**Norman Gorback, DDS**  
Plantation, FL



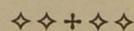
**Humanitarianism**

I have been exhorting anyone who would listen to get active in local charity organizations and community affairs for a while now.

Our state chair, Paula Zimmer, is very active in a number of civic organizations in the Jacksonville area. She does volunteer work for the suicide prevention hotline and teaches handicapped children in addition to everything else she is involved with. I myself contribute ideas to the Sierra Club, The Turtle Preservation Society, and time and photographic expertise to the Brevard Historical Society as well as Habitat For Humanity.

I would seriously recommend that Libertarians nationwide get as active as their time allows in working for their local Habitat For Humanity chapters. This is a truly fine organization that is doing a great deal to help the homeless and doing this without money from the government. They loan the people who qualify for a house the money at no interest and the family that qualifies then works for 500 hours on houses for others who have qualified and done their 500 hours of work. They are charged only for the materials that are used as all labor is volunteer. Because they work on their house and upon completion assume the responsibility of ownership, they are naturally proud of their achievement. Truly a Libertarian solution to housing. I am trying to motivate the Libertarians in Florida to get out and work for Habitat on weekends. It would be great for our image if Libertarians nationwide got behind this organization.

**Jim Culberson**  
Region 3 Rep.  
Melbourne, FL



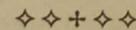
**Protesters, Unite**

Over six years ago I became an income tax resister in spite of my aversion to trials, prisons, and other government torments because my aversion to taxes was even greater. But instead of putting a small fish like me on trial, the IRS

eventually struck with a weapon that I didn't know existed. Using its ill-gotten legislative, judicial, and executive powers, the IRS is stealing all but \$75/week of my salary. Since \$75 is not enough to live on, taxation goes beyond theft and becomes murder.

I would like to communicate with other tax resisters who are being similarly attacked by the IRS. Why should we remain isolated, desperate individuals when we might just as well be a band of desperados? If you are a victim of the same kind of IRS abuse and would be interested in contacting others, please write to me.

**Thomas R. Lawrence**  
140 Madbury Road, Apt. 4  
Durham, NH 03824



**Child Rights**

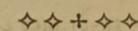
Currently, the "Children's Rights" plank in the Libertarian Party platform implicitly raises but does not address an important issue: Under Libertarian principles, do parents *owe* their dependent children care and protection? Or do they have a right to choose to abandon them?

The plank says, "Whenever parents or other guardians are unable or unwilling to care for their children, those guardians have the right to seek other persons who are willing to assume guardianship...."

The problem is, what if the unwilling parents or guardians are unwilling to make any effort to be a substitute and their dependent children are unable to do so for themselves? Do Libertarian principles permit them to abandon their children? Even if the children will die?

The plank, unfortunately, gives us no answer. Nor does it indicate whether the parents have any obligations to their children if they seek but fail to find a willing substitute.

**Doris Gordon**  
National Coordinator, Libertarians for Life  
Wheaton, MD



**Child Wrongs**

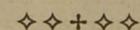
I urge Libertarians as individuals and as a party to touch bases with children's rights organizations. One I am active in is People Opposed to Paddling Students (POPS). We Libertarians, of course, advocate private education, and I personally think the public schools are no place for a child whose parents are serious about the main purpose of education—to teach the student to think rationally and independently.

However, public schools are not going to be phased out any time soon. Meanwhile, steps must be taken to protect the individual rights of students, teachers, employees, and parents as people involved with the school as much as people outside of the school. Corporal punishment in public schools is still legal and widely used in 37 states. The horror stories would never be believed if there were not so many of them. POPS is at P. O. Box 19045, Houston, TX 77224.

Child abuse is a very important issue. Of course, [even though] I acknowledge that the free will is the main factor in governing an individual's behavior, people most often believe and act the way they have been taught. Corporal punishment teaches violence. It lowers self-esteem in little children who have no way of knowing that hitting is the fault of the *hitter* and not the *hittee*. People of low self-esteem are more likely to be passive and involved with crime, drugs, or gangs. If they eventually wind up in positions of power, the result is an increasingly regimented society and the increased likelihood of war. (Remind you of anything going on in Washington?)

People of high self-esteem are more likely to be assertive and productive and to acknowledge the fact that individuals have rights. (Remind you of a certain political party?)

**Alice Lillie**  
Los Angeles, CA



**Underground**

I wonder why Richard Mitchell and his *The Underground Grammarian* have never been in-

## ✍ Letters to the Editor ✍

continued from page 11

cluded in a list of libertarian publications. Dr. Mitchell is one of those folks who are libertarians and don't know it.

In 1976, Mitchell began publishing the UG to expose the fractured English of educationists. Over the years, he discovered that the mendacious babble of the government school functionaries was only the outward manifestation of their astounding anti-intellectualism and hatred of the individual mind. He has since become an unrelenting critic of government schools. Consider this passage:

"As schools, and consequently the rest of society, become more anarchic, the educationists can point to an ever greater need for the inculcation of values, and every failed experiment makes room for new devils in the guise of faddish innovations."

And, lest you think the good doctor is a "conservative":

"Sometimes it seems that every illusion that cripples the mind is taught in schools. The silly notion that if one ideological faction is wrong the other must be right is planted in our minds by the belief that true/false tests have something to do with education. We imagine some real difference between Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives, government educationists and church educationists. They are all alike. Their prosperity depends on our believing that beliefs and sentiments, *theirs*, of course, are somehow *finer, nobler, more virtuous or humane* than mere Reason."

The address of *The Underground Grammarian* is P. O. Box 203, Glassboro, NJ 08028.

David J. Kramer  
Sunnyvale, CA

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### Insurance Laws

Certainly we Libertarians realize that, as long as *mandatory insurance* laws exist some insurance cartel will charge as much as they damn well please. They know we are *required by law* to buy insurance and also know that *forcing* individuals to purchase insurance renders the laws of supply and demand void.

When consumers are *free to refuse* to buy a product, the laws of supply and demand will keep the price of said product in line. When consumers are forced to buy a product, the price will go through the roof!

Why then, when the cost of insurance has commanded so much media attention, should we Libertarians remain next to silent? Are we Libertarians afraid to write letters to our local newspapers and call radio talk shows to make our views known?

It is only by taking our views and solutions to the mass audience, aka the general public, that we will capture the attention of potential Libertarians. So let's get off our butts and write those letters or make those calls!

Dennis A. Kjeldergaard  
St. Cloud, MN

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### Air Questions

In Dr. Hess' "Man, Nature, State," I found his comments on farm subsidy and conservation pertinent and to the point. However, his comments on air pollution were erroneous and left much to be desired. He accuses the Best Available Control Technology (BACT) of being the cause of today's problems. He is seemingly oblivious to the fact that prior to BACT and its relatives there was no environmental excellence from industry and pollution was worse than it is today. I would like to hope that there is something better than the traditional "command and control" approach to air pollution. But the sad fact is that prior to it, our air was worse and our water was worse. Had not public outrage prompted Congress to create the EPA and subsequent pollution standards, today's air pollution would probably be unimaginably bad! To date, industry, individual, and government polluters have been forced, kicking and screaming all the way, to even accept responsibility

for their pollution, start to clean it up, and then reduce their pollution output.

Dr. Hess proposes a "pollution rights" program. Buy a certificate to pollute! The flaw is that those with big bucks and big pollution can afford to buy rights and pollute wantonly. Potentially, one could buy rights for rural Nebraska and then use them to pollute in metropolitan Los Angeles, the worst air pollution in the U.S. already. To make this idea more workable, rights must be regional. The amount of pollution that the air can absorb varies from region to region due to differences in weather and geography. The rights could not be transferred out of a region. The permit must have a definite lifetime or else it would allow pollution to go on at uninterrupted levels and be unaffected by new pollution control technologies. In some cases, BACT proposals have definite life spans so that after five or 10 years the polluter must further reduce his output.

The certificates should be finite in number since each region has a maximum amount of pollution it can handle. But what do we do about the new industry that is far lower in pollution output, in an area "brought out" by high pollution industries? We already know that industries hold their emission credits even when not in use. Few ever sell them.

There must be a means of upgrading pollution control systems in place on existing polluters. After all, the past century has shown us that it is cheaper to pollute than to not pollute. Few industries are environmentally responsible enough to make the necessary, ongoing upgrades without being forced into it by the government.

Robert C. Clark  
Upland, CA

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### Electors

It is of course perfectly true that each state has the right to choose its electors howsoever its legislature thinks fit, so long always as no member of Congress be included; a state could allot one elector to each congressional district (the Philadelphia convention visualized their being "appointed"). But it is quite wrong to suggest that the states can decide how their electors shall vote.

Both Article II, Section 1, and the Twelfth Article of Amendment require the electors to send their lists to the president of the Senate "sealed" (in the Twelfth Amendment, the crucial word is picked out with commas); after the lists are opened and the ballots counted, the House "immediately" chooses a president. What does this imply? It means that, until the president of the Senate has opened the lists, no one knows for whom the electors have voted (because the electors meet and ballot *in camera*), so that an ambitious candidate cannot go to a representative and say, "Support me for president and I will do favors for your state."

The reason why, *de facto*, no one can run for president without having several million dollars to spend is that some states, such as California and Nevada, require their electors to follow the popular vote—but this kind of abuse was foreseen and forestalled in 1787! As I suggested to Roger MacBride in 1976, we should strive to see that our states follow the Constitution—where the electors take an oath to uphold the Constitution, we might even bring suit to require them so to do.

Brian W. Firth  
Inglewood, CA

## Let Us Know Where You Are

The U. S. Postal Service has been returning many copies of the NEWS because of incorrect or out-of-date addresses. If you haven't been getting the paper lately that could be the reason.

Please keep the **national office** (NOT the NEWS) informed of address changes.

The national office address is 1528 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

## Directory of Bulletin Board Systems Carrying Libertarian Message and File Areas

The following Fidonet computer bulletin boards carry the LIBERTY echo, a nationwide message facility for libertarian news and discussion.

Address	System Name	Phone Number Location	Sysop
1:105/210	Activist	503-697-0533 Lake Oswego, OR	Bill Jones
1:382/35	Ask Me!	512-834-8022 Austin, TX	Steve Shapiro
1:17/47	Cosper Mansion	503-888-4166 Charleston, OR	Lewis Cosper
1:120/116	CRIMP	313-582-6671 Dearborn, MI	Paul Williams
1:380/7	Dan's Den	318-424-9260 Shreveport, LA	Daniel Tobias
1:152/20	Dehnbases Emerald	503-485-3578 Eugene, OR	Joe Dehn
1:104/423	Free Thought	303-860-9259 Denver, CO	Bill Williams
1:343/30	Horsefeathers	206-743-0583 Lynnwood, WA	Van Van Horn
1:143/21	House of Ill Compute	408-733-3734 Sunnyvale, CA	Jim Cannell
1:100/520	Java Shop	314-771-2940 St. Louis, MO	Bob Schmedake
1:120/144	John Galt	313-582-2528 Dearborn, MI	Paul Williams
1:130/36	John Galt Line	817-244-4258 Ft. Worth, TX	Peter Glaskowsky
1:106/1776	Liberty Houston	713-785-4763 Houston, TX	Craig Haynie
1:105/205	Liberty Northwest	503-635-5948 Portland, OR	Bill Spears
1:304/1	Nexus	602-526-8025 Flagstaff, AZ	Linda Murphy
1:379/205	Pontefex	704-825-6201 Charlotte, NC	Ron Millar
1:343/27	Prog. Info. Exch.	206-776-6790 Lynnwood, WA	Paul West
1:100/523	WierdBase	314-741-2231 St. Louis, MO	Brad Hicks

In addition, the following computer bulletin boards carry libertarian discussion areas and/or files:

Black Board	+47 2 55 55 61 Oslo, Norway	Bjorn Kjolseth
Const. Pathway 13	405-329-6464 Norman, OK	Whitney Boutin
Galt's Gulch	914-795-2630 Milton, NY	Larry Pieniazek
Imad-ad-Dean	301-656-4714 Bethesda, MD (7pmFri-3pmSun only)	Ingar Holst
Ingar Holst	+47 2 55 98 43 Oslo, Norway	Mike Iddings
Liberty Bell	408-243-1933 San Jose, CA	

Please send updates to this list to Joe Dehn at Fido 1:152/20; or CompuServe: 70305,241; MCI Mail: 106-6052; Internet: Joe.Dehn@f20.n152.z1.fidonet.org; USPS: PO Box 11692, Eugene, OR 97440 USA.

## Florida: A Shining Example

By Charles Manhart

The Florida Libertarian Party has grown from 25 paid members to 250 in three years. This year (1989-90), we expect to add 500 paid members and 20 county affiliates. Perhaps what we've learned in the process will help others.

Morale is the vital ingredient. It is the belief that effort is useful and will be recognized and appreciated. Encourage the use of the magic words "Please" and "Thank you." People work for pay. Our only pay is appreciation. Be sure that those who earn it get well paid. Good things to do are to mention efforts and results in your newsletter and have recognition and appreciation ceremonies at conventions or meetings.

Success is also good for morale. Try to plan a series of small projects that are likely to succeed. Be certain that each person's part has a definite limit. Ask for a precise amount: 10 phone calls, one letter to the editor, one new member, etc. "Pay" on delivery. Then, if they wish, give another limited assignment. Enough small success stories add up to a larger LP. The officers' main job is to act as a cheerleading squad. Use the personal touch, keep in contact, encourage when needed, praise when earned. Small things, but fatal when forgotten.

Let form follow function. Each officer should have definite duties to perform between meetings and report on them as the first item of business. Any executive group of more than 12 is unlikely to function well. A small group, a definite job, and a chance to shine encourage good performance.

After morale building, the next most important task of the state organization is helping the formation of local or county organizations. In this, as in all else, grandiose does not work. Stick to groundwork. If each member recruits one new person per year, your party will double each year.

We are too small to interest the big media. Go for those in our price range. Small weekly papers are starved for news. Give it to them ready to print.

Skip the lectures; just report names and events. The same goes for small radio talk shows. They need guests. Provide them. Urge members to form personal contacts with media people. Don't push the philosophy, merely let them know that we are sane and reasonable. Always aim for the gracious personal touch. You will know when the groundwork is complete; the media will start calling you.

Conventions are often a sore spot. Bear in mind that conventions are to build the LP, not some traveling lecturer's bank account. One paid speaker is enough for any but the largest of state parties. Often free or inexpensive speakers are available. Use the opportunity to let some of your own people shine. A little limelight is a great motivator. Set reachable goals, delegate effectively, use the personal touch, and look for chances to make others shine.

Newsletters can be a terrific morale-building, party-building source of members and income. Most aren't. Let those who want philosophy read a book. A newsletter is for news. Report on people and activities. When someone does something useful, an article about them is a nice pat on the head. Small and regular are better than glitzy and seldom. Let members know who is doing what in their area. Keep it neat, clean, and informative. Sell ads. Use it as a reason to visit real newspapers for how-to-do-it tips. Three prime functions for a newsletter are to reward activists, activate non-activists, and find new members. These can be done by satisfying the universal human desire for attention and applause.

Follow these steps for a larger, happier LP. Set a good example. Let people know that their efforts are appreciated. Delegate effectively in bite size chunks. Aim for a series of small, do-able projects. Build good personal relations with local small media. Use conventions, meetings, and newsletters to boost morale and membership. The only way to build up a party is to build up the people in it. Do this and they will do the rest.

Florida's Libertarian Party has just formed an affiliate in Hillsborough County. Contact is Grace Payton at 813-935-3553.

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Bernie Baltic of the Ohio Libertarian Party reports a great day for libertarian messages in one issue of the eminent Cleveland Plain Dealer. First was an editorial four-square behind ending ballot access restrictions for new political parties. Another editorial took a free market position on international trade. Finally, the paper reprinted an entire column from the free-market Freeman magazine. The column attacked local "tyrannies" erected to "protect" people but which actually depress initiative.

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Green Revolution, a counterculture journal published in Cochranville, PA, with definite libertarian leanings, announces a new set of priorities for its coverage: money and banking top the list, with land ownership second, and taxation issues third. Although on land ownership the magazine's approach always has stressed "trusteeship" and cooperative modes, it has always resisted the familiar countercultural romanticism of "no ownership." When it comes to money and trade they have shared libertarian concerns about fiat currency and generally favor the free market.

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Members of California's Libertarian Party, including state chair John Vernon, are actively working in a coalition of taxpayer associations which already is putting out its own "call to action" combined newsletter.

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After 30 hours work and \$80 in postage New Hampshire Libertarian Party activist Jim McLarin's plan to uncover "secret" libertarians in the state legislature has paid off, according to the state's outstanding LP newsletter, Libertarian Lines. Jim's procedure was to send Nolan chart questionnaires to the legislators. He asked them to contact the state party if they scored high on the side of liberty. Two have responded so far. One actually scored 100 on the test which measures the span between coercion and voluntary action.

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In another New Hampshire development, a very successful Advocates for Self-Government seminar by libertarian cheerleader Marshal Fritz left attendees committed to the goal of finding five new libertarians each.

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A new libertarian publication is announced in a recent issue of the Illinois Libertarian Party newsletter. Although not a party publication, the new journal, according to Illinois Libertarian editor Lyn D. Tinsley, "has the potential of serving as an effective outreach tool for the Party. The State Central Committee has expressed unanimous moral support for the new publication and has contracted for [a Libertarian Party] ad to appear in every issue..." Editor of the new publication is Ken Prazak.

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Also in Illinois, long-time Libertarian Party member Mike Smith was one of a small number of tax protesters to be formally charged with failure to file. Reports are that there were 78,000 tax protesters in the Chicago area alone with only a handful of outspoken ones picked as examples for prosecution. Current status of Mike's case: negotiating for a plea of no contest on misdemeanor charges in exchange for dropping all felony charges.

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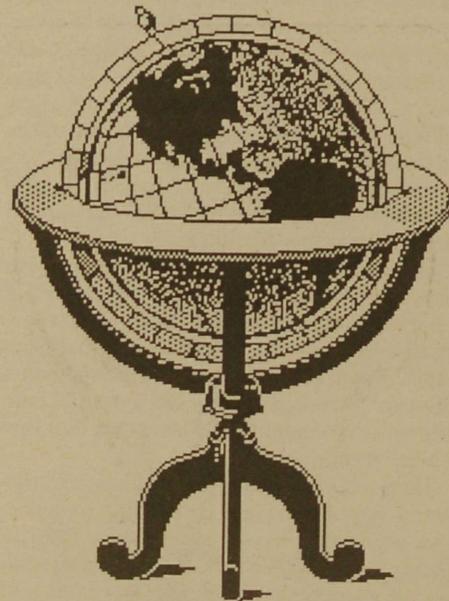
Utah's Libertarian Party is jumping into one of the hottest issues of all: the environment. The party is already planning the first annual Inter-mountain Libertarian Conference on the Environment. Set for next year, the conference is called "Earth, Wind, Fire and Water." Says the state's Party newsletter: "You don't have to be an environmentalist to realize that the major dangers to the environment are the stupid, shortsighted, tree-killing activities of government agencies. All this fight over 'wilderness areas' is a smoke

budget went directly to poor people each poor family would get \$70,000 a year. The actual disparity between that and what they actually get is, of course, the overhead expense of poverty program bureaucracies.

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Strong words from Robert Murphy in the Libertarian Party of Oklahoma newsletter: "The

## Around the States



screen hiding the incredible environmental damage committed by government every year."

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The Templeton Honor Roll program established to recognize "college departments, and individual professors that contribute to our knowledge of free-enterprise economic systems, the philosophy of individual rights and responsibilities, and legal systems based on these concepts" has picked Jennifer Roback, of George Mason University as this year's individual winner. Roback was formerly a contributing editor for the Libertarian Party NEWS. Individual honorable mentions went to Robert Higgs, professor of business administration at Seattle University, E. S. Savas, chairman of the department of management at Baruch College, City University of New York, and Thomas Szasz, well-known for his 'anti-psychiatry' writing, and a professor of psychiatry at the State University of New York Health Science Center.

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Also in New York, the state's Libertarian Party convention, with 100 people attending, raised \$4,000 for the party's treasury.

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Striking posters against zero tolerance drug programs, designed by and being made available by Steven Candidus, formerly of Buffalo, NY, and now active as a libertarian in Houston, Texas (P.O. Box 670511, zip 77267).

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Great comment by Walter Block of the Canadian Fraser Institute speaking at a meeting of Libertarians for Greater Cincinnati. After someone commented that capitalism creates a group of people who are poor, Block retorted "Poor, compared to what? As I see things, the poor under capitalism are usually richer than the middle class...in alternative systems. It is not capitalism that creates the poor. It is, rather, the vestiges of socialism we still have in the society that create poverty." He pointed out that government plans to help the poor actually have helped poverty bureaucrats the most. If the entire social welfare

Demorepublicrats? Vote with your dollars—buy Libertarian!"

Notable among the listings, as an automotive mechanic, is the editor of Virginia Liberty himself, Marc Montoni.

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Utah's super energetic former state chair, Bob Waldrop, turned an unhappy trip to Oklahoma, for a funeral, into a very happy outreach for the Libertarian Party. Once in the state, where he was born, he contacted Agnes Regier, editor of the Oklahoma party's newsletter, just to say hello. She mentioned that there was a rally coming up in Stillwater, at Oklahoma State University, to support the freedom movement in China. Waldrop, after getting outreach material from Regier and painting a poster that stated "Libertarians for a Free China," went straight to the rally. Along with thunderous applause when he spoke to the students, he was interviewed by two papers and was on two TV shows.

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New Mexico Libertarian Party members made the front page of the influential Gallup Independent which reported in detail on an LP meeting in the city of Gallup. The paper highlighted the party's support of the free market and its opposition to current measures to "protect" U.S. industries from competition. They quoted LP member Joseph Knight as saying that "protective tariffs and other import restrictions do not encourage U.S. companies to produce better and cheaper products."

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Detroit Free Press columnist, Hugh McDiarmid, who makes a point of disliking the Michigan Libertarian Party's annual award of screwball and dishonorable mention prizes to state legislators, devoted an entire column to describing them because of an attempt by one legislator to suppress them.

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Rochester, New York, libertarians in the Society for Individual Liberty chapter there are beginning a monthly discussion group, open to the public. The SIL chapter is also, virtually, the Libertarian Party affiliate in the area.

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Libertarian Party of California activist Bruce Daniel has formed a new group, Call to Action, as a grass-roots political action committee. "We will organize a chapter for every assembly district in the state. We will focus political pressure on members of the assembly...coordinated around the state. We will employ a full-time capital correspondent to monitor and lobby in Sacramento, and a full-time state coordinator to organize and support the chapters."

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Pima County, Arizona, Libertarian Party members were received well during a Tax Protest Day at the main Post Office in Tucson. Carrying "honk if you hate taxes" signs they got such an enthusiastic response that it caused a traffic jam which made the news media. They also passed out 500 Libertarian Party cards with mail-in forms for people to get more information.

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Oregon Libertarian Party member Jo McIntyre received widespread, if not approving, attention to a speech in which she called public education a dinosaur about to fall over and asked for voluntarism in education. One paper, the Eugene Register Guard, wrote an editorial saying her 'cures' were worse than any current afflictions in the system. What caused the stir was that she is a member of the McMinnville, OR, School Board. And why is a libertarian serving on a school

NatCom as presently structured is an invitation to obstructionism allowing regional, political, and personality conflicts to hinder our progress. Something must be changed and soon, because the biggest complaint from members is the constant factional fighting on the National Committee. We are at war with the State, and wars require Commanders, not committees. If our party is to grow in membership and influence we must have effective fundraising, advertising, and media relations programs. We mustn't continue to micro-manage the national office and squander our money on useless meetings."

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Colorado's Libertarian Party newsletter CLIP-board, calls on members to put their money where their principles are and to provide crucially needed private charity for Jim Pickett, the husband of Denver party member Anna Pickett. Jim has lymphatic cancer.

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South Carolina Libertarian Party members are hard at work opposing new county auto taxes, one of which, in Aiken County, already has been ruled illegal by a circuit court. In Edgefield County, the LP is the only political party to stand on the side of those opposing new zoning laws. The state party has adopted a slogan of "Take a Bite Out of Government Crime," an apt rallying cry in a state that has set a national record of having more than 100 government officials convicted of federal crimes during just one gubernatorial administration.

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Libertarian Party of Nebraska is reaching out for an obviously sensible alliance with the National Rifle Association by devoting an entire issue of the state party's newsletter to a guest article by an NRA official.

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Smart move by the Libertarian Party of Virginia in their newsletter, Virginia Liberty. They're now publishing a directory of Virginia libertarians offering business or professional services. Says the newsletter: "Take your business to a libertarian. We have members in a wide variety of professions. Why hand your business to someone who contributes to the problem by voting for the

The following are excerpts from reports, summaries, and press releases received from widely respected liberty-oriented research groups.

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## Taxes

(By Michael Walker, from *The Fraser Institute*, 626 Bute Street, Vancouver, B.C. V6E 3M1.)

In conjunction with research recently done for a book entitled *Tax Facts Six*, co-authored with Mrs. Sally Pipes, I did some calculations of exactly how much income the [Canadian] government would get if instead of phuzzing around it really got serious about taxing the rich. First of all, of course, I had to define what rich was and after discussion with some colleagues and observing the salaries of members of Parliament I concluded that probably \$50,000 a year would be a reasonable breaking point.

Well, it turns out that for the latest year for which we have information some 690,750 persons in Canada filed tax returns reporting income of \$50,000 or more. Total income reported by these people was some \$57 billion. If, following the notion that nobody would have an income higher than \$50,000, the government then taxed away all of the income beyond \$50,000, total tax revenue in 1985 would have been \$8.5 billion higher than it actually was.

That sounds like a lot, but it in fact amounted to only about eight percent of the total cost of running the federal government alone in that year. Nevertheless, you might be wondering what would happen if that \$8.5 billion was distributed to all of those whose total income was less than \$50,000. It turns out there are 15 million of those and distributing the \$8.5 billion to them would yield an average annual payment of \$566 for each person submitting a tax return.

This is not a gargantuan amount, but it certainly isn't peanuts either and you may be thinking it might be worth a try. Two facts to keep in mind. The first is that we probably would only get to do it once because it's unlikely after a 100 percent tax rate was assessed against income above \$50,000 that anybody would earn more than \$50,000. The second point is that exactly the same amount of benefit will be generated for Canadians in just over a year's economic growth—even if the benefits from that growth were distributed in the same way as current income is distributed.

The final, and perhaps most important, conclusion which is suggested by this analysis is that since 81 percent of all the income earned by Canadians is earned by those whose incomes are less than \$50,000 per year (the non-rich as we have defined them), the bulk of the burden of an expansive government will also be borne by that group.

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## Privatization

(By James Taranto, from "Privatization Watch" newsletter, \$95 per year, Local Government Center of the Reason Foundation, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Santa Monica, CA 90405.)

Across the country, state legislatures are considering initiatives to privatize a variety of services ranging from prisons to liquor stores.

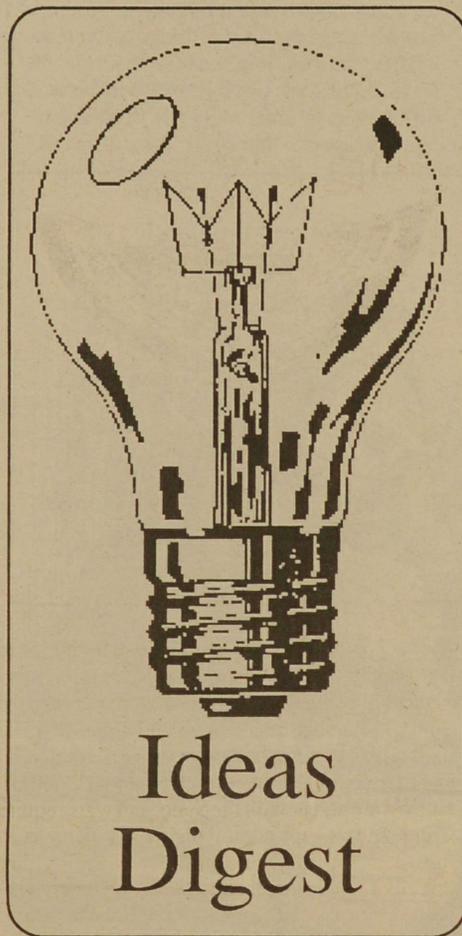
In Michigan, State Senator Robert Geake has introduced a bill that would allow cities to contract for private operation of jails. The Colorado House of Representatives, meanwhile, passed a bill allowing the state to acquire privately funded prisons. (However, the law requires legislative authorization before using such prisons.) And in Indiana, talk of privatizing the construction and operation of prisons continues despite an unsuccessful assembly bill last term.

The Colorado Legislature has also tackled transportation issues, passing legislation to turn 20 percent of the bus routes of the Regional Transportation District (RTD) over to private industry. The bill originally called for full privatization of RTD but was watered down after

Governor Roy Romer threatened to veto it. Another bill, which would have required school districts to accept private bids for school bus services, was withdrawn when it appeared headed for defeat. Still, State Senator Ray Powers says the issue will likely resurface next year.

Governor Ned McWherter of Tennessee signed a bill that allows private developers to build recreational facilities in state parks. The state Department of Conservation supported the bill, while environmental groups complained that it was "sneaked through" the legislature.

The Alabama House of Representatives, meanwhile, rejected a bill that would have privatized the wholesale and retail liquor business, which is



currently controlled by the state. Representative Taylor Harper immediately reintroduced the bill. And in Ohio, a bill to turn unprofitable state liquor stores over to private management would save the state an estimated \$12.5 million but is drawing strong opposition in the legislature.

Several states are considering or have passed general privatization initiatives. Utah, Idaho, Vermont, Connecticut, Virginia, Georgia, and Ohio have all either completed or authorized studies of privatization. Legislative committees in Colorado are studying a bill detailing a method of comparing the costs of public and private provision of state services. Ohio State Senator Cooper Smith is sponsoring bills to authorize privatization of all local services and encourage privatization of as many state services as possible. But the Indiana House of Representatives bowed to pressure from public employee unions and rejected a bill that would have allowed privatization of local services.

Privatization has had a mixed bag of successes and failures in state houses across the country, but it's clearly an idea that's here to stay.

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## Schools

(From "Heartland Insider," newsletter of *The Heartland Institute*, 59 East Van Buren, Suite 810, Chicago, IL 60605.)

A new publication by The Heartland Institute is helping to change the direction of school reform in Illinois and across the country. The book, titled *We Can Rescue Our Children: The Cure for Chicago's Public School Crisis*, was co-authored by Heartland Executive Director Joseph Bast, University of Illinois Professor Herbert J. Walberg,

Loyola University Professor Michael J. Bakalis, and URF (United Republican Fund) Education Foundation Executive Director Steven Baer.

The book reviews the sad state of public education in Chicago and the rest of America, and examines the underlying causes of the crisis. The authors contend that barriers to parental involvement in school management, policies that encourage bureaucracy to flourish, and the lack of competition among schools are responsible for the schools' failure.

It proposes a two-step "cure" to the public school crisis. The first step, part of a plan promoted in Springfield by Chicago United, Inc., and Chicagoans United to Reform Education (CURE), would decentralize school administration and allow parents to choose which public school their children attend. The second step, called Education Rebates, would allow any resident of Chicago who contributes to a public or private school to get a cash rebate of an equal amount from the County Treasurer's Office.

Single copies of the book are available for \$1.75 plus \$1.25 for postage and handling. Quantity discounts are available.

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## Property

(By David Bernstein, *Institute for Humane Studies*, George Mason University, 4400 University Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030.)

Do property owners have Fifth Amendment rights? Although the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution is famous for prohibiting self-incrimination, few people know that the Fifth Amendment also protects the right to private property: "No person shall...be deprived of...property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

In the last few decades the Supreme Court has discovered such constitutional "rights" as the right of children to be bussed to distant schools despite their parents' objections. Meanwhile, the right to property, which is mentioned explicitly in the Constitution, has been whittled down tremendously by the Supreme Court's narrow interpretation. The way the law now stands, the government may regulate the citizen's property in just about any way it chooses as long as the actual title remains in private hands.

... If we are to preserve valued freedoms, the courts must realize that the right to property implies not only the right to retain title to property, but the right of the owner to determine how he wants to use it without unwarranted state interference. As Nobel Laureate F. A. Hayek said, "To be controlled in our economic pursuits is to be controlled in everything." If the judiciary continues to ignore the Fifth Amendment, and allows the government to control our most basic economic activities, the freedoms that Americans take for granted will be in jeopardy.

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## Farms

(From *The Cato Institute*, 224 Second Street, S.E., Washington, DC 20003.)

Few people have been helped by the massive farm subsidy programs that have developed over the past 50 years, charges a new book published by the Cato Institute. In *The High Cost of Farm Welfare*, agricultural economist Clifton B. Luttrell examines the federal farm programs in detail and concludes that their enormous costs far outweigh their benefits, which are generally confined to a small number of landowners.

Luttrell argues that contrary to the rhetoric of their proponents, the farm programs are not designed primarily to help the rural poor. "If eliminating farm poverty were the only goal of U.S. agricultural policy, it could be done relatively cheaply—for about \$4 billion at most—simply by sending payments directly to families below the poverty line," he writes.

... Luttrell contends that the farm programs could be dismantled over a period of several years "without undue turmoil." Such a change not only would increase the economic viability of the nation's farming sector but would reduce the federal budget deficit by as much as \$25 billion, provide major savings for consumers and taxpayers, ease tensions between the United States and its allies, and spur economic development in the Third World.

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## Insurance

(From *The National Center for Policy Analysis*, 7701 N. Stemmons, Suite 800, Dallas, TX 75247.)

As many as 9.3 million people lack health insurance because of state government regulations, according to a new study by the National Center for Policy Analysis.

The study, written by health economists John Goodman and Gerald Musgrave, says that one out of every four people who lack health insurance have been priced out of the market because special interest legislation has driven up the cost of health insurance. Specifically,

- At least 13 states have regulations that attempt to induce insurers to cover people who already have AIDS or who are at high risk of getting AIDS.

- Thirty-seven states mandate coverage for chiropractors, three states mandate coverage for acupuncturists, and two states mandate coverage for naturopaths (who specialize in prescribing herbs).

- Laws in 40 states require health insurance policies to cover alcoholism, 20 states mandate coverage for drug abuse, and 30 states require coverage for mental health problems.

- Five states even mandate coverage for *in vitro* fertilization.

"Special interest lobbies represent virtually every disease and disability and as many as 240 different health care provider groups," said Goodman. "Because of special interest regulations, people are unable to buy no-frills health insurance tailored to individual and family needs."

- In 1970, there were only 30 mandated health insurance benefit laws in the United States.

- Today there are at least 686 mandates, including laws in every state in the union.

"These laws leave people with only one of two choices: Either buy an expensive, Cadillac package of health insurance benefits or risk having no health insurance," said Goodman. "Millions of Americans are deciding not to buy any insurance," he said.

## Encyclopedia Needs LP Articles Written

The *Encyclopedia of American Libertarianism and Anarchism*, to be published next year by Garland Publishing Co., is looking for authors who can contribute entries on the Libertarian Party.

A complete list of subject headings, and a style sheet, can be obtained from The Agorist Institute, 236 East Third Street, Long Beach, CA 90802.

The editor, Samuel Konkin III, says that "activists will find the working conditions normal: no

pay, hard work, and deferred glory. However, you will gain two things: your byline on every entry you write and which is accepted, and the chance to finally see a little part of history written right—because you wrote it. Most entries concerning the Libertarian Party still need authors."

Show me a Puritan and I'll show you a son-of-a-bitch.

H.L. Mencken

# Matching Funds—Clashing Opinions

## Take the Money

By David F. Nolan

When, if ever, should a Libertarian candidate for president accept campaign money from the federal government? This is a subject of increasing debate among LP members, and is likely to be a "hot issue" at the upcoming national convention in Philadelphia. Here, for your consideration, are some thoughts on the subject.

Let's begin with the facts. As things currently stand, federal "matching" funds are available to presidential candidates (not parties!) who raise a certain amount of money in their quest for their party's nomination.

Only contributions received prior to obtaining the nomination are eligible for matching funds, and any candidate who qualifies can apply for them—even if he isn't nominated by any party, and regardless of whether the party approves. It's a decision for each individual candidate to make...period.

Nonetheless, it's appropriate for Libertarians to make their sentiments known so that prospective candidates can act accordingly. And while the issue provokes heated responses on all sides, it's not as simple as it might first appear.

### Violation of Principle?

Those who oppose taking matching funds under any circumstances argue that to do so would be a violation of principle—that it amounts to taking stolen money, and that Libertarians shouldn't do that, ever.

Unfortunately, we all take stolen money—or use services financed with stolen money—every day. Every Libertarian I know uses the public roads. Most use public parks and libraries, and many send their children to public schools.

We do these things not because we want to, but because there is often no reasonable alternative. Like it or not, we pay for these services, and most of us don't feel guilty about using them.

We'll probably feel a bit guiltier about cashing our Social Security checks when we turn 65, because that money will be coming directly from a new generation of robbery victims, but most of us will probably still cash them. After all, we're only reclaiming part of what was stolen from us.

And what about those of us whose salaries are paid, in whole or in part, with tax money?

Are Libertarians who teach at tax-supported colleges immoral? After all, they are deliberately choosing to accept money stolen from others—to "eat at the public trough." Or are they more properly viewed as heroes, doing battle for our cause in the largely hostile academic world?

Hopefully, I've made my point. Saying "Never take money from the government" may be very satisfying, emotionally, but it doesn't have much to do with the world we live in.

We do have to stand by our principles, but that means more than just spouting slogans. It means looking at the choices we face, and deciding how to apply those principles in the context of what is.

### Barriers to Entry

All presidential candidates are not treated equally. The Republican and Democratic nominees are given automatic ballot status in every state. Other candidates, including ours, must go through a long, exhausting, and costly petitioning process in most states.

Typically, the Libertarian nominee must spend about \$500,000 just to get the same ballot status that the two establishment party candidates receive without spending a dime. And even then, we usually wind up on a third or fourth line, while the Republican and Democrat automatically get the top two lines!

Clearly, the cost of obtaining ballot status is one that is imposed on our candidates by government, and imposed in an inequitable manner. This being the case, it seems reasonable to accept a reimbursement of those costs if we qualify.

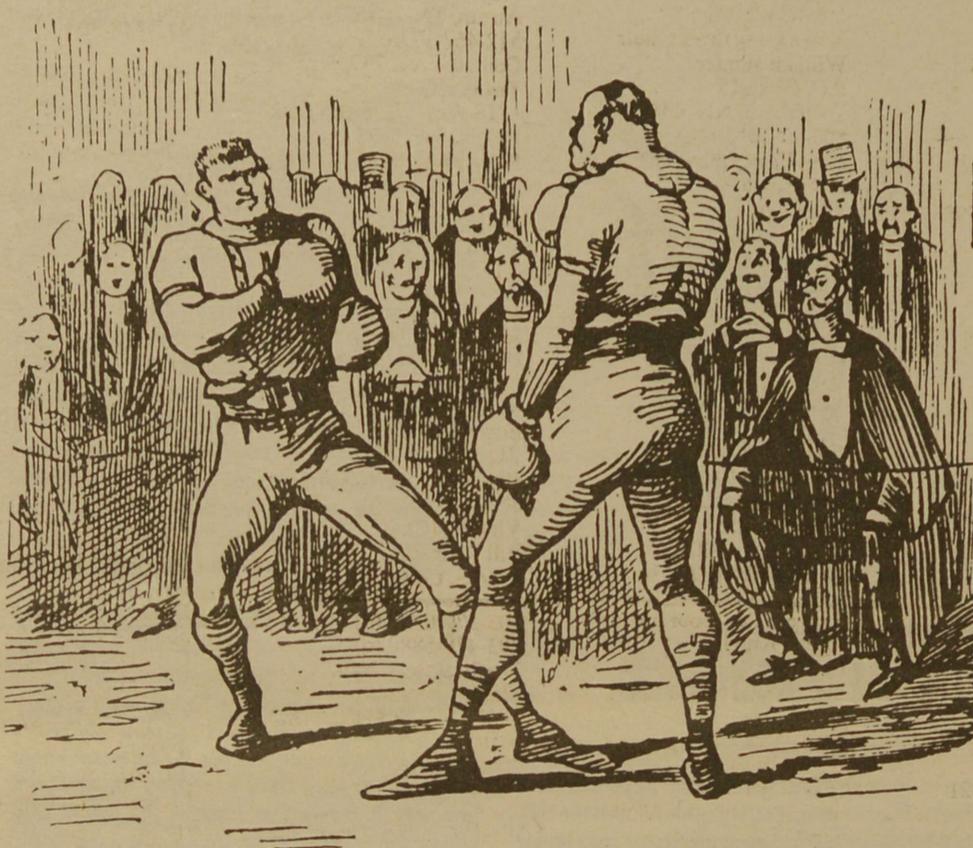
Thus, it is my position that it would not be a violation of our principles for a Libertarian candidate to accept matching funds up to the amount spent on overcoming government-imposed ballot access barriers. If our candidate had automatic 50-state ballot status, I would oppose the accep-

No Libertarian Party presidential candidate has yet sought federal matching funds. As the years have passed and the costs of ballot access have soaked up contributor funds which might have been used for television ads and other outreach campaigning, many LP activists have begun to question whether it makes sense to decline the available money. Would it be unprincipled? Or, isn't it proper to recover stolen property and use it to overcome unfair ballot access laws?

Some good Libertarians say they would refuse to support a candidate who took the loot. Other equally good Libertarians say they would refuse to support a candidate who declined to take proper steps to recover what had been stolen so it could be used to fight the statist political establishment.

The upcoming National LP Convention will be the arena for debate of this thorny issue. As an introduction, we include here two articles, one for and one against. Writing in favor of taking matching funds is David Nolan, well-known as the man most responsible for the founding of the Libertarian Party. Writing in opposition is Steve Alexander, a long-time California LP member, and one of the party's substantial financial contributors.

The articles by Nolan and Alexander are not intended to be comprehensive. We hope they will start Libertarians thinking about and debating the matching funds issue so that the next LP presidential candidate will be well informed as to what members of this party expect when the time comes for a decision.



ance of matching funds. But under the present circumstances, I think it is justifiable.

Indeed, I'll go a step further, and say that to refuse a refund of the "poll tax" we are now paying is silly and myopic. It's like playing basketball on your knees! If we don't want to play by the rules as they exist, we should get out of the game.

It may well be that presidential campaigns are not the most effective use of our resources, in which case we should stop running presidential candidates. But if we decide to run a candidate again in 1992, let's do it right!

Let's make the government give us back the money they force us to spend obtaining the same ballot status the GOP and Democrats get for free, and thus assure that every dollar our candidates raise from their supporters is spent on taking the message of liberty to the American people!

## Just Run

By Steven Alexander

Some Libertarians want our presidential candidates to take government money. They are frustrated over tough ballot access and poor news coverage, and hope that federal loot will help us.

Frustration and hope are not logical arguments, though. These Libertarians have to prove that this action is morally legitimate and tactically effective.

### Reclaiming Our Property

Some arguments rely on the familiar equation that taxation is theft; since the government took our money, we should allow ourselves to accept its return.

But the government taxes individuals, not the

Libertarian Party itself. Giving money to our candidate is not the same as returning it to each of us.

Anyway, our tax payments are long gone. The money we would get would come from new taxation. This means hiring a thief to steal for us because he had stolen from us before. It would be the first taxpayer burden created by the Libertarian Party.

It doesn't help to offer to refund money to any taxpayer who asks for it. We could get about \$1 million from the government, or one penny per taxpayer. The refund offer would be a hollow, hypocritical, and impractical gesture.

Tacitly accepting these rebuttals, the proponents suggest that we accept permission from people to apply for and keep federal funds in the amount of their tax payments.

This is more practical, but it doesn't solve the moral problem that government would rob anew at our behest. If we take the money, we've given sanction to the public trough. Any special interest group can point to some injury the government has done to them, or at least to the taxes their members have paid.

### Self-Defense

Another argument is that we should take the funds in self defense; the government set unfair ballot requirements, so we should allow the government to pay for it.

Actually, it means that we commission a thief (the federal government) to steal money for us to satisfy an extortionist (the state governments).

The actions of government against us do not give us the moral sanction to take money from taxpayers. Two wrongs don't make a right.

What if we took the money and it worked? State governments, so eager to keep us off the ballot, will not be baffled by this tactic. Once they

realize that we can afford their petitioning requirements, they might construct obstacles that we can't defeat by throwing money at them.

### We're Already Tainted

Some people argue that we already take government benefits. Most of us drive on government roads and receive government delivered mail. The government spends money printing our candidate on the ballot. If we are already tainted, isn't it justified to make the most of it? If we can't be virgins, should we be whores?

If we take avoidable, optional government benefits while arguing against their existence we lose our moral ground. Either we admit that it is moral to take government funds under certain circumstances, or we admit that we are immoral.

### Rationalization

Our principles and platform reject all government favors and sub-sidies. At times we take very unpopular and hard-to-explain positions to be true to those principles.

Now there is one, and only one, government subsidy available to the Libertarian Party. We have opposed all of the handouts for others. Will we support all of the handouts for us?

Many Libertarians insist that matching funds are not handouts, but money we deserve or money that is ours. Does the entire trillion dollar federal budget consist of handouts, except the part we could receive?

Every special interest group claims to be justified when it feeds at the public trough. They all believe they deserve the funds and favors they get. Every group has a rationalization, and many groups sincerely believe their own press releases. Could we be like that?

### What's the Payoff?

Suppose our candidate took the money despite these moral objections. What do we gain? What do we lose?

We probably gain 50-state ballot access. I say probably because our absence from the Missouri ballot was not due to financial problems.

With our candidate available to 100 percent of the voters, rather than 95 percent as in 1988, will our vote totals be much higher? Will we have more respect from the media? Will we get electoral votes?

Perhaps with "easy" money from the government (it's never really easy), we can boost our vote totals. We might match or even double the 1980 results. We might reach two percent of the vote. This would be a step forward, but it's nowhere near winning. Is this payoff worth the moral ambiguity?

Publicity and image are central to political campaigns. The media doesn't understand liberty, and it won't understand the finely crafted arguments we use to convince ourselves to take matching funds. We have never been accused of hypocrisy. Yet.

Let's put the success of the Clark campaign in perspective. It was well funded by the generosity of David Koch and countless other supporters. But Lyndon LaRouche has had campaigns well funded by credit card fraud, and did not achieve the success of Ed Clark. Lenora Fulani had a campaign funded by the matching funds and did not achieve the successes of Ron Paul, David Bergland, Ed Clark, or Roger McBride.

Remember the 1980 election: inflation, high interest rates, stagnation, Soviets in Afghanistan, and hostages in Iran. Many people believed that Democrat Carter was incompetent and Republican Reagan was a warmonger. The media endorsed the concept of third parties with generous and respectful coverage of John Anderson.

In the midst of all this, the Libertarian Party offered an excellent candidate. The money helped, the 50-state ballot status helped, the advertising helped, but nothing helped so much as the contrast between the country's problems and our solutions, and the contrast between our candidate and the competition.

Money isn't everything. In 1984, when America was in love with Ronald Reagan, it was tough for us to get on the ballot and to get votes. In 1992, if we have a potential for five percent of the vote, we will have enough popular support to finance the campaign.

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# Around the States

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board? "We need someone on the board" who will speak for freedom of choice and "for an education system freely paid for by those who feel they have a stake in an educated society," she stated.

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Libertarian State Party of Michigan is out with a good looking business card that asks people to "Just Say No to big government, higher taxes, to the loss of individual rights, and to special interest politicians." Card gives the info needed to contact the party.

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Russell Means, Indian activist, speaking on "The Politically Homeless" at the University of Washington, enthusiastically described the Libertarian Party, for whose presidential nomination he campaigned in 1987, and exhorted students to avoid the political "herd mentality" that takes people to the Republican and Democrat Parties. Libertarians, he said "think like Indians" in valuing personal freedom and responsibility.

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Cris Crawford, editor of the Massachusetts Libertarian Party newsletter, commenting on conservatism with its key concept that humans are basically corrupt, requiring coercive laws to keep them in check: "Libertarians will have no luck with those who have embraced a conservative ideology deeply enough to become involved in the Republican Party. Better that they should spread the unadulterated classical liberal philosophy to the general public, unencumbered by a tradition which never viewed man as a rational being, capable of managing his own affairs and social responsibilities voluntarily, with beneficial results that no legislation could ever achieve."

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Virgil Martin, vice-chair of the Libertarian Party of Brevard County, Florida, writing in the state party newsletter, reminds of a "vote" that might be overlooked. "The vote I speak of is the vote we have when impaneled on a jury. It is the most powerful vote we have because only one dissent is necessary to nullify an unjust or tyrannical law...It is your right, it is your prerogative, it is your duty to nullify bad law when you get a chance and as a juror your one vote can nullify bad law."

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Daniel Karlan, chair of the New Jersey Liber-

tarian Party, has filed sufficient petitions to become an early candidate for state governor. Karlan, a computer programmer and MIT graduate, noted that "the gathering of the signatures and filing of petitions was done privately, at no cost to the taxpayers of New Jersey. This is in stark contrast to the Democrats and the Republicans, who force the taxpayers of New Jersey to the bill for the primary...and also for matching funds for the 10 candidates in the primary election."

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Jim Ridenour, writing in the sprightly Indiana Libertarian Newsletter, The Trout in the Milk, makes an interesting distinction between a goal-oriented Libertarian Party member who believes that "his only purpose in being a Libertarian [Party member] is to 'get elected,' [and one who is] results-oriented...[working for] a society where people are as free as possible..." He goes on to say that "The Libertarian Party has nothing to hide its face about...we have polled more votes than any of the other 'third' parties since 1980. We are the third party in America. Period. But! You will only see me doing it again if I think there is a possibility of thereby increasing our party's likelihood of making steps toward a freer society."

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Mitch Wayne, past chair of the Kentucky Libertarian Party, is attempting to set up a data base of state districts where there are party members and also where there are members of other libertarian groups such as Advocates for Self Government and the Society for Individual Liberty. Idea of the data base is to make it easier for people to track legislation and keep the pressure on to oppose any enlargement of state power. He also encourages all state members to think about getting their own computers and modems and offers his own professional advice (he owns a computer company named Iconix) to anyone who is interested.

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Libertarian Party of Clark County, Nevada, taking a cue from other successful and similar operations by civic groups, has held a tax protest car wash in a local parking lot.

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Sally Moore of the Ohio Libertarian Party has spotted an amazing new special privilege provision in the Federal Housing Authority. Writing in the state party's newsletter, she says that the agency now guarantees reverse mortgages under which a homeowner borrows cash, for any pur-

pose but doesn't have to pay it back until the house is sold or the borrower dies. If the value of the house is less than when the loan was taken out, guess what, the taxpayers pick up the tab for the deficit.

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John Chodes, playwright and vice chair of the Libertarian Party of New York City, broke through onto the *New York Times* op-ed page with a brilliant essay against public education and for private enterprise doing the entire job.

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Another long-time Libertarian Party member to break through onto the *New York Times* op-ed page is Williamson Evers, now a fellow at the Hoover Institution in Palo Alto, California. Evers contribution was a blistering essay against a plan to require that people getting Federal student loans give up two years of their life to some sort of national service. Argues Evers: "Stripped of rhetorical flourishes, the core [of the plan] is debt servitude. Its enactment would revive the concept of indentured servitude, a form of bondage common in colonial America. Hundreds of thousands of American students would become 20th century indentured students."

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Meaningful letter in the Michigan Libertarian, newsletter of the state party. It's from the Rev. James Clifton, first LP member to win a partisan race in Michigan, who resigned from the party last year with the intention of becoming a Republican. "The fact is that I am a libertarian at heart. I have wrestled for months with the fact that I abandoned the Party, let down some very fine people who backed me to the hilt in every conceivable way during my successful Libertarian campaign for city council...I have had a habit of abandoning a party when I could not agree in toto with all the planks...I now realize that no one will agree 100 percent with any party platform...Thus, I have decided to rejoin the Libertarian Party...I don't expect to be welcomed back with open arms; I will have to prove myself. This I plan to do..."

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Wayne Nygren, chair of Alameda County, California, Libertarians writing in the group's newsletter, Libertarian Lifeline: "...we can only succeed through the individual efforts of people like you. Next time you get mad about some stupid government action, fire off that letter to the editor. Write to your legislator. Become a dues-paying member of the Libertarian Party. Come to one of our monthly dinner meetings to meet some like-minded people who really care about the sort of society our children will grow up in."

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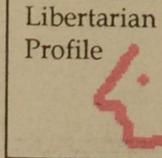
Georgia Libertarians Ron Crickenberger and Walker Chandler are looking for any information, statistical or otherwise, relating to whether most Libertarian voters had previously voted Republican or Democrat. The results are to be used in a project for reducing ballot access restrictions. They are specifically looking to confirm the hypothesis that Libertarians take more votes away from Republicans than Democrats. Contact Ron at 404-957-6825 or Walker at 404-567-3882.

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Down in Georgia the LP held a public sheep shearing on April 15 to symbolize the American public being "fleeced" by the government. The event, which received great media coverage, was organized by Ron Crickenberger and Richard Trice. One of the sheep was adorned with a sign reading "American Taxpayer" and a three foot screw that appeared to go through his body. The sheep, named Jefferson and Thoreau, now reside at Ron's home where they earn their keep as "lawn maintenance engineers."

## Redpath of Virginia

Bill Redpath, newly appointed to be auditor of the Libertarian Party, is virtually a full-time party worker while holding down a demanding fulltime job as well.



He is now chair of the Virginia state party. During last year's election period he was a first-rate ballot-status petitioner.

Whenever there has been a call for volunteers in Virginia, or in the national office, just an hour away from Bill's home in Arlington, Bill is among the first to sign up and to show up.

Born 31 years ago in Findlay, Ohio, Bill got his baccalaureate degree from Indiana University in 1978, and his Master of Business Administration degree from the University of Chicago in 1980, moving then to New York City where he went to work for the National Broadcasting Company in its accounting and then management departments.

In 1985 he moved to northern Virginia and to his present work with Broadcast Investment Analysts, Inc. He is involved with tax appraisals of companies in the communications business.

He was married last June to Judy Lippman who works for a software consulting firm and who regards herself as an independent politically.

After the 1988 LP convention in Seattle, Bill set himself a goal of 50-75 signatures per weekend as a volunteer petitioner. He decided that Post Offices would be his target area. Working a different Post Office every weekend, he met his goal, ending up with 1300 signatures. In one three-and-a-half-hour period alone he got 82 signatures.

For two weekends he went along with paid crews in Massachusetts and Missouri and got 700 signatures.

His own analysis of the people who signed up: Those who signed but without much enthusiasm for Libertarianism were clearly a majority. But the minority who also were enthusiastic about some part or another of Libertarianism were, in his words, "a clear qualitative majority."



## Libertarian Party

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone: Day \_\_\_\_\_ Evening \_\_\_\_\_

\*Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

\*Name of Employer \_\_\_\_\_  
\*Federal Election Commission requires we ask.

I WANT TO JOIN THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY AS A NATIONAL MEMBER (INCLUDES LP NEWS) IN THE CATEGORY INDICATED:

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"I hereby certify that I do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political or social goals."

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