

"Freedom Reborn" Charts New Course

Phoenix, AZ - The 400 delegates and others who attended the August 14-18 "Freedom Reborn" LP convention in Phoenix found a marked contrast between it and the previous LP Convention held two years earlier in New York City.

Some of the differences were readily visible. There were about 200 fewer attendees in Phoenix, which some attributed to lack of pre-convention publicity and the absence of a hotly contested presidential nomination fight. The hot, dry nearly empty Phoenix downtown scene stood in stark contrast to the hustle and bustle of the NYC theatre district of the prior con-

vention. On the other hand, the modern, reasonably priced Hyatt Regency Hotel was a welcome contrast to the slightly threadbare, overpriced New York convention accommodations.

A healthy number of delegates arrived early on Wednesday for the lively Defense Debate featuring Reason Foundation president Robert Poole, international affairs professor and 1983 LP presidential nomination contender Earl Ravenal, and unilateral disarmament advocate Jeffrey Hummel. After two-and-a-half hours of intense debate, an informal audience vote showed 48% of the 120 who voted agreed with Poole, 24% with Hummel, and 22%

with Ravenal. This diversity of viewpoints ensures that defense related issues will continue to be the focus of on-going debate within the LP.

Thursday morning had ominous overtones as scheduled breakfast speaker Gene Burns failed to show. Burns, a talk show host, had been the unchallenged contender for the 1984 LP presidential nomination until his mysterious disappearance 10 days before the New York convention. With deja-vu setting in, buttons popped up reading "Who is Gene Burns?". 1984 South Carolina LP Senatorial candidate Steve Davis did an admirable job of filling in, and other featured speakers on Thursday included David Bergland and Dr. Peter Breggin.

The convention kicked off Thursday morning with the keynote address by Montana's Larry Dodge. Dodge spoke of his recent gubernatorial campaign and revealed a basic pessimism over current American political attitudes. As an antidote, he recommended concentration on local races, using the LP platform as a long-term document, stressing ideology over party labels, local lobbying efforts, letters-to-the-editor, and active speaker's bureaus. Following Dodge's speech, a moving letter was read from libertarian draft registration prisoner Paul Jacob, and appeals for his legal bills netted \$3,800 by the end of the convention.

Changes to LP Rules and By-Laws were next on the agenda (see separate article). Concurrent with floor debate were a number of speakers and workshops on a wide variety of practical and theoretical subjects. They included presentations about video production, libertarian fiction, Marshall Fritz's "How to Introduce Libertarianism to Your Friends Without Appearing to be a Fool", a panel of Libertarian officeholders including Andre Marrou, Murray Feldstein, Gerry Walsh and Lou Valladsen, a libertarian cartoon slideshow, newsletter production, libertarian solutions to ecological problems, ballot access, the existence of natural rights, "the ethics of freedom in Sex and Love", campaign strategy, various historical topics and the marketing of libertarianism. Among the more controversial presentations were panels on "The Right to Life/The Right to Death" featuring Doris Gordon, Tonie Nathan and cardiologist Matt Monroe, resulting in lively discussion about abortion and living wills, and a well attended panel on "The Future of the Libertarian Party".

This latter panel included Ed and Alicia Clark, Jim Lewis, Steve Givot and David Nolan. Party founder Nolan repeated his longstanding contention

Continued page 4



Montana's Larry Dodge presents keynote address at the opening of the Phoenix LP Convention. Photo by Jeannette Allen.

LPN Libertarian Party News

November-December 1985

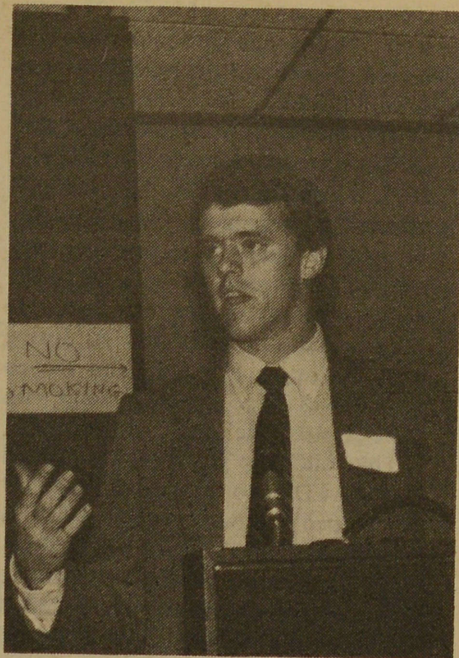
Jacob Convicted

Portions of this article were taken from Resistance News #18, 330 Ellis Street, Room 506, San Francisco, CA 94102.

Little Rock, AR - On July 2, 1985, two days before Americans celebrated the holiday honoring American freedom from government tyranny, Libertarian draft resister Paul Jacob was convicted for failing to sign up for a possible future military draft.

Jacob, 25, formerly served as Chair of the Arkansas LP and for two years defied federal authorities by living underground and speaking out against draft registration. He was sentenced to 5 years for failing to register, with all but 6 months suspended. His case has been on appeal since early September with the 8th Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Paul, MN, but no decision was rendered as of late October. With 30 days automatic "good time" and a day credited for county jail time, Jacob is expected to be released on November 30 from the Federal Correctional Institution at Seagoville, TX, located 12 miles north of Dallas.

Prior to Jacob's conviction the



Draft registration resister Paul Jacob speaking at the Cleveland City Club prior to his trial.

Supreme Court had ruled that David Wayne had not been unconstitutionally selected for prosecution. The Supreme Court based this decision on Wayne

Continued page 12

Randolph Defects

Fairbanks, AK - In a surprising move, former Alaska LP State Chair and 1982 gubernatorial candidate Dick Randolph formally announced on October 23 that he was joining the Republican Party in order to compete in the 1986 Alaska GOP primary race for governor.

Rumors of the Randolph switch began to circulate in late July, and were confirmed during late August in a lengthy interview with Randolph in the *All-Alaska Weekly*. In that interview, Randolph admitted that he was "seriously considering" running for the Republican nomination, and noted that "I would like very much to be governor." Asked to comment on his reasons for leaving the LP, Randolph said, "The Libertarian Party is in shambles, and continues on both the national and state scene in a descending position." He went on to claim that "it's declining, not gaining members and is at a very low ebb of activity." Randolph has been quoted as saying the LP "has been dead since 1982."

Asked about reasons for this alleged decline of the LP, the 49-year-old insurance man and former State Representative (on both the GOP and LP tickets) said he thought the decline had to do with the election and reelection of Ronald Reagan, and what he described as the co-optation of the libertarian message by Reagan conservatives.

Spearheading Randolph's campaign

Continued page 8

Lanham Fired/Willis Hired/Ver Hagen Retired/Turney Inspired

Lanham Fired/Willis Hired/Ver Hagen Retired/Turney Inspired

by Mike Holmes

Mike Holmes is editor of LPN. This article reflects opinion and analysis by the author.

Houston, TX - Rarely in the brief history of the LP have there been so many leadership changes in such a short period (March-August, 1985),

Since the LP is not a personality cult or a centralized bureaucracy, these changes had little impact on the day-to-day grassroots progress of the party. As a democratically run organization, ultimately the LP membership was called upon to make the final decisions.

All the main actors involved remain loyal LP members and continue to work in important leadership roles. It is their mature and constructive response which is, perhaps, the most impressive aspect of the events which transpired.

Lanham Fired

On March 28, LP Chair Paul Grant of Denver sent a surprise memo to members of the LP National Committee announcing his resignation for "personal financial reasons." LP Vice Chair Mary Gingell assumed the position of acting Chair, in accordance with LP By-Laws.

Gingell, who had been a key Bergland for President staffer (along with her husband, Bill Evers, who was campaign manager) actively sought to retain the LP Chair post at the April 20-21 NatCom meeting held in Seattle. Gingell was also known to dislike LP Director Honey Lanham.

Lanham was appointed LP Director by then LP Chair Alicia Clark in August 1982 (after incumbent Eric O'Keefe refused to resign) and said she did not plan to continue as Director after the August Phoenix convention.

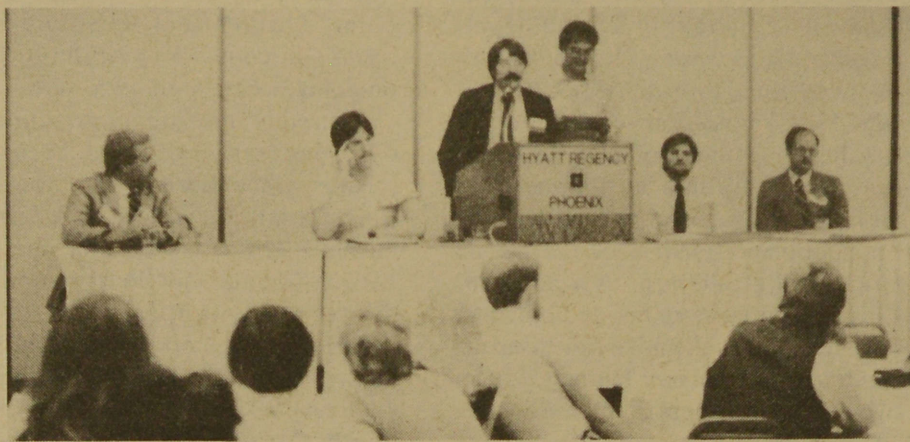
In order to bolster Lanham's position, 1980 LP Presidential candidate Ed Clark agreed to run for Chair at the Seattle meeting, to serve until the August Phoenix convention. Clark made it clear he would not run again in August.

Prior to the start of the Seattle meeting, David Bergland proposed a compromise Chair candidate, Randy Ver Hagen of Wisconsin. Little known to anyone outside the Bergland campaign effort, he attracted attention for the professional way he organized Bergland's Wisconsin campaign trips. Ver Hagen seemed a reasonable choice acceptable to all. Ver Hagen was on hand at the Seattle meeting to announce his candidacy for the LP Chair race at the Phoenix convention.

Ver Hagen said he planned no major staff changes, liked *LPN* but "wished it came out more often", and had no plans to move the headquarters, in reply to questions from NatCom members.

Because April financial results dropped below the \$35,000/month sought by the NatCom Budget Committee, several staff positions were cut, effective in June and July 1st. Lanham also obtained agreement for a combined May-June, July-August *LPN* as a pre-convention double issue, to further reduce costs.

Despite these actions, rumors began



LP Chair candidates address delegates at a convention forum. Left to right: Randy Ver Hagen; Vernon Etzel; Steve Fielder (speaking); Larry Dodge, moderator (standing); Jim Turney, Clifford Thies.

to surface that Lanham was on the way out. Ver Hagen had no previous experience on the National Committee or at the national LP level, and had never served as a state Chair in Wisconsin. He therefore seemed very nervous about the debt situation.

Lanham had just launched the Torch Club project, a \$1,000 per year donor's club, which quickly brought in over 20 members via cash donation or debt forgiveness. Lanham had also inherited a \$180,000 LP debt in August 1982, but managed to completely repay it by the August 1983 New York Convention. She ran the LP in the black until July 1984, when the NatCom authorized \$40,000 ballot access related in loans from members, which came due in August 1985.

Nevertheless, Lanham received a letter from Ver Hagen on June 17 informing her that she was fired. A longer memo was also sent to her and all NatCom members and State Chairs informing them of his action and outlining several other drastic steps Ver Hagen had ordered. Two months before the Phoenix convention, after a record 34½ months as LP Director under three different Chairs, Lanham was out.

Ver Hagen did not personally inform Lanham of her dismissal prior to mailing out his announcement, nor did he offer her the opportunity to resign, which Lanham had said she would have gladly done if asked. Ver Hagen claimed this was "an unemotional, businesslike decision" which "did not reflect personally on Lanham." Without citing specifics, he claimed there were "considerable differences" between his approach and Lanham's, and his "bias for action" required this move.

Citing "considerable counsel" from LP members prior to taking his action, Ver Hagen said he had to act despite its effect on his popularity.

Willis Hired

Lanham was fired effective July 1, which left an awkward two week gap where the lame-duck Lanham was expected to bravely continue serving. To her credit, she did, and assisted in the transition. She also billed the LP several thousand dollars in unreimbursed ballot drive expenses, loans, deferred salary and business expenses accumulated over the years.

Personally, she was both shocked over this treatment and greatly relieved to be out of the very demanding job.

She had weathered several attacks in the past, launched over real or imagined transgressions, and had told friends that she was "burned out" after nearly 3 years in the job.

Along with the firing of Lanham, Ver Hagen announced the dismissal of everyone else in the national office by the end of July, a reduction of \$1,000 per month in the Director's salary, the end of outgoing long distance telephone calls from the headquarters, the indefinite suspension of *LPN*, and efforts to reduce headquarters rent.

Only some of these changes were made. David Kelly, the LP accountant, remained at his post and still serves. Outgoing long distance calls did not cease and headquarters rent was not reduced.

Bios — Willis/Turney

Perry Willis

For a young man of barely 25 years, Perry Willis has undoubtedly set a record of sorts for the number of jobs held in the LP.

Born and raised in San Antonio, TX, Willis moved west with his family in 1979 to San Diego, CA. He admits to voting for Reagan in 1980, but only because he didn't have time to check out the LP (prompted by a Clark TV spot) until after the election. He became active in the LP in 1981 during a brief stint in Houston, and moved back to San Diego in 1982 to assist with the Everette Hale congressional race.

The following year, he was named Executive Director of the San Diego LP and helped it grow from the eighth to the second largest LP group in California. He went on to work for petitioning and telemarketing firms, which added considerably to his knowledge of political technology.

He signed on with the Bergland for President campaign in 1984 and served as Ballot Drive Coordinator and Finance Director. Tackling perhaps the two toughest areas of the campaign, Willis quickly learned the ropes of the national libertarian political environment, and today cites the lack of experienced Libertarian campaign workers as the greatest impediment to political success.

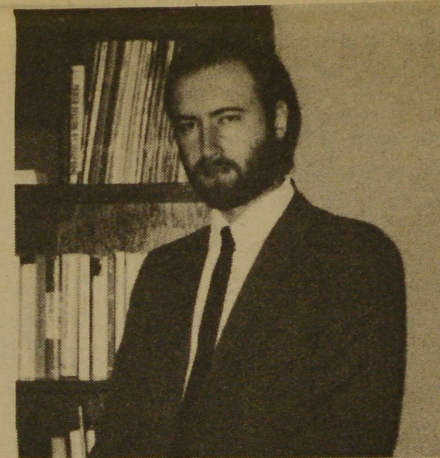
After the campaign, Willis served for three months in early 1985 as a co-Director of the California LP. In mid-June, he was named as acting LP National Director by Randy Ver Hagen.

Perry Willis was appointed as acting National Director, and took full charge on July 1. Willis had previously served at LP Director in San Diego and as Finance Director in the Bergland campaign. He was appointed a Co-Director of the California LP in February in charge of fundraising but was let go during April due to financial problems.

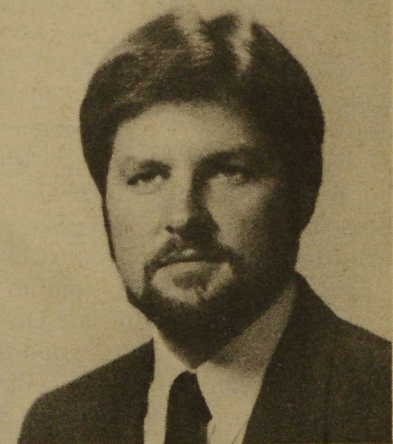
Realizing that his advancement was done under circumstances which angered many Texas Libertarians, who had long known and worked with Lanham, Willis quickly made efforts to meet local libertarians and enlist their help in what is admittedly, even under the best of circumstances, a difficult job. Willis was also under orders from Ver Hagen to preside over the virtual shutdown of operations in the national office, other than fundraising and mailing list maintenance.

By July 10, Willis told *LPN* editor Mike Holmes that there would be no funds for even a small pre-convention issue, and that the LP would not be able to fulfill their obligation to the Phoenix Convention Committee for publicity. He also arranged for a \$6,800 temporary loan from the Ballot Access Committee, under direction of David Bergland. Willis also got Bergland to sign a two page fundraising mailer, which was sent out immediately before the Phoenix convention in mid-August. At a cost of \$4,500, the letter had raised over \$23,000 by the end of October.

Continued page 3



National LP Director Perry Willis.



LP Chair Jim Turney.

He continues to serve in that capacity using his Libertarian political experience.

Jim Turney

Jim Turney's involvement in the modern libertarian movement stretches back almost as far as it is possible to go.

Continued page 3

Fired/Hired Retired/Inspired

From page 2

Ver Hagen Retired

While Willis worked on the fundraising letter prior to the convention, he also assisted Ver Hagen in drafting a detailed two year leadership plan, called the "Main Method." This outlined the plan of action sought by the Ver Hagen administration, focusing mostly on 1986 and beyond. The strategy for the remainder of 1985 was to keep operations minimal until the debt was fully paid off.

Ver Hagen made efforts to introduce himself and his program to LP members via memos and letters. However, Ver Hagen's forceful leadership style did not translate particularly well into words. In person he came across somewhat defensive and overly formal. In both word and deed, he tended to resemble the tortured prose and damn-the-torpedos style of former Secretary of State Alexander "here, now, I am in charge" Haig. On the other hand, while not necessarily approving of his management style, a number of LP members did share his view that firing Lanham would solve the financial crisis and many welcomed decisive leadership at the top.

At the NatCom meeting preceding

the Phoenix Convention, Ver Hagen immediately came under fire.

Ver Hagen was challenged on his decision to take the \$6,800 "loan" from David Bergland, since indebtedness is specifically prohibited by LP By-Laws without prior approval by a vote of the NatCom. A narrow majority voted to uphold Ver Hagen's actions, based he said, on the financial "emergency".

The Audit Committee report, which was delayed until the end of the meeting, conclusively demonstrated that under LP By-Laws and the sequence of events, there was no "outside loan" at all and that the transfer of funds to the LP general fund from the Ballot Access Fund was simply an intra-LP fund borrowing. Therefore no By-Laws were violated. However, since neither the Treasurer nor the Chair seemed to realize this at the time, Ver Hagen's unauthorized "emergency loan" seemed to reflect confusion rather than decisive management action.

After repeated questioning by Ed Clark and a show of hands, it also developed that despite Ver Hagen's claim of "considerable counsel", only ten NatCom members out of 35 were consulted about Lanham's firing before the fact, and most of those were either from California or LP officers.

Ver Hagen's effort to ratify his actions and continue his Chairmanship ran into unexpected opposition. A serious bid was mounted by economist Clifford Thies, who proved an articulate candidate whose decentralized philosophy of leadership seemed to contrast most sharply with Ver Hagen's. Chair candidates Jim Turney and Steve Fielder approved of the Lanham firing but faulted Ver Hagen for his tactless handling of the matter. Ver Hagen appeared nervous to some, and others felt his initial confusion over difficult parliamentary issues during the opening convention session reflected a lack of experience.

During a number of candidate forums held throughout the convention, many of the same issues were raised. Ver Hagen repeatedly found himself on the defensive. Ultimately, the major issue became style over substance, since the differences between the four major candidates did not appear to loom large. Turney favored an eventual headquarters move back to Washington, D.C.; Thies stressed decentralism and grass roots organizing; Fielder stressed his ballot access legal background; and Ver Hagen waved his thick "Main Method" plan around and vowed he would consult more widely and act more carefully in

Continued page 4

Editor's Note

Hello again. This issue of *LPN* is the first since our March-April 1985 issue. As you may expect, there is a story behind all of this.

The LP National Committee cut the 1985 *LPN* budget by 22% at their April Seattle meeting. Due to financial considerations, former National Director Honey Lanham and I agreed in early June to combine the planned May-June and July-August issues into a large double issue. Lanham and the national office staff were fired in mid-June and all *LPN* plans were put on hold.

Initial plans were made to publish a small pre-convention issue in mid-July but National Director Perry Willis said in early July that funds "were not available." In late July, LP Chair Randy Ver Hagen issued a statement indicating that he hoped publication could resume in early 1986, once all LP debts were paid off.

After his election in August as LP Chair, Jim Turney noted that publishing *LPN* was among his highest priorities. However, outstanding unpaid bills relating to previous issues amounted to several thousand dollars and were not fully repaid until mid-October. At that time, work resumed on this issue.

LP Chair Turney has also indicated that he intends to bring up restructuring of *LPN* at the December Houston National Committee meeting. Among his proposed changes are publishing a 16-page paper monthly, producing a separate outreach oriented publication twice a year, and re-negotiating the contract between the LP and the editor of these publications.

Turney also announced that all memberships and subscriptions to *LPN* will be extended for three additional issues to compensate for the three issues not published in 1985.

While I was not consulted, did not approve and had no control over the decision to suspend publication these past several months, I nevertheless apologize to *LPN* subscribers, LP members, supporters and advertisers for this interruption in service. I feel very strongly that communication to its membership is a basic obligation of the LP and am encouraged by the similar attitudes of the current LP leadership.

Since it is possible that this may be the last issue I edit, I would like to take this opportunity to thank LP members, supporters, *LPN* contributors and advertisers during the past two years for providing me this opportunity to be of service to the libertarian cause.

Mike Holmes
Editor

Bios

From page 2

As one of the original "YAF babies", Turney was at the historic 1969 St. Louis Young Americans for Freedom convention, heading the Virginia delegation. The convention walkout by libertarians marked the birth of the official modern libertarian movement.

Turney joined the Society for Individual Liberty (SIL) in 1971, spent 3 years in Europe courtesy of the U.S. Army, and helped re-organize the Virginia LP in 1978-79. Turney attended his first national LP convention in San Francisco in 1979 and began professionally recording libertarian conventions that same year.

In 1980 he received 5.2% in his Richmond LP congressional race against strong opposition. For the last several years he has traveled extensively around the country and world in conjunction with his audio/visual recording business, Liberty Audio, recording political, medical, professional and religious conferences and conventions commercially.

He has also provided headquarters space for both the Virginia LP and the Libertarian International organization, and is an active participant in LI today.

After declaring his candidacy for LP Chair last February, Turney parlayed his dark horse candidacy into a come-from-behind victory at the August Phoenix national LP convention. Since becoming chair, Turney has spoken to LP groups in Detroit, Maryland, Cincinnati, Lexington, KY and Houston; addressed political science and law

students at Northern Kentucky University; and was featured speaker at the mid-October Ontario, Canada LP convention.

Ver Hagen/Lanham

Randy T. Ver Hagen

Although he voted for MacBride and Ed Clark, Ver Hagen didn't officially join the LP until 1981. However, once he did he quickly rose through the ranks, serving as state Platform Committee Chair, media coordinator and LP of Wisconsin Secretary.

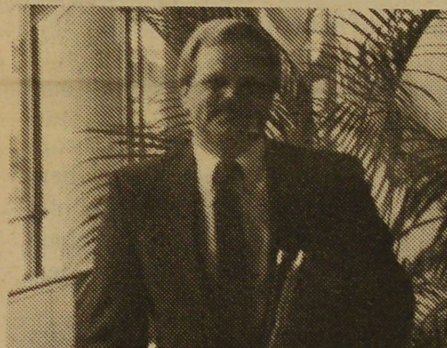
Ver Hagen, 32, is married and is an insurance representative based in Milwaukee. His first political race in 1982 saw him garner 40% in a County Supervisor race against an established incumbent. Ver Hagen later served as chair of the Waukesha County (Milwaukee) LP and served as the Bergland for President coordinator in Wisconsin in 1984.

He has also done guest speaking, column writing and talk show stints about libertarianism. After serving as National LP Chair from April through August 1985, Ver Hagen continues to serve on the LP National Committee, since the former Chair is automatically an LNC officer.

Honey Lanham

Honey Lanham first became active in the LP in the late 1970's. She served as county Chair in her native Dallas and in 1980 served as Texas Ballot Drive coordinator. She was also elected Texas LP Chair in 1980.

In 1982 she was appointed by Alicia Clark as National LP Director and oversaw the headquarters move to



Immediate Past LP Chair Randy Ver Hagen.



Former LP National Director Honey Lanham.

Houston in the fall of 1983.

Other major accomplishments include paying off an inherited \$180,000 LP debt by the August 1983 national convention, instituting effective telephone and direct mail fundraising, and overseeing the national LP's ballot access activities during the latter half of the 1984 campaign.

Since her firing in mid-June, Lanham has been working in public relations for a Dallas-based industrial firm. She also serves as alternate NatCom representative for Region 13 (Texas).

LP's New Course

From page 1

that the LP should concentrate on congressional races rather than presidential campaigns at the national level. Lewis emphasized that the LP is young, small and still growing. Givot advocated the need for a party "Program" to address topical political issues. Ed Clark noted that tinkering with rules and by-laws will not do much to persuade the public about our ideas or candidates. Alicia Clark said that our biggest problem was confidence, but that past history shows that hard work and leadership is the key.

Friday's breakfast speaker was former Goldwater speechwriter and libertarian anarchist Karl Hess, who was attending his first LP convention as a delegate. He stressed the need to change the system from "the ground up, especially the school system".

Former GOP representative Sam Steiger gave the Saturday breakfast presentation on "Freedom Cannot Be Left to Government", discussing non-political action, and LP motivational speaker Richard Boddie addressed an attentive but convention-weary audience at the Sunday breakfast on "The Second Wave: Marketing the LP".

Platform debate was begun on late Friday afternoon and continued throughout Saturday (see separate article).

Delegates also enjoyed an authentic western ranch steak fry outside of Phoenix, libertarian film festival presentations, and a lively Friday evening "roast" of the 1984 Bergland / Lewis LP ticket. Moderated by San Steiger, the roasting crew of Ruth Bennett, Dick Boddie, Ed Clark, Steve Davis, Fred Esser, Dale Pratt and Dave Walter was cited by many who attended

as the highlight of the convention.

The traditional Saturday evening banquet featured good food and a number of interesting presentations, including Indian hoop dancers, a mariachi band, Bruce Evoy's "Patrick Henry Speech" and a specially produced sound and slide show. Libertarian economist and columnist Thomas Hazlett gave a humorous banquet speech lampooning the political scene. Alaskan Libertarian State Representative Andre Marrou hosted the inevitable fundraising chores at the banquet, which yielded about \$15,000 in cash and pledges.

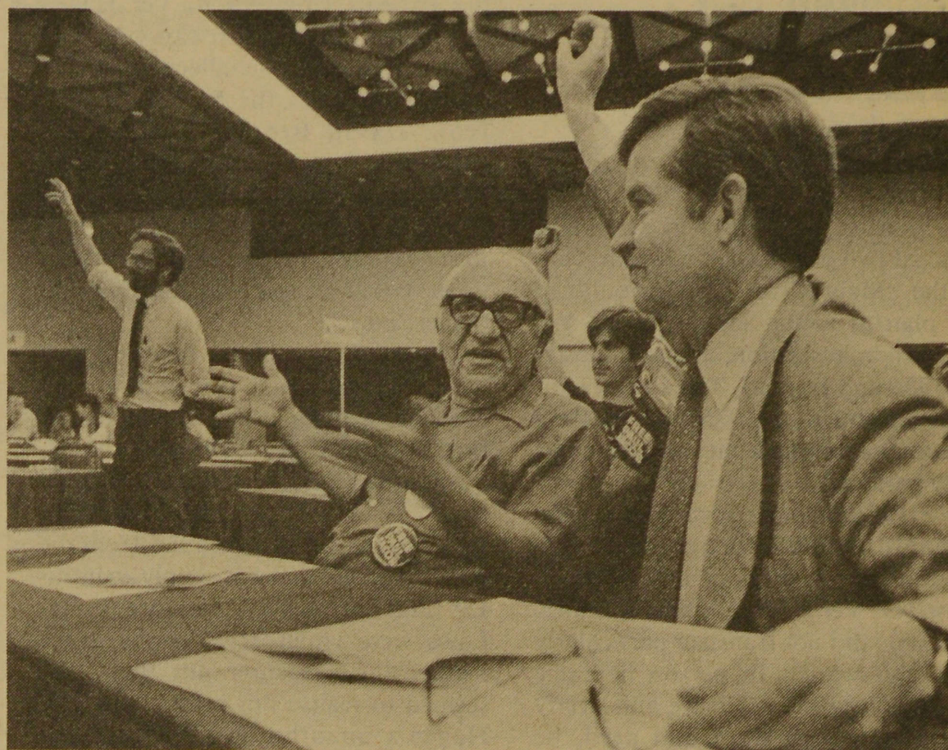
Against this hectic background of convention events and business, the critical battle for LP Chair was being waged by five candidates at three formal candidate forums, several more informal ones, and many late evening campaign visits held at the various hospitality suites.

Supported by Bergland and his presidential campaign operatives (the "Berglandistas"), along with Murray Rothbard, Steve Givot, Andre Marrou and Steve Davis, incumbent Chair Ver Hagen was kept on the defensive by his handling of the recent headquarters housecleaning, and appeared somewhat unprepared for the spirited Chair race which sprang up practically overnight.

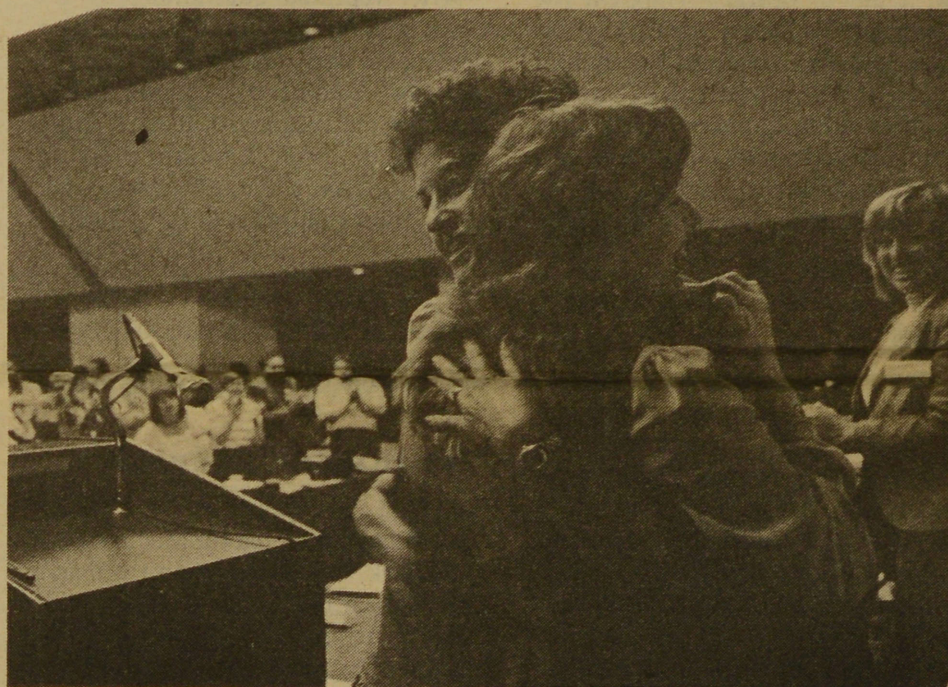
Economist and former Montana LP Chair Clifford Thies made an impressive showing despite his last minute bid and arrival at the convention, and he quickly generated considerable support from the Clarks, Matt Monroe, Jim Lewis, Larry Dodge, and others who viewed his decentralist philosophy as an antidote to what many perceived as Ver Hagen's heavy-handed leadership.

West Virginia Chair and NatCom representative Steve Fielder waged a

Continued page 5



Action at the convention. Above: Bill Evers (left, standing). Murray Rothbard (center) confers with Ed Clark. Below: Sharon Ayres gives outgoing LP Vice Chair Mary Gingell a congratulatory hug after the final convention adjournment. Photos by Jeannette Allen.



Fired/Hired Retired/Inspired

From page 3

the future.

Ver Hagen's floor managers were not effective in presenting Ver Hagen's message to the 300 individual delegates, despite the impressive backing of the Berglands, Steve Givot, and Andre Marrou. With Dale Pratt of Hawaii putting in an impressive performance as his manager, Fielder's impromptu campaign picked up considerable support. Jim Turney, who was widely known because of his recording business at hundreds of libertarian conferences and conventions, reportedly had the best campaign suite which earned considerable goodwill.

On Sunday at the climax of the convention, four ballots were needed to determine the winner, with the lowest candidate dropping out each round. Etzel, with only four votes, dropped out first. More ominously, while Ver Hagen received the most votes of any single candidate (80), they only

amounted to 31%. Thies ran second with 62 votes (24%), Turney with 45 (17%) and Fielder with 42 votes, (16%).

Thies held constant on the second ballot, Ver Hagen dropped three votes, and Turney led Fielder by only 3 votes. This knocked Fielder out for the third ballot and he quickly moved to endorse Turney.

Turney then picked up most of Fielder's votes on the third ballot, leading 88 votes to Ver Hagen's 83 and Thies' 70.

On the final ballot, between Turney and Ver Hagen, Turney received 137 (53%) to Ver Hagen's 102 (39%). Despite his best efforts, until the last ballot Ver Hagen never managed to convince more that a third of the delegates that they needed his leadership.

Somewhat shaken but composed, Ver Hagen mounted the podium and congratulated Jim Turney, pledging full cooperation. As an automatic member of the National Committee, Ver Hagen continues in an active

leadership role.

Turney Inspired

Few were more surprised than Jim Turney himself at the turn of events in Phoenix. As a long time libertarian activist, Turney has followed LP politics for years and was a leading LP activist in Virginia, although he has never been State Chair. But despite his early announcement as LP Chair candidate, Turney ran a very low key campaign and his relaxed personal style did not immediately produce a dramatic personal following.

But after the turmoil of recent months and markedly different personal leadership styles, Turney's message of listening to the diverse elements within the LP and communicating regularly with the membership touched a responsive chord in the delegates. He was few people's first choice, but nearly everyone was satisfied with him as a solid second choice.

"I really feel that the main story of the Phoenix Convention is the new sense of unity," Turney said recently, "and that spirit of unity continues to

inspire my efforts."

"It takes hard work, money, a lack of debt, and a sense of what we need to accomplish, in order to build upon past LP achievements. I think we ended up on August 18 as a more unified party than we have been in a long, long time. We're going to need the help of every libertarian in the next few years, and I'm glad we've all decided to pull together. Randy Ver Hagen, Honey Lanham and Steve Fielder all continue to serve on the National Committee, and Clifford Thies serves on the Judicial Committee. I plan to listen to and work with all elements in the LP," he concluded.

Since his election, Turney has spent hundreds of hours on the phone with LP activists, visited the Houston headquarters to plan the budget with Director Willis, and has visited a number of LP meetings to discuss his plans, including a visit to the Canadian LP convention. After a year of internal transition, Jim Turney is looking forward to an outward-looking, growth-oriented 1986 and beyond. ■

New Course

From page 4

last minute effort but gained surprising strength based on his effective personal campaigning.

Dark horse candidate Jim Turney announced long before other candidates, but his actual campaigning prior to the convention was minimal. Well known to many delegates because of his travels in connection with his audio and video taping business, Liberty Audio, Turney's style and friendly hospitality suite campaigning resulted in considerable goodwill for his effort.

Vernon Etzel of Delaware received some support for his criticism of the national party operations but ultimately received only 4 votes.

In the climax of the convention on Sunday morning, the Chair candidates presented their nominating and seconding speeches. After former National Director Lanham raised the issue, both Etzel and Turney trooped up to the front to pay their national dues in order to become eligible to hold office if elected.

Since the lowest candidate dropped out after each ballot, four ballots were required to determine the winner. Ver Hagen, Thies, Turney and Fielder finished in that order on the second ballot. Fielder then dropped out and endorsed Turney, which knocked out Thies on the third ballot. Turney rolled to victory on the fourth ballot, 137 to 102 for Ver Hagen.

Sharon Ayres and Sam Treynor, both from California, received uncontested election as the Vice Chair and Treasurer respectively. Maryland's

Dean Ahmad bested Gary Johnson of Texas 128 to 86 to win the Secretary's position.

At-Large members of the National Committee elected were Jim Lewis, Ruth Bennett, Steve Givot, Dale Hemming, Dave Walter, Steve Fielder and Peter Breggin. Elected to the LP Judicial Committee, which arbitrates disputes, were David Nolan, Ed Clark, Bill White, Clifford Thies and Michael Grossberg. Regional caucuses were formed and regional representatives and alternates to the NatCom were selected.

Despite early fears to the contrary, there were no signs that any of the LP factions or candidates considered a walkout, similar to the one by many Ravenal supporters after his nomination defeat at the 1983 convention.

The Convention Committee later reported that they had made a \$9,000 profit.

The post-convention mood is perhaps best described in the September *Individual Liberty* convention story:

While the convention schedule included the usual fare of libertarian speakers, panels and platform battles, several aspects of the gathering marked it as a very unusual LP convention. Unlike most conventions, almost everyone came away with the feeling that there were no losing factions or "out-casts". Supporters of Ver Hagen, Fielder and Thies alike seemed upbeat and satisfied with Jim Turney's election, and the way events closed in general. Many veterans of countless conventions were heard to remark that this has been the most likeable they had attended. Chairman Turney appears to have a party content to work on its problems in unity behind its leadership. ■



Bill White (far right) chairs the LP Rules & Bylaws Committee. From left, Richard Winger, Roger Gary, Dale Hemming, Skip Barron and Ruth Bennett.

Rules Changes Adopted/Rejected

Phoenix, AZ - Reflecting the recent LP mood of critical self-examination, a large number of major rules changes were considered by members and delegates at the Phoenix convention. The most radical changes were rejected, including a number approved by the convention Rules Committee, but a number of changes previously considered at LP conventions were finally adopted.

Two of the most drastic changes proposed by members, changing the party name to the "Independence Party" and abolishing the National Committee in favor of a five person junta and contracting out all national LP functions, received no support from the Rules Committee and little from the delegates on the floor.

Proposals approved by the Rules Committee to reduce or abolish At-Large NatCom delegates were rejected for the third convention in a row. Proposals to require complicated fund accounting for different types of national LP expenditures, personal financial guarantees for all expenditures by party officers to avoid indebtedness, and ending the automatic NatCom seat for the immediate past LP Chair were all rejected by delegates despite Rules Committee support.

A proposal heard at previous conventions to allow for "mix-and-match" NatCom regions, without necessarily having contiguous geographical boundaries, was initially

defeated as part of the Rules Committee report, but was resurrected on the floor and ultimately approved. States with 250 or more national members can become separate regions, and several regions have now voted to combine into much larger units. Some states such as Hawaii voted to affiliate with a new region.

Also adopted was Richard Winger's proposal to provide for the possibility of having LP presidential nominating conventions as late as June of the election year, instead of during the summer of the preceeding year. Despite objections from some states that a spring election year convention would complicate already difficult ballot access efforts, delegates were persuaded that these problems can be legally overcome and that election year conventions may yield greater media attention. The National Committee will set the exact convention dates.

In perhaps the most significant rules change, Steve Givot of Illinois tirelessly championed a provision providing for an official LP Program, as a separate supplement to the LP Platform. A NatCom committee will draft the Program for approval by convention delegates. The Program will encompass up to ten political issues receiving public attention. The Program will include interim and transitional proposals for libertarian approaches to current issues and must be consistent with the Platform. ■

Few Libertarian Platform Changes

Phoenix, AZ - Despite intensive interest by many Libertarians in the platform, as evidenced by the 20% response rate from the pre-convention platform questionnaire sent to members by the national office, few major changes were made to the document at the 1985 convention.

Major structural revisions such as drastically altering the length or reorganizing the content, were considered by the Platform Committee but ultimately rejected.

Delegates added only two new planks to the platform, but revised or updated language on eleven of the existing planks.

Larry Dodge of Montana introduced a new plank — American Indian Rights,

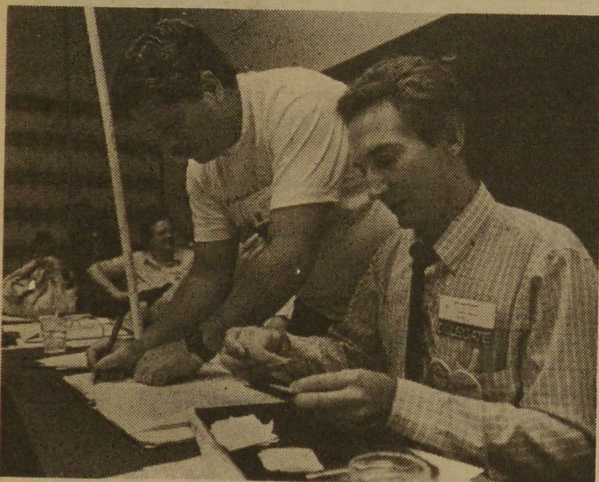
— which he previously sponsored at the 1983 New York Convention.

This plank offers Indians choice of citizenship and level of autonomy, abolishes the bureau of Indian Affairs and allows Indians choice of the level of their tribal self-government, if any. The plank also calls for using unclaimed or unused federal property to settle treaty obligations with the Indian tribes.

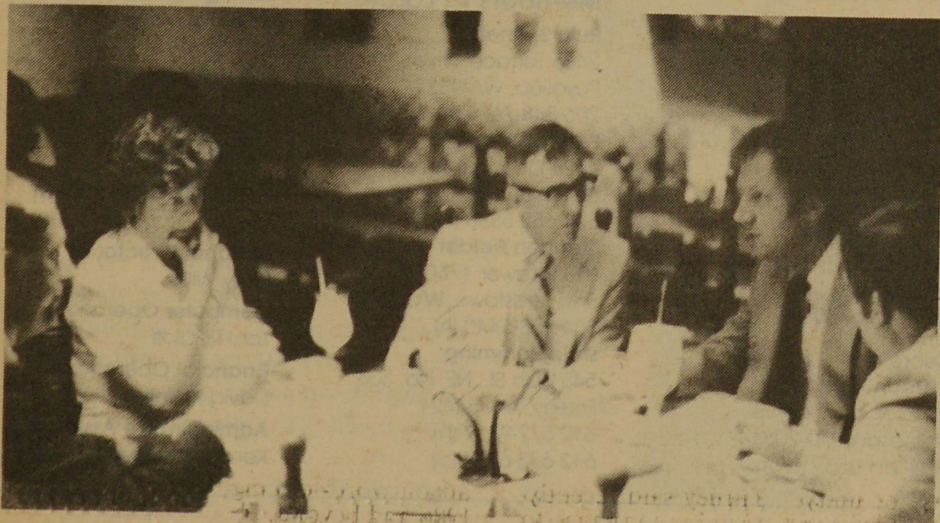
For the first time since the San Francisco Convention in 1977, delegates were able to get entirely through the Platform Committee report and had time to consider proposals from the floor.

Bill Evers of California introduced a new plank from the floor concerning

Continued page 6



Left: Counting votes from Arizona delegation, Mike Kelly (rear) of Phoenix, who also heads up his state's "repeal 55" effort. Robert Bulechek of Tucson assists. Photo by Jeannette Allen. Below: LP Finance Chair Matt Monroe (right) visits with Torch Club members during a convention luncheon honoring major LP donors.



Platform Changes

From page 5

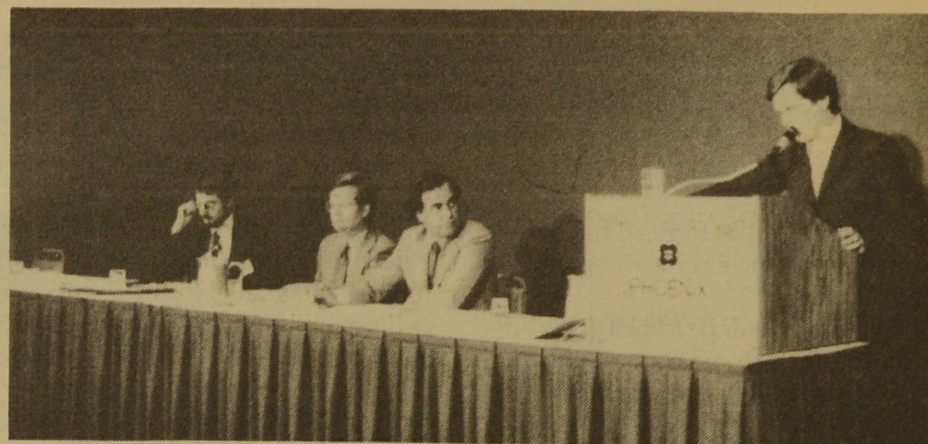
Central America. This measure, which was adopted, includes a thorough-going call for non-intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, and also urges abolition of "neutrality laws" which prevent private citizens from aiding foreign revolutionary movements.

Revisions were made to nine planks: China, Justice for the Individual, Discrimination, Subsidies, Colonialism, Unowned Resources, Social Security, Transportation and Vic-

timless Crimes. Substitute planks were adopted for Election Laws, Individual Sovereignty and Government Debt.

Delegates were unpersuaded by efforts from both "conservative" and "radical" libertarians to adopt significant deviation from current policy. Delegates failed to explicitly support government space based "Star Wars" defense measures, but also rejected planks calling for repudiation of the national debt, and classifying drunk driving, and espionage as victimless crimes.

Copies of the new platform will be available from the national office in the near future. ■



The convention Defense Debate attracted an overflow crowd. Left to right: Reason's Robert Poole; moderator Ed Clark; Georgetown University's Earl Ravenal; Jeffrey Hummel, standing. Photo by Editorial Services.

NatCom Meeting Notes

April 20-21

Seattle, WA - Wisconsin LP activist Randy Ver Hagen was approved as LP Chair, filling Paul Grant's unexpired term until the mid-August Phoenix national convention.

Several elaborate presentations were made, including films, by three cities seeking the 1987 national LP Presidential nominating convention. Reno beat out the Seattle and San Antonio bids.

The NatCom Budget Committee proposed an unusual mid-year reduction in the approved 1985 budget, totaling \$47,000, about 11%. The largest cut was \$22,000 in the LPN budget, and additional cuts were made contingent upon April and May financial results.

Final settlement of the remaining \$1,500 FEC fine was approved, as was suspension of the verification requirements for the membership oath in connection with LP membership. Convention delegate allocations by state were approved.

Reports were heard on finances, audit matters, LPN, ballot access and membership administration. Steve Dasbach of Indiana was appointed Campaign '85 Chair and Sharon Ayres was authorized to prepare a separate budget for the Ballot Access Fund.

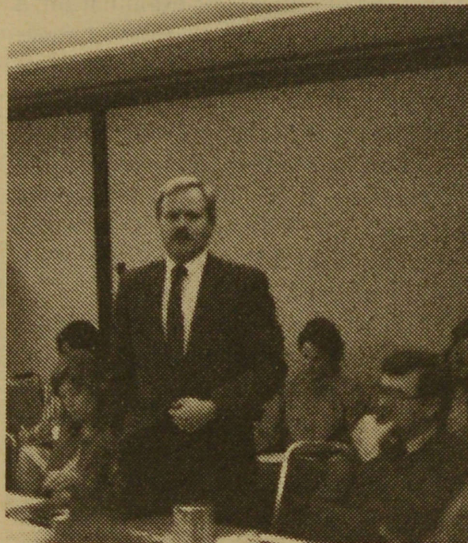
In addition to the meeting, a well produced and attended Northwestern Freedom Conference was conducted, featuring speakers on a wide variety of topics. NatCom members also enjoyed a moonlight dinner trip in a cruise ship on Seattle's beautiful Puget Sound.

August 14

Phoenix, AZ - At the pre-convention NatCom meeting, there was discussion regarding the nature and purpose of a \$6,800 loan from the Ballot Access Fund. Members ratified Ver Hagen's violation of LP By-Laws concerning loan approval by a one vote margin.

Discussion was also held on the June firing of National Director Honey Lanham. After a show of hands it was noted that fewer than a third of the NatCom had been consulted in advance.

After a report noting that the 1987 LP Convention bid by Reno was withdrawn, NatCom members voted 16 to 7 to award the convention to Seattle.



Former LP Chair Randy Ver Hagen addresses the April Seattle National Committee meeting. Seated, from left, Vice Chair Mary Gingell and Treasurer David Walter. Photo by Editorial Services.

After the Treasurer's report, Finance Chair Matt Monroe of Texas presented a lengthy Finance Committee report. He outlined innovations during his 3 year term, including telephone fundraising, pledge efforts and large donor programs. He noted a severe reduction in revenue during June and July. Monroe's analysis also traced the current LP debt situation directly to the 1984 Bergland campaign. He said that the \$40,000 LP ballot drive related debt was undertaken after the Bergland campaign ceased ballot drive activity in mid-July 1984, and that the LP spent over \$105,000 in 1984 for ballot access. Roughly half of current debt was related to the 1984 presidential campaign and the Bergland campaign effort failed to significantly increase the LP contributor base, while BFP fundraising efforts were largely based on the LP mailing list and computer services. Monroe concluded by requesting that the Bergland campaign donate its campaign surplus to the LP for debt reduction. The NatCom voted 17 to 7 to request the BFP campaign to donate its surplus to the LP. BFP campaign manager Evers said that this had partially been done already, since the \$7,000 in the Ballot Access Fund had come from the BFP.

Mike Holmes presented the Audit Committee report, where detailed presentation showed that the \$6,800

"loan" from Bergland was not actually an outside loan, but an intra-Party transfer of funds, despite claims to the contrary by the Chair, Director and Treasurer.

Reports were also heard concerning outreach, LPN, the computer committee and the headquarters report.

NatCom members voted 24 to 0 to table the ratification of a permanent National Director until the next meeting.

August 18

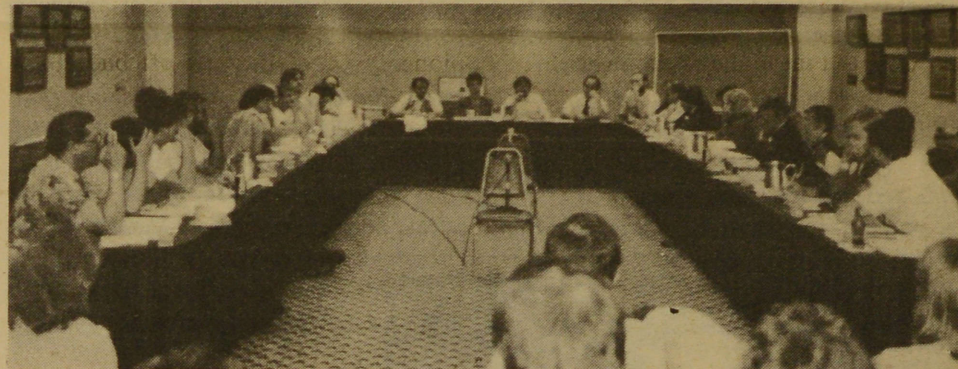
Phoenix, AZ - Discussion was held concerning reducing headquarters office rental costs, and a motion was approved authorizing the Chair to continue present arrangements on a month-to-month basis or to take other appropriate action to reduce these costs.

Turney requested that all existing committee Chairs remain in place until further notice, and motions were approved to defer ratification of a permanent National Director and to defer decisions on possible changes in the national headquarters location.

Discussion was held concerning future publication of LPN. Director Willis said the party couldn't afford this in the near future. The NatCom moved to allow the Chair to determine the financial feasibility of this activity.

After discussion about contractual obligations a motion was passed to require briefs be prepared for all written and oral contracts currently outstanding.

The next NatCom meeting was scheduled for Dec. 7-8 in Houston. ■



LP National Committee meeting following the convention, with new Chair Jim Turney presiding. Photo by Marc Montoni.

LP NATIONAL DIRECTORY

Nat Com

Chair

Jim Turney
824 West Broad Street
Richmond, VA 23220
804-788-7008 (h/o)

Vice-Chair

Sharon A. Ayres
1773 Bahama Place
Costa Mesa, CA 92626
714-966-1211

Treasurer

Sam Treynor
629 19th Street
Manhattan Beach, CA 90266
213-546-2846 (h)
213-518-5770 (o)

Secretary

I. Dean Ahmad
4323 Rosedale Ave.
Bethesda, MD 20814
301-951-0539 (h/o)

Past Chair

Randy T. Ver Hagen
3822 Marcy Court
Milwaukee, WI 53220
414-327-5665 (h)

Members At Large

Ruth Bennett
2405 Terrace Drive
Puyallup, WA 98371
206-848-7679 (h)
Peter R. Breggin
4628 Chestnut Street
Bethesda, MD 20814
301-652-5580 (h/o)
Stephen Fielder
P.O. Drawer 1760
Shepherdstown, WV 25443
304-263-5440 (h)
Dale Hemming
5451 5th St., NE, No. 306
Fridley, MN 55421
612-572-9137 (h)
612-623-6494 (o)

Dave Walter

894 Pine Road
Warminster, PA 18974
215-672-3892 (h)
Steven Givot
Route 2
One Middlebury Road
Barrington Hills, IL 60010
312-382-2098 (h)
312-663-1964 (o)
Jim Lewis
2 Neponset Avenue
Old Saybrook, CT 06475
203-388-2046 (h)

Headquarters Staff

713-686-1776
National Director
Perry Willis
Computer Operations
Tom Radloff
Financial Operations
David K. Kelley
Administrative Assistant
Ken Kirchheiner

Tryon Recall Fails

Angels Camp, CA - Like his great-grandfather George Tryon, who was an early Sheriff during the 1848 gold mining boom in Calaveras County, Libertarian county Supervisor Tom Tryon is something of a pioneer.

During a May Supervisor's meeting, Tryon spoke out bravely against a proposed Tri-County Drug Task Force program being pushed by Assemblyman Norm Waters. The state level "task force" was sought by the local Sheriff who undoubtedly sniffed out a good opportunity to cash in on the government marijuana eradication craze.

At the meeting Tryon challenged the assumptions behind this "war on drugs" boondoggle, contending that everyone would be a lot better off if drugs were legalized rather than prohibited.

"I think the drug problem is a huge human tragedy and we have employed coercion and intimidation in an effort to diminish the problem. This effort has failed," Tryon explains, "and it's time to address new approaches. My own personal belief is that we will have to go to legalization such as we did with alcohol, after the failed experiment during prohibition."

Despite his tough and eloquent Libertarian stand, the Supervisors voted against him 4 to 1. Ironically, Tryon notes that to date nothing seems to have happened with the Task Force.

Nonetheless, reaction was quick. Led by a former Bay Area reserve policeman, who claimed Tryon was being "Utopian" despite overwhelming evidence that the "war on drugs" has been a massive failure at tremendous human cost, a recall effort was launched in early June.

While recall backers hoped to exploit Tryon's narrow 1309 to 1308 November 1984 victory, they were unable after 60 days to come close to obtaining the 784 signatures needed to force a new election. Recall backers claimed about 500 signatures, but conveniently burned the petitions after admitting failure on August 12, so the exact number collected isn't known.

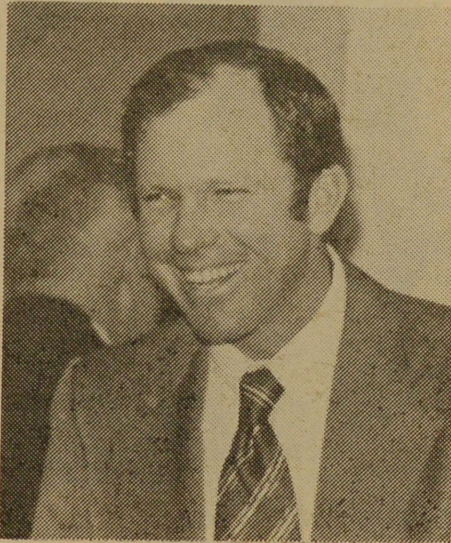
While the first recall backers vowed to try again, Tryon may be facing another recall effort on another matter in the near future. "There's about a 50-50 chance they'll try something over the Design Review/Scenic District ordinance, which the Board recently voted to repeal. We have 30 days to hold hearings, but the ultimate effect will be to remove these aesthetic controls over building colors, site design and landscaping from the General and Community Plans," Tryon explained.

With this successful effort, which Tryon advocated during his campaign, Tryon was in the majority, which voted 4 to 1 for repeal.

The rigid land use controls have only

been in effect in a few of the unincorporated areas of the county, including one in Tryon's district, but some pro-control proponents have hinted at a recall effort to express their displeasure over lifting these restrictions. Backers would need about 1000 gross signatures, which may be difficult to get during the cold winter months.

"In addition to the \$18,000 per year it costs to enforce these design controls,



Calaveras County Supervisor Tom Tryon smiles during his spring visit to the Montana LP state convention. Photo by Clifford Thies.

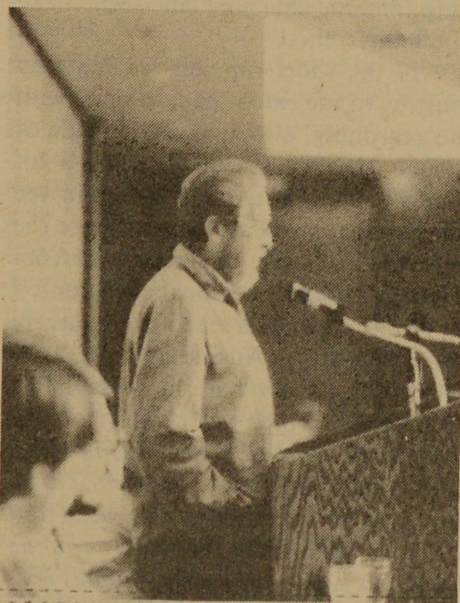
I think other Supervisors could see the merit in the argument for the free market and individual liberty," Tryon noted.

Tryon obviously takes his responsibilities seriously, and enjoys the challenge of applying libertarian ideas to the real political process. But even pioneers tire of fighting off bad guys. "I'm constantly under pressure here, and pretty isolated since there aren't many other libertarians in the area," Tryon observed.

But after four generations in Calaveras, with he and his wife Denise now raising the fifth, the Tryons are not easily intimidated, especially when they know they are right. Recalls or not, Tom Tryon continues to blaze new political trails.

Those interested in learning more can write: **Tom Tryon, P.O. Box 1177, Angels Camp, CA 95222.** ■

Karl Hess addresses an LP convention breakfast audience about his libertarian odyssey. Photo by Editorial Services.



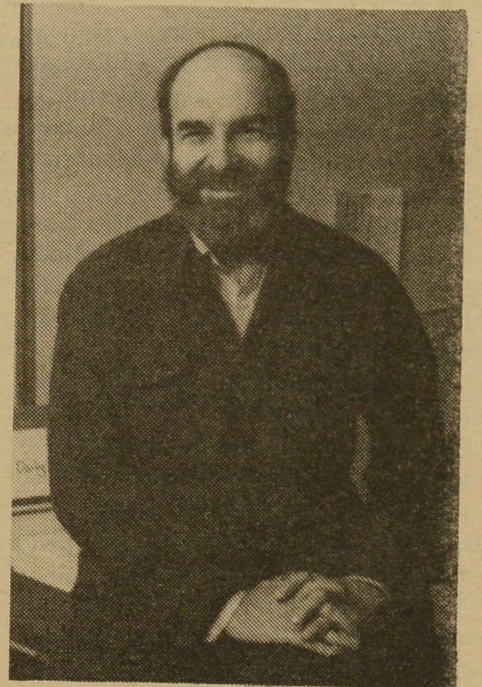
Marrou Tours West Coast

San Diego, CA - Libertarian Alaska state legislator Andre Marrou wound up a four day West Coast speaking tour in San Diego on November 10. Sponsored by the LP's Ballot Access Fund, Marrou earlier visited Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles during his four day tour.

Accompanied by 1984 South Carolina Senatorial candidate Steve Davis, who handled fundraising duties, Marrou gave short presentations to several hundred LP members and supporters on what it is like to be an elected Libertarian officeholder.

"The primary purpose of this tour was twofold," Marrou said in a recent interview, "first, to encourage Libertarians to consider running for local office, and second, to raise funds for the national LP." Sixty percent of funds raised are earmarked for the Ballot Access Fund and forty percent for LP debt reduction. "I'm also available for similar purposes to local or state LP groups," Marrou went on to add, "provided the sponsoring group takes care of my travel expenses."

Marrou previously gave similar talks to several groups in August and September, starting with Seattle, where he also attended a meeting of the National Conference of State Legislators,



Libertarian Alaska State Representative Andre Marrou.

and Denver, where he also attended a conference of CAUSA, an anti-communist organization. He made a similar presentation at the August Phoenix LP convention and attended an enthusiastic meeting in Orlando, FL in September, while also attending a meeting of the American Legislative Exchange Council. ■

Hess Joins LP

Shenandoah Valley, WV - Noted political author, speechwriter, lecturer, tax resister and welder Karl Hess recently announced his membership in the Libertarian Party. Speaking at a breakfast event at the August LP Convention in Phoenix, Hess admitted he finally "came out of the closet" and joined the LP, and even agreed to serve as a delegate from West Virginia at the Convention. He said he realized that the LP was basically an organization trying to do mostly "good things" and whose aims were largely similar to his own. He also added that he didn't intend to become particularly active again in politics and he was not much in evidence on the convention floor as a delegate.

Credit for Hess's appearance and membership is attributable to West Virginia LP Chair and National Committee member Steve Fielder, who has known Hess for several years and urged him to publically affiliate with the LP. While Karl Hess is one of the principal "godfathers" of the modern libertarian movement, with his 1969 article "The Death of Politics" responsible for defining the large differences between libertarians and conservatives, Hess in later years became explicitly anarchistic and worked mostly with leftist oriented community and neighborhood organizations.

At his breakfast speech to a packed

house, Hess said that he believed he had not changed so much as other people in politics had changed in relation to him. While his community and neighborhood orientation seemed to put off some libertarians, his individualist and anti-statist orientation tended to put off some leftists even more. Once he quit paying income taxes and became a "cash only" tax rebel, the reality of being a community oriented productive member of society made living his life as a libertarian much more important and concrete.

Hess said that in order to gain your neighbor's respect, he first has to respect you as a productive member of your community.

Hess, who still occasionally writes and lectures, said his main source of income is welding for practical and artistic purposes.

While originally a socialist when young, Hess later became a newspaper editor and political operative, and authored most of the 1960 Republican Party platform. He became famous as the principal speechwriter in the 1964 Goldwater presidential campaign, and is credited with authoring the phrase, "Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue..."

While Hess's political odyssey has distanced him from many mainstream conservatives, he still has close ties with Republican Senator Barry Goldwater. Hess reportedly stayed at Goldwater's home in Scottsdale while attending the Phoenix LP convention. ■

Randolph: "Mr. Republican"?

From page 1

is another former LP activist, Duncan Scott, who is acting as Randolph's campaign manger. Scott has previously served as the Director of the Montana LP and the Alaska LP, until his abrupt resignation from the ALP post in August 1984. Scott reportedly has close ties with the multi-millionaire Koch family, which once contributed heavily to the LP. Koch still funds the Caro Institute headed by Ed Crane.

In early September, Randolph was quoted as saying "if you'd asked me eight weeks ago about this move, I'd have told you 'no', but recent events, particularly the hearing regarding incumbent Democratic Governor Sheffield, has changed the picture." Randolph said a number of people, including some Republicans, have urged him to enter the race. Incumbent Democratic Governor Sheffield was accused of wrongdoing regarding leases for state buildings, but the legislative committee investigating declined to indict him or begin impeachment proceedings.

LPN sources also confirm the Sheffield incident in July as a turning point for Randolph, noting that Kansas oil magnate Charles Koch, Cato head Ed Crane, and former LP activist Kent Guida were reported to have taken a July "Alaskan fishing trip" along with Randolph, where speculation is that plans for his GOP race were made. Randolph's 1982 Libertarian gubernatorial bid cost about \$650,000 (for 15% of the vote) and was heavily subsidized by the Koch family, as well as "lower 48" Libertarians. Randolph was also the campaign manager for Earl Ravenal in the LP presidential nomination race at the August 1983 New York Convention. Ravenal's effort was heavily backed and bankrolled by Ed Crane and his close associates.

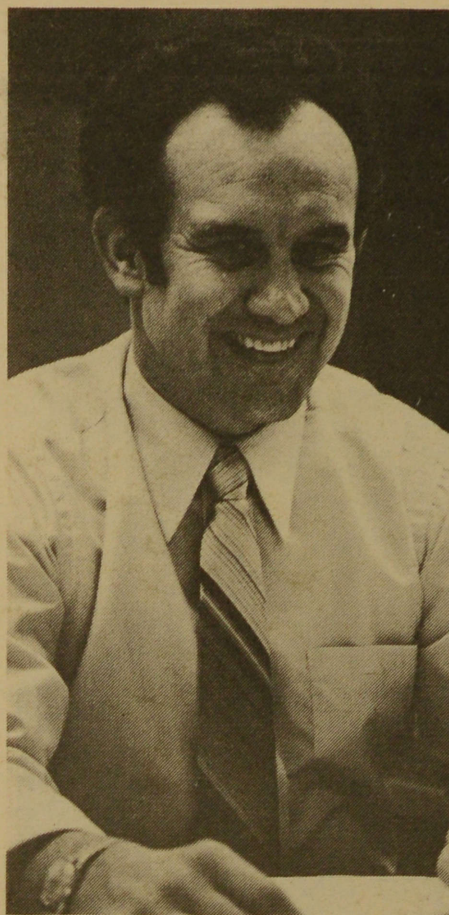
Randolph did not seek re-election as ALP Chair in 1984, and was known to

be openly hostile to an Alaskan election visit by LP presidential candidate David Bergland to Fairbanks and Anchorage during the summer of 1984. Sources close to Bergland say this hostility stems in part from an unflattering review Bergland penned for *Reason* magazine about Randolph's 1982 campaign book, **Freedom for Alaskans**.

In any event, Randolph appears confident that his effort will be well funded, boasting to one LP member that he would have \$100,000 in the bank two months after he launched his GOP nomination bid. It is not clear where he expects to obtain this funding, since according to current ALP Executive Director Anglo Artuso, Randolph has demanded the ALP mailing list for use by his campaign. Randolph's Political Action Committee (FrontierPAC) is also seeking the return of the ALP computer, which the Party had been leasing.

Director Artuso said, "I think Randolph believes he is the ALP and that the ALP is Dick Randolph, which is incorrect. While his efforts in 1982 did help build the party, the ALP obtained the software programming and have been maintaining and updating these mailing lists ever since 1982, at our expense. I see no reason to turn over the ALP mailing list to a candidate from another party. We could return his original 1982 computer discs, if he wants." The matter was referred to the ALP Central Committee in late October.

According to Artuso, reaction to Randolph's defection has been mixed. "There are three basic reactions: anger, indifference and confusion. The confusion results from people who were influenced by Randolph originally when they joined the LP. There is also the issue of philosophy versus the label, 'libertarian'. Dick has been saying that he still espouses libertarian prin-



Alaska's Libertarian-turned-Republican, Dick Randolph.

ciples, and opposes new taxes, government business subsidies, and so on. So there are some who may feel his message is more important than running under the LP banner. But most, I think, believe it is equally important to espouse libertarianism as well as proudly wear the libertarian label. Dick Randolph originally left the GOP because that party did not uphold principles consistent with individual liberty. I don't think most Alaska Libertarians have noticed any big change in the Republicans in recent years."

In response to Randolph's charge that the ALP is "dead", Artuso laughed and paraphrased Mark Twain's famous line: "reports of our death appear to be premature. Dick's not looking at political reality, I'm afraid." He went on to note, "since there is little evidence that becoming a Republican will enhance his political success. Ninety-five percent of the people I've talked to say they're not interested in the Randolph thing, and for Dick, this gambit is all or nothing. Instead of working with us, he's fooling himself into thinking changing labels will make a big difference."

"In the short run, his leaving may hurt us to the extent people agree with his reasoning, although the flip side of that is that we are now getting a lot more interest in us as a party. In the long run, it's a healthy move since the LP will be clearly differentiated from Dick Randolph's personal ambitions."

Public and media reaction has largely been neutral. An August editorial in the *Peninsula Clarion* had this to say:

Even given the open primary system of Alaska politics, this latest move by Randolph is difficult to fathom. This is the same man who has assailed Democrats and Republicans as spineless twins, neither of whom is will-

ing or able to effectively address the ills of the country or the state.

As the Libertarian standardbearer, he has been a thorn in the side of Republicans, a burr under their saddle. That is not all bad, certainly, but it seems shortsighted to expect the Republicans to have either equally short memories or easily won forgiveness. ...If his desire to be governor is unquenchable, it might be understandable that he would turn his consideration to the Republican Party.

Yet to do so is mere pragmatism — not the high moral call of the reformer that Randolph has seemed to be. If he follows through, he will be viewed by many as a man not of principle but of simple egotistical desire. It is easier to lose supporters that way than to win them.

Interestingly, state Libertarian officials, while they may not wish to lose Randolph, are hardly quivering in fear at the thought of it.

At his Anchorage press conference announcing his GOP bid, newspaper accounts said Randolph "bristled" when asked if his quest wasn't a trade-off between principle and his desire to be Governor.

At the October 18 GOP Central Committee meeting, held a few days before Randolph's formal announcement, a resolution was proposed stating that "no one who wasn't a currently registered Republican could receive aid from the state party" — a move clearly aimed at Randolph. This did not pass, reportedly due to pressure from the national GOP, but the Republican State Chair said on the following day that "any potential GOP candidate, particularly those coming from other parties, would have to state his belief in and espouse the philosophy of the Republican Party."

Libertarian Alaskan State Representative Andre Marrou, a leading LP strategist in the state, noted in a recent interview with LPN that he was saddened by Randolph's switch and personally hurt, since Randolph "had given me his solemn word at our May state convention that he would remain in the LP and not switch parties." Randolph later told Marrou that he had changed his mind, but was clearly uncomfortable over the issue.

"It seems to be clearly a matter of egoism versus the political facts," Marrou notes, "since I think it would be nearly impossible for Randolph to beat Democratic Governor Sheffield, who outpolled him 3-to-1 in 1982. And Dick was far more politically visible three years ago than he has been lately."

"Two high ranking Republicans, both party officers and elected officials, have told me what I already suspected. Some of his GOP supporters, particularly from legislators, see Dick's bid as a golden opportunity to decimate the LP, and in particular, wipe me out and keep us from gaining in the state legislature. Then, because the GOP primary is held so late, August

Continued page 9

'Libertarian U.' Proposed

Florence, SC - Long time South Carolina Libertarian activist John Harlee has recently circulated a proposal outlining the prospects of forming a "freedom oriented college" to be located in Florence, SC.

According to the proposal, two major factors have led Harlee to consider this venture. First is perceived need to have an institution of higher learning oriented towards the libertarian viewpoint. Second, is Harlee's identification of a number of suitable buildings and facilities which, at very little cost, could be transformed into a workable campus site.

Libertarian author Robert LeFevre ran the small, unaccredited Freedom School located near Colorado Springs during the mid-1960's, which played an important role in resurrecting the

modern libertarian movement. Other than that venture, there has not been any full time institution of higher learning devoted to libertarian principles, although several colleges and universities both in the U.S. and abroad are known to harbor departments (usually in economics or philosophy) which are centers for libertarian scholarship. Several private think tank organizations also sponsor limited term seminars.

Harlee is a practicing CPA and currently publishes *The Southern Libertarian Messenger*. He also has an extensive teaching background and has been an officer in the SC LP.

Those interested in further information about this project can contact: **Quality Education Inc., Rt. 10, Box 52A, Florence, SC 29501.** ■

the political philosophy of the Libertarian movement

Randolph Defects

From page 8

Randolph's Statement to LPN

"After long consideration, I've decided to run for governor as a Republican. Although a difficult decision, it rested on the answer to a simple question: What can I best do to further the cause of freedom?"

"Despite my successes — I'm proud of by Libertarian activities — I've concluded the LP is not an effective vehicle for activists who seek political offices to reduce government's overwhelming presence. Obviously victory is possible in isolated cases (as demonstrated by Alaska LP representative Andre Marrou), but generally LP candidates don't finish first."

"My greatest contribution to freedom, I believe, is to finish first in the governor's race. As governor, I can implement programs based on free market economics, private property rights, and minimal government interference in personal lives. My dedication to these goals stands unquestioned. To paraphrase Robert Ringer, I want to restore the Alaska dream."

30, 1986, and the closing filing date for candidates isn't until May 31, 1986, they plan a last minute entrance by some heavy-hitters who will neutralize him in the primary race. This means after September, Randolph will be out in the cold, politically, a man without a party," Marrou explains.

Observers note that Randolph's expensive (\$38/vote) 1982 LP bid was also based upon last minute outcomes in the GOP primary. His strategy hinged on a weak Republican getting the nod. But it didn't turn out that way.

Marrou also noted that there are already two other declared GOP candidates including an Anchorage State Senator. There are also two former GOP governors, who weren't allowed to succeed themselves for a third term but are now eligible to run again. Other possible candidates included a former GOP state house speaker, a well known banker/economist, a prominent former ambassador with ties to Reagan, and both Alaskan U.S. Senators and its congressional representative, all Republicans.

"Randolph seems to think he'll entice 90% of the LP members in the state to support his bid, rather than our own candidate," Marrou explained, "but I think it will be closer to 10%. Unfortunately, when I heard him here in Homer recently, he was already compromising on the issues, sounding like a Republican. When asked which state agencies he would cut or abolish, he said he wouldn't give specifics and needed more time to study the matter."

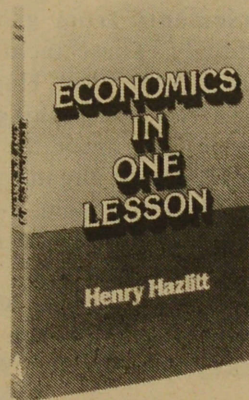
"I tried to convince him to run for

State Senate this year, and in four years if he wanted, to run on the LP ticket for Governor. But Dick said he didn't think he could win State Senate from his home district, even though it overlaps his old LP state house district. I told him that if he couldn't win the senate seat, I didn't see how he could expect to become Governor.

"It's sad, you know, since he did a

"Its insights have guided my own thinking and I am proud to count myself as one of your students." —RONALD REAGAN

ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON



This book has been the springboard from which millions have come to understand the basic truths about economics—and the economic fallacies responsible for inflation, unemployment, high taxes, and recession. Henry Hazlitt is the dean of American free market economists, and his clear, concise style illuminates ideas that all generations should know and appreciate.

Now you can purchase this quality paperback edition for only \$6.95. Add it to your reference shelf—you'll look through it often—or make it a special gift for a friend or a student.

"(Hazlitt) is one of the few economists in history who could really write." —H.L. MENCKEN

ONLY \$6.95 FROM LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS

★ **ORDER TOLL-FREE** ★
1-800-238-2200 EXT 500

Continental U.S. • 24 hours a day • 7 days a week

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund.

☐ Please send me _____ copies of Henry Hazlitt's *Economics in One Lesson* for only \$6.95 each, plus \$1.00 for postage and handling (\$2.00 for foreign orders).

☐ Send me your catalog of 623 books on liberty.

☐ My check or money order is enclosed for \$_____.

☐ Please bill my ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

LP

SEND YOUR ORDER TO: LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS,
Dept. LP, 532 Broadway, New York, NY 10012
(212) 925-8992

lot for the LP in the past," Marrou concluded, "but right now he just won't listen to the facts, the realities of politics. He even admits he's tired of politics, and I think he may feel this is his last hurrah, his final crack at the top. He only sees what he wants to see..."

Ultimately, neither Marrou nor Artuso believe Randolph's efforts will

greatly affect the ALP. Both are confident of the party's current growth and are busy lining up candidates for the LP's own ticket (see related story).

And if, by some miracle, Randolph's GOP quest succeeds, Alaskan voters would be faced with the prospect of two varieties of libertarian choices on the ballot, which, in itself, may be a healthy trend. ■

ALP Recruits Candidates

Homer, AK - Despite the recent publicity over Dick Randolph's recent party switch (see related story) Alaska's most prominent Libertarian officeholder, Andre Marrou — who also heads up the ALP's candidate search — is optimistic over recent voter trends and is encouraged by interest in 1986 races by state Libertarians.

"I don't know what's causing it, but we've had a number of really interested people step forth in recent months expressing interest in running for office or becoming active," Marrou observed in a recent interview, "and some of these people look really promising."

Among the possible candidates mentioned are Ed Hoch, from Fairbanks and Mary O'Brannon, from Anchorage. "Hoch may be interested in running for the legislature or possible Lt. Governor," Marrou noted, "and Mary O'Brannon is definitely interested in seeking the governor's spot. An O'Brannon/Hoch ticket would really be attractive since they each come from one of the state's largest cities (Fairbanks and Anchorage), which together contain about 50% of the state's population."

O'Brannon is the leading contender

at this stage for the gubernatorial slot, according to ALP Executive Director Anglo Artuso. She is a self-described "old time Alaskan" who has come to realize that you can't escape the dead hand of statism even in the "last frontier" state.

O'Brannon's experience with government interference comes firsthand, after she fought a protracted three-year legal battle with the state-regulated telephone utility over the statewide telephone directory service she founded. She set up a statewide network telephone directory which due to Alaska's small population and vast area proved quite popular. But the telephone utility fought a lengthy legal battle to prevent her business from operating. She eventually won and recently sold the business.

"She has said she is willing to commit a significant amount of time and personal financial resources on both her race and other races for the legislature," Marrou explains, "since she understands that if elected, she would have to work with the legislature and would need support there."

O'Brannon is described as articulate, although a newcomer to politics, and

Marrou reports that she had an "exceptionally positive reaction when she spoke at a recent AFN (Alaskan Federation of Natives) meeting. The ALP hadn't had much success in reaching the native population before, but I think many of them are tired of being told what to do, directly or indirectly, by state and federal governments." Marrou invited O'Brannon to Homer recently to meet a number of Libertarians and potential supporters.

"Basically, we plan to pretty much ignore Randolph's GOP primary race," says Director Artuso, "just as we do with all the primary candidates of other parties. Our candidates will concentrate on getting our message to the voters, particularly to the 54% of Alaskan voters who are registered as Independents." Artuso goes on to say that they hope to field 8 to 10 state house candidates, and would hope to see 3 to 5 elected.

"I know the Republicans have targeted me," says representative Marrou, "so I'm going to have to work long and hard to keep my seat."

Director Artuso concludes, "Most Alaskans are inherently Libertarian — in that they favor individual liberty instead of government power — but many of them don't realize it yet. We plan to change that." ■

Federal Ballot Bill Pushed

Washington, D.C. - A strong, positive ray of hope has recently been provided on the ballot access front, in the form of House Resolution 2320, introduced on May 2 by Detroit Democratic congressman John Conyers, Jr.

Conyers, a leading member of the Congressional Black Caucus, was reportedly asked to support this important legislation by members of the New Alliance Party, a New York based leftist party which supports the "Rainbow Coalition" politics of Jesse Jackson. The New Alliance made their political debut in 1984 and obtained ballot status in an impressive 33 states, although they received less than 50,000 votes in the election.

While virtually all other aspects of election law have been "federalized" in the past two decades, largely as the result of civil rights concerns, the area of access to the ballot has not been addressed by federal legislation until the introduction of HR 2320.

The significant features of this legislation are that petitions for federal ballot status in all states would not have to carry more than the greater of 1000 signatures or one-tenth of one percent of registered voters, gathered from the geographic area from which the individual is to be elected. Additionally, to maintain a place on the ballot, a party candidate would only have to receive the lesser of 20,000 votes or one percent of all votes cast in the most recent Presidential or Senatorial election.

This legislation would replace the

current crazy quilt state-by-state requirements which range from the relatively easy to the impossible. As LP Ballot Access consultant Richard Winger has noted, the much reviled "marxist" government in Nicaragua had easier ballot access requirements in their 1983 elections than do several states in this country.

"We should do everything we can to publicize this bill and work for it," Winger said recently, and while it may not pass soon, "it can be a vehicle for publicizing and educating the press and voters in general about the issue."

Winger himself has already written in support of HR 2320 to every member of the U.S. House, and former National LP Director Honey Lanham said in June that supporting this legislation "should be a major LP project, both at the national level and at the grass-roots level until positive action is taken." It is expected that the Ballot Access Committee and the LP National Committee will organize and recognize a formal effort to generate letters and lobbying efforts in favor of this bill.

The lobbying effort has already brought results. Unfortunately, Congressman Al Swift (D-Wash) who chairs the Elections Subcommittee has sent out a form letter to those who wrote urging hearings, citing three reasons for not holding them for HR 2320. He claimed that the Supreme Court would strike down unfair laws (fat chance!), the "state's rights" issue (where has he been the past twenty years?) and the fact that the Subcom-

mittee is too busy, etc. Winger urges that letters be sent again to Swift, and if you write Winger he can provide considerable information refuting Swift's arguments.

Fortunately HR 2320 has already garnered a number of public endorsements from groups and individuals. These include: Reverend Jesse Jackson, Prof. Hugh Bone of the University of Washington Political Science Department, the Roundtable of Black Political Organizations, the National Lawyers Guild, the Harvey Milk Lesbian and Gay Democratic Club (San Francisco), Ron Paul, The National Baptist Convention, Mayor Marion Berry of Washington D.C., Davis McReynolds of the War Resisters

League, Ralph Nader, the ACLU and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

While further action will be taken to formally organize lobbying efforts in favor of HR 2320, possibly coordinated with other third parties, Libertarians should start work on this effort without delay. For more details on ballot access restrictions, contact: **Richard Winger, 3201 Baker St., San Francisco, CA 94123.**

To directly support HR2320, write your own Congressman and also write the bill's author to show support: **Congressman John Conyers, Jr., 2313 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. ■**

"Double Nickel" Repeal Gains Speed

by Ken Sturzenacker
Chair, Arizona Libertarian Party

Phoenix, AZ - Delegates to the 1985 LP National Convention in Phoenix learned in August that the Arizona LP has taken the lead in the work to repeal the obnoxious 55 mph speed limit blackmail of the federal government.

Perhaps the most gratifying measure of our success in the first 12 weeks of our effort is this: Arizona's Democratic U.S. Senator Dennis DeConcini is telling constituents who write to him to contact the Libertarian Party for more information.

Other responses to our efforts are also very satisfying.

We've earned the editorial support of the Phoenix morning paper's top columnist, as well as dozens of other journalists — including talk show hosts — around the state. Mike Kelly, who is chairman of our 55 mph repeal effort, the Committee for Efficient Transportation (COMET), has already been the guest on several hours of radio talk shows to advocate our positions.

A growing number of newspapers are using Libertarian-written op-ed pieces in support of the repeal as well.

Arizona, of course, is one of several states now fighting the 55 speed limit. Paul Cleveland of the Oregon LP tells us his organization has also started a repeal effort; and DeAnn Pullar of the Washington LP says she expects a repeal effort to start there during November.

Maryland and Vermont are being threatened by the feds with loss of some portion of the so-called "federal highway funds" because their drivers also refuse to knuckle under to the dictates from the Potomac.

Three states — Idaho, South Dakota and Wyoming — have taken the feds to court on a related, and much more emotional issue: the attempt to force the national drinking age up to 21.

All three contend that any agreement reached under duress is null and void, and therefore the threat of withholding

highway funds has no validity. Vermont has joined with South Dakota in that fight. If any of those states win, the 55 mph limit should be history within a very short time.

Nevada has apparently repealed the 55 mph limit, but with an effective date of the day of the November general election in 1986. That should make an very lively campaign issue in Nevada next year, especially since that's the day we're expecting to vote on repeal ourselves here in Arizona.

Perhaps ironically, one of our biggest allies in this fight in Arizona is our own Department of Transportation, which has published a brochure with these words:

"No published research findings have established any direct relationship between posted speed limits and accident frequency. Contrary to popular belief, speed itself is not a major cause of accidents.

"The normally careful and competent actions of a reasonable person should be considered legal. Laws cannot be effectively enforced without the consent and voluntary compliance of the public majority."

We in Arizona would like very much to know what Libertarians and others are doing in other states to get rid of the 55 mph limit. Please let us know. And especially if your state has no ballot petition initiative process you can use, we'd like your help to aid in our Arizona effort.

Please make your contributions to: **"ALP-COMET", P.O. Box 501, Phoenix, AZ 85001.** Arizona can be the fulcrum to wipe this piece of federal meddling in our lives off the books forever! ■

Sinking Statism

Washington, D.C. - The White House, which was built on a swamp, is sinking at the rate of one inch per 120 years. By the year 113,053, it should sink entirely out of sight.

Courtesy of the *Time for Liberty*, Fresno, CA LP. ■

Design Competition for Planned LP TV Ads

Houston, TX - Work is being done right now so that Libertarian television ads can be produced and broadcast in 1986.

These ads will be shown using money raised by the Libertarian Party, but they will also be available to state and local parties for broadcast with money raised locally for that purpose.

LP Vice Chair Sharon Ayres initiated this project and enlisted the aid of Alaska State Representative Andre Marrou in raising the required funds. Marrou has already conducted a fundraising tour of the West Coast.

The bulk of the money raised at these events will be used to produce ads and fund a "test phase" broadcast of these ads. A small portion of the funds will be used to make continued progress on the LP debt.

Part of our budget for this project will include the use of professional expertise in this area. LP Chair Jim Turney, who has an extensive background in audio-visuals, will provide a great deal of guidance as the task of finding the best talents for this project commences.

In order to generate enthusiasm for this project the LP is conducting a "Design Competition." Anyone who thinks they can write a good one minute or 30 second commercial is invited to do so.

All competition submissions should be complete scripts; pictures to be seen on the screen and words to be spoken. No script should require longer than a minute to act out. More than one script may be submitted per person. Deadline for entry is February 1, 1986. Submissions will not be returned, but a winner will be announced in LPN.

It is very important that those submitting scripts keep at least two things in mind: 1) The expense required to produce their script. 2) The purpose of these ads is to induce people to call an 800 number, not convince them of some point of Libertarian doctrine. These ads are not for educational purposes.

Script submissions or contributions of money targeted to this project should be sent to: **LP Headquarters, TV Ads, 7887 Katy Fwy, #385, Houston, TX 77024. ■**

Bradbury, Hess Headline Conference

Santa Ana, CA - Science fiction writer Ray Bradbury, survivalist Karl Hess and former British Marxist leader David Ramsey Steele were the major speakers at this year's 13th annual Future of Freedom Conference.

More than two dozen speakers in all appeared Oct. 25-27 at the Griswold Hotel in Fullerton, Calif. (in the Los Angeles/Orange Co. area) for what has

become the largest — and oldest — annual libertarian conference series on the West Coast, dating back to 1969.

This year's conference focused on a specific theme: "The Future of the Freedom Movement." Representing a diverse spectrum of strategies within the broad libertarian movement, prominent libertarians explored the lessons learned from recent movement setbacks and debated the best paths toward a future of freedom in a Strategy Forum on "Building a Free Society: Prospects and Possibilities." Other Conference participants were invited to compete for prizes by giving

short speeches on the same conference theme in a new "Statebusters" Speech Contest.

Climaxing the conference was the special Saturday night banquet tribute given to Karl Hess, author of *Dear America, The Lawless State, Community Technology* and the classic *Playboy* magazine award-winning libertarian essay "The Death of Politics." A former Goldwater speechwriter and Nixon/Ford ghostwriter (as well as former leftist revolutionary), Hess's evolution into a tax-resisting neighborhood-supporting anarchist has served as an inspiration to

many libertarians.

Among the other speakers included *Reason* magazine publisher Bob Poole, author and columnist Robert LeFevre, Cable news Network commentator Jeff Riggenbach, Self-Government Advocates founder Marshall Fritz, and a doctor who helped organize a medical relief effort for the Afghanistan freedom fighters resisting Soviet aggression.

Additional information about the conference can be obtained by contacting: **Future of Freedom Conference '85, P.O. Box 26044, Santa Ana, CA 92799, (714) 979-5737 (days).** ■

1988 Candidates Emerge

Houston, TX - In contrast to the 1984 LP Presidential nominating process, where the dropout of the leading candidate prompted last minute entries by Earl Ravenal and the ultimate winner, David Bergland, the 1988 LP nominating race appears to be heating up early.

According to reports from around the country, at least two LP members have expressed interest in the presidential slot and one has discussed the VP post.

James Libertarian Burns of Nevada (not to be confused with Gene Burns) has embarked on a number of speaking appearances discussing the future of the LP, and has expressed interest in the 1988 LP Presidential nomination. He reportedly favors campaigning in states such as Montana and Alaska, where LP support is most apparent, and has also been raising money for the LP's Ballot Access Fund. Sharon Ayres reports receiving a \$1,200 check from him in late October.

1984 South Carolina Senatorial candidate Steve Davis has also expressed interest in the nomination. Davis, recently re-located to Santa Barbara from South Carolina, is the husband of former LP Secretary Heidi Hartman-Davis, and also served as a Republican state legislator in Arizona in the early '70's. His 1984 race was the most active ever run in South Carolina and was one of the most visible LP races in the entire U.S.

Although also mentioned as a presidential prospect, Dick Boddie of Los Angeles has expressed interest in a possible VP candidacy. Boddie was active in fundraising for the Bergland campaign and heads up his own motivational firm. He also lectures around the country and is perhaps the most well-known black LP activist in the country.

Since the nominating convention may be held as late as spring, 1988, it is far too early to evaluate the nomination races. These early expressions of interest are seen by LP leaders as an encouraging sign of political growth, as the top LP slots continue to attract a number of capable and committed potential standard bearers. ■

"Murray...has finally and unanswerably demolished both the moral and the practical claims of the welfare state"

—GEORGE GILDER, *The American Spectator*

This breakthrough book is making conservatives purr and liberals squirm...

"Murray's book, relentlessly logical and well-documented, should convince any serious reader that it must at least be squarely faced... The heart of the book, the best and most devastating part, is a long compilation of data meant to prove that the poor have done worse as government programs aimed at them have flowered. It is especially uncomfortable reading because the case is made by comparing blacks to whites... No doubt that racists will love Murray's book. So what? When millions of people are suffering, it seems irresponsible for the left to expend its intellectual energies on these blame-shifting exercises... his is a vision that coheres, as the left's on this subject doesn't any more... This is the problem that liberals must address; Murray's book in effect throws down the gauntlet to them. The standard responses (most of which Murray neatly sets up and demolishes) won't do, because they don't offer real hope of a solution." —*New Republic*

"Irrefutable." —John Chamberlain, syndicated column

"Without bile and without rhetoric, it lays out a stark truth that must be faced." —*Business Week*

"Devastating... Those who already believe welfare is a poverty trap that undermines independence, ambition, and upward mobility will find Charles Murray's new book a powerful and well-documented affirmation of that belief." —*National Review*

"A great book. Others have recently made the same argument... But Charles Murray's version... is particularly convincing. He writes with flair, but his tone is steadfastly nonpartisan; he marshals an immense amount of data... but never loses the reader in numbers; and he never ventures a conclusion for which he has not laid the most elaborate and convincing groundwork... By the time Mr. Murray gets around to conclusions, even devotedly non-Reaganite yuppies will be ready to agree... James Coleman, the University of Chicago sociologist, is quoted on the dust jacket... as saying 'future discussions of social policy cannot proceed without taking the arguments and evidence of this book into account.' Dust-jacket puffery is notorious, but in this case the compliment is, if anything, restrained. Mr. Murray's book is so well wrought that it is likely to dominate those discussions well into the 1980s." —*Wall Street Journal*

"Murray unabashedly asserts that slashing social spending is the greatest favor the Government can bestow upon the poor... Conservatives have made that argument before, but no one has documented it as thoroughly as Murray does." —*Time*

Important for Christians

Is welfarism the way to help the poor? The National Council of Churches and the Catholic bishops think so. This book leaves them with only their biases.

**How to get this myth-shattering
volume FREE**

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives.

★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, free and postpaid, Charles Murray's \$23.95 volume, *Losing Ground*. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

LPN - 5

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Paul Jacob Convicted

From page 1

having written to the government saying he hadn't registered, on the FBI having visited Wayte and offer him a chance to register and avoid prosecution, and on the government having used the "passive" system of prosecuting public nonregistrants only temporarily while it implemented an "active" enforcement system.

Jacob's lawyers argued that these facts didn't apply to his case. Jacob didn't write to the government; someone sent a newspaper clipping of his statements at a demonstration to the SS. Jacob wasn't visited by the FBI; they couldn't find him (although he did receive the usual certified letters).

Jacob says he was selected for prosecution as a direct result of his participation and speech at a public demonstration, activities protected by the First Amendment. "Their system was to target a select few people, bring the full weight of the government down on these people, try to make an example of them and try to frighten other people and stop them from using their free speech." According to one of Jacob's briefs, "Defendant submits that the 'active' enforcement policy is a sham to prop up an unconstitutional prosecution system."

Before his trial Jacob traveled widely, speaking and raising money for his defense. Despite the restriction of bail and of having to get permission from the court to leave Arkansas, Paul visited Atlanta, Baton Rouge, Birmingham, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York City, Oakland, Palo Alto, San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, San Rafael, Washington, and many other cities. More than three million people tuned into an interview with Jacob on KABC

radio in Los Angeles, and his "Late Night America" television appearance was broadcast nationally on PBS.

The Paul Jacob Defense Fund held a forum with Paul and his father, John Jacob, on June 27, a march from the Post Office and courthouse to the state capitol June 30, and a rally outside the courthouse during the trial.

The July trial lasted two days. Many people wore **Free Paul Jacob** buttons to court the first day, but Judge Howard ordered the U.S. Marshal in charge of the courtroom guards to have the buttons removed.

The government's case was typical of those in other nonregistrants' trials: Paul's birth certificate and voter registration (evidence that he was supposed to register), two officials from SS headquarters in Washington (evidence that they looked for Paul's registration, that they didn't find it, and that if he had registered they would have found it), three newspaper reporters (evidence that Paul had told them he knew he was supposed to register, that he hadn't registered, and that he didn't intend to), and an FBI agent who had arrested and questioned Paul.

Ed Clark, 1980 Libertarian Party Presidential candidate, and Ron Paul, Republican former Congressman from Texas and sponsor of legislation to repeal both registration and the SS, testified in Paul's behalf. Both explained the history of the draft and said that registration and the draft are unconstitutional. Clark said conscription is immoral and should be resisted. "If you have a good society, an ethical society, you always have enough volunteers to defend your country." Ron Paul said Paul Jacob's stand was "a position only courageous people can hold — it is an act only courageous peo-



Paul Jacob lunches with Cleveland City Club President Jim Huston after his address there last May.

ple can take."

In one dramatic moment, the federal prosecutor introduced Paul Jacob's voter registration card from 1980 which also bore the slogan added by Paul, "Smash the state." In his attempt to embarrass Ron Paul and discredit Jacob, the prosecutor asked former Congressman Paul if he also agreed with that sentiment. While surprised by the attack, Paul coolly replied that while "he wouldn't use exactly those words," he voted against government spending at least 80% of the time while in Washington, which he hoped would have about the same effect.

General Thomas Turnage, Director of the SS, was also called as a witness for the defense. As Paul had hoped, Turnage directly contradicted the statement in official SS propaganda that registration is "no big deal," that registration is completely separate from the draft, and that registration does not indicate support for the draft. Turnage agreed with Jacob that signing a registration card constitutes approval of the system.

Turnage testified that the compliance rate of young men subject to registration amounted to a public endorsement of the program. Turnage said that even if a registrant wrote some form of disclaimer on the form, the Selective Service System would still cite the form as approval of the system.

Paul was allowed to testify at length about his own reasons for resistance. (He and Andy Mager are the only nonregistrants who have been allowed to tell juries why they didn't register. Other nonregistrants have been threatened with contempt of court charges for trying to do so.) Paul Jacob told the packed courtroom, "The only reason to have a registration program is to draft. I'm in this not to weasel out of the draft...but to keep the draft from coming back." He said he believes the law is unconstitutional and "felt a duty not to register."

Judge Howard refused to instruct the jurors that Jacob had not "willfully" refused to register if he believed in good

Continued page 13

Interview with Paul Jacob

Katy, TX - On the morning of November 4, Paul Jacob was able to phone LPN editor Mike Holmes for an hour-long interview. Calling from Seagoville federal prison, Jacob covered a wide range of topics. Portions of that interview appear below:

LPN: Paul, how have you been holding up?

Jacob: I'm feeling pretty good. Of course, I'm anxious to get out and get back with my family. But it's really not too tough in here.

I'm certain that I've done the right thing by resisting. I might feel different if I were totally innocent or if I felt guilty. I don't really think I'm "guilty" of any real "crime" for not registering. But of course, I didn't register, so I guess I'm not really "innocent".

In a way this experience has really worked to improve my self esteem, probably the most important thing I've ever done for other people.

Some days, I get up and almost feel

happy because of the way I'm fighting for what I believe in and for the principles I'm upholding while I'm in here.

LPN: Anything new on your appeal?

Jacob: Maybe we'll hear in early December, or later. I've already been denied reduction in sentence. I think it's because of the new federal bail law that I'm in here while my case is still under appeal.

LPN: What about your plans for the future?

Jacob: First and foremost, I'm going to go home and spend time with my wife and daughter. Rhonda says I'll be in solitary at home for a while...

I am hoping to continue to speak and travel, spreading our message, telling the public why we believe what we believe.

I'm definitely going to return and get my undergraduate education. Possible later go into teaching or law. Of course, there's the question of whether with my conviction I can be admitted to the bar.

But law might be a good way to earn a living and also do a lot of good.

LPN: Do the people you're in with there understand your situation?

Jacob: Most of the people I'm with, 99 out of a 100, would sign just about anything to stay out of prison. But that's true of people outside, also. Few people inside prison or outside think of the morality of the things they do.

A lot of vets inside understand. They realize what misuse of the draft means, what it can do. They're fairly supportive. They share my mistrust of government.

LPN: Do you think there will be any speech restrictions imposed?

Jacob: I hope not. There weren't any during the pre-trial period when I traveled widely, so it will probably be no worse when I'm out. My own schedule may be tighter with work, school and so on. I'll fight any restrictions legally. But it's up in the air right now and I'm anxious to find out.

LPN: Are you still planning on not registering?

Jacob: Nothing has changed. It's not a

condition of probation.

First of all, I didn't register to avoid the draft, since there was a very slim chance of being ever drafted. The whole reason not to register was to express my disapproval. Secondly, my refusal to sign would be taken by the people in Washington as a sign of resistance to any future draft. It's only one sign, but a very important one.

LPN: Are you looking forward to serving as Region 18/19 NatCom Representative?

Jacob: Definitely. I'm not a real expert on political organizations, but I did hold a position in Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS). Of course SLS had its troubles and went under.

We have had trouble in the LP, which is one of many instruments to bring change, but a very important one. I hope the LP can keep its head above water, because we have to start reaching out to people who haven't heard our message.

You know, long before I went in I heard negative stuff about the LP, how

Continued page 13

Jacob Jailed

From page 12

faith that the law was invalid. The jury still took almost two hours to find Paul guilty. Some jurors said later that they agree with Paul and wanted to acquit him, but felt the judge's instructions left them no choice but to convict.

Immediately after Paul Jacob was convicted, Judge Howard sentenced him to five years imprisonment, of which six months is to be served and 4½ years are suspended on condition that Paul do eight hours per week of "voluntary public service" for two years under the supervision of the probation office.

Judge Howard refused to set bail for Jacob's release pending appeals, although Jacob gave notice that he intended to appeal his conviction. Supporters kept a vigil outside the courthouse, and as he was taken out Paul called to them, "We're freer for this," and, "This is what they do to people who practice free speech in this country."

The next day Paul's attorneys, John Wesley Hall and Larry Vaught of Little Rock, appealed the denial of bail to the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals. After an emergency hearing the same day Judge Richard S. Arnold upheld the denial of bail.

Paul Jacob was initially held in the Saline County Jail in Benton, AR, which Paul's wife, Rhonda Allen,

described as a dank, dark, underground hole where her husband was initially denied books, paper, pens, TV, radio and outside exercise. The warden there tried unsuccessfully to set up Paul for assault by other prisoners by telling them that Jacob was a "draft dodger" and provoking the Vietnam vets who shared his cell. This hostility backfired, since it only resulted in increased sympathy for Paul's situation.

In August he was sent to the federal Penitentiary in Texarkana, TX for two weeks and spent one night at the maximum security prison in El Reno, OK. By mid-August he was assigned to the minimum security Correctional Institution in Seagoville, TX located outside of Dallas. Although he was first given ten days solitary confinement because "there was no room for him", he has since been assigned to work duties with the general prison population.

Paul had said in advance that he would not accept registration as a condition of probation, but he expects to do the community service, under duress, in order to be able to return to his family as soon as possible.

Approximately \$3,900 was raised for Jacob's defense fund at the Phoenix LP Convention, but his substantial legal bills, including his on-going appeal, continue to mount.

Paul Jacob gives thanks to all who have sent letters of support and contributions. Both can be sent to:

Paul Jacob Defense Fund
P.O. Box 15724
Little Rock, AR 72231

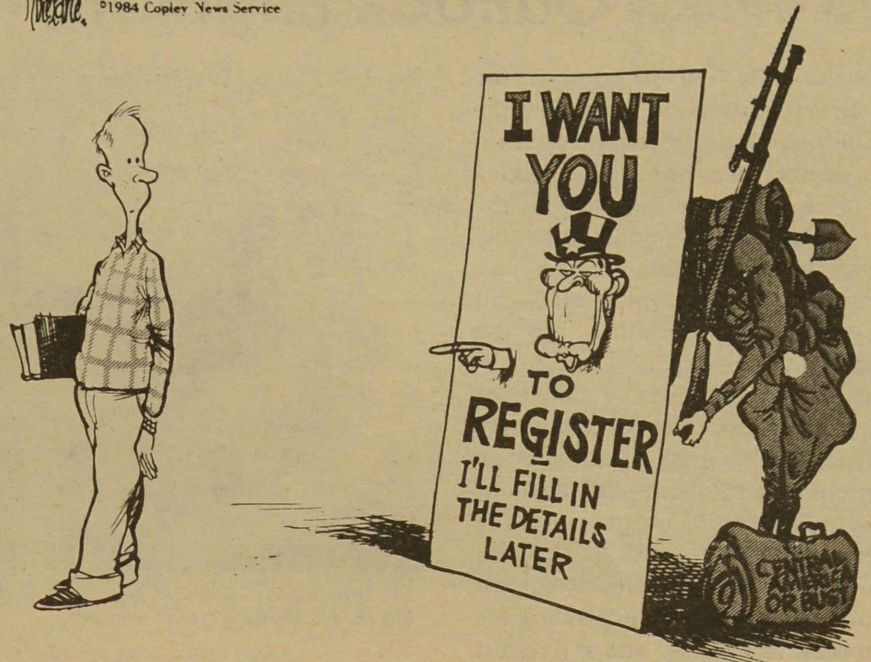
Paul Jacob's long and difficult fight against draft registration shows that libertarians cannot take the struggle for individual liberty for granted, nor does the state take defiance to its will lightly. As long as the government imprisons Paul Jacob and others for refusing to sign bits of paper pledging their lives to the State, no citizen will truly be free. ■

Family Awaits Jacob's Release

Little Rock, AR - Rhonda Allen (Mrs. Paul Jacob) and daughter Jessica wait patiently each night for the return of their husband and father. With any luck, Paul will be back home on November 30. Not quite a year ago, federal police came and took Paul Jacob away. His crime? Failure to sign a government form. "Registration - it's no big deal" says the government TV commercial...

But it is a big deal to Rhonda and Jessica. "I've gained tremendous respect for single parents, in particular," Rhonda Allen admitted in a recent LPN interview, "but otherwise, Paul and I and Jessica are holding up well." The family is able to make the two hour trip every two or three weeks to visit Paul. Rhonda says the visiting facilities "are really pretty nice, considering, and they have a playground for the children so

THE EVERETT COLLECTION
©1984 Copley News Service

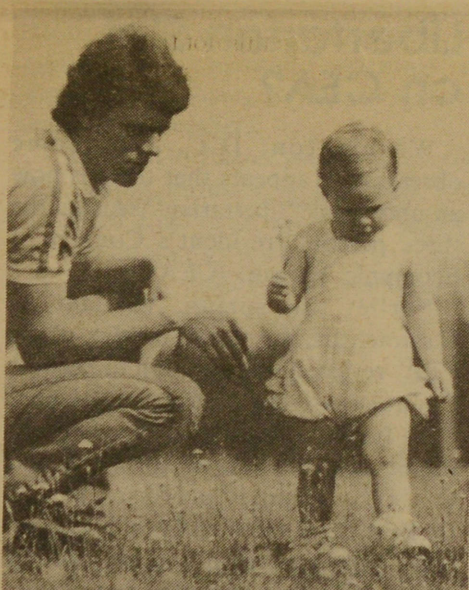


things are fairly normal during the visits." The prison is a minimum security facility, and conditions are described as "not grim, but no country club either." Originally Paul worked in the kitchen, although he recently began doing light janitorial work in the visiting area.

Paul Jacob will be on parole for four and a half years, and will have to perform 2 years of "community service", 8 hours a week, for two years as part of his sentence. Some registration protesters have been sentenced to as little as six months, or even house arrest.

Paul will also have to obtain permission to leave the western Arkansas federal judicial district, and could be returned to prison if he violates any law.

Paul may return to the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, where he has been studying history and English. He's also considering law school. Paul is also looking forward to serving on the National LP Committee, where he was elected from the seven-state "super-South" Region 18/19. He may attend the Dec. 7-8 Houston NatCom meeting if he is released as scheduled and can obtain permission to travel. ■



Paul Jacob with his daughter Jessica.

Interview

From page 12

when the time came they wouldn't come through for me.

But support has been really incredible, especially from the LP. Mail, which was very important, and money as well. I got support from other libertarians, of course, but a large amount of support, about 90%, was from LP supporters.

I am very grateful, because it's very important we have organizations like the LP out there, supporting people like me, and working for change by reaching out. ■

Year End Clearance Sale!

The Perfect Outreach Publication!



Libertarianism in One Lesson

By David Bergland

1984 Libertarian Candidate for President

- ★ A totally new kind of outreach publication
- ★ Designed to serve as a supplement to high school and college texts
- ★ Ideal for use by candidates
- ★ Perfect for introducing anyone to libertarianism and the Libertarian Party
- ★ Easy-to-read magazine format

----- Order your copies today! -----
Please send me _____ copies of *Libertarianism in One Lesson*
Enclosed is my check for \$ _____ based on a single copy price of **\$1.50** or
on the following quantity price breaks:

2 @ \$1.25 ea. 5 @ \$1.00 ea. 10 @ \$.85 ea. 25 @ \$.70 ea. 50 @ \$.60
100 @ \$.50 ea. 250 @ \$.40 ea. 500 @ \$.35 ea. 750 @ \$.30 ea. 1000 @ \$.25

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

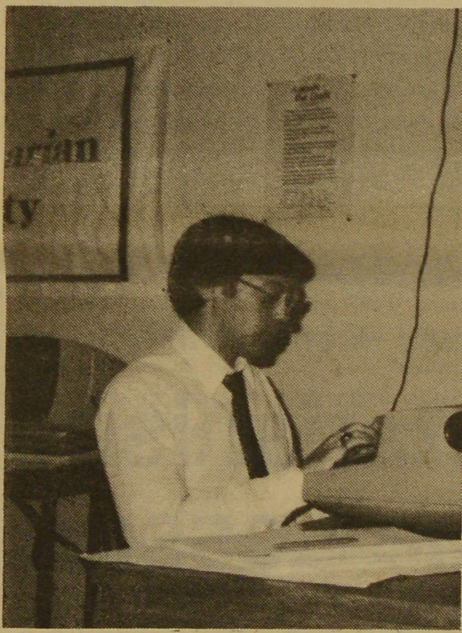
Please make check payable to:
Orpheus Publications, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92626.

Financial Outlook Brightens

Houston, TX - Nixon poisoned the well. Before Nixon and Watergate the Republicans (and the Democrats to a lesser degree) obtained all the money they needed from a few individuals. After Watergate and the creation of the Federal Election Commission, the amount of money that individuals can give was severely curtailed. But the "need" for money hadn't changed.

The Republicans, especially the right wing, solved the problem by developing sophisticated techniques for raising large amounts of money in small increments. These techniques include direct mail, event fundraising, and phone solicitation. The New Right got the jump on everyone in expanding the use of these techniques, and as a result, became a dominant force in current politics.

For the past five years, unnoticed by almost everyone, the LP has been undergoing its own financial revolution. The Party evolved from a state of reliance on a few large donors to a position of near parity with the Republican fundraising machine. Not in terms of income, but in terms of the techniques used.

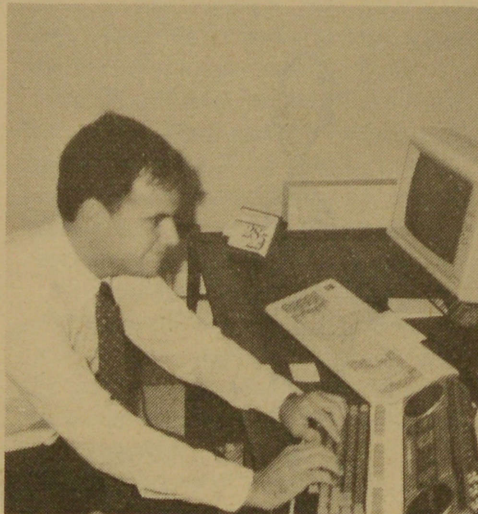


LP Administrative Assistant Ken Kirchheimer working at LP headquarters

The lessons learned about broad based fundraising have yet to be applied consistently, but the LP can reasonably expect that by the next Presidential campaign all of the devices will be in place. The LP should be able to raise more money from more people than ever before. This money will be directly translated into growth.

In a recent LPN interview acting National Director Perry Willis talked about how new fundraising techniques are reshaping the LP's financial picture:

"We've done two things in the past three months that have substantially enhanced our income. First we began a regular program of direct mail appeals. The first of these was a letter signed by David Bergland that brought in over \$24,000, with a \$44 average contribution. There have been more successful



LP headquarters computer guru Tom Radloff hits the bits during a typical workday.

appeals for LP Presidential campaigns, but as far as appeals purely for the Party that letter is the most successful on record. In addition we have begun making use of event fundraising.

"Andre Marrou and Steven Davis recently toured the West Coast, raising funds for our television ad project and for the debt. We netted about \$8,000 from their efforts. I suspect we'll be doing quite a few events next year. James Burns has also been traveling around the country raising money for the Ballot Access Fund. We have about \$10,000 saved up for that so far. We're also continuing to fine tune our telephone solicitation. We expect this to become more profitable over the next year."

Willis also noted that a great deal of progress has been made on the LP's debt. "It's at a manageable level now," he said. "I expect we can have it completely paid off in the first part of 1986. We've cut it by \$35,000 to date. We've also held enough money in the bank to pay for our next fundraising letter and for LP News."

Willis noted that in the wake of the debt a new attitude has developed. An attitude of pay as you go. "We're saving money for TV ads, we're saving money for ballot drives, and for LPN. We're saving money for everything we do. It's very encouraging."

Willis finished by noting plans to do prospecting mailings next year to expand the contributor list. Telephone solicitation, direct mail, event fundraising, list prospecting, pay as you go: they all add up to growth in 1986. ■

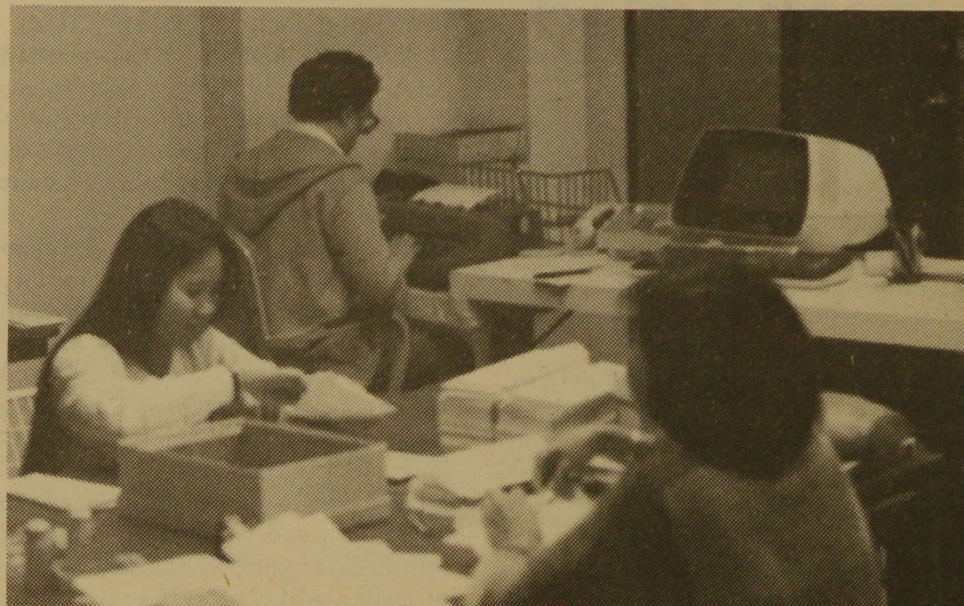


Important Phone Numbers

713-686-1776 - Business number, National Libertarian Party

1-800-682-1776 - LP new member information number (outside Texas)

713-492-6608 - LP News advertising or news number



University of Houston political science students Dung Kim (left) and Phuong Nong (right) earn credits for LP headquarters volunteer work. LP accountant David Kelly (typing) keeps up with the bills. Photo by Editorial Services.

LGLC Holds First Convention

San Francisco, CA - The Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns organization held its first annual convention October 11-13 at the Swedish American Hall in San Francisco.

Panel discussions and speakers represented groups such as the ACLU and the Feminist Anti-Censorship Task Force, and libertarian authors John Dentinger and Jim Peron. The Cuban anti-gay documentary "Improper Conduct" was shown and the banquet dinner featured noted gay historian Allan Berube who spoke on the history of state repression of gays and lesbians. The conference theme was "Sexual Freedom and the State: New Issues for the Gay Community."

For further information, Contact: **George Meyer, LGLC National Coordinator, 1800 Market Street, #210, San Francisco, CA 94102. (415) 621-2386.** ■

Anti-IRS Groups Form

Washington, D.C./New York, NY - Two recently formed anti-tax groups are fighting against IRS abuses.

•Former Idaho Congressman George Hanse, known for his outspoken criticism of the IRS, is president of the New Continental Congress based in Washington, D.C. This group has recently produced a series of professional TV spots dramatizing IRS abuses inflicted upon American taxpayers. The commercials portray IRS agents as gun-toting thugs. Two Seattle TV stations refused to air the spots in early October, but another station and the Cable News Network ran them.

For more information, contact: **New Continental Congress, 499 South Capitol Street, S.W., Suite 420, Fairchild Building, Washington, D.C. 20003, 202-484-2300**

•The National Coalition of IRS

Whistleblowers was formed in January 1985 to encourage disclosure and publicity about documented IRS plans to spy on taxpayers and intimidate tax protesters. The group has issued a 104-page White Paper documenting IRS abuses, has held press conferences, and sponsored speakers on talk shows and in public forums. It is also actively seeking help from those who have or are currently working for the IRS.

For more information, contact: **National Coalition of IRS Whistleblowers, P.O. Box 7750, New York, NY 10116, 212-921-5371.** ■

Libertarian Slot on CEA?

Washington, D.C. - To some observers, it appears that there is now an unofficial "libertarian" seat on the three person President's Council of Economic Advisors (CEA).

Earlier this spring, William A. Niskanen Jr., the senior member of the CEA, resigned that position to become Chairman of the libertarian-oriented Cato Institute, located in Washington. Previously, he worked for Ford and was an economics professor at UC Berkeley. Since joining Cato, Niskanen had directed research and his writings regularly appear in major newspapers and journals of opinion.

Perhaps even more surprising is the choice for his replacement on the CEA. In late summer, former Stanford economist Thomas Gale Moore was confirmed by the Senate to fill Niskanen's vacancy. Moore is a well-known free market economist and a staunch advocate of de-regulation. In 1983, his wife Cassandra ran a non-partisan race for mayor of Palo Alto, which reflected a number of libertarian themes. This was partially the result of efforts by her campaign manager, long time LP activist and NatCom member Bill Evers, who later went on to manage David Bergland's presidential campaign. While Thomas Gale Moore is not an LP member, he has been heard to describe his viewpoint as libertarian. ■

Mises Head Honored

Valley Forge, PA - Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr., founder and president of the Mises Institute, has been honored for his work in economic education for the free market.

"The Board of Directors and Trustees of Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge are pleased to notify you," wrote President Robert W. Miller to Rockwell, "that you have been selected by the independent 1984 National Awards Jury to receive the George Washington Honor Medal for Excellence in Economic Education."

The Mises Institute is a non-profit educational foundation with offices on Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C., and on the Auburn University campus in Auburn, Alabama.

Through an extensive program of student aid, teaching, research, conferences, publications, and Congressional briefings, it works to advance "Austrian" economics and the free market. ■

Political Wives Knock Rock

Washington, D.C. - Representatives of the nation's largest music recording companies knuckled under to the overt threat of government censorship, by agreeing to "voluntary" warnings on records and tapes, it was announced early in November.

Stanley Gortikov, president of the Recording Industry Association, announced that firms representing 80% of the nation's recording firms have agreed to the placement of warnings on records or tapes which the companies determine may offend some parents. This move followed months of negotiation between the RIA and the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC), a group formed by wives of some of Washington's most powerful public officials.

Prominent PMRC members include Tupper Gore, wife of Tennessee Senator Albert Gore, and Susan Baker, wife of Treasury Secretary and former White House Chief of Staff James Baker. Earlier this year, the PMRC engineered official government hearings over the issue of "obscene, satanic or drug-related" lyrics supposedly found in rock music. Backed by the real threat of official government-mandated music censorship, the hearings paraded a number of music industry collaborationists such as John Denver and Pat Boone, who tamely agreed with the PMRC haridans about the alleged evils of rock music. Only a few musicians, such as the zany Frank Zappa, openly challenged the kangaroo court censorship hearings.

Libertarians opposed to the McCarthy-like tactics increasingly used

by supporters of repressive social legislation, were dismayed to see the naked clout of political spouses employed in such a chilling fashion. Once those with political connections are able to use their personal influence to squash unpopular groups or causes, all pretense of individual liberty will quickly disappear under the royal whims of political "new class". ■

Libertarian Student Network

Trenton, MI - The Libertarian Student Network (LSN) recently circulated a fund raising letter along with the Winter 1985 issue of the *Young Libertarian*, its quarterly tabloid publication.

According to Paul Jacob, who authored the letter, the LSN "has recently embarked on an ambitious program to fight the left and the right for the hearts and the minds of our nation's young people." Founded in 1982, the LSN, through its paper the *Young Libertarian*, is moving to attract students to the libertarian cause.

Based in Trenton, MI, the LSN has contacts at Monroe community College (MI), the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Western Michigan University, The University of Maryland, and in North Carolina, the St. Louis area and the San Francisco area.

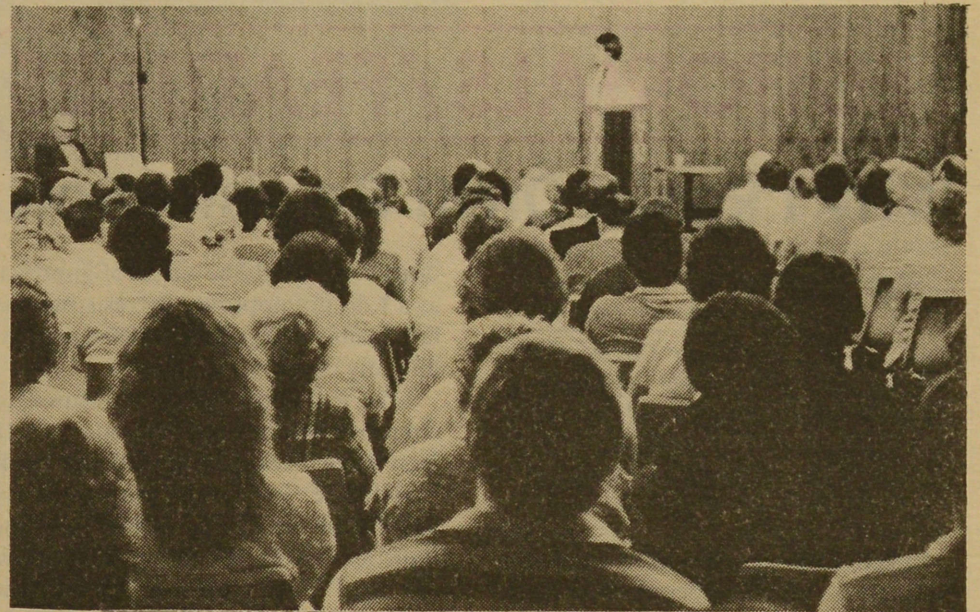
A one year subscription to the publication is \$5, and the LSN may be reached at: **Libertarian Student Network, P.O. Box 64, Trenton, MI 48183.** ■

"Privatize Post Office" Budget Director Says

Washington, D.C. - After 140 years, Lysander Spooner is being vindicated. A 19th century abolitionist and radical libertarian, Spooner was also the main target of the Postal Express Statutes which created the government post office monopoly and put his and other private postal systems out of business.

In August, Federal Budget Director and former Federal Trade Commission Chair James C. Miller III wrote in the *Cato Journal*, published by the Washington-based libertarian think tank, that "Private enterprise will get the mail delivered — just as it did in the Old West" with the Pony Express.

Miller went on to note that the postal monopoly should be totally abolished, since companies such as United Parcel Service, Federal Express and Purolator Courier frequently do a better job than the USPS with parcels and overnight mail, and there is no good reason why they shouldn't also carry first class mail. Improved service and lower costs were predicted as a consequence of privatization. ■



Idaho LP activist Allen Dalton (center) introduces Dr. Murray Rothbard (left) to an overflow crowd of 500 at Boise State University. Rothbard packed them in with "Interest Rates, Inflation, and the Federal Reserve." Photo by Idaho Liberty.

We can't tell you WHO our clients are. But we can tell you WHY!

The relationship between our clients and us is always personal and confidential. So we can't tell you *who* uses our services in the purchase and sale of precious metals. But we can tell you *why* our clients deal with us.

Our clients receive *personal* service that is nearly unique in the precious metals business. Long ago we decided to serve relatively few clients and to build mutually profitable relationships with them. So we take extra care: your phone calls and inquiries are answered promptly and politely. Special requests or services are almost always accommodated. Over 98% of all purchases from **Liberty Coin Service** are shipped within 8 hours of receipt of payment.

Our professionalism goes further: we offer our clients the widest range of precious metals, not just a few heavily advertised items. We respect our clients' intelligence and judgment: we do not send out bulk mailings stuffed with "limited offers" that will yield fantastic profits. In over *thirteen* years of business, we have never sent out a bulk mailing, or solicited business by telephone. No one at **Liberty Coin Service** has ever received a commission on sales.

Our operation is trim and efficient: we put our resources into serving our clients, not into elaborate promotions, direct mail solicitations or glossy sales literature. We prefer to provide our clients with the lowest prices in the industry as well as professional, personal service.

We can't tell you the names of our clients; we hold them in strictest confidence. But we *can* demonstrate to you why thousands of individuals have chosen to deal with us. We *can* show you why *Personal Finance* has recommended us as a "reliable, low-cost dealer"; why we have been recommended by Douglas Casey, Mark Skousen and the *Retirement Letter*.

Discover how rewarding dealing with **Liberty Coin Service** can be. Return the following coupon or call us toll free at (800)321-1542.

Liberty Coin Service

300 Frandor Avenue, Lansing, MI 48912 (800)321-1542

☐ Please send me your "*Gold/Silver Packet*" and a copy of your most recent newsletter.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

EDITORIALS/FEATURES

Why I Resist Draft Registration

by Paul Jacob

Paul Jacob is a former Chair of the Arkansas LP and a vocal opponent of draft registration. Since July 2, 1985, he has been serving a six month term in federal prison for failing to register.

Selective Service television commercials tell the American people that draft registration is "no big deal." But on December 6, 1984, three FBI agents entered by home uninvited, arrested me and took me away in handcuffs.

My "crime" — if one calls it a crime — is refusing to sign my name on draft registration form. Unlike Selective Service, the FBI seemed to think registration was a very big deal. I agree. Draft registration is a big deal and a bad deal for young men and for America.

The draft has no place in America's tradition of individual freedom. As the great statesman Daniel Webster said, "The question is nothing less than whether the most essential rights of personal liberty shall be surrendered and despotism embraced in its worst form." Webster saw the draft as involuntary servitude, later made unconstitutional by the Thirteenth Amendment.

In a 1980 letter to Senator Mark Hatfield, Ronald Reagan said, "The draft or draft registration destroys the very values our society is committed to defending." These "values" have since been abandoned by Mr. Reagan, but not by the thousands who continue to resist.

Not only is the draft repugnant to the very freedom for which thousands have flocked to this country, but registration is an insult to young people. The draft implies that we are too cowardly or too unpatriotic to defend our homes unless threatened with prison sentences. When have the young ever failed to defend this country? Young men in the past volunteered to sacrifice life and limb in World War I, World War II, Korea, and even Vietnam.

The draft, on the other hand, is a way to drag young men to foreign military interventions that they may have no stake in, nor any cause to fight. In my lifetime, thousands were forced from homes and families and sent to kill or be killed on the other side of the world. The freedom of choice to say "no" to unjust wars is an important check on the politicians' ability to involve us in such conflicts and in fact is...what makes a mere stretch of dirt precious and therefore worth defending.

I cannot in good conscience register with such an unjust, un-American, unnecessary and extremely dangerous institution as the draft. My signature on a

draft form would be a sign of approval and I do not approve. By resisting this law I am, in my sincere belief, defending my country.

Like a million others, I refused to comply with draft registration. Only 18 men have been prosecuted for draft resistance; all spoke out publicly against the draft. It is indicative of the injustice of forced military service that for such a program to succeed, the government feels it necessary to trample on free speech. Unable to enforce compliance, the government is trying to enforce silence. [The Supreme Court ruled Tuesday, March 19, that prosecution was not unconstitutional nor did it

violate rights of free speech.]

In 1981, when threatened with prosecution, I left Arkansas and went "underground." I did not want to be imprisoned or to be a martyr.

For two years I lived as a fugitive. But I came home. Every human being has the freedom, by right, to be with loved ones. I could no longer do without this freedom, even if it caused me to risk arrest. It might have been legally easier for me if I had turned myself in, but the day never came that would have been better spent in government halls with federal agents than at home with my wife and our infant daughter. I simply wanted to live as a "totally" free man, at least until the time that freedom was forcibly taken from me. On December 6, 1984, that day unfortunately came.

Why would I risk five years in prison to fight against what the Selective Service would have us believe is "just reg-

istration?" Simply put, it isn't just registration, it's registration for the draft. Registration is the essential first step toward sending draft notices. Moreover, it is an important political test to determine if the public will stand for a draft.

I see no reason to wait for Selective Service to begin forcing young men into the Army before taking action — that is the agency's only purpose. All of us have a duty to stand up for what we believe is right and against what is wrong. The draft is wrong, and I will not be any part of it.

The Soviet Union has a military draft. Poland, Czechoslovakia and Libya do. Chile is drafting both men and women. South Africa has a draft, as do Nicaragua and the Philippines. Iran and Iraq make use of the draft.

These are the kinds of governments that draft their citizens. I want America to be different. ■



From the Editor

Mike Holmes

by Mike Holmes, Editor LPN

Without a doubt, 1985 has been an interesting year for the LP. On the other hand, one is reminded of the old Chinese saying, "beware of interesting times."

But progress is rarely made in a smooth, straight-line fashion, and these past months have yielded some valuable lessons for our party:

1. Running a third party is not easy.

After battling undemocratic ballot access laws last year, few of us would question that lesson. But let's not forget our third party competitors either. The Populist Party, according to reports, has splintered into several pieces with virtually none of its 1984 top leadership or candidates remaining.

The leftist Citizens Party, which a few years ago received considerable publicity, is all but defunct, although some affiliated, independent state party organizations continue to exist in a few places. Other minor leftist splinter groups continue to exist, but all are a small fraction of the size of the LP.

In other words, other than cult-type groups or Marxist true believers, only the LP has survived the Reagan era intact as a credible third party. Since we are now in a retrograde 1950's like period of socially conservative values and mindless conformity, the fact that we are alive and well, and even growing on a grass roots basis, is a considerable achievement.

2. Financing a third party is not easy.

Few of you reading this have probably escaped an LP appeal for funds recently. Much of the recent turmoil in the national LP can be traced to money problems, or, more accurately, money shortages.

But realistically, all political parties operate in cycles, usually peaking in debt and spending during presidential election years and working on repayment during the off years. Of course, major parties attract funds by promising political influence and policy payoffs. The LP doesn't. We also have to incur hundreds of thousands of dollars merely to be allowed to compete on the ballot. In 1984, for instance, the national LP spent over \$105,000 on ballot access and incurred over \$40,000 in specific debt to fund ballot drives and lawsuits. So, it is not surprising that in the spring of 1985, we were saddled with uncomfortable debts.

This is almost a pattern, since after the much more visible 1980 elections the national LP debt was about \$200,000. The \$77,000 debt at the outset of 1985 is actually a significant improvement over 1980. While opinions differ on how best to handle this

Continued page 18

From the Chair

James B. Turney

by Jim Turney
Chair, Libertarian Party

One year ago I began an examination of the available talent for a Party leader. There weren't many people who fit the ideal profile — especially since an important feature was ability to work with all "factions" while still having enough experience and contacts. Many talented people were unfortunately not acceptable to other factions or they were not interested.

It was not an easy decision for me to become a candidate last February. But I'm glad I stuck with it to the last ballot because I have found we are a healthier and more promising political party than we think we are. We still have a lot of catching up to do, but we obviously have it in us to do it.

As you read this newspaper I hope you feel the **enthusiasm** created by our successful convention in Phoenix; the **firmness** of our new commitment to fiscal responsibility; the **excitement** generated by our new TV commercial project; and the **vitality** of our institution that has so many good ideas now being proposed weekly. There is so much to tell you about that we couldn't get it all in this newspaper!

I think we need to publish a newsletter monthly next year just to keep you informed of the many fronts on which there is action. Welcome to the reenergized Libertarian Party!

Today we have more elected Libertarians than ever before in our history. It is still our first priority to work on the local level where we have and will continue to have our first successes. But my concerns are now with the Party's national level activities, and that means presidential politics.

My objective is to prepare us for an effective campaign in 1988. Whether we like it or not, almost everyone in and out of the Party judges the health of the libertarian movement on their subjectively determined success rating of our presidential campaign. We must be visible and do better than expected in 1988 if we are to be perceived as a viable and growing alternative.

To accomplish this objective we must get serious about prospecting for new members and contributors and have a professionally conducted fundraising effort. The TV commercial project and others you will be hearing about soon are the beginnings of this effort.

The operation of the national office is another area where we must be proficient. The computer determines the performance of our most valuable tangible resource — our mailing list and financial records. Member services and literature availability must be predictable and timely. Not as important — but still significant — is the location of

the national office.

I believe most people, especially outside the party, feel we are not a **serious** national (as opposed to regional) movement if we are not headquartered in the nation's capital. It's odd how people look at symbol before substance, like the case of the presidential versus local campaigns mentioned earlier. Our national office could function anywhere, but we need all the credibility we can get to attract the media, money and success-oriented people.

If you have an opinion about the headquarters location issue — keeping it in Houston, moving it to Washington D.C. or elsewhere — drop me a note c/o the national office (and enclose a few dollars while you're at it!). But more importantly, I hope you will renew your energy and enthusiasm for the commitment our party is making to more freedom in our time! ■

From the Director

Perry Willis

by Perry Willis
LP National Director

Somewhere, someplace, a small circle of Libertarians has gathered to discuss the latest news and to make plans for the future. This is not an isolated occurrence. It is happening all over America. Even as you sit back in your favorite easy chair to read this long awaited issue of *LPN*, the fight for liberty goes on.

As I write this it is November 1. In the past six months much has changed. Many things have not changed, however.

What has not changed is the need for this Party. The need is greater than ever. That is why this Party exists, after all, because there was a perceived need. And that need is being met.

We should all remind ourselves, as I remind myself everyday when I come to work, that we are part of a tradition. Twenty years go there were no Libertarian meetings, there were no Libertarians reading *LPN*, no National Headquarters, no membership list, no computer on which to write a column such as this, nor even any reason for such writing to be done.

That I sit here now, writing to you, is to me something of a miracle. We have accomplished so much against such great odds that I am amazed by those who complain that we have not accomplished more. We exist! Against all the odds, we exist! In the face of a human history littered with examples of poverty and intolerance, we have been the ones who have seen the path to a world of abundance and harmony. We have been the ones who have striven to bring that world into existence.

Continued page 18



Ideological Litmus Test?

The '84 elections gave us much to be encouraged by. Andre Marrou's victory regained a tenuous but badly needed foothold in the state legislatures. Tom Tryon and Toni Nathan showed that attractive, reasonably financed candidates can carry the Libertarian label and ideas into the mainstream of political debate. The Givot and Hedbor races yielded our best media coverage ever. Hedbor's endorsement by the state's largest newspaper is a breakthrough that should not be overlooked.

What has disturbed me, however, are the post-election comments by many Libertarians, especially Murray Rothbard in his editorial, "The Consolidation Election" (Nov.-Feb. 1985 *LPN*).

Rothbard's bitter comments on what he terms the "external cadre" are downright scary. When Rothbard writes, "differences are generally healthy... But matters are different when an 'external cadre'... exists..." he sounds like Stalin or Lenin justifying another party purge.

We made great strides through the MacBride and Clark campaigns. The people who ran these campaigns put forth often superhuman efforts to put our party on the map. They have proven themselves beyond all doubt. I cannot question their decision to take a low profile in '84, particularly when their choice was not our nominee. I do question the judgement of anyone who would say, "We are better off without them".

Nor can I agree with Rothbard that the best part of the the Bergland-Lewis campaign is that they were "hardcore to the hilt". What the professor, and many others, fail to grasp is that only the tiniest fraction of the electorate will ever vote on the basis of a rational, consistent, thought out theory of rights.

Jefferson, Gallatin, Madison and Burr recognized this, and by putting their argument in simple terms relevant to the common man, they built a coalition that succeeded in giving the U.S. forty years of more or less libertarian rule. It is the job of our think tanks and publications to create libertarians. The goal of our party is to make people vote to implement libertarian ideals. We will not do that by shoving libertarian theory whole-hog down the throats of voters.

We do not betray our principles by relating them to the concerns of the average voter and feeding them to him in the amounts he is willing to absorb. For example, start a speech to the Chamber of Commerce by saying, "Taxation is theft" and discussing property rights, and 90% of the audience

immediately dismisses you as a crackpot. Start by saying, "the Libertarian Party believes taxes are at least \$200 billion too high", and by the end of your talk you'll have a few curmudgeons muttering, "Taxation is theft".

A political party can be true to its principles without submitting every potential voter to an ideological litmus test or otherwise discouraging their participation.

The '84 elections gave us much to be proud of and encouraged by. But let us not kid ourselves that we are stronger when we push dedicated libertarians out of the party, or that our campaign is better when it fails to make the party relevant to the mass of voters.

Bradley A. Smith
Kalamazoo, MI

Murray Rothbard Replies:

There are two basic criticisms of my editorial by Mr. Smith which need a reply. First, I don't understand why calling for ideologically pure LP candidates means that we are "shoving libertarian theory whole-hog down the throats of voters", or that we are subjecting "every potential voter to an ideological litmus test."

We are offering our theory and its application to current political issues to the voters, and on that basis, we

Continued page 18

LPN

Libertarian Party News

Libertarian Party News is the official newspaper of the Libertarian Party of the United States. Opinions and articles do not necessarily represent official Party positions unless so indicated.

Editor: Mike Holmes

Associate Editors: Bill Evers
Murray Rothbard

Art Director: Sue Bjornseth

Typesetting: Service Photo Copy, Inc.

Publisher: Editorial Services

Printed by: Pasadena Citizen

News/Photos/Letters

LP News

21715 Park Brook Drive

Katy, Texas 77450

713/492-6608

Advertising Information

Editorial Services

21715 Park Brook Drive

Katy, Texas 77450

713/492-6608

Address Changes

LP News Address Changes

c/o Libertarian Party

7887 Katy Freeway, Suite #385

Houston, Texas 77024

713/686-1776

Permission is granted to reprint material from *LP News* unless material is marked "copyright". Copley News Service and John Trever cartoons may be reprinted only upon written permission from *LP News*. Publication credit and tear sheets are requested for all material reprinted.



FEEDBACK

From page 17

welcome every vote we receive. No voter is subject to scrutiny when voting for us any more than when voting for any other party. I would hope that a voter who likes us better than other parties would vote for us even if he didn't agree with us 100 percent. I agree that the Jeffersonians and Jacksonians, mainly libertarian, did a great job in getting votes. But they did not do so by watering down their principles. They realized, for one thing, that you don't have to be a political philosopher to be in favor of, and vote for, liberty and property rights. Mr. Smith has apparently not caught up with the Jeffersonians on that point.

The other criticism is on our former "external cadre", namely, the late, unlamented Crane Machine. Here Mr. Smith has his facts 180 degrees wrong. No one was "purged" and no one was "pushed out of the party."

At the New York Convention in September 1983, the Crane Machine came up with, and loudly proclaimed, what they called the "Biddeford Statement", which they, among others, signed. This pledged them to support

with their best efforts whoever was nominated for President at the convention. No sooner did their candidate, Earl Ravenal, lose, when the Crane Machine loudly and ostentatiously violated their own Biddeford pledge. They refused to show up at the traditional unity banquet the night of the nomination, bad-mouthed Bergland and the campaign from the very start, and flatly refused Dave Bergland's repeated requests to each of them to aid him in his campaign. The term "sore loser" seems to be a very kind label for their behavior; "rule or ruin" seems to be more like it.

Indeed, the Crane Machine went so far in their disloyalty to libertarian principles, as well as the Libertarian Party, that they launched a serious effort to run a presidential campaign on John Anderson's abortive National Unity Party ticket. In fact, they actually launched some ballot drives and tried to get delegates to attend the National Unity convention to vote for their candidate, industrialist Marvin Stone.

The attraction is they could have run a presidential campaign using Anderson's substantial federal matching funds supplied by the taxpayer. Fortunately, the Crane plans were dashed when Anderson, after first approving the race, decided to veto it: as a result, no matching funds, no convention, and

no National Unity Party.

I repeat, even though there was no "purge" (and not even any mechanism for a purge, even if anyone wanted one), we are far better off without a disciplined cadre that engages in such unprincipled behavior. Or am I supposed to be "purged" for expressing an honest opinion?

Full Disclosure

After the 1980 elections there was criticism of Ed Crane and Ed Clark and the results of the LP campaign. Party members thought long and hard about what they wanted.

But I see no comparable effort this time. Why not? This time we didn't do nearly as well, and for \$600,000 our campaign didn't produce any TV or radio commercials or any campaign literature. What happened to the money? Is this what the party wants?

Campaign manager Bill Evers should be held accountable like Ed Crane was. LPN should look into this. Don't suppress the truth!

A.P. Williams

Ashland, KY

The Bergland campaign produced two TV commercials, although they weren't aired on network TV. The post-election LPN carried a detailed analysis of the votes and campaign spending. A wide selection of opinion about the election was also carried. This can hardly be termed "suppressing the truth".

Mathematical Madness

I hope you have a policy of printing corrections to LPN articles. The "IRS Watch" article of the March-April issue contains a glaring error. The article states that 1.4 million of 172 million returns are audited. Then the article says that your chance of being audited is .008%!

This is in error by a magnitude of 100. The chance of being audited is .8% (or .008).

Think about it.

Lyle F. Branch

San Diego, CA

This error is duly noted and my errant calculator has been severely punished. Ed.

Going Monthly

In my opinion, LPN should be published every month to give the party more impact and visibility for the time and money expended. If the NatCom wishes to cut the paper's budget, they should do it by cutting pages per issue, not issues per year. If necessary, only a fraction of state reports could be in any given issue, to be repeated on a staggered basis.

One of Murphy's Laws must be the number of magazines subscribed to expands to fill a person's free reading time. If LPN appears only sporadically with gigantic issues, I suspect readers with a marginal interest in libertarian activities who already have most of their reading time taken up will only take time to quickly scan each issue. A

regularly appearing LPN of modest proportions would stand more of a chance of being read thoroughly.

John C. Sproul

Editor Rochester Libertarian

Rochester, NY

Continued page 19

From the Director

From page 17

During our few short years of existence we have stumbled and fallen. Often. But is a baby expected to walk on its first day? Did we expect victory in our first decade? In our second? Our Party is a reflection of us. Its inexperience is our inexperience. Its growth is our growth.

Our movement will continue to change and evolve. There are many mistakes yet to be made, many triumphs yet to be savored. Whatever happens, the work will go on.

It is happening now. At this very moment, as I write these words, I can hear the fight for freedom as it sounds here in the national headquarters. I hear the sound of typing and the phone ringing, the computer printing and tape being torn as a package is made ready for the mail.

These are small sounds, but they are vital. They are the sounds of a peaceful revolution. Our revolution.

In the months ahead I will use this column to describe the inner-workings of the National Office. I will share my problems and solutions. In doing so I hope to create a better understanding between local leaders and the National Headquarters. I hope that this will provide insights into how problems we face at the local level might be solved using experience gained at the national level.

In return I ask that you communicate with me. Letters would be better than phone. There are, after all, several thousand of you and only one of me. It is easier for me to schedule time to read a letter than it is to take a call in the middle of a hectic day. Also, returning calls can be expensive.

But I do want to hear from you. I want to share your experiences. I also want to know about problems you may be having with this office. All too often I hear about problems second or third hand. If you're having a problem with the National Headquarters, this is the first place you should call. If you notify us of the problem and we fail to fix it, as sometimes happens, then let Jim Turney know about it. Believe me, he'll make sure we give the matter the attention it deserves.

We are all part of an important process. We're all on the same team. And right now it's a fairly small team. We should all be proud to have gotten in on the ground floor. We were smart. We should treat each other with the respect that is owed to any person who is intelligent enough to belong to this organization.

I look forward to working with all of you. ■

From the Editor

From page 17

situation, the LP has successfully tackled debt before and no one doubts our ability to return to black ink in a relatively short time.

Since our fundraising is broadbased, the LP is in no real peril of going bankrupt. While obtaining funds is not easy, it is achievable and we are learning how to handle the financial/political cycles of our party.

3. Treat people nicely.

While it seems self-evident, its importance can only be seen in the number of Libertarians who have had to learn this lesson the hard way.

Lets face it, many libertarians disagree on the specifics of how to achieve our objectives. But the real basis for much of the factionalism in the past has been hurt feelings, rudeness, lack of common courtesy, poor people skills, and so on.

The failure of the so-called "Crane machine" a few years ago was largely due to the perception that they were ruthless, insensitive and uninterested in the opinions of other libertarians. Most of the complaints heard about the 1984 Bergland campaign organization appear to stem from the failure of its top leadership to master the delicate art of motivating and working with often touchy libertarian activists.

And the clumsy manner in which interim LP Chair Randy Ver Hagen fired the National Director and her staff in June is clearly the reason he failed to

gain the support of the majority of delegates on the final ballot in Phoenix. While opinions differ on the validity of his reasons for taking this action, virtually everyone condemned Ver Hagen for not treating the people involved with the respect and courtesy they deserved.

4. Whatever else happens, communicate with LP members and supporters.

Despite the sometimes heated events of the recent past, the situation stabilized and life goes on. But most people agree that the national LP has an obligation to keep its membership informed of libertarian activities — the good, the bad, and the ugly.

No one wanted to shut down LPN, but some felt finances did not allow it. Perhaps. Nonetheless, delegates at the national convention and others who have been in contact with the national office before and since have made one thing very clear, they want to be kept informed. And ultimately, they are willing to pay for it.

Jim Turney has made communication a high priority, and encouraging signs from the new National Committee indicate that they share this view. There is too much going on in this movement to be kept waiting for news.

While recent events have not always proven pleasant, this sometimes painful rite-of-passage has propelled the LP to a new level of maturity. Important lessons are not always easily learned, but once learned, should not be quickly forgotten. ■

Feedback

From page 18

Belt-Off Day

As a very strong opponent of mandatory seat belt laws, I avidly read Mike Holmes' editorial "Of Seatbelts and Kings" (March-April LPN). Obviously, the issue is freedom and not safety.

Here in California, I want to launch a campaign against the mandatory seat belt bill that has been introduced to the state legislature.

If the law does pass, I am going to call for a "belt-off day" as a protest. People will be asked to absolutely refuse to buckle up on this day. They will also be asked to drive with their headlights on. This will be for those who want to protest but do not want to give up the added safety the belt provides. I am asking libertarians in states that have passed or might pass such a law to have such a day. Also I, can make my fliers available by sending a copy to anybody who will print up and distribute the flier.

This is a very basic issue and I want to thank the LPN for giving it such attention.

Alice Lillie
Los Angeles, CA

"We Are The World" Again

I must take issue with the letter in the March/April 1985 issue regarding the African relief song "We Are The World".

It is true that the concept of "we are the world" has collectivist overtones. It is also true that the Marxist/statist regimes in Ethiopia and elsewhere are in large part responsible for the famines in those countries.

However, the "We Are The World" relief effort is precisely the type of private, voluntary charitable project that Libertarians should support as demonstrating that taxation, welfare and foreign aid are not necessary to aid the "less fortunate".

We, as individuals, do have a moral obligation to come to the aid of starving, innocent children. We do not have any legal obligation to do so, nor does the government have the moral or legal right to compel us to do so.

The primacy of the individual over the state can be persuasively advocated without an "every man for himself" attitude.

Dominic D. Salvatori
Pittsburgh, PA

"We Are the World" Revisited

Re: Bill Elliot's Feedback letter in your last issue on the song "We Are The World".

No Bill, we are not the world and we are not the children of the world. But you overlooked one very important fact.

The "We Are The World" African relief songfest was a volunteer effort by the various musicians who gave freely of their time without force and coercion.

The people are buying these albums are doing so on a voluntary basis because they choose to assist the starving people in Africa, so deserted by their Marxist captors.

What better tribute can we pay to capitalism than the fact that we once again bail out Marxists on a voluntary basis?

Besides, I like the tune. So pick on something else!

Don Markowski
Chandler, AZ

Buried Treasure

A brief story about Columbus, Ohio's savings and loan crisis in the March-April 1985 LPN said that "people who had gold buried in their backyards were reportedly unaffected".

That's not precisely true.

Actually, gold jumped in price about 10%.

Willard Brickey, Jr.
Columbus, OH

Voluntary Safety First

Re: your editorial in the March-April LPN ("Of Seatbelts & Kings"). I am a civil servant, working for the Federal Highway Administration. I am rather proud of the fact that the FHWA is funded from motor fuel taxes paid by the actual highway users and so is one of the most libertarian of all government agencies.

I am not proud, however, of the way it has been used lately as a bludgeon to coerce state legislatures in what seems to be outright defiance of the Tenth Amendment (separation of powers).

I would like to suggest that "disobedience" of safety laws use symbols such as the protest wig tied to a motorcycle helmet (some glues can weaken the shell) or a short length of belt webbing (buckle optional — they can ruin your paint job) dangling out the driver's side, while the actual safety equipment is being used correctly. I know a lot of us are willing to die for The Cause, but I've got too many fatality reports running through my computer, here, already. Please...Buckle Up!

Bennett Rutledge
Arlington, VA

P.S.—For the record: the opinions expressed herein are my own and do not necessarily reflect the official policies of the Federal Highway Administration.

LETTERS POLICY

LP News accepts letters from readers for publication in our Feedback Section. Letters should be kept short and must include the name, address and phone number of the author (for verification purposes only). Letters will be selected at the discretion of the Editor, consistent with the purpose of LP News, and may be edited for length and content. Send to:

Feedback Editor
21715 Park Brook Dr.,
Katy, TX 77450

Orpheus Publications

books and tapes

Year End Reduced Prices!

Candidates Handbook for Winning Local Elections

Indispensable campaign tool
\$8.00 each



Bergland & Boddie On Tape!

David Bergland on "Winning"
Dick Boddie on "Give Me Liberty, Not Equality"
Video (VHS only) \$39.95 ea.
Cassette \$7.95 ea.

1984 Presidential Campaign TV Highlights
Super for introduction and candidate training!
VHS Video tape \$39.95 ea.

Order now - make checks payable to Orpheus Publications
(prices good through 1/31/86)
Volume discounts available

Send orders to: Orpheus Publications, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa CA 92626

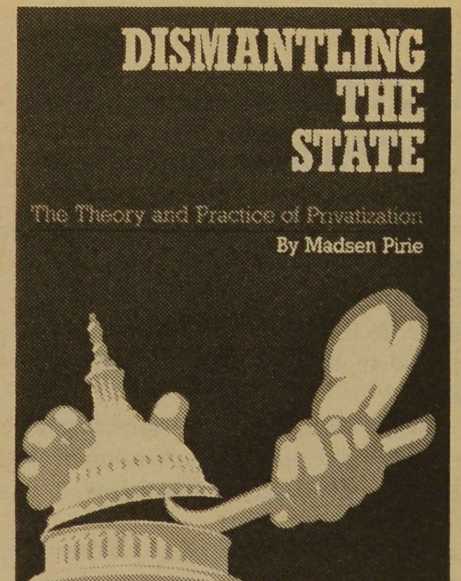
NCPA Challenges Statism

Dallas, TX - Sometimes it seems like free market "think tanks" are sprouting up like mushrooms after a rain. The Heartland Institute in Chicago, for instance, is beginning to gain recognition.

But the two-and-a-half year old National Center for Policy Analysis in Dallas has racked up perhaps the most impressive record of solid free-market oriented studies and publications in its brief existence.

The NCPA does not wear the label "libertarian" (or any other political label) and currently moves in the heady conservative circles of White House policy-making corridors. Yet their research has been fully as radical as more well known libertarian think tanks, such as the CATO Institute or the Reason Foundation.

Lead by John Goodman, who holds a doctorate in economics from Columbia, this policy research organization has garnered an unusual amount of recognition and media attention in its brief existence. In May, for example, the Center brought Dr. Madsen Pirie of Britain's Adam Smith Institute to Washington D.C., where in addition to lectures on privatization, he also conducted closed door sessions with White House officials and Office of Management and Budget representatives. The NCPA has also published Pirie's book *Dismantling the State*, about Britain's



privatization efforts.

In addition to a small Dallas-based staff, Dr. Goodman and his researchers draw on a number of university economists known for their support of the free market. The Center is supported by individual and corporate donors and its Board consists primarily Dallas-based businessmen and foundation representatives.

More information about the National Center for Policy Analysis or information about specific research studies can be obtained from NCPA, 7701 N. Stemmons, Suite 717, Dallas, TX 75247, (214) 951-0306.

Libertarian Officeholders

Houston, TX - New members to the Libertarian Officeholders list include:

Dennis Schlumpf - appointed to the Tahoe City Advisory Council by the Placer County Board of Supervisors, in early April of this year. Also appointed to the Council was **Ken Kott**, who was already on the LP Officeholder's list by virtue of his seat on the Tahoe-Truckee Unified School District Board.

Ben Lamm of Wilson, NC has been a member of the Wilson, NC Board of Adjustments for almost three years, although *LPN* only recently learned of his officeholder status. Wilson has a population of about 35,000. A belated welcome aboard, Ben!

In March **Traver Underwood**, a stockbroker, coasted to an easy victory for election to City Council in Vergennes, VT, in an unopposed race. Vergennes, prides itself on being the smallest city in the U.S.

Eloise Hedbor, former *Vermont Libertarian* editor and wife of 1984 Vermont congressional candidate Jim Hedbor, was appointed by the Reagan Administration to the Vermont Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. Noting that the formerly "bi-partisan" committee is now "tri-partisan", Hedbor plans to consider enlarging the agenda regarding discrimination to include issues such as the draft and taxation. A former state governor and other prominent Vermont political figures also serve on the 11-person committee. ■

Update LP Officeholders

This list of Libertarian Party members who hold public office is believed to be accurate as of November 15, 1985. It lists 48 LP members from 21 states, including those appointed and elected.

Please bring any omissions, corrections or deletions to the attention of the *LPN* editor regarding this listing.

Alaska

Jean Calkins - Kachemak City Council
Andre Marrou - Alaska House of Representatives, District 5B, Homer
Bill Snyder - Homer City Council
Stan Thompson - Mayor, Kenai Peninsula Borough

Darrell Welsh - Wasilla Council
John Wood - Anchorage Municipal Assembly

Arizona

Murray Feldstein - Flagstaff City Council

California

Laurence E. Ames - Auditor-Controller, El Dorado County
Richard Arnold - San Dieguito Citizens Planning Group

Mary Earle - Carpinteria School District Board

Erik Henrikson - Placer County Supervisor

Ken Kott - Tahoe-Truckee Unified School District Board (Lake Tahoe area), Tahoe City Advisory Council (appointment)

Curtis Miller - Director, Yolo County Flood Control & Water Conservation District

Dennis Schlumpf - Tahoe City Advisory Council (appointment)

Tom Tryon - Supervisor, Calaveras County Planning Commission and Supervisor, Calaveras County

Lou Villadsen - Mission Canyon Fire District Board (Santa Barbara)

Idaho

Greg Saylor - Minidoka County Assessor

Illinois

Tom Heidenfelder - Palatine Library District Trustee

Scott Tillman - Marquette Heights Alderman

Gerry Walsh - Roselle Village Board of Trustees

Indiana

Doug Boggs - Bloomington Human Resources Commission (City Council appointment)

Kansas

Douglas Merritt - Atchison City Commissioner

Michigan

Sheryl Loux - Kalamazoo Alternative Financing Committee (appointment by Mayor)

Mary Ruwart - Kalamazoo Safety Task Force (appointment by Mayor)

Gwendoline Stilwell - East Lansing Housing Commission

Montana

Neil Halprin - Missoula County Zoning Board of Adjustment (appointment)

Pat Summers - Missoula Urban Transportation Board

New Hampshire

Avery Johnson - Board of Selectmen, Milford

Jack Kelleher - Board of Selectmen, Epsom

Howard Wison - Budget Committee, Andover, Andover Village District Water Co-op Board

New Jersey

Randy Korman - President, Sayreville School Board

New York

Kathy Stephens - Community Board #4, Manhattan (appointment)

North Carolina

David Ford - Long Beach City Council

Ben Lamm - Wilson Board of Adjustments

Ohio

Russ Rosen - Finance Chair, Cleveland Heights Local Development Corporation

Oregon

Edward Marihart - Lane County Transit Board

Pennsylvania

Margarethe M. Kemner - Pine Creek Township Zoning Hearing Board

(appointment by Township Supervisors)

Dominic D. Salvatori - Whitehall Borough Cable Television Committee (appointment)

South Dakota

Elaine Sluti - Crooks City Council

Vermont

Eloise Hedbor - Vermont Advisory Committee, U.S. Civil Rights Commission (appointment)

Steven Oviatt - High Bailiff, Grand Isle County

Traver Underwood - Vergennes City Council

Virginia

Phil Friday - Urbanna City Council

Washington

Kelly L. Houghton - Pierce County Community Action Advisory Board (appointment), and Citizen's Energy Conservation Advisory Committee (appointment, City of Tacoma.)

Wisconsin

Dr. Timothy Correll - Iowa City Coroner

David Ripp - Springfield Town Clerk and Dane County Supervisor

Anthony Theisen - Green Bay Alderman/Brown County Supervisor

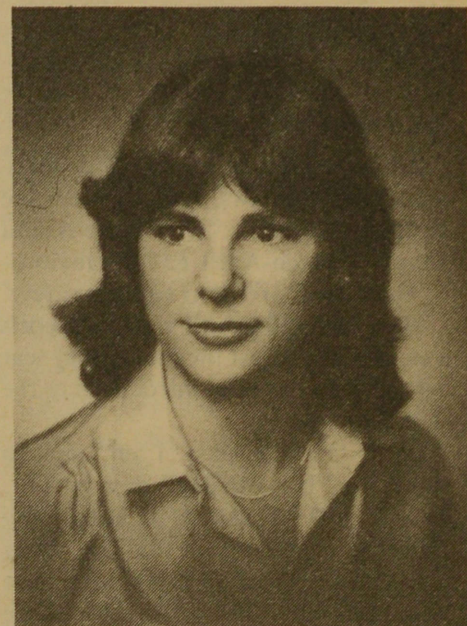
Tom Westgaard - Greenfield Alderman ■

Officeholder Profile: Lou Villadsen

by LPN Special Correspondent

Santa Barbara, CA - Lou Villadsen, Chair of the Board of Directors of the Mission Canyon Fire District, makes no secret of her political leanings. She tells everyone who'll listen that she's a libertarian, and then goes on to explain why and how freedom would make life better for everyone. "I started out during the late 60's assuming I was a liberal, mostly because I was sure I wasn't a conservative. I wasn't very political, but I was against the draft, against the war in Viet Nam, and against busting people for smoking dope. I knew nothing at all about economics. Once I realized that you can't separate social and economic liberty, I became a libertarian. Now I'm out to convert my whole immediate world."

Progress is slow. As Director of Administration (Controller is a more accurate job description) for Planned Parenthood in Santa Barbara, CA, Lou works almost exclusively with liberals, and the organization's Board of Directors often takes positions that make her uncomfortable. While PP has not given up lobbying for more tax funding, she's pleased that no one dares to call tax money "free money" anymore. And she's been instrumental in increasing awareness that it's healthy for patients to pay for the services they receive.



Lou Villadsen

More recently, she's joined the board of Santa Barbara Rape Crisis Center, where she argues for less reliance on tax subsidies and against any sort of censorship alliance between the feminists and the radical right.

Villadsen believes that involvement in local government is essential for Libertarians: "I'd like to urge Libertarians all across the country to run for offices where they're almost guaranteed election, with very little effort. I'm talking about local district boards that are responsible for local services like fire protection, sewers, recreation, and sometimes, water."

"These boards get very little attention either from the media or from the politicians. In many cases, you can get elected simply by submitting nominating petitions with twenty or thirty signatures. If you are unopposed, in some places your name won't even appear on the ballot; the Board of Supervisors, or whatever it's called in your area, will simply declare you the winner. If you are opposed, you stand as much chance as anyone else to be elected. Real campaigns for these offices are virtually unheard of unless the specific board has already gotten itself into a very high political profile."

"I live in Santa Barbara, CA. In the unincorporated area just outside of the city, one of the hardest fought, most expensive races is always the Water Board. Why? Because the statist anti-growthers are fighting it out with the statist pro-growthers. Everyone knows the names of the Goleta Water Board members. I doubt that even the most dedicated local pol could name all of the members of any other board. So, I picked a board with a much lower profile: the Mission Canyon Fire District."

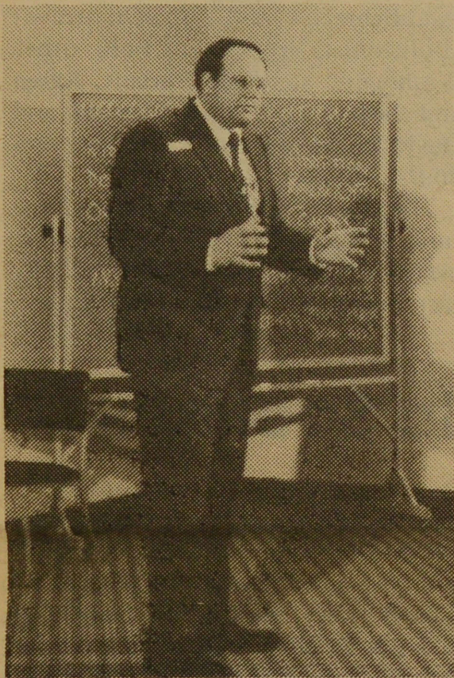
On the three-member Mission Canyon Fire District Board, much to her happy surprise, there's very little philosophic disagreement. The two other members turned out to be Reason readers and familiar with libertarianism. They enthusiastically support the idea that the government tries to do too many things that should be done privately, if at all. One of the two

Continued page 21

"Self Government Advocates" Launched

Fresno, CA - To those who have met him, Marshall Fritz seems like the consummate salesman. Whether he can sell "refrigerators to Eskimos" is open to question, but he's recently tackled what may be an even tougher task, selling libertarianism to middle America.

His vehicle for this effort is called the "Self Government Advocates", which Fritz launched in February of this year after considerable study and research. According to Fritz, the Advocates organization is a chapter-based group designed to teach libertarians to become more effective at communicating their ideas.



Self Government Advocates President Marshall Fritz presents his famous "Introduction to Libertarianism" speech. Photo by Marc Montoni.

The non-partisan, non-political group uses as a general model civic groups like Lions and Toastmasters, but concentrates on the techniques of one-on-one salesmanship to reach key opinion leaders.

Fritz's persuasive powers have already yielded considerable results, with chapters started in 16 cities, over 100 sponsors and patrons and a healthy cash-flow. Fritz has completed a number of national tours starting new advocates chapters, contacting potential donors and conducting his now famous "Introduction to Libertarianism" presentations. He also gave a presentation at the Phoenix LP Convention.

Fritz has a long history of involvement with the Libertarian Party, including an active LP congressional race, a stint as Executive Director of the California LP, field organizer for the LP's summer ballot drive petition efforts in 1984, and campaign manager for LP Illinois Senatorial candidate Steve Givot. His sales background stems from his years with IBM and more recently, as a computer sales consultant.

The Advocates publish a monthly newsletter for members and chapter leaders, which is filled with discussion of successful techniques ("9 out of 10 become libertarians," "Breakthrough speech works in East, too") and discussion of organizational policies. A number of his recent chapters have included LP activists as well as newly recruited libertarians. Keeping his focus on middle class values, one of his introductory leaflets is titled "Libertarian: Friend or Foe of the American Dream?"

Those interested in this effort should contact: **Self Government Advocates, c/o Marshall Fritz, 5533 E. Swift, Fresno, CA 93727. (209) 292-1776. ■**

Libertarians Defeat New Tax

Lakewood, OH - As the recent efforts of libertarian activist Bernard Baltic and friends Ben Greenberg and Mark Savon indicate, sometimes all it takes is a quick fact-filled blitzkrieg to defeat an unsound local tax measure.

A \$12.6 million school bond issue to construct additional swimming pools in this Cleveland area suburb went to a narrow 231 vote defeat (out of 6,700 votes cast), based largely on the single April weekend efforts of these three libertarians.

Noting that the special election was a "sneak attack" upon property owners and taxpayers, who would be taxed an average of \$3,500 over the life of the bonds, Baltic and Co. spent the preceding weekend leafleting five selected precincts in the area.

This three person guerilla campaign succeeded despite a full court press by the bond supporters, who were led by the School Superintendent and School Board President. After their defeat, they continued to brag about their "professional campaign" complete with slick leaflets, door-to-door campaigns, student indoctrination sessions, meetings and phone calling.

In a post election precinct analysis, Baltic noted, "in the five precincts we covered, turnout increased from the average 16.4% to 24.6%. Furthermore,

the vote against the bond increased by an average of 10%, from 51% to 61%.

Noting that most voters, particularly those who aren't going to gain anything, typically ignore these special elections rather than go vote against the measures. The successful opposition leaflet capitalized on this tendency with its title "Are You Willing to Spend 15 Minutes to Save \$3,500?"

The post-election analysis indicated that of the 231 vote margin, nearly 200 votes "against" were cast as a result of the weekend leafletting project.

Of course, the losing school bureaucrats claimed that "last minute misinformation" sank their ship, but as LP activist Baltic concluded, "any special tax issue not held during a general election may be significantly influenced by a few Libertarians with a modest effort and a few facts." ■

Lou Villadsen

From page 20

has decided he's "close to" a libertarian. Both showed at the Bergland for President event held last fall, and both are glad to be offered the chance to consider options that only a libertarian would think of suggesting.

Besides getting good experience in government — which makes a race for City Council or State Assembly more credible, serving on a fire district board is a great way to promote libertarian ideas, Villadsen believes. Fire protection is one of "public" services that really can be privatized.

All too often, the government fire department looks on the district as an easy mark. The board members don't really know much about fire protection; they do know that they need fire service and the only one that's readily available is that offered by the friendly neighboring fire chief. The chief knows a good thing when he sees one. Here's an opportunity to bolster his department's revenues without taking on much additional workload, since the district is typically made up of widely spaced single-family houses — the easiest, least-demanding type of property to protect.

All it takes to challenge this cozy arrangement is — you guessed it — a libertarian elected to the fire district board.

What's the Mission Canyon Fire District going to do?

According to Villadsen, "Well, because we're so small, with an annual budget of \$300,000, we couldn't interest a private contractor, even though my fellow board members were enthusiastic about the idea. We tried to start a bidding war between the four government fire departments, but two refused to bid and one responded only half-heartedly, leaving us still stuck with the same overpriced service."

"While the other two board members are both sympathetic to libertarian ideas, it took some talking before they finally agreed that we should make one more attempt to negotiate with the County. When that fails, we'll recommend to the voters that they turn down an additional property tax levy next year and consolidate our tiny district with the County."

Lou credits *Reason* — and the Reason Foundation's Local Government Center — for making it easy to explain libertarian ideas in terms of solutions to local, real-world problems. Only some of her enthusiasm for *Reason* can be explained by her 2-year-old marriage to Bob Poole, president of the Reason Foundation. "I was a *Reason* fan before I met Bob," she says. "In fact, I met him at a Libertarian Supper Club in 1980. David Bergland spoke that night, and I was so impressed by one of his remarks that I barely noticed Bob."

What did Bergland say? "Utopia is not an option. I have that phrase written on my bulletin board at work, and I quote it all the time, reminding people that we're comparing freedom with the other *real* alternatives, not with heaven. People often ask about my bumpersticker — DEREGULATE EVERYTHING. Do I really mean it? And I tell them yes, I do. Usually that leads to a chance to explain how a free society might take care of a particular problem. Even if I'm not converting people immediately, at least I'm exposing them to the ideas. That's where we have to start."

Continued page 31



Membership

Libertarian Party

7887 Katy Freeway #385 • Houston, Texas 77024

I want to support the efforts of the LIBERTARIAN PARTY by becoming a national member in the category below:

☐ NEW

☐ RENEWAL

☐ Basic (\$15)

☐ Sustaining (\$20)

☐ Patron (\$100)

☐ Associate (\$250)

☐ Life/Benefactor (\$1000)

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

Signature _____

☐ Payment Enclosed

☐ Bill my MasterCard ☐ VISA ☐

Name _____

Account Number _____

Address _____

Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

Telephone: Evening _____ Day _____

*Occupation _____ *Employer _____

Make checks payable to Libertarian Party

*Optional, Federal Election Commission requires we ask.

Election News

Hudson, MI - The Rev. Dr. James W. Clifton, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Hudson, MI, garnered 31% of the vote in his early June Libertarian campaign for a four year term on the Hudson School Board. His defeat can be considered a victory in many ways: he had only lived in the community and state 8 months, he ran against a very popular incumbent, voter turnout was very light, and libertarianism was basically unheard of until his campaign. Rev. Clifton vowed, "I'll be back, now that I have a good base to build from."

Tacoma, WA - Tacoma School Board candidate and Libertarian, Karen Allard stressed the need to reduce school spending and taxes in her fall campaign. There were five candidates in the race and Allard received 10.5% of the vote. The LP of Washington State Central Committee also endorsed the Seattle City Council's resolution declaring Seattle a refugee sanctuary. The LPWS said, in part, it is "the right of all people fleeing oppression to peacefully enter and reside within the United States."

Ocala, FL - Kim and John Wayne Smith made impressive debut showings in the November city elections in Ocala, a city of about 55,000 in north central Florida.

Kim Smith received about 6% in a four-way race for City Council, while her husband John won about 16% in his two-way mayoral race against a long term incumbent. Turnout was very low, and John Smith ran a hard core campaign despite the absence of major public issues.

John was well known from his taxi business, after he was arrested last July 4 for not having a business license. The city eventually gave up, since they couldn't get any of his customers to agree to file a complaint.

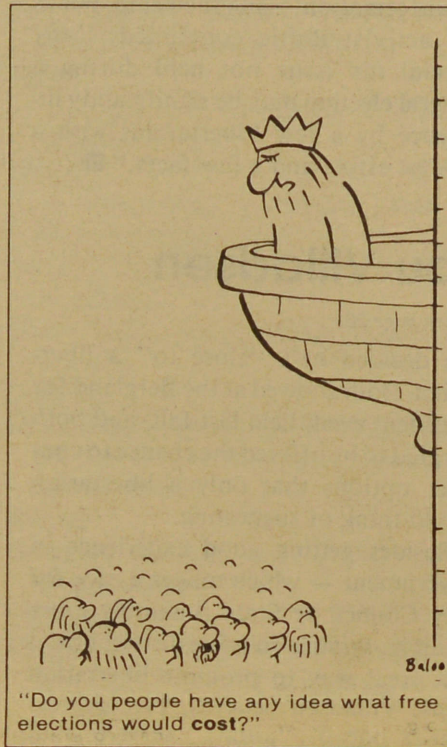
Birmingham, AL - Steve Smith and Frank Monachelli created considerable interest in their "Taxpayer's Slate" candidacies for 5 of 9 seats on the Birmingham City Council

Monachelli came in 8th (7,000 + votes) while Smith garnered 12th (5,000 + votes) out of a field of 22 candidates. This was considered good in their first local effort, in this city of 290,000 with about a 50% black vote. All of the winners were either incumbents or part of a local political machine. LP candidate Monachelli finished highest of any of the grass roots candidates.

"Our mailing list quadrupled," said candidate Smith in a recent LPN interview, "and we were able to speak at a number of forums and meetings." Smith noted that good contacts were made with some of the other minority candidates who ran, but who were not part of the local political machine. "It's the best vote percentage LP candidates have ever gotten here," Smith concluded.

Newberg, OR - LP activist and newsletter editor Jo De Forest was instrumental in the grassroots effort to defeat a three-year-old local urban renewal agency in this Yamhill Valley community of 10,000.

Voters abolished the agency 2,400 to 1,000, in a non-partisan effort led by Republican Joe Brugato. Brugato's efforts were considerably aided by sample letters to the editor, campaign brochures and door hangers De Forest drafted for the effort.



"Do you people have any idea what free elections would cost?"

Houston, TX - Houston LP activist Allan Vogel came close to forcing a vote to abolish the Harris County School Board, a body which once had three of seven board members who were Libertarians, until 1984 legislative changes forced the LP members out.

Vogel researched the original enabling legislation, and took advantage of an obscure provision which allowed for a vote to "establish or abolish" the County School Board, which doesn't operate any schools but continues to rake in millions each year in property taxes. Vogel obtained the necessary 150 signatures to place the measure on the ballot, but legal wheels quickly sprung into motion. The County Attorney ruled that the 150 registered voters had to also be property owners as well.

Vogel did not have enough time to fight the ruling before the election. But he vows to be back.

San Diego, CA - While Escondido Libertarians were dismayed on June 4th after voters narrowly approved bonds for \$52 million civic/cultural center, they emerged from their depression when they realized they had forced an extremely tough fight and the narrow defeat, 47% to 53%, was actually a tremendous performance.

Their opposition group, CARE, raised \$7,500 but was outspent 15 to one. They made good contacts with local political figures, and the narrow 1000 vote margin gives them good reason to

believe this was a productive strategy to follow.

Anchorage, AK - Wasilla Council member Darrell Welshas re-elected, and Judy Roverson narrowly defeated (by 9 votes) in her bid for re-election to the Fairbanks School Board, during the early October municipal elections.

Four former Alaska LP officeholders, Ruth Reed, Ken Stephens, Bruce Wammack, and Gordon Castanza, did not seek re-election to their posts. There are other officeholders in Alaska sympathetic to libertarian ideas, but who are not necessarily members of the Libertarian Party.

Mark Stout is running for Mayor of Homer in the December elections.

Trenton, NJ - Although complete election results were not available at press time, it was learned that LP gubernatorial candidate Virginia Flynn outpolled all other minor party candidates on the ballot there.

Ridgefield, CT - State LP Chair Tom Ross reports that Peter McNamara received 4% of the vote in his race for Town Director in Manchester, CT. He would have needed 7.5% to win the seat.

Other state candidates included

Walter Gengarely of Ridgefield running for State Representative, Mark Sloan running for Mayor of Torrington, and Russel Smith running for town Selectman in Torrington. Incomplete reports indicate that they each received about 1.5% of the vote.

Port Townsend, WA - Jefferson County Libertarians Bill and Kathy Bradford were key players in a recent bid to abolish the Jefferson County Transit system (basically a bus operation) and the sales tax which supported it.

They helped circulate petitions calling for a vote, eventually getting 13% of the local voters to sign. The measure muscled its way onto the Nov. ballot despite local political opposition.

The entrenched interests managed to get misleading wording on the measure, lined up opposition from the political establishment, and outspent transit abolitionists by 3-to-1. Four other Washington state Libertarians, Karen and Jack Allard, Rich Shepard and David Jones, also spent two days with door-to-door canvassing.

The abolition measure carried the rural area by 53%, but the urban vote overwhelmed the measure, eventually carrying only 30% of the total. ■

Libertarian Media Spotlight

Georgia's Jimmy Harris, a widely published freelance author, has begun a syndicated column in his state to analyze Georgia issues from a libertarian perspective. For more info, contact him at 2914 Meadowview Drive, Columbus, GA 31906, 404-561-5886.

Inside word has it that the venerable Reason Foundation, which publishes the magazine of the same name and runs the prototype libertarian think tank, is moving from its lotus-land Santa Barbara digs to the mean streets of west LA sometime in the late spring of 1986. Reason President Bob Poole feels that the big city location will move it closer to major communications, transportation, intellectual resources, and of course, new contributors.

Libertarian Outlook, put out by the San Francisco based Garrison Foundation, is a new Libertarian Review (remember them?) look-alike magazine which debuted in August. Spearheading this effort are a number of the old LP Radical Caucus gang including Colin Hunter, Justin Raimondo, Eric Garris, Bill Evers, and Murray Rothbard. This new effort will be a 10 times per year libertarian political magazine which claims it will be open to "the entire spectrum of libertarian opinion." While nothing much has happened since August, word is that the second issue is due out in late November.

The August 5 issue of Fortune carried a much ballyhooed article entitled "The New Libertarians Make Waves" which

tended to dismiss the LP as too "utopian", put the small "l" libertarian tag on various Yuppie-ish entrepreneurs and such politicians as Ed Zschau of Silicon Valley, Jack Kemp, Gary Hart and Bill Bradley. Recognizing the increasing appeal of the libertarian viewpoint, the article suggests a future move by established pols to wear the libertarian label. This is generally a trend to be welcomed ("nobody here but us libertarians...").

A subsequent issue featured David Bergland's letter in response to the

Continued page 23

BANNED BOOKS

We offer the world's most controversial and unusual books. Our books are so inflammatory that Reason Magazine will not allow us to advertise!

Here are some of the subjects we cover:

- The Underground Economy • Tax Evasion • Black Markets • Privacy and Hiding Things • Burying Gold • Concealing Assets • Big Brother • Shadowing and Surveillance • Electronic Eavesdropping • Crime and Police Science • Criminal Handbooks • Police Manuals • Self Defense • Weapons • Firearms • Guerrilla Warfare • Survival • Dropping Out of Sight • Being Invisible to Authorities • Unusual Money-making Opportunities • Speculations • Gambling • Anarchism and Egoism • Solipsism • Forbidden Philosophies • And much, much more!

Our complete catalog is a large 8 1/2 x 11 perfect bound book with over 150 illustrated pages! It contains nearly 500 of the most controversial and unusual books ever printed! Send for it today — you will be pleased, we know.

Loompanics Unlimited PO Box 1197
Port Townsend, WA 98368 LPN5

Please rush me your catalog. Enclosed is \$2.00.

Name
Address
City/State/Zip

Media Spotlight

From page 22

dismissal of the LP, and a late September issue carried a book review by David Henderson on Stuart Butler's book *Privatizing Federal Spending*, which was headlined "A Strategy for Libertarians."



Washington Times reporter Glenn Garvin interviews newly elected LP Chair Jim Turney. Photo by Marc Montoni.

Former *Inquiry* magazine editor (remember *Inquiry*?) Glenn Garvin was much in evidence at the Phoenix LP convention and penned an extensive four-part series for the *Washington Times*, where he now works. While resulting in a fairly comprehensive account, LP observers couldn't help noticing the overall negative slant and tone of the articles, which focused on "brooding elements", panicky Ver Hagen supporters, and a distorted and sensationalist account of platform debates. Perhaps Garvin's piece was just reflecting the party line, or, make that religious insight, from above. At least they spelled the names right...

Alaska's Andre Marrou has been receiving a lot of attention and approving editorials for his pledge to turn over his \$13,000 per year salary increase (voted in by the legislature) to private charity. Marrou voted against it, natch...

"Cato: The Think Tank for the Pasta Generation" crooned the headline in the July 30 Lifestyle section *Washington Post* article about the Washington-based libertarian Cato Institute. The generally positive article focused on the impact Cato is having in Washington Republican political circles on a wide variety of issues.

Labelled as "the Think Tank for Yuppies" is one headline, some LP observers noted this description might be a "kiss of death", since Yuppiedom is fast becoming passe. Readers were

Continued page 24

A Liberty Primer

By Alan Burris

Readers' Comments

"...a remarkable book...fascinating and thorough survey of the libertarian philosophy enlivened by a wide range of highly relevant quotations from writers from all over the world and from many centuries." -- Milton Friedman

"I heartily endorse *A Liberty Primer*. I think it is an excellent tool to deepen the understanding of those who want to learn more about liberty." -- Ed Clark

"...provides a smorgasbord for the intelligent mind." -- Roger MacBride

"...fun to read, enlightening, and principled; an excellent, humane introduction to libertarianism." -- Peter R. Breggin, M.D., author of *The Psychology of Freedom*, and psychiatrist, Bethesda, Maryland

"Alan Burris' *A Liberty Primer* is the best and most comprehensive introduction to libertarianism presently available. In clear, simple language, it covers all aspects of libertarianism from libertarian concepts of rights, to economic theory, to strategies for obtaining liberty." -- Jarret B. Wollstein, author of *Society Without Coercion*

"I want to congratulate you on a fantastic book, *A Liberty Primer*. It has been so long overdue and is generally so well done--written with such beautifully simple, yet powerfully clear style--that it will likely do more to advance the cause of freedom than anything written before." -- Donald Cochran, Honolulu, HI, a libertarian for two decades

"It's the No. 1 Best Seller...we have more than 200 other titles, and *A Liberty Primer* outsells them all." -- Martha Olijnyk, Ontario, Canada, Libertarian Party Bookstore

"*A Liberty Primer* is an excellent introduction to Libertarianism. It is deep without being boring, radical without being alienating." -- Prof. Jennifer Roback, Economics Department, Yale University

"When someone who knows nothing at all about libertarianism asks, 'What is libertarianism, anyway?' all you have to do is give him Alan Burris' *A Liberty Primer*." -- Dean Ahmad, Platform Committee, Libertarian Party

"Libertarian candidates and armchair debaters alike can make good use of Burris' primer. I recommend it highly." -- Dave Walter, Co-Founder, Society for Individual Liberty

"...everywhere I go, I recommend Alan's book." -- Alicia Clark

"*A Liberty Primer* is an extremely useful tool for organizing at the local level. I recommend it for activists and 'would-be' activists." -- Howie Rich

"The book is a 'waker-upper' for sure!" -- Dick Randolph

"Next to *Atlas Shrugged*, *A Liberty Primer* is my all time favorite book." -- Dagny Sharon

"The *Primer* has been very helpful in my campaign for the County Council for the Island of Kauai." -- Mike Dyer, Hawaii

"*A Liberty Primer* is an excellent internal education tool for all state parties. It is an engaging treatment of the full reaches of Libertarian thought." -- Emmett Elrod, South Dakota Chairman, Libertarian Party

"*A Liberty Primer* is well worth having not only for yourself (to expand your own knowledge, and to help in writing articles and speeches) but if used as a gift it would be welcomed by others interested in learning about libertarianism." -- Hubert Jongen, Editor, *VRIJBIJEF*, Dutch Libertarian Newsletter

"Please send ten copies of *A Liberty Primer* as soon as possible. We are in a recruiting program here, and I wish to sell these to new members or to members who have not read your book...the most complete book on libertarianism I have found. Hopefully we will be able to order more next time." -- James Ridenour, candidate for Indiana Governor

"Thank you for your book, *A Liberty Primer*. I guess I have been a Libertarian all my life...But your book has educated me about the subject and clarified for me many issues about which I had either never considered or was still uncertain...Dr. Burris, your book should be required reading for every Libertarian, if it were not that 'required' reading would be the initiation of force." -- Dr. Glen S. Hayden

"...my heartiest endorsement of your book...There are a number of books which have fueled my passion for liberty...None, though, has presented the libertarian argument in such a logical, step-by-step, comprehensive format as does the *Primer*. I no longer give a talk (or even write a letter to the editor) without going to your book for ammunition...If all libertarians could argue for the cause as well as you do, we would soon have the statists on the run." -- Steve Smith, Alabama Congressional candidate

"The final chapter of Alan Burris' *A Liberty Primer* -- the chapter on strategy -- is undoubtedly the most important element of the book for Libertarian activists. Burris lays out a path which, if vigorously implemented, will bring us victory. Here in Placer County we have been employing many of the techniques suggested by Burris with great success. As we progress we shall use them all." -- Bruce Daniel, LP Chairman in Placer County, CA

Reviews

"...one of the most difficult aspects of becoming a libertarian is the commitment to read more that usually accompanies it. Suddenly you discover that there have been great libertarian thinkers and writers since recorded time began and you feel a great urge to read more and know more. But you wonder how you will find the time to do all this reading. With these thoughts in mind, I applaud the creation of *A Liberty Primer* by Alan Burris. This book is an excellent introduction to Libertarianism...a first-rate source book for candidates." -- *Tarheel Libertarian* (North Carolina)

"By simplifying the intellectual groundwork of liberty, laid by people such as Herbert Spencer, Lysander Spooner, Ludwig von Mises, Murray Rothbard, and others, Burris has performed a gargantuan task. This one book could open many, many doors for anyone wishing to learn more about libertarianism. The book beautifully assembles knowledge on a vast variety of subjects. Burris has separated the book's chapters into the foundations and ethics of libertarianism, the history of libertarian ideas, the principles of a free economy, the role of government (if any!), and libertarian positions on defense and foreign policy. Furthermore, Burris has written a superb overview of the possible strategies for achieving a libertarian society... He often quotes individuals of very different philosophical persuasions, who often reveal the weaknesses of their political views in contrast to libertarians... All libertarians, whether they are new to the libertarian movement, or are experienced activists, would benefit from reading this book. ...enjoyable and entertaining reading." -- *Vermont Libertarian News*

"*A Liberty Primer* is, without question, the single most comprehensive introduction to the libertarian movement...invaluable as a reference for speeches and articles by libertarians. ...A study guide which is full of questions for libertarians who are interested in internal education and development follows at the end of the book." -- *Hawaii Libertarian*

"The book's 26 chapters cover the basic elements of such subjects as the history of liberty, philosophy of liberty, property rights, economics, public education, environmentalism, nature of government, theory of justice, foreign policy, patents & copyrights, and liberty & language, among others, and conclude with a chapter on strategy for liberty. Not only does it explain ideas well established in the libertarian community, it offers original contributions to libertarian theory in the areas of privacy, trade secrecy, contract theory, personal ethics, statist psychology, and the moral limits to the right of self-defense. This primer is nothing if not comprehensive...the main strength of *A Liberty Primer* is in its clear, readable, and entertaining presentation of a wealth of libertarian ideas, and in the infectious passion for liberty which shines through the writing, from the first page to the last." -- *LP News*

"...there is an up and coming contender for title to Best Introduction to Libertarianism--Alan Burris' *A Liberty Primer*. ...I readily expected to have to bend over backwards trying to say kind things about the book. I was mistaken. ...Burris' contribution to the introductory literature of libertarianism should see a growing audience. I recommend this book to those interested in learning more about liberty, without hesitation...a fine recruiting and self education tool that deserves to take a place alongside Friedman, Rothbard, and Nock." -- *Idaho Liberty*

"This book is a great addition to libertarian literature and ranks with *Restoring the American Dream* by Robert Ringer and *For a New Liberty* by Murray Rothbard." -- *Colorado Liberty*

"A few years ago, I bought copies of *On Liberty* by J.S. Mill for every member of my family. I love the book, and made the mistake of thinking that they would too. This year I'm trying it again, but this time I'll be giving away copies of Alan Burris' *A Liberty Primer*. Burris's book is several things *On Liberty* is not: it is a new book referring to modern events and citing sources as recent as March, 1983; it is divided into short, self-contained essays that grab the reader's interest and are easy to read...It is the most thorough presentation of libertarian positions and insights I have ever seen between two covers. It is a compendium of the finest quotations expressing libertarian ideas. It is an eloquent restatement of the basic principles of libertarianism, a reference book for consistent positions and arguments on issues many of us haven't given much thought to, and a handbook for potential libertarian activists. And it can also be very fun to read." -- *Nomos*

"Highly recommended." -- *Free World Chronicle*

"...eminently readable...simple enough to be understood by any high school graduate (well, most of them, anyway), yet artful enough to be appreciated by most college-educated readers...could be the single most valuable resource in any Libertarian's library. It is both a useful introductory book for people just learning about the philosophy, and a handy reference or refresher book for veteran activists." -- *Free Texas*

"This book is a second generation libertarian effort. By this I mean that it was written using all the first and current libertarian thinkers as a stepping stone, giving each their due and proceeding onward from there. I encourage you to read it and enjoy it. And the quotes from it can keep us going for years to come." -- *Anchorage Libertarian Newsletter*

Send \$7.95 (+ \$1.00 for postage) to: S.I.L. of Genesee Valley, Box 10224, Drawer LPN, Rochester, NY 14610

NatCom Representative/State Chairs

REGION 1

Alaska

NatCom Representative
Chuck House.
P.O. Box 60486
Fairbanks, AK 99706
800-426-5183 (o)

Alaska State Chair

Joseph L. Grove
1922 Sunrise Dr.
Anchorage, AK 99504
907-279-4178 (h)
907-562-6966 (o)

Alaska Executive Director

Anglo Arturo
Box 104073
Anchorage, AK 99510
907-344-7366 (h)
907-561-5413 (o)

REGION 2

California

NatCom Representatives
Mark Hinkle
7178 Via Colina
San Jose, CA 95139
408-227-1459 (h)

Bill Evers
933 Colorado Ave.
Palo Alto, CA 94303
415-494-0140 (h)

Jack Dean
434 Thunderbird Court
Fullerton, CA 92635
714-975-0905 (h)
714-871-0192 (o)

California State Chair

Jack Dean
434 Thunderbird Court
Fullerton, CA 92635
714-975-0905 (o)
714-871-0192 (h)

REGION 3

Oregon, Washington

NatCom Representative
H.W. "Skip" Barron, Jr.
7727 26th Ave., NW
Seattle, WA 98147
206-789-4812 (h)

Oregon State Chair

W. Kent Dillon
785 N.W. 5th Street #3
Corvallis, OR 97330
503-752-1142 (h)

Washington State Chair

DeAnn Pullar
2625 St. Paul
Bellingham, WA 98226
206-733-5625 (h)

REGION 4

Idaho, Wyoming

NatCom Representative
Vacant

Idaho State Chair

Barbara Sall
1709 Irene Street
Boise, ID 83702
208-344-6922 (h)

Wyoming State Chair

Margret Dawson
3510 Navarre Road
Casper, WY 82601

REGION 5

Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Hawaii

NatCom Representative
Dale Pratt
1400 Kapiolani Blvd., C-29
Honolulu, HI 96814
808-946-6562 (o)

Arizona State Chair

Ken Sturzenacker
4443 Scottsdale Road
Scottsdale, AZ 85251
602-265-2403 (h)

Nevada State Chair

Daniel Becan
P.O. Box 12214
Reno, NV 89510
702-786-3329 (h)

New Mexico State Chair

Richard E. Jones
Route 2, Box 20-A
Sapello, NM 87745
505-425-5077 (h)

Hawaii State Chair

Blaise Harris
222 S. Vineyard St. #304
Honolulu, HI 96813
808-521-3312 (h)
808-524-2575 (o)

REGION 6

Colorado, Utah, Montana

NatCom Representative
Hugh Butler
2152 Highland Dr.
Salt Lake City, UT 84106
801-484-4300 (o)
801-484-4357 (h)

Colorado State Chair

Penn R. Pfiffner
8823 Circle Drive
Westminster, CO 80030
303-427-4357 (h)

Colorado State Headquarters

2186 Holly, No. 207-8
Denver CO 80222
303-753-6789

Utah State Chair

Robert M. Waldrop
P.O. Box 6175
Salt Lake City, UT 84106
801-262-1129 (h/o)

Montana State Chair

Della A. Scott
Box 2104 - 1015 4th Ave. E
Kalispell, MT 59901
406-755-3072 (h/o)

REGION 7

Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma

NatCom Representative
Robert T. Murphy
2613 Boxwood
Norman, OK 73069
405-364-8107 (h)

Kansas State Chair

John D. Foster
1818 Burns
Wichita, KS 67203
316-682-2942 (h)

Missouri State Chair

Lloyd Sloan
5650A Village Royale Ln.
St. Louis, MO 63128
314-849-5712 (h)

Eric S. Harris (1986 Chair)
6551-D Serenity Circle
Hazelwood, MO 63042
314-731-1034 (h)

Oklahoma State Chair

Charles A. Burris
4619 S. Urbana
Tulsa, OK 74135
918-627-5286 (h)

REGION 8

Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin

NatCom Representative
Karl H. Wetzel
9468 Western Plaza, #5
Omaha, NE 68114
402-390-1195 (h)
402-398-6610 (o)

Iowa State Chair

Vacant

Minnesota State Chair

Fred Hewitt
545 Chapel Lane
Eagan, MN 55121
612-454-2115 (h)

Nebraska State Chair

Karl H. Wetzel
9468 Western Plaza, #5
Omaha, NE 68114
402-390-1195 (h)
402-398-6610 (o)

North Dakota St. Chair

Kristian Brekke
1610 Lewis Boulevard
Grand Forks, ND 58201
701-746-6823 (h)

South Dakota St. Chair

Spencer C. Nesson
750 Nicollet, SW
Huron, SD 57350
605-352-4682 (h)

Wisconsin State Chair

Donald J. Blaies
1712 Howlett Lane
Waukasha, WI 53186
414-549-1688 (h)

REGION 9

Illinois

NatCom Representative
Gerry Walsh
789 Overland Ct.
Roselle, IL 60172
312-894-8680 (h)
312-381-1980 x2136 (o)

Illinois State Chair

Lyn D. Tinsley
822 Thacker Street
Des Plaines, IL 60016
312-297-8219 (h/o)

REGION 10

Michigan

NatCom Representative
Chad Colopy
3563 Walnut Drive
West Bloomfield, MI 48033
313-363-5508 (h)
313-258-4039 (o)

Michigan State Chair

Martin J. Hillard
441-3D Chasseral NW
Comstock Park, MI 49321
616-784-6619 (h)
616-456-1272 (o)

Michigan Executive Director

Denise Kline
112 W. Allegan
Lansing, MI 48933
517-484-5153 (h)
517-484-2188 (o)

REGION 11

Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio

NatCom Representative
Stephen L. Dasbach
215 W. Third Street
Fl. Wayne, IN 46808
219-422-5631 (h)

Indiana State Chair

Jim Ridenour
P.O. Box 44322
Indianapolis, IN 46204
317-359-5060 (h)

Kentucky State Chair

David Gailey
Rt. 1, Box 87
Berea, KY 40403
606-986-9478 (h)
606-986-3456 (o)
Ohio State Chair
David C. Myers
9208 Johnnycake Road
Mentor, OH 44060
216-255-8112 (h)

REGION 12

Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi

NatCom Representative
Christopher W. Albright
177 Chatsworth Street
Baton Rouge, LA 70802
504-387-0000 (h)

Alabama State Chair

Bobby R. Chapuis
Alabama LP
P.O. Box 11514
Birmingham, AL 35202-1514
205-871-8990 (h)
205-933-9524 (o)

Louisiana State Chair

G. Zachary Smith, Jr.
Woodview Rt. 5, Box 405-H
St. Francisville, LA 70775
504-635-4220 (h)

Mississippi State Chair

William Mullendore
631 S. Broadway
Greenville, MS 38701
601-334-2000 (h)

REGION 13

Texas

NatCom Representative
Matt Monroe
1213 Hermann Drive
Suite 655
Houston, TX 77004
713-524-0046 (h)
713-524-2919 (o)

Texas State Chair

Roger V. Gary
723 Aganier
San Antonio, TX 78212
512-732-5692 (h)

REGION 14

Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania

NatCom Representative
Vacant

Delaware State Chair

Vernon Etzel
12A Reclor Court
Wilmington, DE 19810
302-475-7380 (h)

New Jersey State Chair

Dan Malullo
NJLP
P.O. Box 56
Tennent, NJ 07763
201-751-2824 (h)

Pennsylvania State Chair

Ralph Mullinger
2135 Walnut
Philadelphia, PA 19013
215-963-0127 (h)
302-594-3443 (o)

REGION 15

District of Columbia, Maryland, West Virginia

NatCom Representative
Paul Kunberger
3905 Bexley Place
Marlow Hts., MD 20746
301-899-6933 (h)

District of Columbia Chair

Scott Kohlhaas
101 G. Street SW A-214
Washington, DC 20024
202-484-8064 (h)

Maryland State Chair

Imad-ad-Dean Ahmad
4323 Rosedale Ave.
Bethesda, MD 20814
301-951-0539 (h/o)

West Virginia State Chair

Stephen Fielder
P.O. Drawer 1760
Shepherdstown, WV 25443
304-263-5440 (h)

REGION 16

New York

NatCom Representative
William P. McMillen
41 Weston Drive
Clifton Park, NY 12065
518-371-2366 (h)

New York State Chair

William P. McMillen
41 Weston Drive
Clifton Park, NY 12065
518-371-2366 (h)

REGION 17

Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont

NatCom Representative
Thomas Ross
P.O. Box 3279
New Haven, CT 06515
203-389-8200 (h)

Connecticut State Chair

Thomas S. Ross
P.O. Box 3279
New Haven, CT 06515
203-389-8200 (h)

Maine State Chair

Jeffrey H. Crafts
P.O. Box 165
Wiscasset, ME 04578
207-882-7629 (h)

Massachusetts St. Chair

Carol Lee Bowie Webber
26 Brimsmead
Marlboro, MA 01752

New Hampshire St. Chair

Sid Maxwell
37 Silberton Drive
Nashua, NH 03062
603-880-8859 (h)

Rhode Island St. Chair

John F. Kronenberg
59 Richland Rd.
Cranston, RI 02910
401-944-8942 (h)

Vermont State Chair

Edward B. McGuire Jr.
18 Brissan Court
Winooski, VT 05404
802-655-3153 (h)

REGION 18/19

Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia

NatCom Representatives
David Saum
5597 Seminary Rd.
No. 2412 South
Falls Church, VA 22041
703-820-7696 (h)

Paul Jacob
P.O. Box 15724
Little Rock, AR 72231

Arkansas State Chair

Alan Lindsay
P.O. Box 15305
Little Rock, AR 72231

Florida State Chair

Robert C. Vogel
1243 Coletta Dr.
Orlando, FL 32807
305-275-6781 (h)

Georgia State Chair

Carol Ann Rand
5038 Lilburn-Store Mtn. Rd.
Lilburn, GA 30247
404-925-9472 (h)

North Carolina St. Chair

Linda J. Janca
P.O. Box 114
Mount Mourne, NC 28123
704-892-3694 (h)

South Carolina State Chair

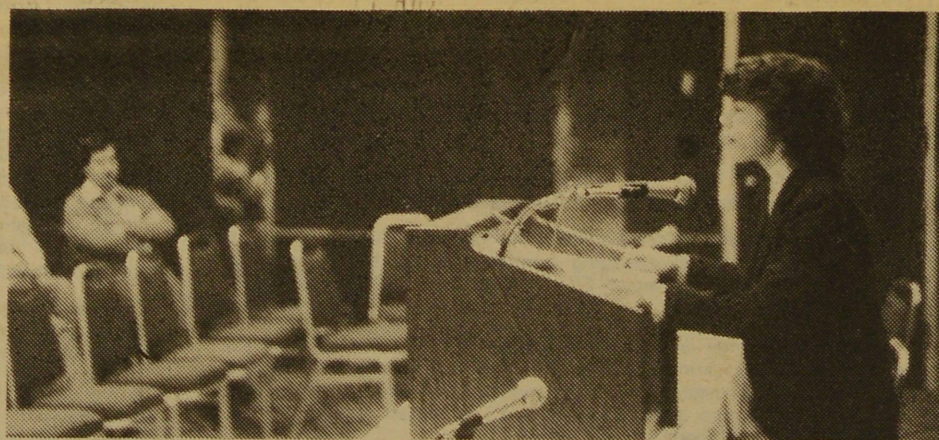
Ronald H. Heaton
P.O. Box 1636
Aiken, SC 29801
803-663-7927 (h)

Tennessee State Chair

Roger E. Bissell
506 West Ash
Fullerton, CA 92632
(temporary)

Virginia State Chair

Marc Montoni
7333 Hermitage Rd.
Richmond, VA 23228
804-266-0809 (h)



A capacity crowd heard the Wilderness Panel at the April Northwestern Freedom Conference. Left to right: legendary mountaineer Ome Dai of the Alpine Club; Paul Heyne, University of Washington economist; Ruth Ihner of the Mountaineers Club; moderator Jim Althoff of KING radio; Richard Stroup, Research Director of the Political Economy Research Center at Montana State; Jim Bloomquist, northwestern Sierra Club representative; and Ira Spring, photographer for the Mountaineers Club. Photo by Editorial Services.

University of Washington economist-attorney Charlotte Twilight discuss the fascist implications of the proposed "National Industrial Policy" for the economy, at this spring's Northwestern Freedom Conference in Seattle. Photo by Editorial Services.

Libertarian Media Spotlight

From page 23

also treated to something of a revisionist history of the modern libertarian movement, apparently the result of total reliance on a puff-ball interview with Cato President Ed Crane, the former ringleader of the famous LP "Crane Machine."

While downplaying Cato's near total financial reliance on the multi-millionaire Koch oil fortunes ("we started in 1977 with seed money from the Fred C. Koch company"), Crane also downplayed his own extensive history of LP involvement. His 9 year LP activism ended by his 1983 walkout, after the Crane-led Ravenal presidential nomination fell 17 votes short in the final ballot. "The Libertarian Party is pretty decimated by now and we don't take it seriously," Crane was quoted, "They are unrealistic. They're more like an incestuous social club than a real party."

Eddie boy, we hardly even knew ye...

Continued page 25

Policy Analysis

The Politics of Famine

by Murray Rothbard

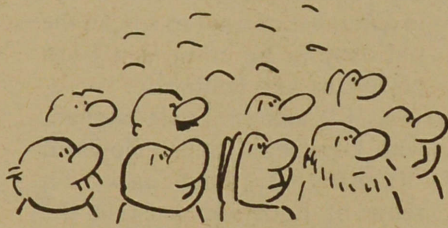
Murray Rothbard is a world renowned libertarian economist and is an Associate Editor of LPN.

This article is reprinted from *The Free Market*, published by the Ludwig Von Mises Institute. The Mises Institute Capitol Hill offices are located at 322 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

The media focuses primarily on the horrifying shots of starving children, and secondarily on the charges and counter-charges about which governments — the Western or the Ethiopian — are responsible for relief not getting to the starving thousands on time. In the midst of the media blitz, the important and basic questions get lost in the shuffle. For example, why does Nature seem to frown only on socialist countries? If the problem is drought, why do the rains only elude countries that are socialist or heavily statist? Why does the United States never suffer from poor climate?

The root of famine lies not in the gods or in our stars but in the actions of man. Climate is not the reason that Russia before Communism was a heavy exporter of grain, while now the Soviet Union is a grain importer. Nature is not responsible for the fact that, of all the countries of East Africa, the Marxist-Leninist nations of Ethiopia and Mozambique are now the major sufferers from mass famine and starvation. Given causes yield given effects, and it is an ineluctable law of nature and of man that if agriculture is systematically crippled and exploited, food production will collapse, and famine will be the result.

The root of the problem is the Third World, where (a) agriculture is overwhelmingly the most important industry, and (b) the people are not affluent enough, in any crisis, to purchase food from abroad. Hence, to Third World people agriculture is the most precious activity, and it becomes particularly important that it not be hobbled or discouraged in any way. Yet, wherever there is production, there are also parasitic classes living off the producers. The Third World in our century has been the favorite area for applied Marxism. For revolutions, coups, or domination by Marxist intellectuals. Whenever such new ruling classes have taken over and have imposed statist or full socialist rule, the class most looted, exploited, and oppressed have been the major productive class: the farmers or peasantry. Literally tens of millions of the most productive farmers were slaughtered by the Russian and Chinese Communist regimes, and the remainder were forced off their private lands and onto co-operative or state farms, where their productivity plummeted, and



"Some of you may starve to death in the short run, but in the long run, my policies will mean less famine for everybody."

food production gravely declined.

And even in those countries where land was not directly nationalized, the new burgeoning State apparatus flourished on the backs of the peasantry, by levying heavy taxes and by forcing the peasants to sell grain to the State at far below market prices. The artificially cheap food was then used to subsidize food supplies for the urban population which formed the major base of support for the new bureaucratic class. The standard paradigm in African and in Asian countries has been as follows: British, French, Portuguese, or whatever imperialism carved out artificial boundaries of what they dubbed "colonies," and established capital cities to administer and rule over the mass of the peasantry. The new class of higher and lower bureaucrats lived off the peasants by taxing them and forcing them to sell their produce artificially cheaply to the State. When the imperial powers pulled out, they turned over these new nations to the tender mercies of Marxist intellectuals, generally trained in London, Paris, or Lisbon, who imposed socialism or far greater statism, thereby aggravating the problem enormously. Furthermore, a vicious spiral was set up, similar to the one that brought the Roman Empire to its knees. The oppressed and exploited peasantry, tired of being looted for the sake of the urban sector, decided to leave the farm and go sign up in the welfare state provided in the capital city. This makes the farmer's lot still worse, and hence more of them leave the farm, despite brutal measures trying to prevent them from leaving. The result of this spiral is famine.

Thus, most African governments force farmers to sell all their crops to the state at only a half or even a third of market value. Ethiopia, as a Marxist-Leninist government, also forced the farmers onto highly inefficient state farms, and tried to keep them working there by brutal oppression.

The answer to famine in Ethiopia or elsewhere is not international food relief. Since relief is invariably under

the control of the recipient government, the food generally gets diverted from the farms to line the pockets of government officials and subsidize the already well-fed urban population. The answer to famine is to liberate the peasantry of the Third World from the brutality and the exploitation of the State ruling class. The answer to famine is freedom and private property. ■

Media Spotlight

From page 24

The *Wall St. Journal* continues its excellent coverage of libertarian ideas with a number of recent pieces. **Tonie Nathan's** editorial page blast at a proposed new Oregon sales tax preceded the voters' 4-to-1 rejection of the measure, despite strong bi-partisan political backing for the tax. Cato's **Ted Carpenter** recounted the huge price the foreign "war on drugs" is running up, and long time conservative philosopher **Ernest Van Den Haag** echoed other recent conservative spokesmen in adopting the libertarian view in his editorial piece "Legalize Those Drugs We Can't Control" in a recent *WSJ*. The libertarian-oriented environmental think tank based in Bozeman, MT, the **Political Economy Research Center**, was the subject of a mid-October article in the *WSJ* as well.

Its better than Dallas...that's what media observers say about the intra-family battle being waged by **Harry H. Hoiles** against fellow family members in his bid to take full control of the **Freedom Newspaper** chain. Although he owns 1/3 already, Harry has offered a bit over \$1 billion in a buyout effort of family members currently in control. Founded by hard line libertarian R.C. Hoiles, the Freedom chain is among the most profitable in the nation and consistently carries solid libertarian editorials. The *Santa Ana Register* is the flagship paper and has the third largest circulation in California.

Harry wants back in after being forced out of management and also claims

the Freedom editorial line has become too wishy-washy. The battle still wages as of early November, and relatives may also buy out Harry's share if they meet his own buyout price. Stay tuned...

A thick, new quarterly tabloid *Full Disclosure* is chock full of alarming articles about government spying and snooping of various types, including the CIA, NSA, IRS, and right-to-privacy legal decisions. The group also carries booklets about common IRS and FBI surveillance techniques. For more info, write *Full Disclosure*, Capitol Information Associates, Box 8275-FD5, Ann Arbor, MI 48107 (15/yr.).

Media Grab Bag: From the "we didn't know they cared so much" department, two negative editorials from the deep south. "The Cloud Nine Party" chided the LP for its "unrealistic" program in the Columbia *The State* newspaper (appropriately named, we add), while the Augusta, GA *Chronicle* editorialized about "Fools in Despair", based apparently on the *Washington Star's* sensationalistic account of the Phoenix LP convention.

The LP's new Director **Perry Willis** admitted in an August *USA Today* photo story that he campaigned and voted for **Ronald Reagan** in 1980, although Willis was only a foolish 19 years young at the time. The July *Missoulian* editorial (Missoula, MT) opined that the LP should fight being included on a local primary ballot at a \$2,500 cost, since they were running no city candidates. The LP agreed, of course, but bureaucracy isn't easily stopped and despite LP opposition, they went ahead and printed up LP ballots. Where is all this ballot access **when we need it?** ...The St. Johnsbury, VT *Caledonian-Record* editorialized favorably about the LP in its "Taxes and the Libertarians", while the Florence, S.C. *Morning News* featured an extensive editorial about the South Carolina LP's recent political "awards" to foolish Palmetto state pols...The Burns, OR *Times-Herald* offered the positive question "Is Oregon Turning Libertarian?" in an October 2 editorial analyzing the crushing defeat of the proposed sales tax there. Amidst thorough and positive coverage locally of the Phoenix LP convention, the *Phoenix Gazette* headlined their editorial at the conclusion of the national LP convention, "Libertarian Ideas Arrive" and concluded with this nice thought, "The Libertarians, and the political fire they spark, are very welcome in the Valley." ■

FREEDOM INSURANCE:
ALTERNATE IDENTITIES
Book, \$10. Book List
\$2. T/G, Box 93124,
Pasadena, CA 91109

Political Notes

A roundup of Libertarian political developments from around the nation:

Boston, MA - Michael Reilly won a major victory for the LP of Massachusetts in court, where he won a permanent injunction which forbids early filing deadlines. This effectively extends the petition period by a month-and-a-half. A similar but temporary injunction was obtained during the 1984 petition effort.

Lansing, MI - The petition drive to return the LP of Michigan on the ballot is in full swing, and volunteers are sought. For more information, contact **Denise Kline at (517) 484-2188**.

Burlington, VT - After successfully holding LP caucuses in at least 15 towns or cities on Sept. 24, the Vermont LP is now regarded officially as a political party with "permanent" ballot status.

This accomplishment was originally earned last November when Marla Weiner garnered 11,572 votes (over 5%) for State Auditor of Accounts.

Although there is still a minor petition requirement, the VLP shares equal status with the Republicrats, including the ability to hold primary elections. (courtesy of the New Hampshire LP *Libertarian Lines*.)

Las Vegas, NV - While LP delegates struggled with monumental issues at the mid-August Phoenix Convention, former LP Chair Paul Grant struggled with perhaps a more momentous decision on August 16 in Las Vegas.

Amidst the bright neon and (legal) gaming, Grant and LP activist Lori Massie were married. (Yes, there are things more important than politics...)

Albany, NY - At the Memorial Day weekend convention, the "Free Libertarian Party of New York" was "Free" no more. At the urging of Vice Chair Tom Lowy of New York City, delegates voted to eliminate the word "Free" in the party name, noting that it was redundant. Originally, the "Free" was included to avoid confusion with the Liberal Party in New York, whose initials resemble that of the LP. Delegates also rejected a move to name the party the "Taxpayers Party", and named William P. McMillen of Clifton Park, near Albany, as Chair.

New York, NY - The number of voters who consider themselves Democrats has dropped nearly 25% since 1978. According to an ABC News-Washington Post poll, 37% usually consider themselves Democrats 27% Republicans and 36% of the voters polled consider themselves independents.

Columbia, SC - Former SC Congressional candidate Jan Chapman lost a pair of legal battles in that state's Supreme Court. In late August, the

Court without comment ruled against Chapman's claim that her Lexington County taxes had to be paid in gold or silver, as well as her effort to put Columbia's parking fines on an honest money standard.

Des Moines, IA - "Iowa Held Hostage." This is the message the Iowa Campaign Finance Commission has given the LP, which will have to pay a \$100 fine to the Commission, and \$37.71 in hearings costs, to be officially re-activated in the Hawkeye state. The former Iowa LP Chair moved out of state in mid-July, and no one was willing to step forward to fill his shoes. Although state LP organizations have temporarily become inactive in the past, this marks the first time a state election bureaucracy has held political status "hostage", until fines are paid. Donations for the "Iowa Held Hostage" relief effort, to collect the \$137.71 government blood money, will be accepted c/o the National LP Headquarters.

In Memoriam

Paul Dillon

Philomath, OR - Veteran LP activist and Philomath City Councilman Paul Dillon succumbed to acute monocytic leukemia in Seattle on August 24, 1985.

Since being introduced to libertarianism in 1973, Dillon worked in a number of ways to spread the philosophy he embraced both personally and politically.

As LP activist Tonie Nathan, who knew Paul well, eulogized, "In many ways Paul conveyed a sense of faith and trust in the decency and worthiness of mankind. He knew that freedom is a human's rightful and natural state and he never lost sight of that fact. The eagerness and excitement with which he constantly sought to understand life was a source of inspiration to all who knew him."

Paul worked hard for liberty

until the end, appearing at the April Seattle Northwestern Freedom Conference and worked on the Philomath City Council as long as he was able.

Help for his unpaid medical bills would be appreciated, and can be sent to **The Paul Dillon Medical Fund, c/o Carol Schultz, 3512 S.E. Stark, Portland, OR 97124**.

John Holt

Boston, MA - While not a full libertarian, John Holt often appeared at Libertarian conventions and corresponded in the libertarian press about his favorite subject, education.

Best known for his works **How Children Fail** and **How Children Learn**, the former fifth grade teacher eventually gave up on government-run public schools and became one of the best known proponents of the home schooling movement.

John Holt died of cancer in late September in Boston. ■

BUSINESS DIRECTORY

Michael E. Holmes, CPA

21715 Park Brook Drive
Katy, Texas 77450

713/492-6608

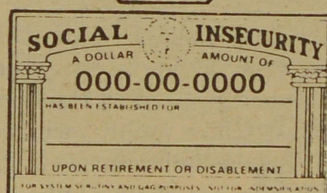


SUPPORT FREEDOM... Wear A Freedom Tee!

- ★ "RED RINGER" Shirt
- ★ Silk Screened
- ★ Multicolor Art
- ★ 50% Cotton Blend

\$5.95 ea. Include \$1.50 Shipping and Handling per order. Include Style and Size.

Freedom Enterprises
15765 Main Market Road
Burton, OH 44021



Plant Lights

3929 Aurora Ave. N.
Seattle, WA 98103
(206) 632-8538

Hydroponics

New Store
10929 N.E. Sandy Blvd.
Portland, OR 97220

Also: Business Computer Software

PHONE 619 276-4711

Stocks, bonds, life & health insurance,
retirement plans, tax shelters

DICK RIDER, CFP
FINANCIAL PLANNER

REGISTERED PRINCIPAL
PRIVATE LEDGER
FINANCIAL SERVICES, INC.

3161 FRYDEN CT.
SAN DIEGO, CA 92117

A MEMBER OF THE SEARS FINANCIAL NETWORK



ED POST

KEN STURZENACKER

4443 NORTH SCOTTSDALE ROAD
SCOTTSDALE, AZ 85251
BUS. (602) 990-0999

TEXAS PACIFIC NUMISMATICS

Rare Coin Dealers
Specialist In Investment Portfolio Management

9901 Interstate 10 West, Suite 8001
San Antonio, Texas 78230

GREG CLARK
President

512-696-5500

WANTED

Libertarian activists in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area to work with LP National Committee member on a variety of NatCom projects.

No pay and lots of work, but should be very satisfying, and we'll have some fun, too.

If interested, call Dale Hemming
612-623-6494(o) 612-572-9137

Strategy/Tactics

Libertarians As Innovators: The 2% Solution

by Terry Inman

Terry Inman is a marketing graduate from the University of Missouri, where he founded the UMSL Libertarian Students. He is a former Secretary of the Missouri Libertarian Party and is a regional liaison for the Libertarian Student Network.

If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. — Henry David Thoreau

After a dozen years now, with LP candidates still receiving just about 2 percent or so of the vote (where we have candidates), Libertarians have rightly begun to wonder whether our message only appeals to a very narrow segment of society. Or have we, through all of our hustling just to get LP candidates on the ballot, forgotten something crucial?

While it may be too soon to fully answer that question, a review of contemporary marketing literature and available data on what current LP supporters are actually like, begins to shed some light on this issue. One heartening conclusion which seems justified is that our current state of development is largely the result of the fact that we are a "new product" in the marketplace, sharply differentiated from existing political choices. The reason the Libertarian Party does not yet have mass support is not because it does not have mass appeal, but because it is so new.

A useful tool for examining the issue of public acceptance of the libertarian philosophy is to employ a commonly used sociological model of product acceptance, which has considerable application in marketing theory. Based in part on the Values and Lifestyles (VALS) approach to marketing, this model breaks down the population of people who eventually accept a new product into five major categories, based upon how quickly they adopt and use the product in question.

As shown in Tables A and B, these categories reflect a traditional bell-shaped curve, with the first people to accept a new product constituting a very small percentage of the overall population.

Pioneering the adoption process are a small group of Innovators, who are the first to embrace the new product (or idea). Following their lead are the Early Adopters, who together with the Innovators make up only 16% of the total population. Eventually the Early Majority emerges, making up over a third of the population. Finally, another third (the Late Majority) accepts the innovation. Last but not least, the tradition-bound Laggards come

around.

While these categories are somewhat artificial, they do provide a useful means of looking at the adoption process, and tend to reflect the actual reality of product acceptance. The growth of the personal computer industry, for instance, largely mirrors this model, with technical-oriented computer hackers (the Innovators) leading the way. In this product market, we seem to be past the Early Adopter stage and into the Early Majority phase, where most of the potential market for PC's is already being served. The remaining skeptical computer buyers are slowly being won over by new and better equipment and software.

Innovators and Libertarians

Everett Rogers discusses the Innovator category in his book, *Diffusion of Innovations*:

Perhaps the adopter category of greatest interest to sociologists is Innovators. By definition, Innovators are the first to adopt new ideas in their social system. However, the Innovator is not always the most respected member of a system. He prefers venturesomeness to the respect of his peers.

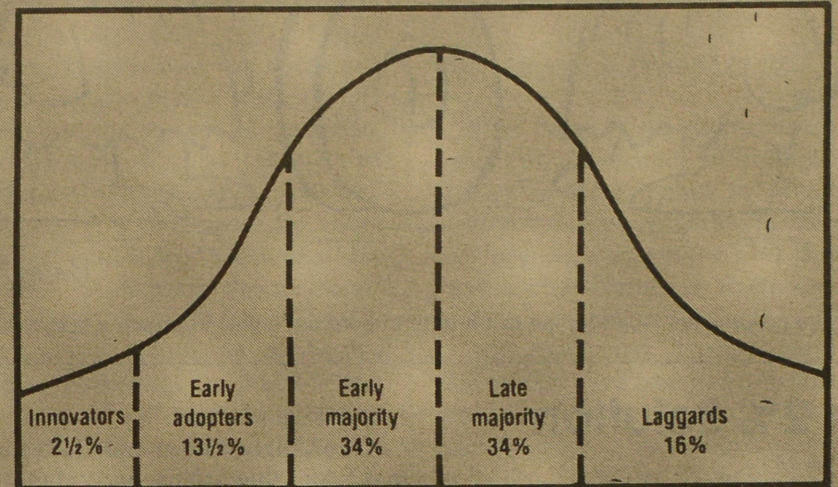
The Innovator plays an important role in the process of change. The Innovator may not be a respected "leader" of change, but there is no doubt that when the Innovator adopts a new idea, he causes his peers to become aware of the innovation. If the innovation proves to be advantageous, the initial skepticism of the Innovator's peers may change to a grudging admittance of its utility.

Thus the Innovator may not be identified as influential in his social system, but he may set the stage for change by demonstrating new ideas to local opinion leaders. The new idea is injected into the social system from external sources by the Innovator.

But where does this leave libertarians? While there has not yet been a great deal of research into the sociological makeup of existing liber-

TABLE A

The Sequence and Proportion of Adopter Categories Among the Population that Eventually Adopts



Percentage of adopted by category sequence

TABLE B

Adopter category	Description	Relative % within the population which eventually adopts
Innovators	"Venturesome"—willing to accept risk	2.5
Early adopters	"Respectable"—regarded by many others in the social system as a role model	13.5
Early majority	"Deliberate"—willing to consider innovation only after peers have adopted	34.0
Late majority	"Skeptical"—overwhelming pressure from peers needed before adoption occurs	34.0
Laggards	"Traditional"—oriented to the past	16.0
		100.0

tarians, preliminary results of one academic study were released in the spring of 1983. Conducted by John C. Green and James L. Guth for the Department of Political Science at Furman University in Greenville, SC, their initial analysis was entitled "The socialization of a third party elite: the case of the Libertarians."

While the conclusions in this study indicated that the libertarian appeal was rather narrow, these researchers appeared to err in their assumption that the traits they found were necessarily

special to libertarians, when actually they were traits shared by **any** Innovators of **any** new product.

The following comparisons are illuminating:

- Douglas Mellot in his text, **Fundamentals of Consumer Behavior** says, "Innovators are the first to adopt new products and comprise 2.5% of the market. They are venturesome and are 'risk takers' in many respects. There is evidence to suggest that Innovators are very different in personality and

Continued page 28



The Liberty Pledge

☐ **YES!** I want to make a monthly Liberty Pledge of \$ _____ from _____ through _____

☐ I want to support the Libertarian Party with a lump sum contribution of \$ _____

☐ Please apply my contribution to membership: "I hereby certify that I do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political or social goals."

Signature (required for membership only) _____

☐ Payment Enclosed ☐ Send EFTS Authorization Form Bill my MasterCard ☐ VISA ☐

Name _____ Account Number _____

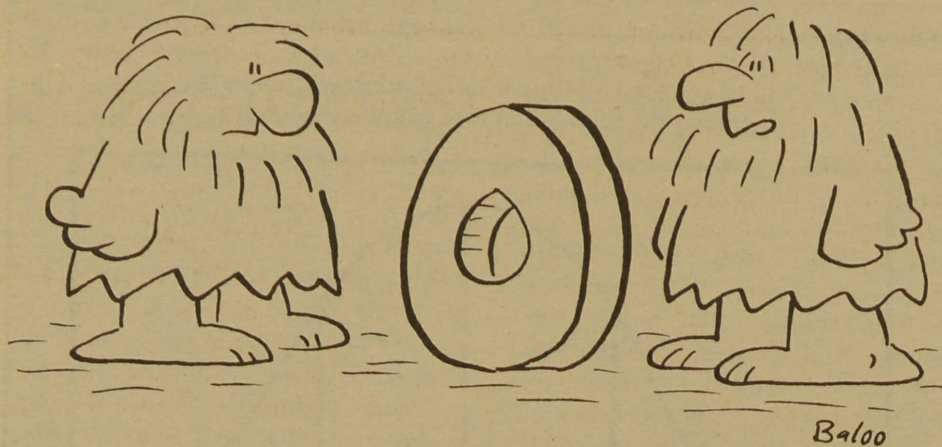
Address _____ Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

Telephone: Evening _____ Day _____ *Occupation _____ *Employer _____

*Optional. Federal Election Commission requires we ask.

LIBERTARIAN PARTY • NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS • 7887 KATY FREEWAY #385 • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77024



"But the government won't let me sell it until I figure out a way to attach a seat belt."

The 2% Solution

From page 27

lifestyles from others. In terms of lifestyle, they are cosmopolitan, having friends outside the community in which they live."

Compare this to Green and Guth's finding that despite the relative youth of Libertarians, "they had lived in an average of three different states since age 21. This mobility, together with their high level of education, suggest that Libertarians are largely 'cosmopolitans' rather than 'locals'." Only six percent of the libertarian activists surveyed were very active in "local community affairs" while 55% were "rarely" active.

• The Innovator's "sources of information also reflects their cosmopolitan orientation," explains Mellot, "transcending the local community and including other Innovators and impersonal and scientific sources."

Contrast this to the Furman University survey which noted that 63% of Libertarian activists were found to consider books very important sources of information, with 46% support for opinion magazines and 33% for political newsletters. Absolutely no Libertarians surveyed reported considering clergymen, TV news, radio news, trade association union or professional publications very important information sources.

• According to Mellot, Innovators "are often above average in income for their age group and are young, well-educated consumers. They read widely and are generally well informed and hold some degree of opinion leadership."

The libertarian survey found, while "most Libertarian activists are quite young, recent entrants into the political system, they do exhibit very imposing absolute levels of education. ...Almost a quarter have PhDs."

• "Innovators are more educated, intelligent, rational and able to deal with abstractions. They also are less dogmatic and fatalistic and possess greater social mobility and empathy." Mellot explains that Innovators actively seek factual information and evaluate it against their own internal standards. "What they **do not** need is the reassurance of knowing that one of their friends has tried the product and

found it satisfactory."

Accordingly, Green and Guth found that "for Libertarians, party choice is a particularly intellectual one, not based on pre-rational or a-rational factors."

Early Adopters and Libertarians

After the Innovator category comes the Early Adopters. Green and Guth were wrong in concluding that Libertarians are cosmopolitan per se. With a new product, the **first users** are **bound to be cosmopolitan**. But the next group, the Early Adopters, tends to be quite different.

Mellot explains:

The three major characteristics of the Innovator — cosmopolitan, venturesome, and risk-taking — are not possessed in large amounts by the Early Adopters, who account for 13.5% of the market. In fact, their localite lifestyle contributes to their exhibiting the greatest amount of opinion leadership of all the adopter groups. Because they are locals, they are likely to hold positions of leadership in the community and are respected as good sources of information and advice about the innovation. Early Adopters are highly integrated socially and seek the respect and approval of fellow community members. They tend to watch the Innovators closely, and as soon as it appears that they have adopted a product, they too, become adopters.

It is likely that LP candidates who run successfully for local office will tend to fall more into this category, since they have stronger ties to their communities and more often will already exhibit a degree of leadership in their immediate community. It is also likely that the first candidates from other political parties who begin to pick up and use libertarian arguments will fall into this group. Since major party politicians often are more concerned with electoral success than with the content of their ideas, we might reasonably expect a veritable flood of "born again" libertarians from the major parties once an Early Majority adopter category begins to emerge.

How the Libertarian Party decides to deal with this transmission process of libertarian ideas into the political mainstream may well prove to be our biggest challenge in the future.

Applying the Lessons

The adopter categories, including In-

novators, Early Adopters, the Early Majority, and so on, are paralleled by the adoption process itself, beginning with problem perception, awareness, interest, comprehension, etc.

Problem perception is equivalent to what Murray Rothbard calls the "objective conditions". These are real-world existing political conditions, and it is this stage which inspired the creation of the Libertarian Party. Awareness is the next stage, which may well be the one in which the Libertarian Party currently operates.

We need to speed up and complete this stage, since once people are aware of us and our program, interest will develop and everything else will come along naturally.

There are many things which can be done right now to speed this process along. We should encourage and assist as many libertarians as possible to regularly write letters-to-the-editor — the more the better. We should establish contact and build bridges with as many individuals and groups as possible who are oppressed by the State. In turn, these groups can use

libertarian philosophy to more soundly underpin their statements to the public and news media.

A final initial step is for the LP to take a major part, if not the predominate element, in anti-tax, anti-paper money and anti-war activities. In addition to participating in rallies and forums organized by others, we can expand our influence far beyond our numbers by rounding up our potential allies for activities which we organize.

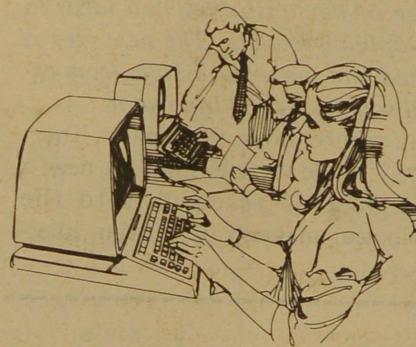
Understanding the marketing process of any product, especially ours, should enable us to understand how best to reach our goals. Once we do these things, we will reach a much larger constituency. We will reach all of our potential Innovators. They in turn will reach multitudes of Early Adopters, who through their combination of expertise and active community involvement exercise the most opinion leadership of any adopter group.

It is through our Early Adopters that we will galvanize the support of a large segment, if not yet the majority, of the American public. ■

Computer Communications Update

San Jose, CA/ Pittsburgh, PA - Two LP activists recently announced efforts under way to tap personal computer power for libertarian communications.

LP NatCom member Mark Hinkle has announced the "online" status of the Bulletin Board System (BBS) of the Santa Clara LP. The phone number is (408) 947-1776 and the number is answered only by computer and will only "talk" with another computer.



The modem will handle 300/1200 baud, B,N,1, and the BBS is named "Liberty Bell". The Ampro series 100 computer was donated by Craig Franklin and the terminal was loaned by Kennita Watson. Mike Iddings and Bob Bickford were instrumental in getting this system operational.

It is fitting that the Santa Clara LP has gotten this system operational, since their territory covers the heart of California's "silicon valley".

At the other end of the country, Daniel Tobias of Pittsburgh has recently announced his effort to put together a directory of libertarians who

are reachable by electronic mail.

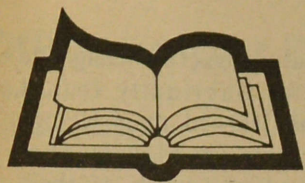
As part of this project, those interested should supply their name, their computer mail address(es), including but not limited to ArpaNet, UUCP, BitNet, FidoNet or ComputServ, along with the standard network format and other relevant information. Listees may also include a single line description of interests.

Those interested in being included may sign up in several ways. If you can send electronic mail to Carnegie-Mellon University, you may send it to **DT04@TF.CC.CMU.EDU**. Or you can send it on FidoNet to Daniel Tobias at **FIDO 129/13**. Or, if you prefer old-fashioned communication, send it via monopoly mail service delivery to: **Daniel Tobias, 4730 Centre Ave., Apt. 212, Pittsburgh, PA 15213.** ■

LP Committees

Houston, TX - National LP Chair Jim Turney has announced newly appointed members of NatCom Committees. These appointments include: Mark Hinkle, Chair, and Dale Hemming to the Membership Committee; Paul Kunberger, Chair of the Legal Committee, Steve Givot, Chair of the Committee to Develop the new Party Program document, Emil Franzi, Chair of the Computer Oversight Committee, Peter Breggin, Chair of the Internal Education Committee, Alicia Clark, Chair of LP Special Projects (tax protest, 4th of July, etc.), and David Walter, Chair of the Management Committee.

Also named were a number of people to the Ballot Access Committee. Steve Fielder of West Virginia heads up this effort. ■



BOOK REVIEWS

by Mike Dunn

NOMENKLATURA: The Soviet Ruling Class, An Insider's Report, by Michael Voslensky, translated by Eric Mosbacher, Doubleday & Co. Inc., Garden City, NY (1984) pp 455, \$19.95

Mike Dunn is a weapons systems analyst for Boeing and is editor of American Defense, published by the Libertarian Defense Caucus.

As I started to read this book, my expectations were ambivalent: on one hand, as an amateur Sovietologist, I was curious about the Soviet rulership; on the other hand, what was there to learn but that they were powerful, ruthless, and cruel? This 1 1/4-inch-thick book therefore held the promise of a virtuous boredom. I couldn't have been more surprised, however, by its unexpected insights.

The author, Michael Voslensky, is uncommonly qualified for this inspection of the Soviet Elite. Until expatriated to Austria in 1977, he was a prominent Soviet historian in his own right. His past associations at high government levels bring a wealth of personal observation to his analysis of the origins, practices, sociology, politics, economics, and world outlook of the Nomenklatura.

The word "Nomenklatura" is probably destined to become part of the West's lexicon of Soviet institutions, along with "Gulag Archipelago" and "nine grams" (the weight of a bullet, as in "the KGB's nine gram solution"). It literally signifies a "list of positions whose ranks are confirmed by higher authorities...a list of the highest positions." In other words, power is disseminated among the Soviet ruling class by a precisely-defined hierarchy of official positions, occupied by individuals carefully selected and authorized by the appropriate Party committees. If you are on the list, you have power; if you are not, you are nothing.

That tyrants would determine the nature of their own power structure seems unremarkable enough. Our Western tradition of individualism conditions us to an autocratic conception of tyranny, in which powerful individuals define a hierarchy of command through the exercise of personal prerogative. However, the Soviet paradigm of collectivism results in a bureaucratic exercise of tyranny, in which an established command hierarchy defines the power prerogatives of each individual within its scope. Thus, the power structure determines the nature of the tyrants. This is the peculiarity of the Nomenklatura.

Whence arose this established hierarchy? As Voslensky relates, the Nomenklatura evolved to its present condition through a three-step historical process. The first step was

Lenin's formation of a cadre of "professional revolutionaries." Lenin understood that revolution was an act of political conquest, requiring an ideologically-reliable army as an instrument of the conqueror's will. His usurpation of power from the parliamentary government is a matter of record.

The second step, consolidation of totalitarian control over a vast nation, required an immense governmental ap-



by Tommy W. Rodgers

The Social Security Swindle, How Anyone Can Drop Out, by Irwin Schiff, 251 pages, Freedom Books, 60 Connolly Parkway, Hamden, CT 06514, \$12.95

Tommy Rogers is a Mississippi-based sociologist and demographer.

Schiff makes an interesting and generally substantial case for the proposition that Social Security is unsound from a social as well as economic perspective. Whereas the initial hype was that Social Security was analogous to a legitimate pension based on actual reserves, the pitch has now been switched to the claim Social Security was conceived as "a compact between generations" in an effort "to con Americans into believing that they are bound by some kind of 'compact' under which they are (and will be) forced to deliver on the irresponsible promises made by vote seeking politicians," according to the Schiff.

He reviews the various efforts and proposals to save the system from the consequences of its unfunded liability. The bottom line as recognized by Senator Proxmire is that the government, having the power to print money is "going to do it. It may not be worth anything when the recipient gets his benefits paid, but he is going to get his benefits paid."

partus. The original cadre was insufficient to occupy all the offices of national, regional, and local control; the remainder therefore had to be filled with opportunists instead of revolutionaries, a detail unforeseen by Lenin. The transformation of the autocratic cadre structure into a functioning bureaucracy was supervised by Stalin, whose specialty was the selection of subordinates on the basis of sycophantic ("political") reliability. So adept was he at choosing the "right man" for a position, he acquired the nickname "File Cabinet" from his habit of keeping voluminous records on all possible candidate underlings...a practice that not only gave the Nomenklatura its name, but also foreshadowed the exclusive manner in which it now operates to elevate its own to power.

The third and final step was inevitable once the "new class" of opportunistic Nomenklatura realized that the highest Party offices — the reins of power — were foreclosed to them by the incumbency of revolutionary Leninists. This envy facilitated the infamous Stalin purges of the 1930s, whereby the Old Guard were ruthlessly liquidated en masse to make way for the ambitious Nomenklatura...who have since consolidated their way of life into a system that owes nothing to ideology.

But the Nomenklatura learned two important lessons under Stalin: 1) the authority to obliterate whole ranks of bureaucracy was too dangerous to

Continued page 30

The pay-as-you-go chain letter financing scheme is contrary to the alleged "trust fund" supposedly based on actuarial reality relied on in *Helferich v. Davis* (301 U.S.C. 619) to sustain constitutionality. It is likely true, too, as Schiff asserts, that Social Security has served to confuse the public as to whether government can legally levy taxes to pay for anything it desired. The result is that American citizens are now taxed to pay for a gamut of programs from bailouts for Brazilian banks to distribution of cupulatory artifacts.

While such government expenditures doubtless are "illegal" in the sense of intent of the Constitutional meaning to its adopting generation, they are certainly "legal" in the sense that the State is not going to interdict itself from such activities on legal arguments, given the current political and judicial climate. While Schiff may be right in terms of legal history and constitutional principle as the Constitution was intended to be applied, he does not set forth any method by which citizens can stop paying taxes "legally", in any sense that will protect them from recrimination by Leviathan.

What Schiff has not done (and no one should be evangelized into believing otherwise) is provide a method for dropping out of Social Security or any other taxation scheme which will be

Continued page 30

by Mike Holmes

How to Start Your Own Country, by Erwin S. Strauss, Loompanics Unlimited, Port Townsend, WA, 168 pages, pb. \$7.95

Mike Holmes is Editor of LPN.

After being in the libertarian movement for any length of time one is sooner or later bound to encounter semi-serious discussion along the lines of "gee, wouldn't it be nice if there were a real libertarian town, county, state or even country?"

And from such usually late-night discussions have emerged a handful of real, actual attempts to do just that, namely, create a libertarian community or nation. In this small book the author has catalogued most of the recent attempts to form libertarian (and some not-so libertarian) new countries, and provides background on these efforts.

Strauss identifies five different approaches, including traditional sovereignty, offshore ship-based "countries", the litigation approach, Vonu (creating your own personal "country" within an existing nation state), and model countries. All of these approaches have been tried in the past few years, as documented in the 100-page listing of case histories, which is the most valuable part of the book.

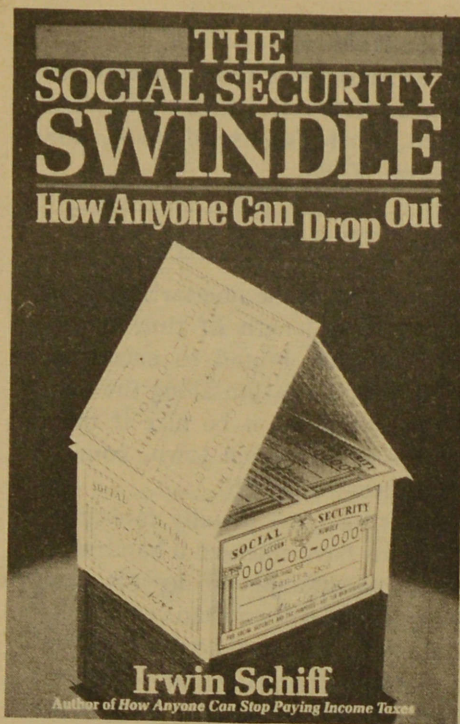
Some methods, like the model country approach (creating a country on paper, declaring yourself "king" or whatever) are relatively easy and non-threatening. Others, like the pirate radio stations in the North Sea, have actually succeeded for brief periods. The Vonu and litigation approaches seem to work to a degree, although these seem mostly to amount to either hiding out in the wilderness or playing legal games over obscure historical claims.

It is the traditional sovereignty approach which most people regard as substantially equivalent to living in current national entities, presumably under various forms of libertarian constitutional authority, or proprietary ownership. A few of these recent attempts, such as the Atlantis project, Abaco or the Minerva project, involved efforts to either create small man-made islands or re-nationalize small obscure islands which were either lightly inhabited or discontented with existing rule. All of these efforts failed, some comically, and some tragically. The author was involved with Atlantis effort, with their motel and concrete boat — (which promptly sunk).

A few of these new country efforts have succeeded to a degree for a while, and several, notably in Britain, have managed to survive through cracks in the legal system based on ancient royal decree.

The book omits a number of new country projects and attempts which might fall under this general description, particularly some recent minority-based attempts in the U.S. (black ef-

Continued page 30



Social Security

From page 29

recognized as viable by the courts. He has not come up with any briefs, citations, or incantations which will function like onions to ward off vampires, and thereby protect persons from tax extractions by the State.

Potential readers are well advised that **The Social Security Swindle** is not a revelation of how one can drop out of any tax extraction system without recrimination. According to news reports, Schiff himself has been arrested, jailed and had property seized by the IRS over non-payment of taxes. (Schiff's other books also claim you can legally get out of the income tax). That sort of artistry requires methods which the system recognizes as legitimate on its own terms, not in terms of challenges to its right to exist and operate as it does.

But Schiff's book is not without educative value. His identification of politics as the source of many national ills is on target. Further, the genesis of Social Security, the promises made, the assurances given, the arguments advanced, should be remembered. There is considerable pedagogical value in Schiff's book. But if one is looking for a safe way to avoid this form of taxation, this is not an apt prescription. ■

Nomenklatura

From page 29

perpetuate, and 2) one's position could be guarded only by the vigilance of devoted underlings. So, with Stalin's demise, his despotism was abandoned for feudalism, in which the unlimited power of the State was parceled among the Nomenklatura at all levels. In return for fealty to his patron, the Nomenklaturist vassal was rewarded with unhindered domination of his power fiefdom.

Thus, the Party rulership exist as modern-day boyars in a gigantic oligarchy, dependent on the support of a pyramid of vassals for their position

and influence. Their exercise of power is then a matter of maneuvering alliances, intriguing against rivals, making pacts of mutual support among one's peers, and reaching decisions by committee. Reform is institutionally impossible. Should a Soviet ruler propose policies that would curtail the perquisites or power of the Nomenklatura at large, his subordinate echelons would betray him to his enemies — and well he knows this. Accordingly, the Politburo is not a forum for strenuous and original debate over policy; it is merely the vehicle whereby the consensus demands of the Nomenklatura are reflected in decisions of state.

These realizations are more frightening to me than the mythical notion that a gang of evil planners runs the Politburo. Instead, we have the phenomenon of a vast bureaucracy entrenched in power, united in a consensus to further their personal aggrandizement, and making policy on the basis of glossy snapshots of the world around them. For a nation possessing thousands of megatons of nuclear destruction, this situation drives the Soviet Union along the brink between peace and war.

When I started to write this review, I was asked whether any similarities existed between the Nomenklatura and features in American politics. Indeed there are some, in both expected and unexpected ways. As an example of the expected, it is not hard to see the "power fiefdom" in the regulatory bureaucracies of our own government, where power is no longer under legislative control but has been cut free under the rubric of "rules" and "regulations" having the force of law — against which we have ineffective legal safeguards. Surely this development portends the downfall of our liberty if we cannot reverse the trend.

As an example of unexpected, I was impressed by the similarity between Lenin's "professional revolutionaries" and what might be considered a breed of "professional libertarian activists" — a similarity that includes a monomaniacal fixation on ideology and the practice of Bolshevik organizational tactics. Ironically, libertarians will have to recognize that the fruit of their actions will be determined by the temper of their methods.

Yet, despite these similarities, this book gave me an appreciation of the gulf separating us in the United States from the hapless citizens of the Soviet Union, for whom the Nomenklatura are not a matter of ideological controversy, but are a fact of life. It is not an issue of evil demons running that country — it is a monstrous landslide pouring over the face of land, indiscriminate, unthinking, and oblivious to national boundaries or the pain of war. There is a tendency among libertarians to think that evil can be philosophically outwitted...but you cannot "outwit" a landslide. We would do well to pay it attention. ■

Notable Quotes

• Americans single out big government as a greater threat to the future of the nation than big business or big labor, according to a recent Gallup poll.

Fear of big government remained at a high level (50%) and was shared across the political spectrum, in every region and among both white-collar and blue-collar workers.

The big government finding was little changed from the 51% majority citing it as the main threat in 1983.

The Washington Post Weekly, July 8, 1985.

• Indeed, significant trade barriers cover more than a quarter of all manufactured goods sold in the U.S. They cost American consumers more than \$50 billion a year, or \$450 for every working man and woman, according to Gary Hufbauer, a Georgetown University professor, in a book to be published later this year.

The Wall St. Journal, Nov. 1, 1985, "As a Free Trade Bastion, U.S. Isn't Half as Pure as Many People Think".

• The government finished the 1985 fiscal year with a record \$202.8 billion deficit, the first time it ever topped \$200 billion. A second deficit figure, including the so-called off-budget deficit, was placed at \$211.9 billion for the year. The administration has projected that in the 1986 fiscal year the interest on the \$1.8 trillion national debt will be larger than the annual deficit.

UPI, *The Houston Chronicle*, Oct. 26, 1985.

Your Own Country

From page 29

forts to create a nation in the South, and Mexican-American efforts in northern New Mexico to enforce Spanish land grant claims, to name two). Also, the theoretical discussion is fairly weak, with virtually no historical discussion of successful attempts (during colonial periods, for instance) or relevant international law. Various native tribal groups have also made headway in this area in North America and Europe, but Strauss does not address this phenomenon.

Overall, Strauss doesn't seem hopeful that libertarians will succeed in new country efforts. At one point, he suggests that modern weapons of mass destruction would be needed to stave off would-be statist conquerors. The one new country project which has succeeded, Israel (1948), seems to bear this out. Curiously, it isn't even mentioned in the book. It would seem that both outside aid and powerful allies are necessary, and even then neighboring states and disgruntled former inhabitants make continued national survival a chancy proposition.

All told however, this is a fun little book for those with an interest in the

• A municipal judge, deciding the parents of two habitually truant youngsters had learned their lesson, released them from jail Monday after they had served one week of their 273-day sentence.

In reconsidering his decision, Judge David Keyko acknowledged he took "a drastic step" last week in ordering William and Pauline Johnston to jail after their sons missed about half the school year at Paulsboro (NJ) High School. But he justified his action, saying "Compulsory education is the law."

AP, *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 18, 1985.

• William J. Stern, (former Chair of the New York State Urban Development Corporation, 1982 Finance Chair for NY Governor Mario Cuomo.): Until recently, I headed one of the largest and most powerful public authorities in the country, an entity with \$3 billion in projects, including the redevelopment of Times Square and the New York Convention Center. While I cannot speak from direct experience for other high-tax states, I am convinced that what I learned in New York is applicable to many other parts of the country.

"Doing contracts" is the central theme of New York politics and government. There is next to no difference here in attitude and action between most Democrats and Republicans. The real issues are: Who is going to get the state or city contract? Who is going to be the investment banker handling the debt issue? The commercialization of public service has made political labels such as Democrat and Republican irrelevant. Party

Continued page 31

subject. While the author doesn't seem to like political action as a libertarian strategy, **How To Start Your Own Country** makes an implicit case for it. There are a lot more elected Libertarians than there are real libertarian "new countries." ■

HOW TO START YOUR OWN COUNTRY

Contents of this amazing book include:

- The five approaches to starting a new country that have the best chances of working today.
- Obtaining sovereignty — the single greatest obstacle to new countries — three alternatives.
- Diplomacy and national defense for new countries.
- Ships under flags of convenience — as good as a "new" country?
- How to raise funds for a new country project.
- How to deal with the Superpowers, such as Russia and the U.S.A.
- Advantages and disadvantages of various approaches to establishing a new country.
- Why the nation-state will not survive the next century, and how you can benefit by starting a new country now.
- And much, much more, including a lengthy Access chapter with names and addresses of current "new" countries!

Illustrated with dozens of rare photographs, **How To Start Your Own Country** is a book sure to create interest and controversy. A book that will be invaluable to anyone considering unusual approaches to personal freedom. Highly recommended! 1984, 5 1/2 x 8 1/2, 174 pp, illustrated, indexed, soft cover.

Loompanics Unlimited PO Box 1197 LPN5
Port Townsend, WA 98368

Please rush _____ copies of **How To Start Your Own Country** to me at the address below. I have enclosed \$7.95 each plus \$2.00 for shipping and handling.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Officeholder Profile: Tom Westgaard

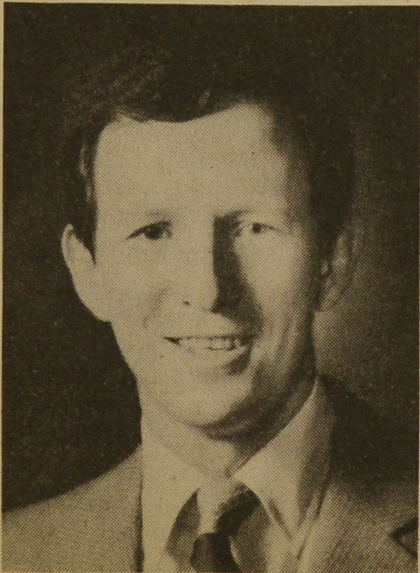
From page 21

by Mark Lisher

Mark Lisher is a professional journalist based in Milwaukee, WI. He has previously written for LPN.

Greenfield, WI - Like the other Aldermen in Greenfield, Wisconsin, Thomas Westgaard complains about the long hours, the part-time salary and the difficulty of pushing pet issues through the City Council.

Unlike his colleagues, Westgaard is a Libertarian, a rarity in politics on any level in the U.S. Rarer still, because Westgaard turned in a commanding win in the April 1984 elections, and stands to be a fixture on the Council which considers him, astoundingly, as a moderate on local issues.



Tom Westgaard

Westgaard, 45, said the secret of his success was running a campaign against the mediocre Alderman who preceded him by focusing on issues that people cared about. So instead of lofty Libertarian platitudes and invective, Westgaard hurled an unacceptable road widening and a scheme to finance business development with tax money back at his opponent.

"I ran a fundamentally non-partisan campaign. I ran what might be called a Jeffersonian, small d, democrat election," Westgaard said. "And I out-campaigned, out-spent and out-worked my opponent. I went totally on the offensive."

Westgaard took 64 percent of the votes in his district of about 6,300 people. "Ego said I should have gotten 75 percent and I was really expecting to get 70 percent. I had something that most Libertarians don't have — support."

Westgaard's support came from what he said is a core of conservative Democrats in his district who were ready to abandon the incumbent, a nice man with no business in politics on any level, Westgaard said. Westgaard also armed himself with the kind of spending issues that conservatives of any party love to hate.

After hammering at those issues during the campaign, his opponent resorted to an old tactic of challenging Westgaard's Libertarian credentials. Westgaard promptly challenged the man to debate. The opponent never met the challenge.

Westgaard said he has found it much simpler to be elected than it has been to

carry out campaign promises in the 17 months since the election. Which is not say that the constituency has become disenchanted with him as they had his predecessor. Westgaard is certain he will be elected again, this time perhaps easier than before. The reality of city politics in Greenfield, as anywhere else, is the application of great ideas to largely tedious issues.

"I put in 40 to 80 hours a month, but I could do a hell of a lot more. This could be a full time job. The volume of work you're dealing with is amazing," Westgaard said.

The road widening issue has been a painful example of how long a seemingly minor dispute can sap the energy of the five-man Council and a Mayor.

For the better part of 1984 a street in Westgaard's district was slated for widening. Residents on the street bristled at a proposed widening. Westgaard has so far championed a 34-foot widening. The roadway twain has not met.

"That's what my people want," he said.

Westgaard, the manager of corporate systems development for Time Insurance Company in Milwaukee, said that he has been more successful fighting spending measures. To that end, he is a member of Greenfield Residents Against Foolish Taxes (GRAFT).

A foolish and even dangerous tax that Westgaard has successfully fought from the Alderman seat is tax incremental financing, or TIF programs. The Mayor of Greenfield attempted to push through the construction of a new City Hall by setting up a TIF district. Westgaard said he acted as a moderate in a majority of four Aldermen who beat down the Mayor's plan.

Westgaard is the Chairman of the Council's Finance Committee, which he said allows him to influence the city fiscally. However, Westgaard is quick to point out that his voting record is not clearly Libertarian — at least not the Libertarian of the past who might have voted against all spending.

"I'm trying to be realistic. If you tried to determine if I was a Libertarian from my voting pattern, you probably couldn't. I am a representative of my district. I try to influence but I do not try to stand in the way," Westgaard said.

Westgaard offered the novel notion that his constituents are better off paying their assessments, not for the money invested, but because it gives individuals a stake in how their government is run.

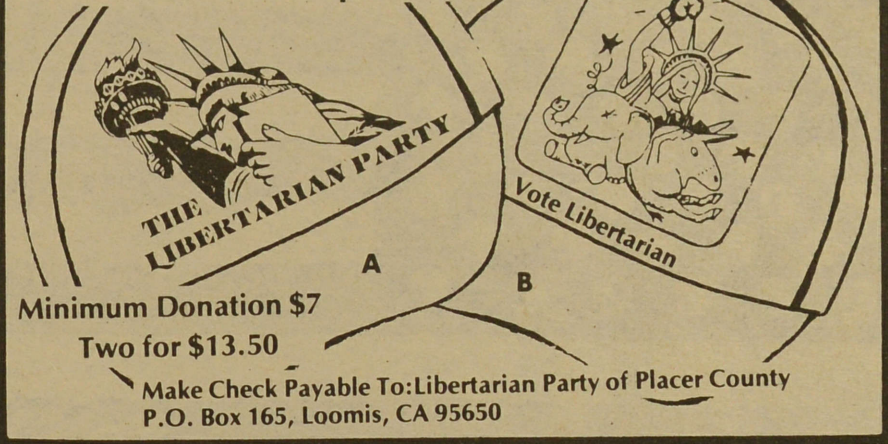
Westgaard is up for re-election, in April of 1986 and though he won't speculate, he said he will run "if the people want me".

A good listener, Westgaard said he will speak out strongly when his voice is called for.

"I will deal with the issues, I am not going to be making Libertarian pronouncements," he said.

And when asked what he planned to mark the rest of his first term as Alderman with, Westgaard, quite typically, said, "to try to get that damned road in". ■

Buy A Hat
Help Placer County
Elect Another L.P. Supervisor



Notable Quotes

From page 30

rivalries are often mere gigs to be played around election time. Efficient management of our state conflicts with the commercial and political agenda of the one political force that matters here — a force I call the "State Insider Commercial Party."

The Great Society programs of the 1960s (many of which are administered by the states) caused explosive growth in the budgets of many states. New York's increased by 2,731% between 1954 and 1984. This is the gravy train that the Insider Commercial Party has been riding.

"New York Can Love a Tax-Reform Parade", *The Wall St. Journal*, July 1, 1985.

• The administration plans to ask Congress to greatly expand the government's use of confidential tax data and give federal agencies access to information on any American's private insurance coverage, it was reported Monday.

Jerry Berman of the ACLU told the *New York Times*, "It will result in a de facto national data center in which government agencies will be able to reach into hundreds of different computerized files and build a personal dossier on any man, woman or child who has been selected for examination."

Current Federal law, passed in 1976, protects individuals from the government using tax information, with some exceptions.

UPI, *The Houston Post*, Oct. 15, 1985.

• In its survey of the federal bureaucracy, the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) found 35 agencies, mostly in the Justice, Treasury and Defense Departments, use or planned to use:

- closed circuit television, 29 agencies.
- night vision systems, 22.
- miniature transmitters, 21.
- electronic beepers and sensors, 15.
- telephone taps, recorders, and pen registers, 14.
- computer usage monitoring, 6.
- electronic mail monitoring, 6.
- cellular radio interception, 5.
- satellite interception, 4.

As for the 85 computerized record systems that could be used for surveillance purposes, none of the operators provided statistics requested

by the OTA on record completeness and accuracy.

Houston, Chronicle, Oct. 25, 1985.

• Countdown

President Reagan, foiled by Congress in his effort to aid Nicaraguan rebels, today ordered a total trade embargo on the Sandinista government of that country. It was apparently the toughest economic sanctions taken by the administration, which has been critical of trade embargoes.

May 1, *Houston Chronicle*.

Nicaraguan President Ortega said Reagan's embargo action would "most likely be accompanied by military action" His leftist government often has predicted a U.S. invasion, which U.S. officials say is not being considered.

May 3, *Houston Chronicle*.

Sen. Richard Lugar, R-Ind., the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said he could foresee conditions under which U.S. aircraft might have to launch a "surgical strike" against military targets in Nicaragua. But he ruled out any chance of a full-scale American invasion of the Marxist-led Central American country.

June 10, *Houston, Chronicle*.

Reagan administration officials for the first time are openly discussing the possibility that U.S. combat forces might one day have to invade Nicaragua, the *New York Times* reported today. "Reagan administration officials have begun openly discussing a subject they had previously refused to speculate about: the possibility that American combat forces might one day be sent into Nicaragua," the newspaper said.

July 11, *The Houston Chronicle*.

• The Bureau of the Census came up with an astonishing figure the other day: almost half of all households in the nation — 47% to be precise — were receiving some kind of check from the federal government during the first quarter of 1984.

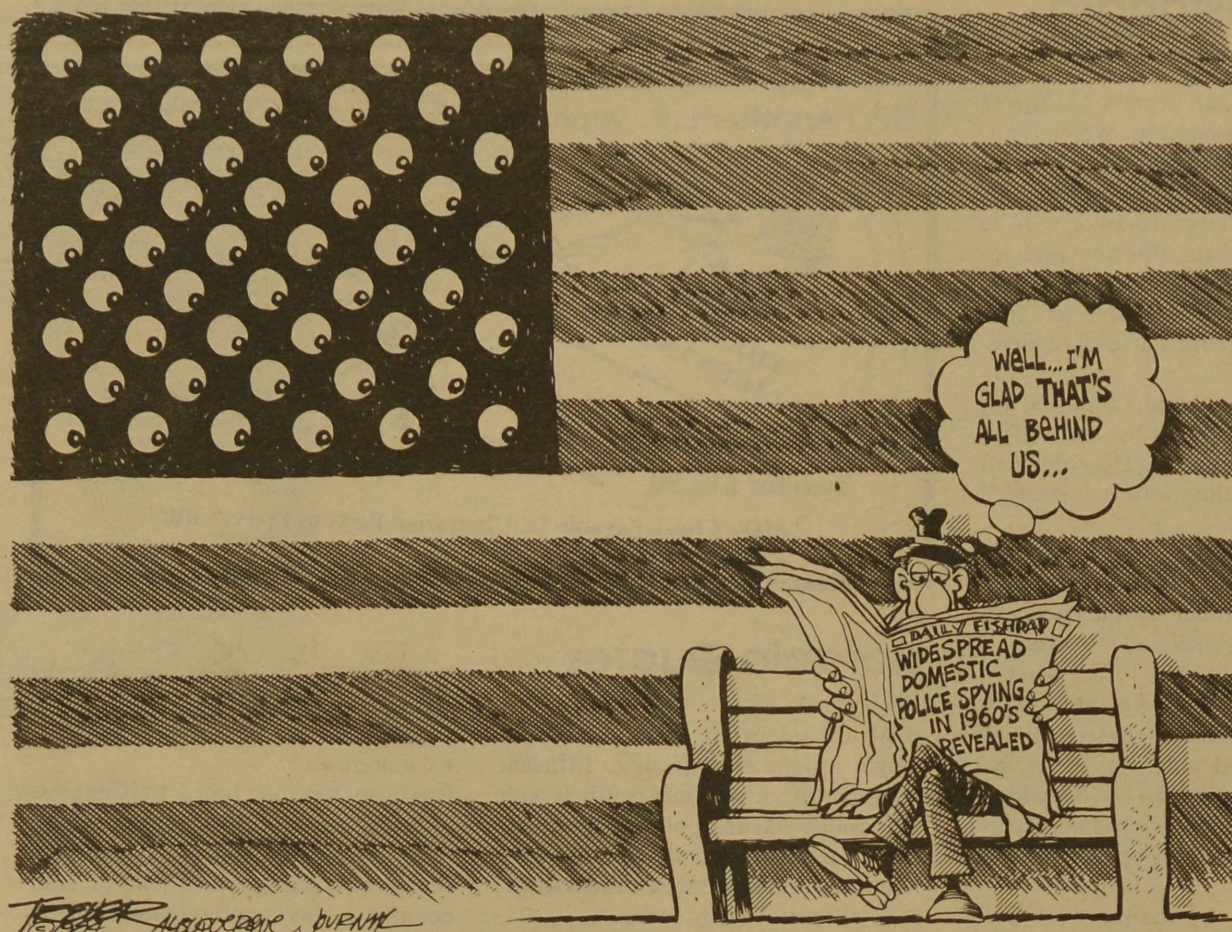
James J. Kilpatrick, *The Houston Chronicle*, May 25, 1985.

• In 1971, each man, woman and child's share of the national debt was \$1,966. By 1981 that figure more than doubled to \$4,346. By 1986, it is expected to be \$7,733.

Sen James Exon, D-Neb, *The New York Times*, July 22, 1985.

• A prominent District of Columbia minister, speaking "after considerable

Continued page 32



THE ALBUQUERQUE JOURNAL

national City Management Association and supplemented by extensive data from LGC fields. The Database is continually being updated as new information becomes available.

The Privatization Database is the second database developed by the LGC, being preceded by the computerized Directory of Private Service Providers. The Directory lists the names and addresses of hundreds of firms that provide public services on a contract basis as well as consultants and trade groups.

For more information contact: **Local Government Center, Department D, 1018 Garden Street, Santa Barbara, CA 93101, or call (805) 963-5993.** ■

Notable Quotes

From page 31

study", called for the legalization of drugs and government-controlled drug dispensation "at a very low cost."

The Rev. Andrew Leigh Gunn, senior Minister of the prestigious Mount Vernon Place United Methodist Church in Washington, said drug legalization should be accompanied with "a powerful and effective program of education in the schools and through the media concerning the evils of narcotics."

UPI, *Houston Chronicle*, May 27, 1985.

• China is slashing required courses in Marxism from university curricula because students have "lost interest" in once-unassailable Communist Party doctrine, Chinese educators said Friday.

UPI, *The Houston Post*, June 8, 1985.

• U.S. Rep. Charles Wilson, D-TX, admits he "probably" falsely represented a former beauty queen that he dates as a member of his staff, when he took her on a Navy-hosted trip to Florida to tour an aircraft carrier. Wilson, who is single, said Annelise Ilschenko, 27, is a "lady I date" who also is a lobbyist for the National Wholesale Druggists Association, and was the U.S. representative in the Miss World contest in 1975.

Navy Cmdr. Mike Cherry defended the value of the trip as "vital and crucial" for a lawmaker who must vote on billions of dollars of defense appropriations requests. "The orientation trip was a real working, hard trip. From the minute Mr. Wilson stepped on board the ship, he was a very busy representative." (*Wilson later paid the Navy for Ilschenko's trip, but was never indicted for wrong-doing.* — Ed.) Judy Wiessler, *Houston Chronicle*, May 23, 1985.

• A majority of Americans dislike abstract art and rarely visit art museums, and half oppose government subsidies to artists, a Media General-Associated Press Poll indicates. The poll said 50% of Americans opposed government subsidies to artists, compared with 35% who supported such subsidies.

Houston Chronicle, May 13, 1985. ■

Privatization Database

Santa Barbara, CA - The Local Government Center (LGC), a Santa Barbara based research institute sponsored by the Reason Foundation, has announced the completion and availability of its computerized Privatization Database.

Privatization refers to a number of techniques for turning public services over to the private sector. This includes contracting out services, user fees, vouchers, and ultimately "service shedding"—whereby the government gets out of providing a service altogether and relinquishes it completely to the private sector.

The Database contains a listing of all local and state governments in the United States that have privatized any of 70 different public services, including transportation, fire and police protection, data processing, waste disposal, and corrections. It also organizes information according to the specific ways in which services are privately provided such as contracting with neighborhood organizations, non-profit agencies, and for-profit companies, franchise/concessions, volunteers, service shedding to non-profit and for profit organizations and seven others.

LGC Director, Dr. Philip Fixler, hailed the new database as a "significant advance in the movement toward privatization. It will now be much easier," he declared, "for those interested in promoting privatization, since they can now see where it has been tried and evaluate the methods used."

The information contained in the Database is derived primarily from a 1982 nationwide survey of alternative service delivery conducted by the Inter-

LPN
Libertarian Party News
November-December 1985

Randolph Defects...
"Freedom Reborn"
Convention ...
Jacob Convicted...
See Page 1

LP Officers/State Directory	6, 24
Editorials/Features	16
From the Chair/Director/Editor	17
Letters	17
LP Officeholders	20
Officeholder Profiles	20, 31
Policy Analysis	25
Business Directory	26
Strategy/Tactics	27
Book Reviews	29

**Libertarian
National Committee**
7887 Katy Freeway #385
Houston, TX 77024

Address Correction Requested

NON-PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
HOUSTON, TEXAS
PERMIT NO. 2663

Address Correction Requested