



Libertarian Party

NEWS

Volume 2, Number 7

Liberty Enlightening the World

November/December 1987

Party Headquarters Moving to Washington

Libertarian Party national headquarters is moving to Washington, DC. The move was authorized by a decisive 15 to 9 vote of National Committee members polled in a mail ballot of the Committee's 28 active members. Four votes were not cast or were received after the ballot deadline.

Preparing for the possibility of such a move under a decision reached by the National Committee at its most recent meeting, in Seattle, NatCom members Clifford Thies (Treasurer), Paul Kunberger (Region 11), Vice Chair Dave Walter, Chair Jim Turney and former Michigan State Chair Janet Parks, a professional office designer, have located a suitable "transition" office.

Also prior to the voting, Paul Jacob, a widely respected libertarian spokesman and a national symbol of resistance to conscription, had accepted the post of Executive Director of the Party (a position technically re-named "office manager" in NatCom deliberations). Assuming his duties as of November 1, after leaving a position at the Cato Institute, Jacob already had spent three weeks in Houston being briefed on office procedures and problems. He will be paid \$23,000 a year, an amount that had already been budgeted for the position. The physical move of the office is expected in December.

As described by Kunberger, the new office space (which rents for half of the current \$1,000 per month being paid for space in Houston) consists of one floor of a remodeled residence at 13th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue in the southeast section of Washington, on the edge of the Capitol Hill area. Kunberger said that the office site is being

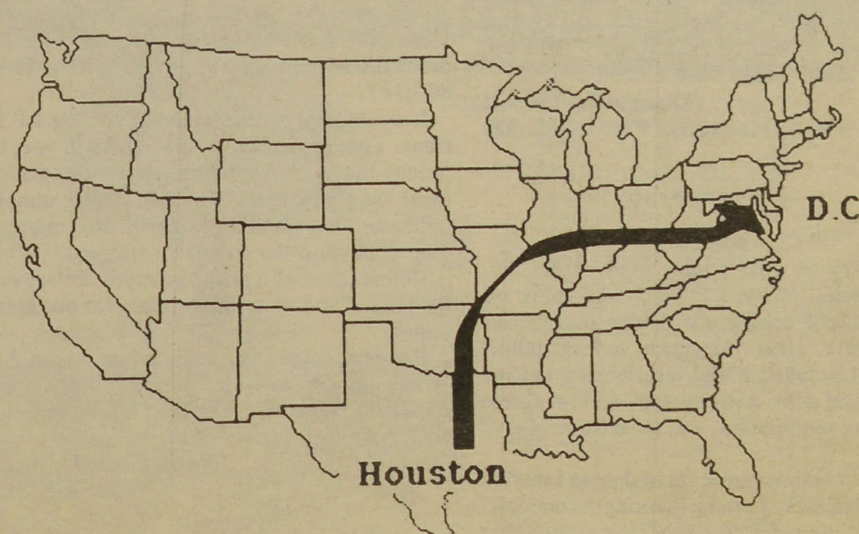
considered transitional because its available space may not be sufficient for growing Party demands and projects. The entire building, however, may become available shortly (for the same rent as that being paid in Houston) and that, according to Kunberger, would be sufficient. Some libertarians may recognize that the building is in the same block as the former offices of *Inquiry* magazine.

Kunberger added that office volunteers, many of them college interns interested in libertarianism, are already in "knee deep" supply.

The mail ballot, which authorized the move and asked for a budget of costs associated with it, received the following votes:

Against the move: I. Dean Ahmad (Secretary), Dave Bergland (CA), Joseph W. Dehn III (OR, WA, ID), Melinda Pillsbury Foster (CA), Mark Hinkle (CA), Peggy Jeney (AZ, HI, LA, MS, NM, NV), Matt Monroe (At Large), Tonie Nathan (At Large), Lew Rockwell (At Large).

In favor of the move: Ted Brown (CA), Stephen L. Dasbach (IL, IN, KY, MO, OH, WV), Bobby Yates Emory (AR, DC, DE, FL, GA, MD, NC, OK, SC, TN, VA), Don Ernsberger (At Large), Stephen R. Fielder (At Large), William Hall (MI, WI), T. David Hudson (CT, MA, ME, NH, NY, RI, VT), Vickie Kirkland (CT, MA, ME, NH, NY, RI, VT), Paul H. Kunberger (AR, DC, DE, FL, GA, MD, NC, OK, SC, TN, VA), Willy Star Marshall (AK, CO, MO, UT, WY), Sharon F. Mitchell (At Large), Clifford F. Thies (Treasurer), Jim Turney (Chair), Gerry Walsh (At Large), Dave Walter (Vice Chair). A 16th vote in favor, that of Burt Blumert (CA), was received too late to be counted.



Paul Campaign Coming Together

By Kevin Southwick

The Paul for President Committee has used the weeks immediately following the nominating convention to organize and reorganize for the long haul ahead.

Two key people have been added to the Houston staff of the Ron Paul for President Campaign. One is Eric Rittberg, who will serve as advance man for Ron's travels and also as liaison to Students for Ron Paul, an organization Eric initiated during the primary. The other new staffer is Renae Hathway, who will act as campaign secretary.

We're restocking our supply of handout material—biographies, bumperstickers, brochures, etc. We've printed a new pocket-size

brochure. These and other campaign materials can be ordered through your Ron Paul for President State Coordinator (see preliminary list elsewhere in this issue).

Alicia Clark is organizing the state coordinators. As of this writing we can list coordinators in 35 states. If you'd like to volunteer to be a coordinator, contact Alicia at 3445 Monterey Rd., San Marino, CA 91108; telephone 818-796-8231.

To sign up as a volunteer for other activities in the presidential campaign, contact your state's campaign coordinator. If no one is listed below for your state, that doesn't mean one hasn't been appointed since this writing. Contact the national headquarters of the Ron Paul

Continued on page 6

This Time...

This time, the Libertarian Party could be off the sidelines and into the thick of it.

This time, the Libertarian Party and Ron Paul, the party's 1988 presidential candidate, will be involved in very real politics.

This time, events are moving to fracture the two-party system, to open presidential politics to new and turbulent forces.

This time, if the Libertarian Party's candidate, Ron Paul, and his running mate Andre Marrou, are on all of the nation's ballots, and if they speak out across the full range of libertarian concerns, they will be in a position to attract votes which may fall away from the older parties by the millions. They could be the center of debates which, without them, would be flaccid and foolish. This time they could establish liberty as the alternative in a political landscape of collapsing centralism. This time, the Libertarian Party could emerge as the other party, not just a third party.

The continuing economic uncertainties foreshadowed by the stock market roller coaster, Reagan's inevitable surrender to higher taxes by whatever names or means, the Gulf war,

Central America, the crushing public debt, uncurbed public spending, rampaging invasions of personal and financial privacy, and continuing political scandals have exposed the older parties as powerless, rudderless, unprincipled, witless, gutless, careless and thoughtless. They are the parties of tired political hacks and failed political promises.

This time, people are seriously over-taxed, dangerously over-extended, and painfully over-stressed and over-policed. This time there is not a single politician from the older parties who is able to speak clearly to America's burdened middle class. Libertarians can.

This time, it isn't only the theory of liberty that will be discussed. There can be discussion of practical ways to practice it. Both of the older parties will offer versions of social authoritarianism. This time, this country and this people will be able to see, if powerfully urged to look, the failures of central authority. This time they will be able at least to consider liberty as the only practical alternative. This time it is very real. This time every libertarian principle and proposal could make good, common sense.

European Advance

Alain Dumait, mayor of the Second District of Paris and a vice-mayor of Paris proper, and Henri Lepage, author of the European best-seller *Capitalism Tomorrow*, have just launched the Libertarian Movement of France (MLF).

Aimed at disseminating the libertarian message in all available forums, the MLF will capitalize on the fact that Lepage's book, translated into five languages, has popularized those ideas throughout Europe over the past several years. Dumait while serving as mayor in Paris also serves as the representative in France of the American-based Libertarian International.

Announcement of the new movement

was followed by meetings, in Paris, with Libertarian International directors Vince Miller and Jim Elwood and Libertarian Party chairman Jim Turney.

At the same time, Miller was voted "libertarian of the year" by Benelux libertarian organizations. Previous recipient of the award was Guy verHofstadt, vice prime minister of Belgium, an outspoken libertarian.

In another European development, the Libertarian Institute for Human Assistance, based in Holland, announced that it would contribute to the continuing effort to gain freedom for the imprisoned Norma Jean Almodovar, former Libertarian Party candidate for lieutenant governor of California.

Letters to the Editor

Plaintive Plea

Please, when submitting letters to the editor, TYPE THEM. Transcribing handwritten letters for our typesetter is both unsure, because of idiosyncratic penmanship, and inordinately time consuming. So, please, type if at all possible and, if not, at least *print* legibly.

Rights

Now that the celebration of the signing of the Constitution is over, I suggest that libertarians concentrate on the Bill of Rights.

Steve Malmberg
Pasadena, CA

Kansas

The reason your State-by-State Delegate Count did not add up to 193 for Paul, but rather to only 189, is that you credited Kansas with a single vote. In fact Kansas voted 5 for Paul, which if listed would have totaled 193.

Douglas N. Merritt
Chair, Libertarian Party of Kansas

Issues

Contrary to what I have read in the "letters" column in the LP NEWS, I think we should start focusing our debate onto issues which have clear relevance to our fellow citizens. I include among these deficit spending, the national debt, arms control, and the threat of nuclear annihilation, and the erosion of civil liberties.

I cannot believe the level of debate I read in the LP NEWS. Letters favoring infanticide, nihilist "nobody for president" campaigns, and the abrogation of constitutional government do little to endear us to the average voter. I also do not agree with those who would eschew politics and the value of winning elections. To me, winning elections and coalition-building is what this movement is all about.

Given the probable collapse of our currency, the resurgence of the draft and of military adventurism, the persecution of drug users and so-called "pornographers," and other authoritarian evils, is it not time to start working on solutions to our immediate concerns rather than obtuse philosophical issues?

Like most Americans, I do not want to live under totalitarian rule. If we are to avoid this, we must exercise leadership with practical solutions that people can understand and not fear.

Mike Stamper
Windsor, CT

Letter Bonus

Thanks to libertarian Dan Tisdale of New Haven, MI, the editors of the Libertarian Party NEWS now have some copies of Frank Chodorov's *Fugitive Essays* to pass along to our readers. The method we have chosen to distribute the books is to select, by lot, two people who have written letters to the editor, in each issue, and send them copies. This issue's winners of the drawing are Nick Schroeder, of Colorado Springs, CO, and Randall Grindle, of Lower Lake, CA.

Tisdale's hope, in donating copies of this book to the NEWS, is to revive interest in it for all libertarians. The book is available regularly for \$4 from Liberty Press, 7440 North Shadeland, Indianapolis, IN 46250. Chodorov, founding editor of *The Freeman* magazine, is a libertarian individualist who wrote, at one time, that "Having fixed in our minds the fact that the State is a number of persons who are up to no good, we should proceed to treat them accordingly." *Fugitive Essays* contains selections from his writings over many years.

Referendum

I suggest that the LP path to public acceptance and electoral victory lies in the referendum process.

The LP could propose that the voter control the acceptance or rejection of the various party planks through referendum.

Referendum has tremendous voter appeal. Missouri electoral history suggests that the American political party endorsing referendum power to the people will be very successful. Let me give a brief example of the electoral appeal of power to the citizen through referendum.

In 1980, an obscure Springfield, MO, businessman, Mel Hancock, did his homework well in crafting and organizing a constitutional amendment by referendum. The Hancock amendment limited state taxing power and forced local government to secure voter approval for all revenue increases. Despite total Democrat and Republican party opposition, the Hancock amendment passed 1,002,935 to 807,187.

I would suggest the message for the LP is clear. The citizens are restive and will vote to reduce the ever expanding powers of government on every level. The Missouri example indicates that candidates endorsing referendum control to the voter will succeed.

Referendum as a prime policy is the answer for the LP and more importantly for our great nation.

Readers supporting referendum as an LP option might wish to contact me at LP REFERENDUM, P.O. Box 37, Chesterfield, MO, 63006.

Joseph Costello, M.D.
Chesterfield, MO

Recruit

I completely agree with Michael Emmerling's letter. Ninety percent of our efforts should be dedicated to recruitment. York (PA) has been a hotbed of libertarianism dating back to 1973. Just [recently] I re-created an Ayn Rand Club and located a dozen new people. At the moment I'm going through registration lists and finding new people in each ward. All this in a town of 45,000.

They are all around us. We pass fellow libertarians on the street every day without realizing it. The way to find them is via the letters-to-the-editor columns, the voter registration lists, the radio call-in shows, flyers on bulletin boards, and by calling attention to the works of Ayn Rand.

Walt Karwicki II
York County LP Chair

Collider

As a scientist, I am in favor of the six billion dollar super collider and many of the big and small science programs supported by the government. As a Libertarian, I do not know how to pay for many of them. I have not read a statement on this by our philosophers or leaders. It is a subject that must be faced and I would like very much to read a statement on this in the NEWS.

Earl Curtis
Topanga, CA

TV Letters

I enjoyed Eric Rittberg's article "TV 'Letters'" immensely, probably because I had contemplated writing a similar one myself. Eric and I have crossed paths on C-SPAN once or twice and have touted the LP's virtue. Eric's right: This program is an excellent way to give the LP exposure to thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of viewers!

However, there was one error in Eric's article which needs to be pointed out. He cited C-SPAN's telephone number as being 202-628-2525. That's only half right; only if you live in the Eastern or Central time zones. For those who live in the Mountain or Pacific time zones, or Alaska or Hawaii, the phone number is 202-783-2727.

Richard L. Duprey
Chairman, NJ LP

Advocates

This letter is for those who have wondered what it takes to get people active in a state party.

Over the last year I have hosted four discovery groups as a part of the Advocates for Self-Government program. Out of these four groups have come about a dozen new Libertarians, and most are active. As a matter of fact, the new Secretary-Treasurer of the state party, Naomi Eikenberg, is one of the "graduates."

In addition, three others—Steve Peek, Judy Jackson, and Jane Jackson—are all now members of the state executive committee.

Both Steve and Judy plan to host discovery groups of their own soon.

I suppose someone somewhere may be having better results with some other program, but I haven't yet heard about it.

I am certainly not blowing my own horn, because I wouldn't have done any of this had it not been for the tremendous dedication of Marshall Fritz, the founder and director of the Advocates; Virgil Swearingen, who wrote the Bible based study guide; Dave Bergland, who wrote the book we use as a text; and many others.

I have been using the Christian format up to now, but am anxious to get going with a secular group soon to see how that goes.

I would really encourage those who have considered hosting a group to quit considering and go for it. It doesn't all come up roses—my first group dwindled to one (a federal employee), but she did finish—and the results since have been tremendously rewarding.

Dave Dawson
Wyoming State Chair

Education

Education Secretary William Bennett opposes a "global perspective" in education, claiming it will cause wishy-washy judgments. Much more likely, however, is that a basic understanding of world history and other cultures would dramatically reduce our baseless paranoias. Students with global perspectives would not be as easily misled by such simplistic propaganda as the Soviets being the primary cause of international tension. Comparing American history to Soviet history, et. al., would provide a better foundation for moral perspectives; i.e., judging which guy is good, which guy is bad, or whether one is simply less evil than the other.

During its 20 decades, our regime rationalized and institutionalized human slavery and racial prejudice; violated over 300 treaties with natives and killed millions of them with armed aggression, germ warfare, drug addiction, starvation, and exposure; endured one of history's most brutal civil wars imposing the will of the central government on the South; destroyed the families and businesses of tens of thousands of Japanese-Americans with concentration camps; subverted the governments of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Iran, Chile, China, Cuba, Viet Nam, et. al.; and plotted the assassinations of some of their leaders.

Today the United States stifles dissent by denying visas for foreigners critical of US policies, threatening to deport others, and applying direct and indirect censorship of the media. Through arbitrary interpretations and unequal enforcement of the law and selective defense of civil liberties, it has effectively established a state religion, a state morality, a state approved code of personal behavior, a state approved political opinion, and turned the American people into state property. It commands a massive army, an indirect means of reducing unemployment and providing welfare, on a global scale, and maintains a first-strike nuclear missile force far greater than it needs for "defensive" purposes. It funds a CIA/DOD/DEA network of international subversion, intimidation, and bribery.

A global perspective in education will inevitably lead to more protests over abuses of power by all governments, including our own self-righteous "City on a hill." Keeping America misinformed and ignorant of international,

political, and cultural realities is clearly a major function of our government dominated school systems.

Nick Schroeder
Colorado Springs, CO

Vices

"Choose Words Carefully", says Gerald Schneider in his July/August article. Indeed. That's why we should reject his replacement of "victimless crimes" with "personal vices."

For example, many governments have made it a crime to appear out of doors in the costume that nature gave to humans. The majority culture practices the "cult of lust and shame" and considers the nude human body to be sinful and evil, a vice, something that must be hidden except in extreme privacy. But there is a substantial subculture in the world which rejects the cult of lust and shame, and does not consider social nudity to be a vice. Indeed, many naturists regard outdoor nudity as healthy and life-enhancing, and the rational way to swim and sunbathe.

When libertarians start calling skinny-dipping a "personal vice," they join the forces of irrational cultural and religious oppression. When I sunbathe in my back yard, the state has no business dictating to me what to wear, even if I wish to wear nothing. Nudity makes me neither an evil person nor a victim. When libertarians make the value judgment of calling nudity a vice, it gives statist the excuse to send in the vice squad to haul nudists and naturists off to prison for daring to practice their peaceful method of health and recreation.

Libertarians should avoid calling any type of peaceful activity a "vice." Some may privately regard certain practices as evil, but this must not be an organized libertarian view. If libertarians start dictating which lifestyle is good and which is evil, then the movement will not only lose allies such as naturists, but will contradict its own principle of liberty and rationality. The only practice libertarians should call a "vice" is the use of force.

Fred Foldvary
Berkeley, CA

Bookstore

Saturday, I attended the Southern California Libertarian Delegate Caucus, in Orange County. While there, I saw a recent issue of Libertarian Party NEWS which mentioned Jim Peron's claim that Free Forum Books is the only storefront libertarian bookstore in the United States. While that claim was true until recently, I would humbly request that you inform LP NEWS readers that Southern California now has a storefront libertarian bookstore; namely, The Renaissance Bookshop, 3688 Sunnyside Drive, Riverside, CA 92506. It's two blocks west of the Interstate 91 Freeway, Central Ave. exit.

Gene Berkman
Riverside, CA

CORRECTION

In an extremely unfortunate typographical error, Russell Means' offer to share the fees of \$2,500 campus speaking engagements arranged by Libertarian Party groups was printed as \$55. The actual amount which Means has offered to return to LP arrangers as an agent commission is \$500.

In a note on her successful effort to abolish a local fire district, Lou Villadsen was identified as "he."

The correct address for FIFE treasurer Margot Hamilton is 605 155th Av., S.E., Bellevue WA 98007.

The correct phone number for Friends of Norma Jean is 213-389-4495.

The correct presidential candidate vote for the Oregon delegation is 4 votes for Paul, 2 votes for Means, 2 votes for Lewis and no votes for Glenn.

Think About It—Now

Our movement should have as its goal the fulfillment of the ideal of the free and independent entrepreneur.

To accomplish this, our movement must destroy the prevalent statist paradigm and erect, in its stead, a new paradigm of liberty for all people. Our movement must avoid the faulty strategy of conservatives, whose acceptance of statist premises has caused their proposals to be simply moderate versions of the original statist schemes. Our movement must struggle for the realization of the principle of the free market rather than settle for immediately obtainable reforms. For, as Aileen Kradtor writes, "to criticize the [radical] agitator for not trimming his demands to the immediately realizable—that is, for not acting as a politician—is to miss the point...the more extreme demand of the agitator makes the politician's demand seem acceptable and perhaps desirable in the sense that the adversary may prefer to give up half a loaf rather than the whole. Also, the agitator helps define the value, the principle, for which the politician bargains. The ethical values placed on various possible political courses are put there partly by agitators working on public opinion that creates public possibilities."

Such a movement already exists, the libertarian movement. Libertarianism offers the only systematic worldview that supports the ideal of the free and independent businessman. It only remains for businessmen to support this movement. How each businessman can best support it depends on his own abilities and resources.

Businessmen should not only support the

Look to Future

By Karl Hess

Although the sense of unity reported immediately following the nominating convention is, in fact, the dominant mood of the Libertarian Party today, it is not the total mood.

On both sides, from supporters of Ron Paul and from supporters of Russell Means, there are some strong, lingering resentments. Some of Ron Paul's most influential supporters continue to hammer away at Russell Means as though he was an absolute enemy of freedom rather than a recent and enthusiastic convert to the Libertarian Party after having for many years been an enthusiastic supporter of libertarian causes.

Giving the text of the resentments all of the points they claim, it still strikes me as altogether unproductive to dwell upon them. If either side is to be condemned it should be by their own future actions and not by constantly repeating past grievances. If libertarianism does not tolerate the possibility of great changes in people then what does it tolerate? Is not the Libertarian Party, in fact, betting its entire future on the notion that people—most people—can profoundly change their view of the world through experience, observation, and reason.

The purpose of the Party, in my view, should now be to speak as clearly and with as many voices as possible to all people about the peace and prosperity that flows from free markets and from the libertarian principle of non-aggression.

Of course there will be, and should be, continuing debates regarding the applications and definitions proceeding from the basic libertarian notion. But they could be most constructively conducted as debates and not as dogfights.

Party purges and factional fighting may amuse some, delight others, and provide hostility outlets for a few—as well as producing important organizational debates and decisions. But there is more agreement than disagreement even among the most fierce of factional opponents. And, having chosen the admittedly problematic vehicle of a political party to carry the libertarian message, it would now seem the time to get on with the political agenda.

movement's educational and single-issue activist arms. We should also support—with time and money—the Libertarian Party, the movement's mass action arm. The Libertarian Party is a vital organ of the libertarian movement, even if it never elects anyone to major office. It exposes large numbers of people, whose interest in questions of government intervention is limited to election time, to free market ideas. And when we do get a significant number of votes for a libertarian candidate or on a libertarian issue, as with Proposition 13 [California's tax limitation law], people do listen. The Party causes libertarians to apply their own philosophy to topical political issues, and to act. In sum, the Party transforms libertarianism from purely a

political philosophy to a movement, to a force for radical social change.

Business can survive, but it cannot survive without the help of businessmen. By fighting against interventions, however profitable, by advocating a principled, philosophical defense of the free enterprise system, and by becoming a part of the libertarian movement, businessmen can, with pride, be a vital force in restoring our free society. To date, businessmen have not seen fit to do so. Whether businessmen do so in the future may determine, whether business, indeed, has a future. Or deserves to.

The extended quotation above is from an article on libertarian strategy published in August, 1978, in *Libertarian Review*. It is by Charles G. Koch, chairman of Koch Industries, one of the largest privately held industrial organizations on earth.

The message is as powerful and as necessary

today as it was when written. Its emphasis on the free market as the outward sign of our philosophy is always welcome. But it says something else that is particularly important as we head toward another national political year.

As politicians, members of the Libertarian Party may never be able to satisfy the radical demands of libertarian agitators. Many of the agitators, of course, will despise the politicians because of that. It is their temperament to do so. And it is proper that they do so!

No matter how their barbs may sting, however, the words quoted by Charles Koch should be considered. It is the most radical demands that give direction and spirit to our political actions, to reforms, to gradual steps toward liberty. Radical agitators are not our enemy. (Nor are we theirs.) Those who intervene against our individual liberty are the enemy.—KH.

Break Free of Bureaucracy

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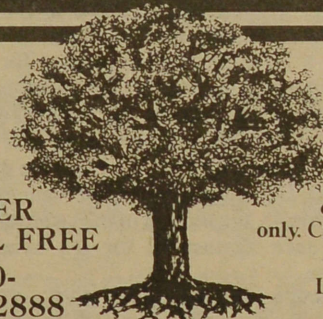
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Lebanon Chaotic, But Not Anarchic

By Jorge E. Amador

West Beirut has "deteriorated into total anarchy," said Ronald Reagan in a statement read by then-presidential spokesman Larry Speakes.

Jeane Kirkpatrick, the former US ambassador to the United Nations, asserted in her syndicated column that, "Today Lebanon represents the closest approximation of anarchy in the modern world. And anarchy, as we have had ample opportunity to observe, is not the benign condition of natural peace described by romantic philosophers. Rather, it is the war of each against all described by Thomas Hobbes."

Lebanese politics is extremely complex by American standards. Political factions don't work within a neat two-party system—they each constitute their own party. Factions, of which there are dozens, are determined not only by economic or ideological interests, but also by religious, ethnic, and kinship loyalties. Foreign armies invade almost at will to protect specific factions or to crush them. Truces and alliances are made and broken on almost a daily basis.

Any attempt to sift through the multiple and shifting relationships between Lebanese groups is likely to be very frustrating. President Amin Gemayel's Phalange organization represents many of the country's Maronite Catholics, who have dominated Lebanon for decades. The pro-Western Phalange feuds with Suleiman Franjeh's faction, which is also Christian but pro-Syrian. The late Camille Chamoun's National Liberal Party quarrels with both Franjeh and the Phalange. The right-wing South Lebanon Army serves as Israel's buffer, absorbing Palestinian guerrilla raids into the border zone north of Galilee.

Among the Muslims there are Druze, Sunni, and Shia sects, and among the Shiites are the Amal and Hezbollah military factions. Syrian president Hafez Assad supports the relatively moderate Amal leader Nabih Berri, while Hezbollah's Islamic revolutionaries look to the Ayatollah Khomeini for guidance, spiritual and material. Sunni Muslims by and large support Fatah, Yasser Arafat's faction in the Palestine Liberation Organization. Amal supports Assad's efforts to crush Fatah, but Hezbollah cooperates with both Arafat and anti-Arafat PLO factions. All of them oppose Israel.

Still following? Walid Jumblatt's Druze militia, like Amal, are aligned with Syria, but they fight Amal and cooperate with the PLO. The Druze have worked with and battled against Christian leader Franjeh, but always opposed Chamoun and the Phalange, both of whom also routinely clash with Amal. Got it?

So many elements are at play that it is easy to give up, call it "anarchy," and then use it as an example of what happens when "anarchy" prevails. Such facile logic hinders us from detecting the disease that ails Lebanon.

When it won independence from France in 1943, Lebanon was the only country in Asia with a Christian majority. Christians demanded and got predominance in the national government. The president is always a Maronite, and the National Assembly is apportioned along religious lines with Christians of various denominations holding 54 of the 99 seats.

Lebanese Muslims were never very happy with this arrangement. In the decades following independence, their numbers grew more rapidly than the Christians'. Today Muslims are informally acknowledged as the majority, but Christians still control the reins of government.

The government is not nearly as inconsequential as we have been led to think. Its budget more than tripled in the years 1982-86, offering a swelling bag of goodies for competing interests to grab at. Nineteen cabinet departments weigh down the country's three million inhabitants, encompassing everything from justice and agriculture to tourism and the fine arts. The bigger and more valuable the bag's contents, the more it invites a Hobbesian war of each against all for the benefits it dispenses.

Lebanon's problem, writes Kirkpatrick, "is rooted in the use of force by some Lebanese groups to impose their will on others." That's true. Trouble begins when some people just won't mind their own business. But imposing will by force is the distinctive feature of government. Anyone who doesn't think so can easily verify it by mailing his tax return unfilled.

Lebanon's Muslims resent having Christians run the government. They feel the government has neglected their development and favored the Christians. Most Muslims seek a new distribution of power and benefits reflecting the current demographic balance. Some press for union with Syria in a pan-Arab state.

Christians have done well by the system and want to keep it that way. Though ethnically Arabic, they wish to maintain a separate Lebanese identity. By culture and history they feel closer to the West than to Islamic Arab nations.

Predictably, no faction wants another's designs imposed on it. Yet that is what having a state means. Government entails implementing one set of policies for everybody. Each faction can implement its own set only by also preventing the rest from implementing theirs. Government is not the foam that stifles smol-

dering passions and cements the community, but the spark that detonates them and rends it asunder.

Compromise has been tried but seems to be out of the question. The Maronites cannot bear the thought of giving up power to the Muslims, while the Muslims regard as unsatisfactory any arrangement that keeps power in Christian hands. Each side struggles within itself over what to do with that power.

Lebanon represents a classic failure of the government paradigm to satisfy hopelessly contradictory aims. When potent factions each

try to get the central authority to carry out their mutually exclusive goals, the outcome is political turmoil.

The profusion of groups vying for supremacy in Lebanon may seem chaotic, but it is not anarchic. It is not a shortage of rulers that besets the Lebanese, but a glut of pretenders. Statism, not the lack of a state, is Lebanon's sorrow.

Amador is editor of The Pragmatist, Box 392, Forest Grove, PA 18922, from which this article is reprinted.

Yellow Pages

One of the most useful and imaginative of libertarian publications, the *Free Market Yellow Pages*, is out in a new, better-than-ever edition.

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tarian interested in microfiche publishing. Along the way, the directory covers hard-line libertarian offerings such as those of many publishers and organizations, as well as general enterprises ranging from health foods to hair care, fishing baits, and computer systems. Two Libertarian Parties, those of Florida and Illinois, have taken listings in the directory.

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BLUELINE GRAPHICS
Charles Town, WV
Typesetter

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c/o Libertarian Party
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Houston, TX 77008
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Libertarian Party NEWS
P.O. Box 173
Kearneysville, WV 25430
304-263-7526
703-662-3691

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Publisher: Lysander, Inc.
P.O. Box 173
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Support the Party

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Local Involvement Influences Decisions

By Dick Crow

A year ago the local newspaper had a short notice in it about the need for two volunteers for the Woodland Park, CO, Planning Commission. Woodland Park has about 3,500 people and a growth rate of 14 percent per year. It is 20 miles west of Colorado Springs and has become a bedroom community. At an elevation of 8,465 feet above sea level, the air is clean and the politics as dirty as you will ever find.

With a growth rate three times above what is considered healthy in order for city services to keep up, taxes are two times higher than on comparable houses in Colorado Springs. I decided to volunteer for the Planning Commission position in an attempt to keep taxes down and to breathe some freedom into a stifling city government.

The city council had each applicant for the position state, before the council, why they wanted the position and what direction each thought that planning for the city should go. I had the flu and made a poor presentation. The other applicants were well-known local business leaders.

I wasn't surprised when I wasn't appointed but a few weeks later the city notified me that the Board of Adjustments needed three alternate members to fill occasional vacancies. Three of us applied and were accepted. My own application was questioned by the city council because in the Planning Commission presentation they found out I was a member of the Libertarian Party. None of the city council members had ever heard of the LP and had to ask the city attorney if we were on an FBI subversives list. Assured that the LP was not on such a list, my appointment was approved.

The first thing I found out about being an alternate is that there is almost always a regular member absent from the meeting. Of the first 10 meetings, I served nine times. This isn't as time consuming as it would seem. Most meetings last about 30 minutes with only a couple of them running as long as two hours. Meetings are once a month.

The Board of Adjustments' primary purpose is to grant variances to city ordinances. Woodland Park recently hired a code enforcement officer and his first assignment was to harass people for fence setback violations. We heard perhaps two dozen requests and all were approved. My first real frustration was when a man had to tear down a fence because he couldn't afford the \$100 fee for a variance request.

Other requests are to settle disputes when

DuPont Scorecard

Still being touted as "a libertarian Republican," Delaware's Pierre (Pete) DuPont actually has a mixed bag of positions.

Here is a balance sheet of positions made known so far:

Pro-liberty: Return of farming to the free market; talking down the panic reaction to the trade deficit; a well-publicized visit to the Cato Institute whose views, he said, he values.

Leaning at least a little in liberty's direction: Permit people to choose individual retirement accounts for part of their Social Security taxes; require all able-bodied welfare recipients to work.

Fielder's choice: Permanent tax-supported aid to the contras but also encouragement of private, voluntary support; research and deployment of Star Wars.

Anti-liberty: Mandatory drug testing for all high school students; guaranteed student and retraining loans.

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the planning commission denies requests. An appeal can then be made to the Board of Adjustments. Permits for home offices, variances for setback requirements for new construction, and a request for a combination home and office complex are some of the other requests we have heard.

The members of the Board are realtors, developers, and a business woman. All but one have a healthy respect for property rights and I doubt they would turn down a variance request unless it violated someone else's property rights. This has been a pleasant surprise and serving on the Board has been enjoyable. Had I been on the Planning Commission I am sure I would have had my hands full since the

members of the Commission would quite likely already believe in violating property rights with planning and zoning.

The city staff isn't much of a threat as they have their hands full just trying to keep up with daily crises. They have no time to meddle although I know of a few who are anxious to meddle when time permits.

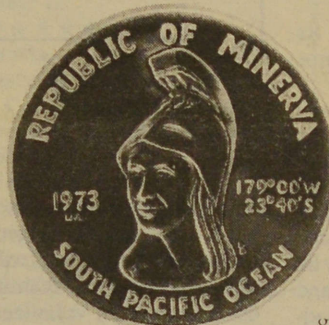
In the future, having gotten my toes wet, I may jump all the way into the mess with another application to the Planning Commission. It was easy for me to get a small but important (important to the variance applicant) position on a board so as to begin influencing people more toward freedom.

I suspect there are a lot of similar positions in

small communities all across the country, be it the fire district board or the library board. In a large city such as Denver, there are 36 boards and committees ranging from the Board of Ethics to the Judicial Qualifications Commission. Most need help or input, and what easier and better way for the ideas of freedom to become known? As libertarians, most of us just want to be left alone. Government isn't going to leave us alone so we had better start influencing the decisions it makes in the quickest and easiest way we can until we start winning some elections. It is an easy start without having to fight ballot access laws or having to explain the libertarian position on drugs in 30 seconds to a voter.

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On June 21, 1972 Minerva was forcibly invaded by the Kingdom of Tonga, its nearest neighbor, 260 miles distant. Unable to

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Just How Far Can Protectionism Go?

By Lawrence M. Ludlow

Now that computer chip manufacturers have joined their protectionist counterparts in the auto, steel, and garment industries, it's time Americans began wondering where the next blow will fall in the Land of the Free.

With a club in one hand and an envious eye on your pocketbook, special-interest combinations of workers, manufacturers, and politicians have always ganged up on hapless consumers looking for a bargain. They've never understood that the reason people began trading in the first place was to enjoy the benefits of their individual differences. While one person excels at making jelly beans or Madonna records, another specializes in producing cars, computer chips, or pleasure—which brings us to the matter at hand.

How far can it go? If buying locally is one of the chief virtues, should states impose trade barriers against each other? Better yet, should the concept be carried down to the neighborhood level? Will we be forced to do all our shopping within a mile of our homes instead of looking for the best price? It certainly would maintain the local job market, at least for a few. Wouldn't it? So what if we all pay higher prices for fewer goods with less variety? But again, why stop there? Suppose the principle of local self-sufficiency were applied to a new area—one of our favorite mutual exchanges—like sex? Why not introduce legislation setting stringent geographical limits to sexual choices?

Followed to its logical extreme—always the acid test for a good idea—what do we have left? In a word, masturbation. After all, if free trade is nothing more than a peaceful exchange of goods or services by voluntary participants for mutual satisfaction (protectionists being against this), then the Buy-American crowd should be crowing loudly for sexual trade barriers. After all, why seek abroad what can be obtained so much closer to home?

In the end, however, we can count on moderates (heavy on inertia) to locate a happy middle ground. As usual, they will ensure that nobody gets what they want. After abandoning an early, blue-sky attempt to appease anti-discriminationists by mandating equal apportionment of affection to members of both sexes by both sexes, moderates will propose two measures to mollify the masturbationists and their opponents: 1) a sunset clause to protect liaisons and marriages established before the new laws become effective and 2) a compromise bill which restricts the choice of partners to those living within a certain distance from one's home. Of course the actual limits of this free zone would vary—purely an administrative

problem. (Residents of New York City, for example, might be restricted to one city block, while rural inhabitants would probably have the pick of the county.)

When the legislation is finally hammered out, it will probably follow the course taken by all such measures—voluntary restraints followed by licensing. During the “voluntary” period, there will be an appeal to social responsibility and civic-mindedness. Individuals will be asked to confine their romantic wanderings to limits determined by community values.

This appeal, however, will fall on deaf ears. Self-centered individuals, bent on personal happiness above the well-being of the group, will prove that stricter measures are necessary. Needless to say, the various media will be scrambling over each other in an attempt to alert the public about this new and impending crisis.

Dating licenses will be issued by state governments. Purchased when renewing drivers' licenses, they will define the precise nature and geographical limits of permissible dating. Although some states—probably Nevada and New Jersey—will allow licensees to purchase rights to wander in a larger territory (undoubtedly for a much higher fee), in general there will be no exceptions. To allow them would be nothing less than discrimination based on income.

Of course, a law is only as good as its enforcement. Poaching would be strictly prohibited. Those caught romancing outside of their licensed zone or smuggling partners will face suspension, increasingly higher fines, or both. As with every new piece of legislation, there will be a new crop of scofflaws—among them, social misfits who relocate frequently in an attempt to avoid the impact of the new restrictions. As a result, there will naturally be legislative “riders” restricting the number and kind of relocations allowed—as always, pending application to the proper authorities.

Of course, we will not have heard the last of the masturbationists. They will continue pressing for the ultimate in closely circumscribed romance barriers. Every session of Congress will be jammed with new proposals to keep Americans alone and at home, and every session will see the opposing factions line up against each other—each dancing faster than the other in a quest for more votes. Likewise, before each new compromise can be worked out, some hard-liners, unsatisfied with the prospects, will engage in sporadic violence to make their point—proving once again that “when all else fails, there's always the fist.”

Ludlow is a free-lance writer in Mt. Clemens, MI.

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Paul

Continued from page 1

for President Campaign to find out. But if your state is listed, please get in touch with your state coordinator who will be handling everything in your area. Meantime, we're forwarding the names of all volunteers who contact us to the state coordinators.

Thanks for your patience as we set up this volunteer system. Alicia and the state coordinators will be calling on volunteers soon.

Ron's eight-minute TV advertisement is already booked on cable access TV stations in New Hampshire. This is in advance of a visit there by Ron. We'll give reports on the feedback in our publication *On The Freedom Trail*. We'll inform all supporters in respective states when the ad is to air in their areas. The ad is available on VHS or BETA to anyone for a contribution of \$100.

On his most recent swing, Ron attended a birthday celebration of the Mises Institute in New York City. He also had time for a visit with New York City Libertarians.

We're asking that everyone keep us informed of significant statewide issues so that we can brief Ron before his visits. Send these to the campaign office.

Please be sure that *all scheduling* is done by Jan Kessmann at the campaign headquarters, 713-333-1988. The headquarters address is 1120 NASA Rd., Suite 104, Houston, TX 77058.

Though the stock market ups and downs have been a misfortune for some investors, it may prove to be the “open sesame” that Ron and the Libertarian Party need to attract more serious attention.

Funny money is on the run; taxes have become literally revolting; interventionism, and all of the uncertainties that it creates, is on the rise; and the Establishment is backed against the wall. The political zodiac surely is aligned in our favor. Maybe this is the dawning of our Libertarian age after all.

As one of Ron's supporters put it, “Tell everybody!”

LI's Second World Report of Activities

By Vince Miller

FINLAND: Roger Wessman, LI's Rep for Finland, reports that there is a substantial group interested in Austrian Economics at the Turku School of Economics. He also reports that plans are afoot to establish a new libertarian organization this fall. He is now translating the LI/Bob Poole “Privatization” pamphlet into Finnish.

MIDDLE EAST: The Libertarian International, with the valued assistance of the USLP Secretary I. Dean Ahmad, has launched a new Middle East peace plan—i.e., selling the libertarian decentralist positions of Frances Kendall and Leon Louw's book *After Apartheid* to both sides of the Arab/Israeli conflict. So far Ahmad has received positive response from the Palestinian and Islamic groups he has

contacted. LI staff has sent copies of the book and written appeals to libertarians in Israel as well as to Israeli political leaders.

POLAND: Janusz Zuchowski is the new LI Rep from Poland. Janusz was a member of Polish underground free market groups including the strongly libertarian Freedom and Peace movement. He is now in Western Europe and will help LI with communications and cooperation with these groups. When Janusz spoke at the LP Convention in Seattle, he passionately pleaded the case for libertarians becoming involved in international affairs and lending their support to fledgling movements outside North America.

SOUTH AFRICA: LI member Dr. Frank Vorhies reports that the recently-formed South African Libertarian Society held a highly suc-

cessful conference in the Drakensberg Mountains in northern Natal. It was attended by 150 people from many parts of South African society and included successful black capitalist James Mbetse who spoke about how the socialist apartheid system crushes black entrepreneurs. Particularly interesting was the fact that socialists and Marxists were invited to give papers and participate in the discussions. Leon Louw, who is now attempting to sell capitalism to the African National Congress, remarked that while the ANC had adopted Marxist rhetoric they do not clearly understand how economies work. When he explains this to black Marxists he claims close to a 100 percent conversion rate. (A full report on the conference will appear in the October/November issue of “Freedom Network News”).

SWAZILAND: The LI will be holding a World Libertarian Convention in Swaziland, Southeast Africa, August 7-13, 1988. Co-hosts will be Frances Kendall and Leon Louw and confirmed speakers (besides Kendall and Louw) so far include LP NEWS's own Karl Hess, Barbara Branden, Hubert Jongen (Holland), and underground economy expert Hernando de Soto of Peru. We hope to confirm Zulu Chief Buthelezi very soon. Again, stay tuned and don't miss this one—it will be powerful. A two-day photo safari in the spectacular Kruger National Game Park is included in the program.

Miller is Chairman of Libertarian International, 9308 Farmington Dr., Richmond, VA 23229. Phone: 804-740-6932. Annual dues \$20, including newsletter.

News Digest

Computerized versions and variations of the libertarian **Nolan Chart** are showing up in software listings. *Big Blue Disk*, the magazine on disc for the IBM PC/PC jr. and compatibles, offers a political preference program from **Daniel Tobias**, also noted as the compiler of the Libertarian E-Mail Directory. **Lorne Strider**, California activist, offers a Nolan Chart program, complete with ragtime music, for Commodore 64 (\$5, PO Box 554, Laytonville, CA 95454, 707-984-6644). Program also includes a list of liberty-oriented groups and four articles about the Nolan Chart.

★★★★★

James W. Lark, III, Dean's Fellow in systems engineering and president of Students for Individual Liberty at the University of Virginia, offers to operate a clearinghouse and keep an up-to-date list of **campus libertarian groups** for all who are interested. If you are in such a group, hope to start one, or know of any, contact Jim at 725-F Mountainwood Rd., Charlottesville, VA 22901, 804-295-3801.

★★★★★

Bargain sampler of popular, timely libertarian writings is offered by **Gerald Schneider** who has been writing a libertarian column, opposite offerings by Republican and Democratic columnists, in the *Wheaton (MD) News*. (That's a suburb of DC.) For \$15 he'll send all of next year's 26 columns in monthly mailings. Gerry says, "You will never get cheaper ready-made libertarian ideas written for the general public that you can use as is." Address him at 8750 Georgia Avenue, Suite 1410-B, Silver Spring, MD 20910.

★★★★★

David Bergland and **Dick Boddie** now have a 60-minute cassette tape on how to present libertarian ideas. Includes 35 great examples of 30-second responses to questions about the Libertarian Party. Available (\$5 for single copies, less for multiples, down to \$3 each for 20 or more) from Orpheus Publications, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92626.

★★★★★

Imprisoned **Norma Jean Almodovar**, out of solitary confinement, is eager for letters. New address: W27022, C.I.W. Miller A 54L, Frontera, CA 91720.

★★★★★

Jo McIntyre, editor of "Oregon Libertarian," the state's party newsletter, has been appointed to the Yamhill County Landmarks Commission which looks for sites for historical preservation. It's an odd but interesting opportunity, she says, "to raise the banner of liberty in a unique forum."

★★★★★

Cincinnati LP candidate for city council, **Emmet Winslow**, is getting good attention for a campaign he began on July 4. He plans 400 yard signs, 100 radio spots, 10,000 pieces of literature. "My goal," he says, "when I am out campaigning is to show that libertarians are friendly, regular sort of people. While my commitment to freedom is 'extreme' it is important for us to present a reasonable non-threatening image to the public."

★★★★★

One of the most interesting libertarian questionnaires ever is being distributed by **R.W. Bradford's** new publication "Liberty." For a real challenge to your positions and principles send a self-addressed stamped envelope and a request for the questionnaire to Liberty, PO Box 1167, Port Townsend, WA 98368.

★★★★★

One of left libertarianism's oldest public forums, **Black Rose Lectures**, is still going strong every Friday on the campus of MIT. For information: 617-524-0781.

★★★★★

Utah's LP chairman, **Bob Waldrop**, and friends distributed 3,000 copies of an eight-page special tabloid aimed specifically at fans of the Grateful Dead rock band when the group played at a Utah ski resort. He says, "We took

a serious libertarian message and packaged it with humor and information about a popular rock group—and found that we could sell it at twice what it cost us to produce it [12 cents]." Proselytizing for fun and profit. Not bad.

★★★★★

Libertarian Party of Alabama is selling self-inking rubber stamps with the message "Restore Sound \$, Ron Paul for President." Great. You can stamp just about anything, anywhere with them. To order the Ron Paul stamp send \$8 to Alabama Libertarian Party, PO Box 11514, Birmingham, AL 35202.

★★★★★

Brilliant article by **Alejandro A. Chafuen** in "Free Marin" newsletter (\$10 for 10 issues a year, Box 365, Kentfield, CA 94914-0367) makes the point that a libertarian revolution is hinted at in many Latin American countries as governments try central planning, nationalization, and anti-property laws while people turn to underground free market economy to get things done. In Argentina, one of the most developed countries, he claims, 60 percent of the GNP is in the free market underground, not registered in official statistics. In Peru, he claims the figure is 40 percent.

★★★★★

New Jersey LP is handing out striking handbills. Big type at top says "Government. The Big Lie." Text describes "addiction" to government. Bottom line says "Call the government addict hotline. Kick your habit. Break free from government." Numbers and addresses are given for the state LP.

★★★★★

Francis W. Poretta, chair of the Suffolk County (NY) Society for Individual Liberty, sparks a good idea: Collect your membership's letters-to-the-editors to issue as photocopied local outreach pamphlets.

★★★★★

National committee membership chair **Dr. Matt Monroe**, publisher of *American Libertarian*, has energetically pledged to work for a 15,000-member, \$500,000-per-year budget national Libertarian Party.

★★★★★

Harry's War, one of the best pro-liberty films ever made, is available on VCR cassettes from Free Forum Books, 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102.

★★★★★

In "The Free Market," publication of the Ludwig von Mises Institute (322 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002), **Rick Maybury** provides a spirited reminder: "During patriotic holidays, the news media applaud the Founding Fathers [as do many politicians and judges!]. But rarely does anyone mention some important facts about them: that they were smugglers, tax evaders, and traitors."

★★★★★

Ballot historian and activist **Richard Winger** provides pointed analysis of Reagan court appointees' decisions regarding the rights of political parties: "The only instance in which a Reagan appointee to a US Court of Appeals voted in favor of the rights of a political party was the Connecticut case in which the plaintiff was the Connecticut Party...The US Supreme Court shows the same pattern. Neither Reagan appointee...has ever voted in favor of the rights of any political party, or in favor of ballot access for independent candidates, or in favor of the right of candidacy."

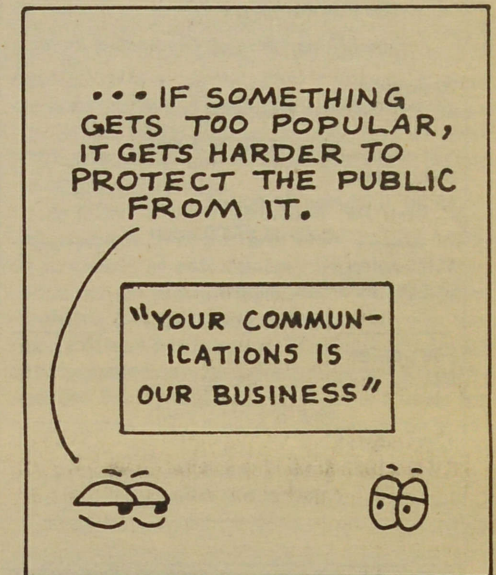
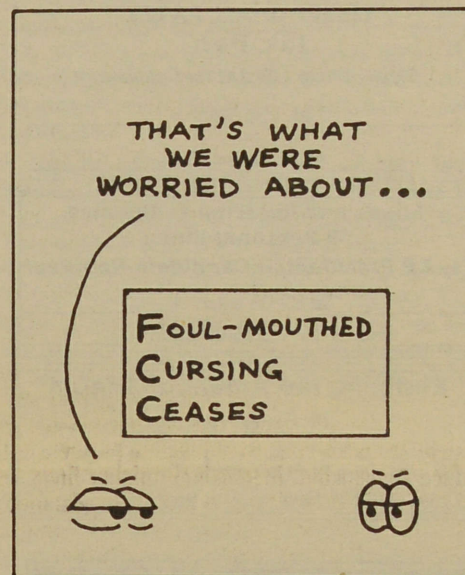
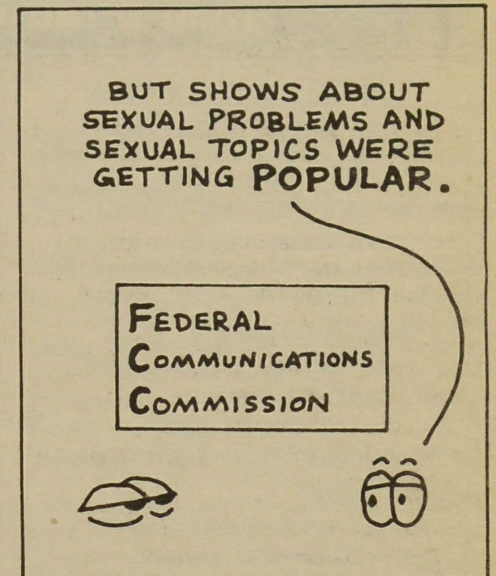
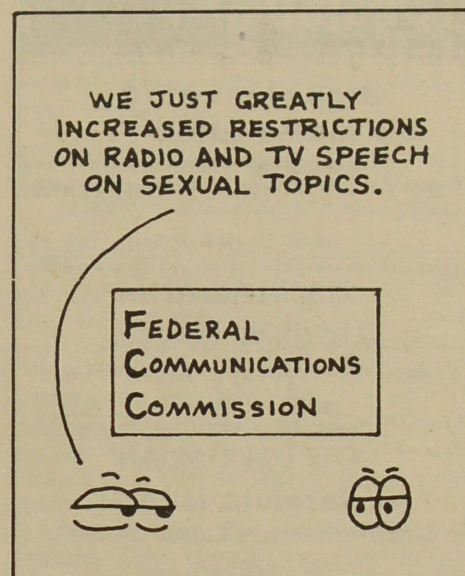
★★★★★

Libertarian Party of New Hampshire is among many state parties reporting good results from a booth at a state fair. Report on the activity by **Paul Siegler** says that "From all perspectives, our booth was a resounding success. We earned a good deal of money through the sale of bumper stickers, and from donations. We collected enough new names and addresses to double our current membership." Also distributed: Ron Paul campaign literature.

★★★★★

BURONS —

A STRIP OF PEOPLE WHO DO IT
AND THE PEOPLE THEY DO IT TO.
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South Carolina LP's third annual Crackpot awards for "grotesque or bizarre" legislative proposals featured a second consecutive award to the Speaker of the state House of Representatives for a tax bill which, among other things, would force salesmen covering the state to fill out more than 100 city and 46 county tax returns.

★★★★★

Georgia Libertarian Party's annual Cracked Pot awards "for wasteful, irrelevant" legislation were enhanced this year by a public debate with Alabama LPers as to which state has the worst politicians. Speaking for Alabama, state chair **Frank Monachelli** graciously confined his nominations to local and appointed officials, saying that "We're not going to bring in our Alabama Legislature because obviously it's the worst in the world."

★★★★★

Another libertarian award for "malignant uses of government" (MUG) is being issued monthly by **Contra Costa (CA) LPers** in their "Abolitionist" newsletter. Name of the award: The Ellsworth Toohey MUG, after Ayn Rand's magnificently portrayed, monumentally malignant enemy of liberty.

★★★★★

Pennsylvania libertarian **Richard Fuerle** presents what he calls "the first general theory of economics to be published since...Keynes. [It] synthesizes the laws of economics into a single deductive theory." Title: *The Pure Logic of Choice*, available from Laissez Faire Books, 532 Broadway, New York, NY 10012, at \$13.95.

★★★★★

West Lafayette, Indiana's lively LP newsletter, "The Trout in the Milk," suggests a wild libertarian cabinet. Defense: Ed Clark. Attorney general: Carol Newman. Interior: Karl Hess. Agriculture: Larry Dodge. Commerce: Jim Lewis. Labor: David Bergland. Health and

Human Services: Dr. Peter Breggin. Transportation: Marshall Fritz. Energy: Honey Latham. Education: Steve Dabach.

★★★★★

Society for Individual Liberty co-founder **Dave Walter** offers a brilliant "save" in regard to a quote used by and obviously favored by Reagan interventionist spokesmen. It's by John Quincy Adams and says, as used by Reagan, that "Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will be America's heart, her benedictions, and her prayers." What is omitted, Walter points out, is the conclusion of the quote: "...but she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well wisher to freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own." A perfect, libertarian, non-interventionist rejoinder that should be good for many an LP speech!

★★★★★

Libertarian **Robert O. Baures** has available a wonderful little cartoon feature called **Burons** (a bureaucracy-baiting "strip of people who do it and the people they do it to") with a consistent libertarian message. There's a sample on this page. If your libertarian publication or a local paper might be interested in using them, contact Baures at 2351 China Gulch Road, Jacksonville, OR 97530, 503-899-8250. In instances where LP papers have paid for the feature, Baures has donated the payments back to them.

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This Project Is a Sizzler

By Jim Peron

When I take friends out to dinner here in San Francisco, I take them into the heart of the slums. I don't take them to the finest restaurants that Chinatown has to offer. I don't take them to Fisherman's Wharf. I take them into the middle of the district known as the Tenderloin.

In the heart of the Tenderloin is a Sizzler Steak House that is unlike any other steak house I know. It is run by a non-profit organization called Reality House West and it exists because of federal cutbacks. The Tenderloin's biggest single commercial investment since World War II was not the result of a government program but the result of diminished government subsidies.

Reality House, like many other non-profit community groups, provided a service, in this case housing for the elderly. The group was content to take federal funding and make do with what it received. But when federal funding was cut, it was forced to look for new alter-

natives. Forced off the federal dole, organizers resorted to the marketplace. First they approached various businesses and raised almost \$1 million. With the money, they purchased a \$20,000 Sizzler franchise and they renovated a boarded-up store front right in the heart of one of San Francisco's worst neighborhoods.

The change is dramatic. Right in the midst of blight is an impressive, modern, clean restaurant. The food is excellent and the prices reasonable. And the profits are used to subsidize the elderly housing.

But other changes are even more important. While the elderly may not have noticed a major change, the neighbors have. Under the old welfare program no new jobs were created, but under the market alternative, dozens of new jobs have been created. Dozens of people, many of them from the surrounding neighborhood, are learning job skills. And they are earning money, they are off of welfare, and they are spending their money in the neighborhood.

Reality House has provided us with an important example of how creativity and the free market can solve many problems which are presently left in the hands of the government. If those cut-backs had never taken place, things would be quite different. Dozens of people would still be collecting welfare. The store would still be a dark, boarded building attracting unsavory people. The neighborhood would continue its decline until things were so bad the city would finally bring in the bulldozers.

Now a few times a month I walk through the slums to buy dinner. I trade some of my hard-earned money for a good meal. I help improve a neighborhood, provide jobs for the unemployed and housing for the elderly. And when I'm finished eating, I sit back and look out through the clean windows at a neighborhood on its way up and I appreciate those budget cuts that spurred the human creativity necessary to turn a bad situation into a wonderful opportunity.

Jim Peron is chairman of the San Francisco/Marin Libertarian Party, and owner of the Free Forum book store in San Francisco.

Dial-an-Anarchist

In Madison, WI, 24 hours a day, you can "Dial-an-Anarchist."

A two-year-old group of "free-market anarchists" there, organized as KYFHOTech, provides three-minute messages on the free market using an ordinary answering machine, set for "announce only," with a number publicized by bulletin board notes, by notes left in phone booths, by public service radio announcements, by a few small newspaper ads, and by word of mouth.

The messages, which change every two weeks, are part of what KYFHOTech members call their specialization "in the communications needs of the free-market anarchist." They also operate a mail-drop service and a product development service, and publish free-market pamphlets and a free-market newsletter circulated in the Madison area. Although a spokesman for the group says that they do not feel that the Libertarian Party is the answer, he did point out that most of the group started out as Party members. Their own view is that, "A nonaggressive, self-regulating free market is the natural form of a civilized society," and that is exactly what their messages reflect. Dial-an-Anarchist may be reached at 608-244-3641. KYFHOTech may be reached at P.O. Box 322, Middleton, WI 53562. And, as they say, "May the market be with you, for the state, most assuredly, is not!"

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Let's Face It—Violence Is the Real Issue

By Alan Burris

Violence is the key issue of human relations.

Violence against our property, which includes our bodies, is the means by which we are deprived of liberty and human rights. Even though it may not be visible, violence and the threat of violence substantially affect each of our lives every day.

Violence cuts our standard of living at least in half, and in many areas of the world reduces the standard of living below where it is possible to stay alive.

Millions of people die every year as a result of violence. The population of the world could be fed with the enormous wealth that is spent to commit violence or to defend against violence. Violence is the business of politics and government, as well as of common criminals.

When someone says something like, "Government should require people to send their children to public school," he or she is advocating violence. If you point out that violence is being proposed, the response will usually be surprise and denial. But, for refusing to obey, people have been murdered, they and their children kidnapped, and their property seized by men with guns.

Interestingly, the same person who can't see the role of violence in forcing people to pay for, and to send their children for, government indoctrination, would have no problem classifying as violent the action of someone who obtained money by threatening to kill with a concealed weapon.

Now you may be wondering why I have been using the word "violence" rather than our

favorite libertarian word "force." Few non-libertarians, or libertarians for that matter, understand what we mean by force. Often, we use the word force to refer to voluntary choices such as being "forced" to face the facts.

The other reason is that not many people will admit favoring violence as a basis for human relations, whereas they may feel it is alright to force other people to do or not do certain things.

I believe that we are on much stronger ground when we oppose the initiation of violence than when we support liberty, even though the two positions are actually identical.

Unfortunately, liberty is an imprecise abstract concept. And as any libertarian who has tried to convert the heathen knows too well, not many people are interested in, or able to deal with, abstract concepts. In contrast, the concept of violence requires little intellectual effort or imagination. And the word violence has an emotional impact.

It appears to me that we will be more persuasive if we start from a position most people agree with, or feel they should agree with, and if we use easily understood concepts with emotional appeal.

When asked what we stand for, we can say that a libertarian is a person who believes that violence should be used only for self-defense.

The big problem, of course, is to make people aware that when they say "there ought to be a law" they are advocating violence. But that's not a new problem, and when we start with violence instead of liberty we have a number of advantages.

We avoid having to explain, at least right

away, that liberty doesn't mean a major crime wave, disastrous pollution, mass starvation of the poor and the other images that seem to come to people's minds when we advocate more freedom.

Instead, the opposition is put on the defensive when we point out that socialism means basing human relations on violence rather than the tolerance and peaceful voluntary cooperation that we support.

When they ask about the poor, we reply, "Why do you believe that violence is the best solution for social problems? Doesn't violence create more problems than it solves?" or "That's another reason why we are against violence: it is the main cause of poverty."

When we talk about more liberty as the solution to poverty, people tend to think, "Sure, the poor will be free to starve" and then tune us out.

The trouble with liberty is that it doesn't do anything. Everybody knows what violence does and is afraid of violence.

Violence is the real issue, and we should not cooperate with the silent conspiracy to protect the public from the uncomfortable truth. We should expose the violence concealed by euphemisms like "require," "mandatory" and "regulate."

Talking about violence can not only help libertarians persuasively explain what we stand for, it can help us to better analyze questions and to keep our own thinking straight.

Violence is not an academic theory, and the guns, clubs and prisons are not imaginary. The ugly reality we must recognize is that we are being oppressed and robbed so constantly that to most people it seems normal and nothing to get excited about.

Most people can't even imagine what it would be like not to be subjected to pervasive oppression and robbery. We permit ourselves to be robbed and oppressed because of the threat of overwhelming violence.

Often, the lack of widespread obvious physical resistance is cited as evidence that we have agreed to be oppressed, and that there is no violence involved. We don't resist because we know that if we refuse to obey the commands of our oppressors, we may be hunted down by thousands of armed men backed up by soldiers with powerful weapons of modern war.

How many of us would pay taxes if we were certain that no violence would ever be used to collect them?

The basic objective of the libertarian movement is to reduce, to the minimum possible, violence against the property of peaceful people. Because the state is responsible for most violence, our efforts are primarily directed at curbing state violence.

Statist mythology should be understood as merely an excuse for violence, to make violence more acceptable to those who benefit, and to reduce the resistance of the victims. Arguments for statism should not be taken seriously or accorded intellectual respect. The real issue is the justification of violence. If someone is willing to use violence against peaceful fellow human beings, what difference does it make what the excuse is? The question to ask is, "Since you believe that the use of violence to impose your social and economic opinions on others is okay, why shouldn't others use violence to impose their opinions on you?"

Believing, instead of thinking about and understanding social issues, is a comfortable rut for most people. Our job is to make many of them uncomfortable and outraged at the state. One way to do that is to help them become aware of the state violence directed against them and committed against others in their name and with their support.

We have found it useful to point out the absurdity of the left-right political spectrum and offer a different, realistic political spectrum with liberty on one end and statism on the other.

I suggest that we may also find it useful to

offer a violence spectrum with pacifism and arbitrary violence the extremes, and the libertarian position of violence only in self-defense occupying the moderate middle.

An advantage of this spectrum is that fewer people will have preconceived ideas on the subject which have to be overcome. The resistance will come only after they have agreed with the libertarian position, when you explain the implications of their decision. If they have difficulty digesting the idea of opposing government violence, keep reminding them that they agreed that violence could be justified only by self-defense. Ask them if they are willing to assault, kidnap, or kill their neighbors to prevent them from driving without wearing seat belts, or to control their sexual behavior. And if not, is hiring someone else to do the dirty work really any different?

Have fun with politicians and bureaucrats—ask if they would ever support the use of violence against peaceful people. If they say no, never, you can say, "Wonderful—I no longer have to obey your orders!" That violence is the essence of government, is clearly revealed by considering what government would be like if it never initiated violence. If government refrained from violence against peaceful people, then I have no objection to politicians and bureaucrats issuing any silly law or regulation they wish.

Another area of agreement we have with most people, is opposition to war except when it is clearly in self-defense. The role of government is pretty obvious in the massive violence we call war. Governments are the cause of war, not the cure. The curse of war can be eliminated only by individual people throughout the world rejecting violence as a basis for human relations. People everywhere must realize that they can never be personally secure from violence unless they refrain from violence to oppress others. The human race has a choice between socialism, which means violence and war, and liberty, which means tolerance, cooperation, and peace.

Burris is a libertarian activist in Rochester, NY. His article was excerpted from a speech presented to the national convention of the Libertarian Party of Canada this year.

Book Available

By Bob Black

Neither/Nor Press (Box 8043, Ann Arbor, MI 48107) has published an enlarged Second Edition of *Neutron Gun* by Gerry Reith. Not quite 25 when he died in 1984, an apparent suicide, Reith had already compiled an impressive record of libertarian journalism and activism. As an anarchist, he was ambivalent about electoral activity, but he considered the Libertarian Party to be one viable approach to the liberty he so passionately craved. At his death he was vice chairman and newsletter editor of the Wyoming LP.

Although he didn't live long enough to become a major voice in the movement, Reith contributed to such outlets as *Caliber*, *The Connection*, and *Prometheus*, as well as many anarchist publications. He also wrote short fictions and parables, and it is these which are collected in *Neutron Gun*, which he didn't live to see published. The book is an important contribution to what many libertarians are now discussing, the "culture of freedom" which may (or should) accompany the institutional arrangements which libertarians have traditionally concentrated on.

Neutron Gun received favorable notices in the small press (especially—for some reason—in England), in a few "punk" fanzines, and even in the *Village Voice*. It may be time for Gerry Reith's fellow libertarians to take a look at what he accomplished in a few years of intensive political and literary commitment. *Neutron Gun* is available from the publisher (\$5.95 postpaid) and from Loompanics Unlimited, P.O. Box 1197, Port Townsend, WA 98368.

Proof Socialism Sucks

Evidence of the failures of socialism and the successes of the free market come with just about every edition of the news these days. Here are some recent ones:

- In *Newsweek* magazine, Robert J. Samuelson wrote that, "Unfortunately, trying to humanize capitalism ceded too much power to the state. A reaction has set in, even as communist rulers admit their own limits. The common struggle is to reconcile these potent, but opposed, impulses: the recourse to the state as an instrument of utopia and the creative power of open markets. Adam Smith's ghost must be smiling."

- The black market in Nicaragua, successfully distributing goods where the Sandinistas have failed, is reported in the *Washington Post* to be the area "in which discontent with the Sandinistas and their policing methods, is most visible."

- Meantime, in Nicaragua, inflation is roaring along at up to 1,000 percent annually, exports are declining, debt is increasing and the failure of ideological "managers" to get things done is becoming an open scandal.

- In Cuba—a socialist showcase, to listen to the many US pilgrims who go there to ogle, worship and chop cane—a Harvard demographic study shows that in health, literacy, public services, and infant mortality rates Cuba did no better and, in health, did considerably worse than such neighbors as Costa Rica, Panama, and Puerto Rico.

- One of the year's most noticeable popular outbursts in Czechoslovakia came in support of five people named "The Jazz Section," jailed and charged with, gasp, making a profit from publishing books and promoting modern music.

- "Yuppies," young people who want to live well and are prepared to open shops and other businesses to support the ambition, have been sighted in China. And even Ren Zhonglin, a national official responsible for commerce and industry, has been quoted as saying that "individual economic activity has become an indispensable part of China's socialist economy..."

- Writing in *Individual Liberty*, journal of the Society for Individual Liberty (free to

members, \$10/yr for others, P.O. Box 338, Warminster, PA 18974), co-editor Don Ernsberger writes, "It is my view that the emergence of reformism of the market variety within the power elite of the USSR and China suggest the ultimate power of two important themes of libertarian analysis: first, the power of free flow of goods and ideas in the world (particularly with the controlled nations) and second, the linkage of free market principles of trade and self-interest to basic human nature and values."

- Yugoslavia's largest private business, the metal-working firm of the four Karic brothers, is now doing \$20 million worth of business a year, is leading the prosperous development of the poorest area of Yugoslavia, and is showcasing the government's decision to re-privatize at least 20 percent of the nation's economy. Says the oldest Karic brother, Bogoljub: "It doesn't matter if it's called Communist Yugoslavia—this country must have a free economy."

- In Vietnam, a Communist Party Congress has recognized the importance of economic incentives, private enterprises, and profit. In Ho Chi Minh City alone, 3,000 private shops reportedly have sprung up, employing 25,000 people. Bucks, in short, are working better than bayonets.

- Adding some depth to reports of reform in the USSR, Jiri Pehe, a magazine editor in Czechoslovakia before fleeing to the US in 1981, writes in *The New York Times* that "power is shifting from the bureaucracy that derived its 'legitimacy' from the proletariat to the bureaucracy that represents the middle class and its values...middle class professionals are more difficult to control than traditional blue collar workers...A key to the middle class mentality is sophisticated consumption. In return for their labor, members of this professional class demand access to information, travel and goods...Ironically it was Karl Marx who said—the ruling Communists know this well—that ultimately the dominant social class always represents the dominant means of production. Post-industrial technology is operated by a new class—non-proletarian middle class professionals who consider Communism to be an outdated ideology."

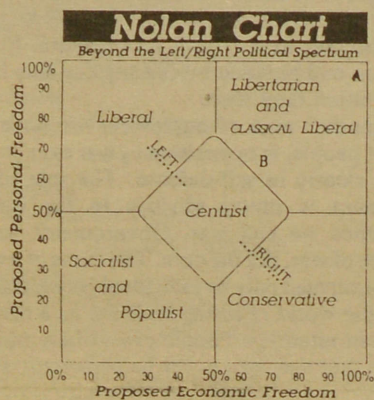
Letters to the Editor

Centrists

Why has the Libertarian Party been going downhill since 1981? Bergland, Fritz, and Mitchell have put their finger on one reason: The LP has appealed to only the 10 percent of the population that is ideological; hence, over 75 percent of LP members are of this "intellectual" personality type.

Yet while less than 1 percent of the population are Libertarian ideologues, surveys by respected pollsters such as Mervin Fields show that 15-20 percent of the US population is libertarian in its thinking; that is, they show support for the triad of pragmatic policies concerning civil liberties, the free market, and a non-interventionist foreign policy more than the average person does.

In other words, the LP has been failing to grow because it has limited its appeal to those in the extreme upper righthand corner of the Nolan chart (A), whereas it could have become a powerful force for political change if it had appealed to that 20 percent of the public at the interface between libertarian and centrist on the chart (B).



Two libertarian institutions, *Reason* magazine and the Cato Institute, have proven that they can grow in size and influence by appealing to that segment of the population. With our new campaign for president we can also begin growing again by reaching that segment of the public. But if we don't do this in 1988, the LP is doomed to fade into oblivion.

Randall Grindle
Lower Lake, CA

Norma Jean

I have contributed to candidates and causes beyond memory but all I ever received in return was a form letter and an envelope saying "Thanks, send more." I read of Norma Jean Almodovar's candidacy [and] that Norma Jean had written a book. I sent a note to pay in advance for a copy and enclosed a very short note inquiring about the result of the election. (In the Peoples Republic of Oregon none of the socialist fish wrappers that impersonate newspapers cover anything outside the donkey/elephant party line.)

I was shocked and absolutely flabbergasted to receive a hand-written full-page letter in response—from an individual under tremendous emotional stress...facing a three-year prison term. If there are some libertarians who consider Norma Jean a "loonie" and a "kook" then I want nothing but...dedicated "loonies" and "kooks" to represent me...

Gerald S. Bernardo
Aloha, OR

Apology

I would like to apologize to all who were offended by my song, "The Social Worker Boogie," which I sang at the LP Presidential Nominating Convention in Seattle. The song was appropriate for neither the audience nor the occasion. But my lapse of judgment in singing it can be instructive to all of us because it points out a common error made by libertarians and non-libertarians alike: the confusion of libertarianism with libertinism; the equation of liberty with license. This unfor-

tunate distortion of the meaning of liberty, propagated more often than not by well meaning libertarian enthusiasts like myself, has probably done more to damage our cause than anything our adversaries could throw at us.

I'm especially ashamed of this gaffe, since I came to the convention eager to share my ideas about the need for a libertarian code of etiquette which would allow libertarians of radically different backgrounds to work together harmoniously and productively.

Too many of us mistake our personal lifestyles for libertarianism itself, and end up promoting them both together as if they were part of the same package. Libertarian atheists, for example, often promote atheism as if it were a requirement for being a libertarian. Yet, libertarianism offers as much to the Christian as to the atheist, as much to the puritan as to the libertine, and as much to the stoic as to the hedonist. Libertarianism is a very narrow political viewpoint, a "minimalist" viewpoint, as Tibor Machan so aptly puts it, and speaks only to a single issue: human aggression. This lack of scope, rather than being a drawback, is libertarianism's beauty and genius. It can have broad appeal precisely because its focus is so narrow. We do a grave disservice when we equate libertarianism with our own peculiar tastes, beliefs, and practices, as I'm afraid I did by singing a bawdy song from a public libertarian platform. Libertarianism is not a lifestyle, a religion, or a culture. It is a framework within which all manner of lifestyles, religions, and cultures may flourish simultaneously, side by side, in harmony rather than conflict.

This narrowness of focus gives us the potential to attract the broadest spectrum of supporters ever gathered under one banner. But this potential will be realized only when we commit ourselves to working with all people, regardless of lifestyle, religion, or culture, who would join us in building a truly free world.

Last week I was out strolling on my lunch break, enjoying the autumnal sun, mulling over these very thoughts, when I came upon an "all books 50¢" box in front of a bookstore. I couldn't resist taking a look, and found the 1937 edition of Emily Post's *Etiquette*. Ms. Post, it turned out, had already postulated the code of libertarian etiquette I was looking for, and she had done it in a single sentence: "Consider the feelings as well as the rights of others."

I bought the book.

Will Hafer
Seattle, WA

Punks

I enjoyed the editorial on punks and principles. I have always found it curious that people who considered themselves friends of liberty were uncomfortable with people whose lifestyles, tastes, and values were different from their own.

My own lifestyle would be considered by many to be a model of middle-class respectability. I am a member of the business faculty at a small rural college. I own a neat, well-kept home in a quiet neighborhood near the country club. I am an officer in the local Elks lodge. I hold several positions of responsibility in the Episcopal church, both at the parish and diocesan level. Etc. Etc.

Yet I have always moved freely in different circles. I have attended social gatherings at which mine was the only white face. I have attended other gatherings where blacks would have been most unwelcome. In the days when the hippie lifestyle was in vogue, I would attend a student pot party one evening and the following evening attend a cocktail party at the Dean's home. And I was equally welcome at all these functions.

Unfortunately, many people appear to be threatened by difference. They see other life styles and values as a challenge to what they hold dear, whereas I have always felt my life enriched by people from different cultures. But more to the point, the cause of liberty is too important and its disciples too few for us to

insist on cultural conformity. It is as if we are saying, "First you must become a Rotarian (or Presbyterian, or whatever), and then you can join the fight for liberty." And that is ridiculous!

Sanford W. Wood
Douglas, GA

Decentralist

I'd like to correct the impression that I formally re-joined the Libertarian Party solely to fight Ron Paul's candidacy. While this was part of my reason, other motivations were long-time admiration for Karl Hess and Jim Turney, attraction to the candidacy of Russell Means, and the simple realization that one third of the subscribers to my newsletter DECENTRALIZE! were Libertarian Party members or supporters!

I do see the LP as a useful vehicle for promoting a libertarian decentralist strategy of breaking down nation states into loose, regional confederations of diverse, self-governing communities. I and other libertarians are considering starting a Decentralist Caucus within the LP. I would even feel comfortable with Paul's candidacy if he were merely advocating that individuals in the self-governing communities they form have a right to prohibit abortion.

Carol Moore
Los Angeles, CA

Ron Paul's position that state law, not federal, should govern abortion seems reasonably close to Ms. Moore's position given the practical reality that there are not now any of the sort of self-governing communities that she advocates. (It might be useful to recall that many states legalized abortion before the Supreme Court did it.) And, certainly, libertarians should be able to unite in advocacy of self-government and volitional communities in which consenting persons could make their own rules.—KH

Tolerance

In reading the latest issue of Libertarian Party NEWS, the letter to the editor by Colin and Cecilia Cahoon, Salinas, CA, prompted me to write. I have been a libertarian for all of my adult life (20 years) and within the last few years have been a Libertarian. This letter epitomizes perhaps the single most important reason why the LP does not draw more libertarians who would otherwise become active members. The infighting and derision poured by one LP'er on another turns off most people (please—I am not implying that all LP'ers behave this way). In trying to choose a path, we sometimes forget that we all have the same goal of a libertarian society. Granted, one path may be more effective or efficient than another, but there are many valid paths, each of which has its own adherents. Some may think that this results in a dissipation of effort, but how much effort (or votes, or new members, etc.) is lost in attacking each other?

In contrast, I was heartened to read the Chair's Column in the same issue. The importance of Jim Turney's one statement, "The first step is to behave in a fair and tolerant manner with our adversaries in the elections in Seattle," cannot be overemphasized. This statement recognizes the important of positive reinforcement and the idea that—just possibly—there may be no single pure, true, and ideologically correct way to achieve a libertarian society.

I personally feel that if someone understands and lives by the principle that the initiation of the use of force, and all its derivatives (fraud, etc.), for any reason, is wrong, then that person should be considered a fellow libertarian. This one principle is the distillation of what we want to achieve. Yes, there are a number of tough questions out there on how this principle should be applied (abortion for one), and many of us, myself included, have our own answers. If we can reach out with understanding, we will ultimately succeed. If we don't, our abuse of each other will lead us nowhere.

Arthur J. Dory
Akron, OH

Tolerance

I have long been an advocate of toleration, both as a libertarian and as a humanist. I recall as far back as the 1975 national convention I took out a full-page ad in the convention program advocating toleration among the warring ideological factions with the LP. This was not to be, and because of some, particularly the Leninist group, the Party was to see some rough fights.

Recently I heard Ron Paul addressing the LP dinner meeting in San Diego, making the point that toleration is at the heart of the libertarian approach. Of course this is true, but we cannot yet tolerate each other! Well, let's be as tolerant as we can, anyway. We all have our roads to the ultimate freedom, and they are not all the same road.

Jack Sanders
San Diego, CA

Caucus

Michael Dunn's letter in the July/August LP NEWS announcing the demise of the Libertarian Defense Caucus, deserves commendation.

It was really nice to read a Libertarian Party faction leader acknowledge publicly his group's inability to carry on.

Dunn's letter marks him a better man than others who took monies and never fulfilled subscriptions or printed apologies.

Mr. Dunn, no matter what I think of the content of his caucus, shows good character by these actions. Kudos to him.

Alan R. Turin
N. Miami, FL

Tax Rebels

I would like to comment on Jim Lewis's remarks in the July/August 1987 issue of LP NEWS regarding active resistance; specifically, tax resistance.

While I thoroughly agree with those who advocate everyone doing what they think best to further the cause of liberty, I sincerely question the wisdom of overt tax defiance as a means of protest. I would not argue with anyone who feels compelled by conscience to defy the IRS. However, I feel the most popular forms of tax defiance which have been popularized in recent years have done more harm than good.

First, I must say that I believe those who have overtly defied the IRS and thus far avoided prosecution have done so not because of the sound legal or constitutional basis for their positions, but merely because they are [deemed inconsequential, and] are being given enough rope to thoroughly hang themselves if and when they become more visible.

No one does a bit of good for the cause of liberty from inside a prison. There is no overwhelming public sympathy for tax protestors, and the vast majority who serve time enter prison as active and energetic dissidents, only to come out broken men who are useless to anyone. There are exceptions, but anyone who thinks he will be an exception is probably overestimating himself.

Who wins revolutions, the brave men who die charging into machine gun nests, or the guerrillas who pour a little sugar into the enemy's gas tanks, and then go home to bed?

Andy Barniskis
Levittown, PA

Words

Gerald Schneider's article on critical word choices was great. He asked for suggestions, so I have a couple.

Instead of "major" or "older" parties I prefer to use the term "special interest parties" whenever I refer to the Demopublicans. It's very easy to remind listeners that they suffer for each of the other special interests they cater to.

In the Libertarian Triad, "Personal Liberty" and "Economic Freedom" blend nicely with "Peaceful International Independence."

Charles M. Hart
Cranford, NJ

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Oaks, Not Mushrooms

By Michael Emerling

Three months before the general election, a Libertarian Party candidate files for office. He holds a news conference in front of a federal building. His statement catalogues the evils of The State, stresses the importance of individual rights, and gives compelling reasons for electing him to office. Newspapers, radio, and television carry his message to the voters.

Day after day, for three months, this libertarian speaks out at civic events, public gatherings, high schools, and the like. He grants newspaper interviews, appears on radio and television talk shows, and goes before endorsement committees.

His message gets through. Suddenly the voters come to their senses, realize their true interests, and catapult the libertarian into office.

This scenario is neat, simple, and wrong. It's the myth of mushrooms in the night.

A young boy goes to bed on a warm spring evening. He awakens to see his front yard covered with legions of mushrooms. Yesterday, the yard was uninterrupted green. Today, without any effort or time, mushrooms have sprung up. Without planning or cause. A touch of magic, a hint of the miraculous have entered his life.

It may be several years before the lad learns the natural causes of mushroom growth. Until then, he sees magic, not science. He believes in the Easter Bunny, Santa Claus, the Tooth Fairy, Elves—and mushrooms that magically spring up in the night.

As the boy matures, he discards these childhood fantasies. Or, rather, most of them. Many otherwise mature adults nourish and cherish a belief in the magical. They cling to the myth of mushrooms in the night.

Everyone has dreamed of becoming an overnight success. Wouldn't it be wonderful to

wake up one morning and find you've inherited a million dollars? Or written a best selling novel? Or become a rock star?

Wouldn't it be wonderful to awaken one morning in the White House to discover that you're the first libertarian President?

These dreams of overnight accomplishment can be a pleasant diversion. They can fuel our efforts to make something of our lives.

But some people forget that "the overnight success" is a myth, and begin to treat it as a real possibility. They rationalize and cultivate it as "a long shot."

In the Libertarian Party, many activists subscribe to the myth of mushrooms. Some never gave up their childhood longing for magic. Others have failed to rationally examine all of their beliefs and assumptions.

Many libertarians were captivated by *Atlas Shrugged*. They remember John Galt's three-hour radio speech—and the effect it had on the millions who heard it.

Some libertarians were "overnight converts." On the basis of a conversation or a book, these individuals joined the libertarian movement. These rare individuals may assume that there are thousands more like them.

Individuals act on the basis of their beliefs and assumptions. Suppose that libertarians believe in overnight success, in the myth of mushrooms in the night. What will they do?

They'll go for publicity, media events, and crowds to get the message out. They'll predict high vote totals and the election of local libertarians "any day." They'll beg, borrow, and steal money to pay for brochures, white papers, flyers, and commercials. They'll harass every libertarian in their area to give as much time and money as he has. More if he can borrow. They will raise the intensity of activists to a fever pitch.

On election day, one thing will be clear:

They failed. They didn't deliver on their promises. So they rationalize. They explain. And justify.

In their wake, one finds the burnt-out passions of dedicated activists, the mutilated hopes of idealists, and the mortgaged futures of those who thought they were investing in liberty.

The revolution of 1776 was not sold out overnight. It won't be bought back with a quick fix.

Recapturing liberty will take time, effort, and planning. A permanent freedom must be built on the hearts and minds of informed and committed libertarians.

The Libertarian Party must recruit, educate, and activate. We must locate those who already agree with us and persuade others. We must bring these individuals into the libertarian movement and party. Then we must educate these new libertarians. Some of them will not see all the implications and applications of the libertarian philosophy. Others will be impressed with how well the facts speak for liberty. Because of this educational program, these libertarians will be better able to recruit new libertarians.

But it is not enough to join and know. We must act. To activate these libertarians, we must give them the skills and tools necessary to advance the libertarian cause. They must know how to present libertarian ideas effectively. How to handle a news conference. How to run an effective political campaign. How to organize initiatives to roll back taxes. How to raise funds for projects.

As we recruit, educate, and activate, the Libertarian Party is sowing the seeds of its long term success. Not the seeds of mushrooms. Rather those of oaks and redwoods. They take longer to mature. But their forests last for generations.

State Kills

War is the nation state's most lethal activity.

Wrong.

More people have been killed by government action other than war in this century.

The astonishing assessment has been made in a study by R.J. Rummel, professor of political science at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Altogether, he concludes, government non-war activity has been responsible for the deaths of 119 million persons in this century.

The number killed in war (international and civil) is only 35 million.

Included in the non-war killings are the 27 million killed in the forced 1958-61 collectivization of China's agriculture and the four million killed in the course of similar action in the Soviet Union, 1921-22. Also included are the Khmer Rouge massacres which are estimated to have killed two million people (more than double the number killed in the entire Indo-Chinese war!). Indonesia's slaughter of 600,000 persons accused of being communist and Pakistan's killing of perhaps a million Bengalis also are included.

When the non-war killing is broken down between communist and other authoritarian governments and governments with some semblance of democracy, the authoritarians are judged responsible for 115 million of the 119 million total, with the other governments accounting for only four million (including such things as the 36,000 people believed killed by the French in Algeria and the 2.25 million killed after being turned over to the Soviets by England and the US at the end of the Second World War).



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