



Libertarian Party

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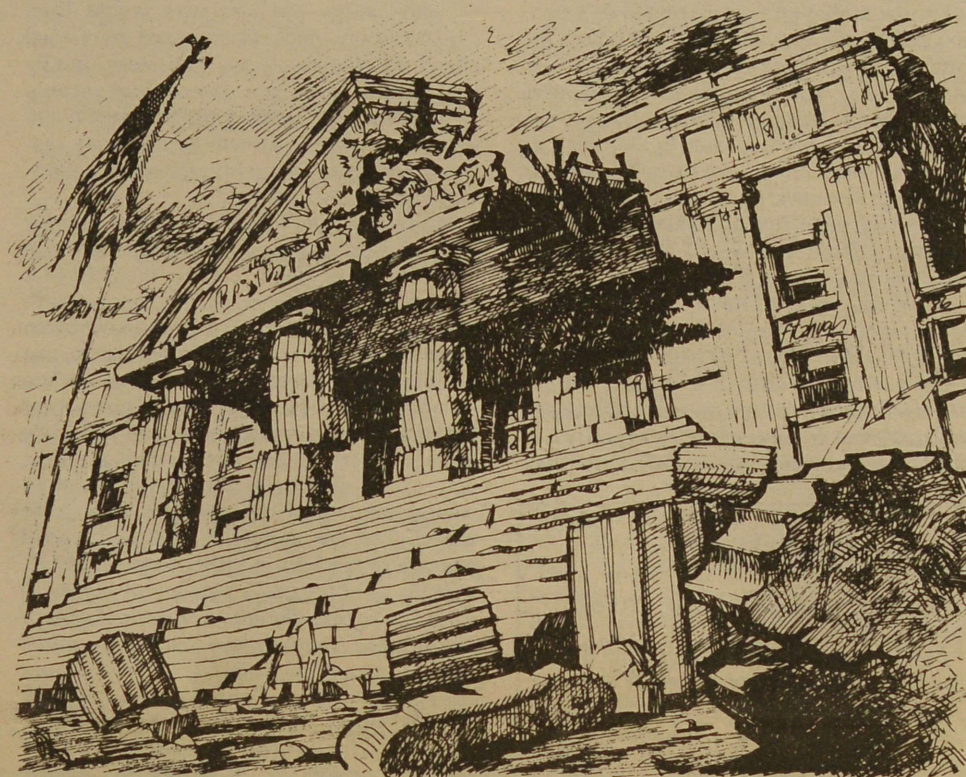
Institutions Losing Ground

By Louis Harris

Libertarian politics pushes directly against the blind faith that many Americans are said to have in big institutions such as government, unions, government licensed or supported monopolies and compulsory activities of any sort. Knowing more about attitudes towards institutions is an essential bit of Libertarian information. The following report, from one of the country's foremost pollsters, is one of the most significant yet on the subject. You don't have to read very far between its lines to realize that the old blind faith is crumbling, leaving more and more opportunities for libertarian action.

After a two year general rise, confidence in the leadership of major institutions in America has slumped once again among the American people. The declines over a year earlier can be observed in both the public and private sectors. This is according to the latest Harris Survey conducted by telephone among a national cross section of 1,254 adults between November 1st and 4th, 1985. These latest results represent the 16th time since 1966 that the Harris Survey has asked about confidence in institutions.

The only increase recorded for 15 institutions tested was for leadership of organized labor which went up from an all-time low of 8 percent of the public who had a great deal of confidence in union leaders in 1982 to 10 percent in 1983 to 12 percent in 1984 and to a current 13 percent. Organized labor has been blunt in admitting to losses in membership and has openly questioned whether or not it has been on the right track. This candor is adding marginally to labor's credibility, although union leadership still ranks lower than every other type of leadership, except for



NEWS Graphics by Richard Fitzhugh

lawyers who are now dead last in public confidence at 12 percent.

Here is how the 15 specific types of leadership stack up in the minds of the American people:

- 39 percent of the public expressed high confidence in doctors, but this is down four points from 1984 and far below their high-water mark of 73 percent far back in 1966, when the Harris Survey first started to make annual measurements of public confidence.

- 35 percent say they have a great deal of confidence in those running higher education in the country, but this is a drop of five points over the past year and is well below the 61 percent level recorded for these leaders back in 1966.

- 32 percent have high confidence in the military, but this is a substantial 13 points below the comparable 45 percent who felt that way a year ago. The high water mark for the

military was 61 percent back in 1966, while the low was 23 percent in 1976.

- 30 percent feel a great deal of confidence in those running the White House, but this is down 12 points from the comparable 42 percent who felt that way back in 1984. Still, the 30 percent is the second highest ever recorded by the Harris Survey.

- 28 percent express high regard for the U.S. Supreme Court, but this is down from a comparable 35 percent a year ago. The highest ever recorded for the Supreme Court was in 1966, when an even 50 percent held it in high confidence. The current level is about average for the high court over the past 20 years.

- 23 percent have a great deal of confidence in those running television news, but this is a drop of five full points over the past year. This is also the lowest level of con-

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California

Member Drive Hits New High

"The most successful membership drive in the history of the California party" is how state chair Jack Dean describes the 35% increase in dues-paying members which the LPC has experienced in just the past four months.

The drive, which began October 1 and concluded on January 31, saw the LPC's membership rise steadily from 1054 to its current level of 1438—an increase of 384 members. "And we expect that figure to go even higher," he notes. There are 65,000 registered Libertarian voters in the state.

To stimulate local participation in the drive, county organizations have been competing for the top spot in two categories—greatest actual increase and greatest percentage of increase. In addition, notes Dean, an informal competition between northern vice chair Dennis Schlumpf and southern vice chair (and national LP treasurer) Sam Treynor has added a congenial flavor to the competition: "They've agreed that the loser will wear a button at the LPC state convention extolling the superiority of the other half of the state!"

With final returns yet to be tallied, the outcome is shaping up to be close. The south's 35.5% membership increase puts Treynor ahead of Schlumpf, whose northern contingent has grown by 34.5%.

Dean attributes the tremendous success of the membership drive to "advance planning, careful execution and ongoing follow-up."

"We laid the groundwork in 1984 when we mailed to all 65,000 registered Libertarian voters in California," he explains. "It was quite an undertaking, but the response to that mailing helped us to segment our list."

"At the same time, we took an important step when we established a combined fund-raising/membership committee," says Dean. "Under the leadership of Mary Gingell, it was really that committee that developed the strategy we've pursued so successfully."

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Alaska Party Is Growing

By Representative Andre Marrou
Alaska State Legislature

Being the only Libertarian legislator is both exhilarating and frustrating. It's a lot of fun being the "Leader of the Libertarian Caucus," as my Legislative ID card says, and being asked constantly by the press (TV, radio, and newspaper) what the Libertarian position is on each issue.

On the other hand, the "Libertarian Caucus" is a pretty small caucus, what some wags have termed a "telephone-booth caucus," meaning it could meet in a telephone booth. It would really help having more Liber-

tarians in the legislature, so that we'd have two or more exponents and fighters instead of only one. Also, if we could point out that Libertarians have achieved the legislature in other states, that would really help.

Perhaps this fall (November 1986), we can succeed in getting more Libertarians elected, both in Alaska and perhaps in at least one other state.

I heartily urge my fellow Libertarians in the "lower 48" states to get involved in such campaigns—whether as candidate, as worker, as contributor, or whatever. It takes a lot of time, effort, and money—more than any of us ever thought—to elect a Libertarian, but obviously it can be done. You just have to beat 'em at their own game.

And I'm not the first Libertarian legislator. Dick Randolph was elected in 1978 and re-elected in 1980 (he had previously been elected twice as a Republican), and Ken

Fanning was elected in 1980. Both live in Fairbanks, about 600 miles from my hometown of Homer.

In 1982, Randolph ran for governor as a Libertarian and got about 15 percent of the statewide vote—he could not run for re-election as a representative and also run for the governorship. Fanning was simply gerrymandered (redistricted) out of his re-election. I was elected in 1984.

Randolph is now running for governor as a Republican. He has declared the Libertarian Party, on both the state and national scene, to be "dead since 1982." This is just plain incorrect.

Alaskans have only been "officially allowed" to register as Libertarians for about 2½ years—since May '83. In that time, we have grown from zero to 2,575 registered Libertarians (as of January 1986) across the

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Gramm-Rudman As a Hall of Mirrors

By Bruce R. Bartlett

Impact of the Gramm-Rudman legislation in terms of Libertarian Party positions and political possibilities may be exactly the reverse of what could have been expected.

Many probably have viewed the legislation as, at least, a useful device to cut back on federal spending of privately earned wealth. In fact it may cut some spending but even more emphatically be an invitation to raise taxes.

Here is an interesting analysis of that proposition by a senior fellow at the conservative Heritage Foundation. Abridged here, it appeared in full as an investment advisory for Rodman & Renshaw Economics, Inc.

What Gramm-Rudman mandates are very large cuts in the budget deficit in future years, giving the President new power to make automatic spending cuts in the event Congress cannot meet the Gramm-Rudman targets legislatively. These cuts are to come equally from defense and domestic spending, with many programs, such as social security, emptied or fenced-off from the process.

What this means is that truly Draconian

cuts will have to be made in those portions of the budget subject to Gramm-Rudman. It is my belief that neither President Reagan nor the Congress will allow such cuts to take place. As soon as they realize what Gramm-Rudman really means in terms of spending cuts, I believe that everyone will quickly turn to a major tax increase instead.

There are obviously many different ways taxes could be raised—an oil import fee is currently very popular in light of falling world oil prices. However, using the tax reform bill as a vehicle would appear to offer a better alternative. This is because it could be turned into a major revenue-raiser quite easily. Keep in mind that the tax reform bill really has just two basic elements: tax increases and tax cuts. The tax increases are from closed loopholes, the minimum tax, shortened depreciation schedules, etc. The tax cuts are in the form of rate reductions for individuals and corporations. The package is revenue-neutral, so they balance each other off. However, if one were to not cut rates by as much as loopholes were closed, you would suddenly have large revenues. Or, if you had loophole-closing take place first and phased in the rate reductions later, you would also raise considerable revenue.

Using tax reform in this way has several advantages over straight tax increases. For one, it would provide a "fig leaf" for President Reagan to use to justify a reversal of his oft-stated opposition to a tax increase. Moreover, we know from passage of the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act in 1982 that Presi-

dent Reagan is fully capable of deluding himself into believing that tax reform does not mean a tax increase even when such "reform" involves the raising of billions of dollars of revenue.

Secondly, a widespread perception that revenues must be raised could, in fact, provide the necessary political ingredients to put tax reform back on track. The problem with tax reform as it has been promulgated is that it is a zero-sum game: The winners must offset the losers. In both the President's case and the Ways and Means case, the winners were individuals and the losers were business. This winners and losers situation, therefore, tended to force the issue onto the question of which camp one belonged in. Virtually all press discussion, for example, centered on questions of who would win and who would lose, depending on which assumptions were used about the nature of one's business, family size, income level, etc. The original purpose of tax reform, to simplify the tax system and increase economic growth by removing tax-generated distortion in investment decisions, was completely lost.

However, if the focus of the issue changes from winners vs. losers to a situation in which everyone is, in effect, a loser, than, all of a sudden, everyone stops fighting against each other for a larger piece of the pie and will join together in common purpose. Ordinarily, this would make it impossible to pass such a broad-based tax increase, which is why most tax increases in peace time are narrowly focused, as in the case of the windfall profits tax, etc. If, however, the perception were widespread enough that revenues *have* to be raised, then this unity can be turned toward passage of tax reform rather than against it.

Why would such a perception arise? It would arise from the common bond that both liberals and conservatives will have to make certain, at all cost, that Gramm-Rudman does not take effect. Conservatives, I believe, will not stand for the cuts in defense mandated by Gramm-Rudman and will, on the contrary, push for increases in defense spending. Liberals, of course, will oppose cuts in domestic spending. The American people, I believe, will support both groups when they begin to believe the alternative will be massive cuts in programs with wide support. The only option, therefore, is to raise revenue.

There may even be a few conservatives willing to concede that cuts in defense would be tolerable. But they will soon discover that those areas of the defense budget where cuts could be made without harming national security are effectively exempt from Gramm-Rudman. This is because, by and large, those things which yield large savings and are expendable cost money in the short run. For example, a base closing. There are clearly many unnecessary bases which ought to be closed for efficiency reasons which could yield long-term savings. But in the very short run it costs money to close a base and transfer its operations elsewhere. This does not help in meeting Gramm-Rudman targets, which man-

date savings in the current fiscal year.

In the case of weapons procurement, it is also difficult to save money quickly. It turns out, in fact, that, due to reduced economies of scale, when the Pentagon reduces its procurement of certain items, the cost per unit will rise so as to eliminate the saving. In the long-run, you may simply end up spending the same amount of money for fewer units.

In the end, the only way to save large amounts of money quickly in the defense budget is to cut back on personnel and operations. Considering that many defense analysts still believe we have a long way to go in building up our defense capability—especially in the areas of readiness and procurement for conventional force operations—there will, no doubt, but a loud outcry against the heavy-handed, meat-ax approach of Gramm-Rudman to defense. Liberals will, no doubt, raise similar doubts about the efficacy of many domestic program cuts.

Thus we are left with the need for a tax increase. I do not see any way out of it. This is why I believe they will use the tax reform bill as a vehicle and tinker with it to get what they need in revenue. Thus I would advise firms to assume that the revenue-raising portions of the Ways and Means tax bill will ultimately take effect and that the rate reductions for individuals and corporations will not, at least not immediately. Or if rate reduction is included in tax legislation next year, the magnitude may be substantially lessened.

Editorial Request

You Have It, We Need It

Essential to any organization such as the Libertarian Party is accurate information about who is doing what, where, when, how, and why.

At the moment, basic items of that information are in need of accurate revision. One of the most important things you can do is to help in that effort.

• Check over the list, in this issue, of state offices and officers. If there are any errors, any additions, any changes that need to be made, notify the Libertarian Party NEWS, P.O. Box 173, Kearneysville, WV 25430, or call 304-263-7526 or 703-662-3691.

• If you have been elected to or appointed to any office, as a member of the Libertarian Party—whether the office is a partisan one or not—please let us know as soon as possible. Updating our list of Libertarians holding office is a high priority. Such a listing encourages us all and makes a point to those who doubt the ability of Libertarian Party members to get their message across.

• Send copies of your newsletters and other communications directly to the Libertarian Party NEWS, P.O. Box 173, Kearneysville, WV 25430.

Cutting the Uncuttable

While the reaction of conventional politicians to the Gramm-Rudman bill (see story) is stunned silence, frantic bewilderment, or hopeless groans, the possibilities of actually cutting the now supposedly uncuttable federal budget are actually boundless if a libertarian direction were followed.

• Discharging current Social Security obligations by cash buy-outs to claimants and then privatizing the system, as proposed, in effect, by the Libertarian Party's 1984 presidential candidate would begin to end the largest single non-defense expenditure of the federal government, some \$200 billion.

• Withdrawing all American forces from their garrisons around the world would, by letting "client" nations pick up their own defense burdens, cut as much as \$30 billion from the federal budget and put it back in the productive private economy.

• Requiring means tests for all entitlement programs, such as Medicare, would save additional billions and be a prelude toward converting them entirely to voluntary welfare security systems.

• End all subsidies to transporta-

tion and to business; another \$20 billion saved.

• End all energy subsidies such as those to nuclear power and other electrical generating plants. Ending the federal power marketing system alone would save about \$6 billion.

• Turn the postal service over to private operators and save another couple of billion. (Just think what would happen to UPS if it ran the sort of deficits that are familiar in the federal postal monopoly.)

• Turn the federal highways back to the states—who could at least operate them as toll roads—as a first step toward selling them off to private highway operators. More billions saved.

• Bring government retirement plans into line with private-sector plans. Estimated savings: \$58 billion over three years.

• Repeal the legislation that requires government to pay "prevailing wages" on construction projects, saving about \$5 billion and encouraging the smaller, more competitive contractors against whom the present laws discriminate.

Just the cuts suggested above amount to a third of the entire current budget.



Membership

Libertarian Party

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A statement you'll be able to say with pride. You'll belong to the only political party in the United States that truly believes in defending the rights of the individual.

When Republicans smugly ask you your political persuasion, what do you say? Er, ah, well . . . These days that just won't do.

Put them in their place, tell them you're a Libertarian. That's guaranteed to stand them on their ear. They'll know you're a threat to every give-away program, every boondoggle, and scheme they've concocted.

It's time to stop putting off joining the Libertarian Party. It's time to stand up for your liberty.

When you join with us in the fight for liberty, you'll receive a membership card, a year's subscription to the Libertarian Party NEWS, to keep you up to date on the workings of the Party, and an attractive, high quality Libertarian Party decal for the rear window of your car or truck.

Just use the form at left, and join us in changing America for the better.

Institutions

Continued from Page 1

confidence recorded for TV news, the previous low being in 1981, 1982 and 1983 at 24 percent.

• 21 percent hold leaders of organized religion in high esteem, but this is down from 24 percent who felt the same a year ago. The highwater mark for church leaders was in 1966 when 41 percent expressed high confidence in them back then. On a five year basis, religious leaders have been in a slump in their appeal to public opinion.

• Only 19 percent of the public say they have a great deal of confidence in those running the executive branch of the federal government, five points below the 1981 level but above average for the executive branch over the years. The difference between the 19 percent high confidence level for the executive branch and the 30 percent for the White House is a measure of the extraordinary appeal of President Reagan personally. His coattails do not appear to pick up respect for the government he heads.

• 18 percent have high confidence in leaders of local government, but this is a drop of five points in the past year and ties the all-time low for local government.

• 17 percent have high regard for the leaders of the corporate world, down from 19 percent a year ago and far below the 55 percent level recorded for business leaders back in 1966.

• 16 percent express high confidence in the leaders of Congress, but this is down a full 12 points from the 28 percent recorded a year ago. The current level of respect for Congress is about average over the 20 year period.

• 16 percent hold the press in high esteem, a drop of two points over the past year. The highest ever recorded for the press was 30 percent in 1973 at the time of the Watergate disclosures. But this current standing is the second lowest ever found for print media.

• 16 percent also have high confidence in leaders of state government, down a full 7 points in the past year. This is the second lowest standing for governors since the Harris Survey began measuring institutional confidence.

• 12 percent have high confidence in lawyers, down five points from the 17 percent who said the same a year ago. This ties the all-time low for the legal profession, recorded previously in 1976 and in 1983.

Alaska

Continued from Page 1

state. This is about 1 percent of the total, which isn't too bad, considering that Republicans number about 20 percent and Democrats—even with a governor in office—about 23 percent. As you might guess, Alaskans have a strong non-partisan bent, and about 53 percent register as that. The other 3 percent is "other"—Populists, Nazis, who knows what?

Here in Alaska, it took us almost exactly one year to register our first 1,282 Libertarians. During the 21 months since then, we have slightly more than doubled that figure, up to 2,575.

At the present time (that is, during the last 5½ months), the annual growth rate of registered Libertarians in Alaska is about 15.3 percent. This is *since* Randolph has "defected" to the Republican Party. (By the way, why is he called a defector when all he's doing is going back to being what he was longer than he was a Libertarian?)

Compare the growth rate of registered Libertarians with 8.7 percent for Republicans, 5.2 percent for Democrats, 6.3 percent for non-partisans, and minus 0.9 percent for "other."

We're gaining, folks. We're winning the race, if we stay in it. Remember, this is a long race—a marathon, if you will. Whoever may

have said that it is a sprint didn't know what he/she was talking about.

And also bear in mind: The figures I'm giving you are official. Anybody can call up the Division of Elections and get the same numbers.

This fall we're going to try to have two, three, or more legislative candidates and a governor and lieutenant governor ticket. Whether we'll get any elected remains to be seen. Based upon my experience, it's relatively simple to win an election—you just have to spend more money, make more speeches, attend more forums, buy more TV time, more radio time, and more newspaper space, knock on more doors, etc., etc. In other words, it's a piece of cake.

The bottom line is: If we, as Libertarians, actually do want to bring about a Libertarian society, then we *must* elect more and more Libertarians to partisan offices—and Alaska has proven three times that it can be done.

Now we must expand our base by electing Libertarian legislators in other states and by adding to our roster (caucus) in Alaska.

Advertising Rate Changes

The Libertarian Party NEWS has established a new advertising rate structure that we believe is simpler to understand, more equitable for all advertisers, and, in most cases, cheaper than the past rate structure.

While we have eliminated a number of the discounts previously offered, including the 50% discount to Libertarian Party organizations, we have lowered the single insertion costs for all advertisers by more than 50%, thereby lowering the ad rates for all advertisers.

The Libertarian Party NEWS is targeted to a very specific audience, and therefore offers advertisers the unique opportunity to reach readers they know will be interested in their product.

If you have any questions or comments concerning the new advertising rate structure, or if you would like to place an ad in the NEWS, write to Libertarian Party NEWS, P.O. Box 173, Kearneysville, WV 25430, or call 304-263-7526 or 703-662-3691.

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Libertarian Party NEWS

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Gene Burns: The 'Mystery'

From the Libertarian Party NEWS (Nov.-Dec. 1985)

"Thursday morning (of the LP convention in Phoenix) 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."

From an interview with Gene Burns, shortly before the publication of this issue of the NEWS:

"Many members of the Libertarian Party told me that I was unchallenged for the nomination in 1984. Because I believe in libertarian principles, I decided to go ahead with plans to seek the nomination. One thing that I was told that I had to do was to attend as many state conventions as possible before the actual nominating convention.

"I attended 34 state conventions and spent some \$25,000 of my own money.

"In just one weekend I left my work at WKIS in Florida, flew to Pennsylvania, then to Vermont, then to Arizona speaking to Libertarian Party members.

By mid-August it became apparent that various promises that I would be able to pay off my personal campaign debts prior to the convention were not even coming close. I even had a signed statement from the national director that the debt would be paid off but the money just wasn't there.

"I had stated that I would not run a deficit campaign either for the nomination or for the presidency, if nominated.

"I sent telegrams to all members of the National Committee telling them that I was out of the race. I was actually in New York during the convention but did not go near it because I did not want to send any false messages or encourage anyone to think that there was any possibility that I would re-enter the race.

"I didn't attend the Phoenix convention because of changing my job, moving from WKIS, in Orlando, to WRKO, in Boston. There just wasn't any way, being new at the station, that I could get time off to attend the convention. My earlier plans to attend the convention had been made while I was at WKIS and if I had still been there I could have attended the convention.

"I notified the people in Phoenix that I could not attend about ten days prior to the convention. There's no doubt that they knew I couldn't make it because we had a considerable difficulty about returning my tickets to the travel agent and because the people handling the Phoenix arrangements even wanted to take me to arbitration for having decided that I wouldn't attend. Since there was no fee involved, I couldn't see what there was to arbitrate. But, at any rate, there certainly wasn't any way they could not have known that I wasn't going to attend."

So what's Gene Burns up to these days? He says he's still very much a libertarian and that his talk show, which runs from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. each day, on WRKO, features free market and libertarian guests as often as he can manage it. Do the messages about liberty seem to be getting across? "The show is doing extremely well in the ratings."

Will he ever be active in the work of the Massachusetts Libertarian Party? "Maybe, yes, when I get more settled here." Is there anything that disturbs him about politics at the moment? "Yes. I'm afraid that a lot of people think that Reagan is making libertarianism redundant. That's not true."

Libertarian Party NEWS
The Only Paper That's Good As Gold

Massachusetts

Censorship, Surtax, and Seatbelts

Rebecca Shipman, who ran for governor of Massachusetts as a Libertarian Party candidate in 1982, is still fighting hard for freedom in the state which is regarded by many as among the most anti-libertarian of them all.

This time, Shipman was vigorously active in the work of the Cambridge Feminist Anti-Censorship Task Force; work which, in November, defeated an attempt to impose censorship in Cambridge behind the rhetoric of an anti-pornography ordinance.

The ordinance, which was the subject of a binding referendum, would have defined pornography very vaguely and, most importantly, amended the city's civil rights laws to permit suits by those who feel offended by published material alleged to be pornographic.

After several months of hard work by opponents of the ordinance it was defeated by a 3-2 margin.

One part of Shipman's experience in working for this clear-cut defense against creeping censorship is instructive for all libertarians. Because she had run for public office, as a Libertarian Party member, she had made

many contacts and won considerable credibility in the media. As she worked in the coalition against censorship, newspapers such as the *Boston Globe* accorded her a good hearing. She was welcomed also on TV talk shows. And, as she had when she ran for governor, she made many, many new friends for liberty.

As might be expected, one of her friends reported, "The people in Cambridge weren't exactly thrilled that she was pro-capitalist." Thrilled or not, they came through and voted down censorship!

Two other Massachusetts Libertarians, Warren Roberts and Walter Ziobro, also worked hard in referendum petition drives at the state level. And both were successful.

One calls for a binding referendum to repeal the state's seven-and-a-half percent surtax. Major organizing against this measure was through Citizens for Limited Taxation. The other effort, in which Libertarians were active, calls for a referendum on a state law to fine people \$15 for not wearing seatbelts. The law is called a revenue enhancing measure. First attacks against the measure were launched by a grass roots group in the western suburbs of Boston, then picked up by a talk show host, Jerry Williams. As in most cases where Libertarian Party members have joined in efforts to defend or extend liberty, many new friends were made, and many people heard anew or for the first time the Libertarian message.

South Carolina

Bi-Partisan Tax Opposed by LP

The South Carolina Libertarian Party is mounting a statewide education and petition campaign to defeat the Local Government Financing Act or Tax Bill H.R. 3252. This act has received approval from both the Democratic and Republican parties and is co-sponsored by members of both parties.

According to Ronald Heaton, Chairperson of the South Carolina Libertarian Party, "H.R. 3252 would authorize cities and counties to impose numerous new taxes, including, but not limited to a sales and use tax, an occupational tax/income tax, and local registration taxes. The supposed purpose of this City-County Tax Bill is to roll back or eliminate property taxes, yet there is no provision in the bill for such a roll back. In

essence, this is another attempt by the Bi-Partisan Legislature to increase the size of state government at the expense of those who can least afford it: the middle class working persons in this state.

In its effort to alert the citizens of the state of South Carolina as to the true nature of this bill the South Carolina Libertarian Party has produced a pamphlet and a petition which it is currently distributing around the state. The pamphlet is for information purposes and the petitions will be gathered up and presented to the Governor and the Legislature at an appropriate time.

"The South Carolina Libertarian Party is unalterably opposed to tax bill H.R. 3252 for we believe it will increase the tax burden on working people, hamper industrial development, and drive many small businesses out of the state while creating an even more unwieldy and inefficient bureaucracy," Heaton said.

Oregon

City Tax Defeated

Lane County (OR) Libertarian Party members played a leading role in the recent defeat of the proposed Eugene city income tax. The tax, which would have applied to all residents of Eugene and to anyone earning income in the city, was beaten back by a margin of more than four to one.

Seeing the tax as potentially setting a dangerous precedent for new taxes both in Eugene and in other parts of Oregon, local Libertarians acted quickly to alert voters to the threat. A political committee, Libertarians Against New Taxes, was formed and libertarian literature distribution began within a week of the Eugene city council's vote to put the tax measure on the ballot.

Recognizing that many non-libertarians also wanted to be involved in opposing the tax, Libertarians acted to establish means of cooperation. The effort was kicked off by a

public meeting called by LPer Bob Fauvre. At that meeting, a Coalition Against the Eugene Income Tax was formed. That act alone drew valuable attention by attracting press coverage and letting people, generally, know that the tax plan was being challenged.

Another Odd Occupant In Liberty's Bedroom

The Rev. Jerry Falwell, a dependable supporter of state policy, has decided to change the name of his famed Moral Majority Organization. News coverage of the event has stressed that the Moral Majority has been attracting fewer and fewer dues-paying members. In order to pick up the fortunes of the group, the reverend has changed its name to the Liberty Federation.

Paul G. Kirk, chairman of the Democratic National Committee said that "This public relations name change speaks volumes about the reputations of both Jerry Falwell and his organization; a Liberty Federation won't stand for true liberty any more than the Moral Majority represents the moral values of most Americans."

Jim Turney, national chairman of the Libertarian Party, commented that although he didn't have much hope that Falwell was interested in liberty, "I am impressed that he recognized that liberty is an important issue. The Moral Majority never seemed to. We will, of course, send him some Libertarian Party literature just in case he wants to know what liberty actually is all about. Meantime, I hope that Libertarian Party members will have no difficulty in making clear that the

Liberty Federation has nothing to do, so far as we can tell, with libertarianism."

In a report on conservative fund raising generally, the *Washington Post* commented that the Falwell group "is shifting from an intensely 'anti' agenda fighting abortion, pornography and homosexuality—all currently poor direct-mail draws—toward more lucrative foreign-affairs themes, including the 'Star Wars' space-based defense system and aid to the Nicaraguan contras."

Inside The News

The first thing you may notice about this issue of the NEWS is that the number of pages is less than past issues. Appearances can be deceiving. Because we are using a smaller type, with much less space between lines, the 12-page issue that you are reading has an amount of type that is equal to a 16-page issue in the old format.

One result is a publishing efficiency that is enabling us to publish bi-monthly issues of the NEWS, plus two special issues, within the tight budget of \$54,000 a year set by the National Committee. Out of that total, about \$14,000 is for the cost of mailing alone. With \$40,000 left for production and editorial cost—the majority of it in sheer mechanical costs—the quality of pages has become far greater in our concern than the quantity.

Electronic Bulletin Boards For Liberty

The Libertarian Party of Santa Clara County (CA) began an electronic bulletin board several months ago. About 100 people are logged onto it so far. The phone number is (408) 947-1776.

Required for logging on is a terminal and a modem (300 and 1200 baud service is available).

Named "Liberty Bell," the bulletin board has been carrying news of social events, legislative actions, and the entire platform of the California Libertarian Party.

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Empty Headed Statement Of the Month Award

Elizabeth Drew, a frequent contributor to the *New Yorker Magazine*, appearing on the "Agronsky and Company" TV show, deserves a citation for empty-headed statement of the month for saying that federal budget cuts made because of the Gramm-Rudman law would have a catastrophic effect because of "pulling all that money out of the economy." On the entire distinguished TV panel, only James Jackson Kilpatrick, a conservative, seemed shocked by the statement as he tried to point out that money not spent by the government is still very much in the economy. The other panelists drowned him out as they went on to other matters.

Life is what happens to you when
you're busy making other plans.

—John Lennon

Roads: Hot, New LP Arena

By Ken Sturzenacker

The recent agreement between England and France to build a 31-mile-long tunnel under the English Channel is exactly the spark Libertarians need to ignite a new American debate about who controls and owns the roads.

In case you missed it, the two nations each have a private firm bidding to build the tunnel with private funds. The estimated \$7.8 billion cost of capital and financing will be repaid with the tolls charged.

Libertarians can and should use this glowing example of private road building and operation to push for several individual, overlapping goals.

This spring, the hot topic of conversation in the normally muddled thinking in Washington, D.C., is which assets controlled by the federal government can be sold off to help reduce the recurring, massive annual deficits.

Libertarians, of course, have been suggesting such massive sell-offs for years. Now we can make specific suggestions to speed the process.

In no particular order, they include repeal of the Interstate Highway Act of 1956 and closing down the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA).

The 1956 law says that any road subsequently built with so-called federal highway funds could not be operated as a toll road—making states dependent on the feds not only for construction funds, but for most of the money needed for operations and maintenance as well.

In April 1985, Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt suggested that now that interstate highway construction is complete (with the exception of a short segment in Phoenix), operation and maintenance of roads should be turned over to the states—and that the feds should get out of the road business.

Keeping everyone dependent on the feds through the force of law allows the feds to get away with blackmail—the threat of withholding those so-called federal highway funds unless and until the states enforce a mandatory 55 mph speed limit, raise the drinking age to 21, impose a mandatory helmet law or a seat belt law or anything else that occurs to them.

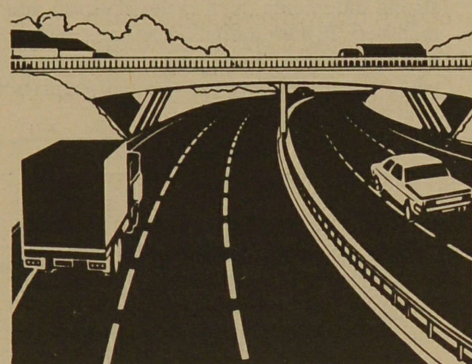
Crucially, repeal of the 1956 law would allow functional control of roads to be handled away from the federal government.

That single shift would open the way to many more challenges to the feds' determination to impose its will on everything to do with driving. The number of challenges being

mounted against the feds is already growing.

By some accounts, as many as 13 states have sued in federal court, saying Washington has no right to impose a mandatory drinking age law on the states. Why? Because any agreement reached under duress is null and void.

Arizona is well along in the push for repeal of the 55 mph national maximum speed limit. Thousands of signatures have already been



collected to put the issue on the November ballot; a massive 90-day drive to collect 1,000 signatures a day statewide is just a few days from the formal announcement.

Contributions to the effort that were coming in in \$10 and \$20 denominations are now coming in at \$500 and \$1000.

Repeal drives have been started in other states. The pressure is growing to get the feds off our backs and out of our lives. Once all the possibilities for blackmail are effectively taken away from the feds, we can close down the FHWA, thereby reducing the cost and power of government.

At every opportunity, we must remind voters and the news media alike that governments have no money of their own. All they have is the money taken, by force, from income-earners in the form of taxes.

Insist on that language. Always call any "government funds" what they really are, "so-called . . ." Press reporters and editorial writers to describe your money in those terms.

Once we've established that tolls and user fees are the only proper way to pay for roads, our opponents will raise the specter of a toll booth at every intersection and infinite lines of traffic creeping through the "correct change" lane. Again, we have a practical demonstration that that simply isn't reality.

Hong Kong recently installed a set of electronic toll checkers in its roads. They work approximately the way the computer checkout system works in your local supermarket. Each time a vehicle passes over one of these electronic "readers," the vehicle's unique identification signal is "read" and recorded on computer. Bills are sent to the vehicle owner each month, just the way a phone bill is.

Tolls can be charged at low rates in off-peak hours, high rates during rush hour periods,

just as telephone rates, hotel rooms, movie tickets and the prices of hundreds of other items are now calculated.

Profits generated during rush hour could be used to build additional highway capacity; higher tolls during rush hour would encourage a shift to car pools, flexible starting times, and other actions which would reduce rush hour demand for roads—and put an end to congestion through the actions of the marketplace.

One side benefit is that it would be almost impossible for thieves to steal a car without someone being able to track its location very quickly—preferably a private auto recovery company.

Having the roads owned and operated privately should remove most fears of governmental invasions of privacy with those records. Owners of roads could advertise a speed limit of 90 or 100 mph on what are now the interstate highways. Others could advertise the convenience of service stations and motel accommodations built, franchised or sold, in the air rights above the right-of-way.

If all of that is initially a bit too much for your non-libertarian friends, use the range of arguments in favor of the 55 mph repeal.

First, traffic safety engineers should be the ones to determine speed limits, not bureaucrats in arbitrary compromises.

Second, control belongs with those closest to the existing situation, those who are paying the bills.

Third, you're simply helping to build the popular public support to allow President Reagan to keep one 1980 campaign promise which happens to match a Libertarian goal.

Fourth, taking control of speed limits out of the hands of the feds helps to achieve the popular goal of reducing the cost and power of governments.

Fifth, for your Republican friends, breaking the leash of federal blackmail is a step toward restoring state's rights.

Sixth, for your Democratic friends, pushing the 55 mph is a matter of holding the incumbent opponent to the promises he made during his campaign.

Finally, every chance you get, repeat the mantra:

Governments have no money of their own. All they have is the money taken from you as an income-earner in the form of taxes. That anyone should try to blackmail you with your own money ought to be an insult to everyone in the land.

Say it often enough, write it in letters to the editor often enough, and eventually you might succeed in penetrating the skill of even the most hardhearted editorial writer, radio announcer, and TV anchor you know.

Once you've done that, you've established the foundation for virtually any libertarian solution you care to propose on virtually every topic which is open to discussion.

(Sturzenacker is chairman of the Arizona Libertarian Party.)

California

Continued from Page 1

"But I'd have to say that THE most important factor in the development of this program has undoubtedly been an individual—our state co-ordinator, Bob Lehman," says Dean.

"Plans are great, but without Bob's computer programming ability we might never have been able to implement them.

"Plus, he's great at execution and follow-up!" adds Dean. "He provided every local organization with information on all the prospective members we'd mailed to."

Lehman began his duties as LPC state co-ordinator in December of 1984, and "he spent the first several months just working on the program and developing our data base," says Dean.

According to Lehman, three groups were targeted for the '86 membership drive mailings: former state party members, current and former national party members who had never joined the state party, and national LP donors who did not belong to either the state or national LP. Pieces mailed totaled approximately 5000.

The first mailing was so successful that a second mailing was done in late December to all those who did not respond the first time. Both mailings made money in addition to generating new members.

"I believe the success of this membership drive can be attributed in large part to our 1985 direct mail fundraising program," explains Dean. "We mailed to all of these people one or more times during the year asking for contributions. And every mailing made money and increased our monthly pledge base.

"We made ourselves visible to our prospective members, so they knew we were alive and active. We didn't solicit their membership 'out of the blue'."

Dean also acknowledges that his own professional background has been beneficial to the program. Currently the marketing director for a Southern California health spa chain, his past experience includes six years with a national fundraising firm.

Says Dean: "I think we've been very fortunate here in California to have put together a team of people with complementary talents who have worked well with each other. In the final analysis, that's probably been what's helped us the most."

Any LP organization interested in learning more about California's program can contact Jack Dean at 714/871-0192, or Bob Lehman at 213/389-3358.

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Harvard's Hunger

In one of the most curious statistical usages of the year, the Harvard School of Public Health has released a report which lists 150 U.S. counties where people are said to be in the worst shape of all insofar as having enough to eat.

The counties are defined as those in which 20 percent of the population is poor, by official Federal standards, and where Federal food stamps reach less than 33 percent of the eligible population.

Statistical and other questions raised by the Harvard alarm:

- There are 3300 counties in the U.S. If hunger is a serious problem in 150 of them, it means that 96 percent of the country is doing all right.

- Since many of the hungry counties are rural, it must at least be possible that the

people there grow some of their own food and also may have a prejudice against government welfare programs.

- The availability of food stamps is not the same as the availability of nutrition. Food stamps may be and, as ordinary observation at a supermarket will show, often are used to purchase "empty-calorie" junk foods.

Astonished-Bureaucrat-Of-the-Month Award

From a recent letter to Ann Landers: "I'm a Census Bureau interviewer. I've been cursed, had doors slammed in my face and telephone receivers banged in my ear. People call me 'nosy' and refuse to answer questions concerning jobs, family income, etc. They think the government is spying on them."

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LIBERTARIAN PHILOSOPHY

Personal Commentary

Why Me?

By Karl Hess

Since the beginning of the Libertarian Party I have deliberately distanced myself from its activities although I have been and remain deeply involved in the movement toward liberty of which the Party is a part.

In just a few months I have abandoned that separation entirely; first by joining the Party and then by accepting the invitation to edit the Party's newspaper.

My personal decision was, at first, wholly romantic. In view of the several strong attacks against the Party by people whom I admire, and viewing the possibility that those attacks would be construed by some as proof that the movement toward liberty itself was in disarray, fatally disjointed, or in terminal decline, I elected to make the positive gesture of asserting a personal commitment in denial of the attacks and dire predictions.

But why would the author of "The Death of Politics" involve himself beyond a statement of support to become actively engaged in any political activity at all? In "The Death of Politics" I wrote about the obsolescence of coercive, traditional politics and about the understanding that all human social arrangements could be voluntary and that, indeed, only such arrangements can assure peace and prosperity and fully encourage the human imagination. To the extent, and only to the extent, that the activities of the Libertarian Party hew to the engagement in politics as a way to diminish coercive authority, in short, to the extent that Libertarian political activity acts solely to serve liberty and never to reinforce coercion and the initiation of violence—to that extent I believe it to be compatible with the views expressed in "The Death of Politics."

We live, alas, awash in a sea of deadly political power. Its waves crash upon every part of our lives. I earnestly hope that the Libertarian Party can be one of the many lifeboats we must craft to ride out the storm.

Today, in that storm, at least the rhetoric of libertarianism is becoming familiar in American political discourse. The sound of that rhetoric faces us with an interesting proposition. Those who are speaking the language of liberty wholeheartedly are in the main only half-hearted, or less, in doing anything about it. At the worst they use the language of liberty to mask actions of sheerest state fascism as in the devotion of many to conscription, to the debasement and monopoly of currency and coinage, and to the extension of harsh state authority under the guise of defense, crime detection and prevention, welfare, and generally "protecting people from themselves."

I have, personally, never wanted to be protected from myself. Nor am I unduly anxious about my neighbors. I have been most harassed and threatened in my lifetime by agents of the state. No individual or aggregation of individuals, no corporation, no combination, has ever confronted me with the raw, uncontrolled, and virtually unassailable violent power of state authority.

I have been jailed by the state. I have been deprived of property by the state. The state did not teach me to read and write. It did not make me a good neighbor. It did not inspire me, solace me, heal me. It has not given me anything that it did not first extort from me.

Nevertheless, as the words of liberty ring more and more across the land, there are those who ask why we should worry about having a political activity specifically devoted to liberty. Are not others now going to carry the banner?

I hope so. Everyone, consciously libertarian or not, who speaks well of liberty and, more important, acts to enjoy it or extend it, is welcome in my view. But why should that

welcome weaken for a moment my enthusiasm for the voices of those who are consciously, actively, powerfully libertarians and who, simply, want to participate in a political process which, despite all reasonable antipathy for it, remains a practical arena in which human action can extend or retract liberty? I not only want to applaud all of them, I want to share the struggle with them.

This does not for a moment mean that I shrink from those very dear friends who will have nothing of political activity or who, in fact, will have nothing of any organized activity whatsoever. The lone libertarians, enjoying liberty to the hilt on their own, uninvolved and unfettered, are true friends nonetheless—true friends of all who love liberty, as a matter of fact.

I have been jailed by the state. I have been deprived of property by the state. The state did not teach me to read and write. It did not make me a good neighbor. It did not inspire me, solace me, heal me. It has not given me anything that it did not first extort from me.

Liberty does not scream shrewlike at us to all behave in one way or another. It speaks of the responsibility of individuals to behave by their own lights, to be fully responsible for that behavior, to bend their knee to no fashion, god, or power except as they, sovereign in themselves, voluntarily agree.

My enemies are those who initiate or want to initiate force to advance their cause, their fortune, their faith or their ideas. Yes, even the libertarian who wanted to use the positive force of the state or any other agency to coerce people to be free would be my enemy. How different, however, is the libertarian who wants to use the state's own apparatus to diminish the use of force.

Is that just an idle dream? Better ask whether it is a worthy dream! I hold that it is.

There are libertarians who are said to have defected the cause in order to advance their purposes elsewhere and in other ways than the Libertarian Party. Certainly they have departed from the Party and will be missed by many. But have they defected the cause, the movement? Time, not anger and resentment, will tell us.

I do not ask *where* they do their work for liberty but *whether* they do it effectively or, at least, energetically. And above all, and always, I ask whether they actually live as libertarians.

There are others who have from the outset actively opposed the Party, ridiculing it, even reviling it. I sigh that they seem sometimes to think that this Party, a Party of the friends of liberty, is their enemy. Their enemy of most enormous stature is not this Party. Their enemy is the same coercion and authoritarianism that is the Party's enemy. And by the same token, those who despise the Party are not the Party's true enemy. We may annoy each other. We do not rob, cheat, steal or kill each other. State authority can or does do all of those things.

So long as there is a single agent of coercion I cannot find it in my heart or mind to think of any friend of liberty as my enemy. We may not be lovers but we are all, perforce, neighbors and allies even if distant, even if reluctant, even if strained, even if pained.

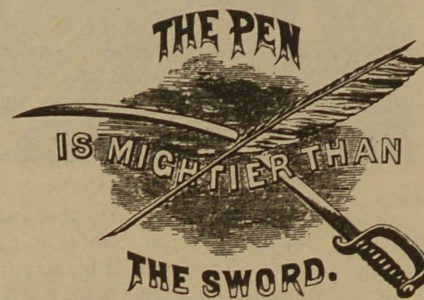
In editing this journal I intend to make my personal observations and convictions as clearly distinct as possible so that they may be judged solely for what they are—personal. I certainly will not pretend to speak for the Party. I am editing the Party's paper—not its general activities and decisions. I do not intend to let the newspaper become a special pleader in factional struggles. The Libertarian Party NEWS will report those conflicts along with other differences and criticisms. It will not be

a party to them.

One thing that libertarians should resist, no matter where they hear it, is any voice claiming authority simply because of position. There are powerful voices for liberty which, I hope, will be heard often through these pages. They will be heard because of experience, insight, and cogency of argument, and not just because of status in or out of the Party.

Party members, in their conferences, make strong statements, such as the platform. Party members, in their individual actions, make the more definitive statements, day by day, by what they do. This newspaper will report both kinds of statements.

It is true, however, that the very process of



selecting material for use in the newspaper can be seen as reflecting personal prejudice. To balance that to the extent possible, frank letters to the newspaper are encouraged—but always in awareness of the fact that, finally, the length and use of them must be limited by physical reality and the judgement of the editors. If there is a way to protect against that, the editors would be pleased to hear about it.

One personal prejudice probably will be seen clearly. I believe that information is the heartbeat of liberty and the sturdiest safeguard against tyranny. It is networks of information that are spreading freedom, today, even under the guns of tyrants everywhere. It is networks of information that can extend and protect liberty here at home. To the extent that the Libertarian Party NEWS can serve to weave networks of information among the friends of liberty, we will all be advantaged.

The Libertarian Party exists to defy authoritarian power and not to wield it. Its political activities must be subject to the most careful and constant scrutiny with that in mind. Thus, reporting on the crucial difference between the libertarian politics of liberation and the conventional politics becomes vital.

That reporting can be hardly accomplished by one, two or a dozen editors. All Libertarian Party members must be active in the enterprise. As in the past, the Libertarian Party NEWS must depend upon every libertarian newsletter, every Libertarian Party organization to supply information. I do not express by that thought criticism of any past editors of this journal. All have worked hard and well to report on Libertarian Party and libertarian activities and issues. All have been crucially assisted in that by the voluntary cooperation of Libertarian Party members everywhere. The new editors solicit and urge a continuation of that cooperation.

The first issue that Randy Langhenry and I are putting out was required in very short order, in order sensibly to maintain continuity of communications. There has been little chance to contact every state organization or newsletter editor to gather the sort of news which we hope in the future will be a major part of our coverage. Nor have we had time to solicit tactical and strategic analyses from all those whose ideas might help us all. All of that is, however, underway, and will be reflected in future issues.

We will, in addition, make every effort to broaden the coverage to include information from sources outside the party but with value to the party.

There are libertarians obviously who are

deeply suspicious of and "put off by" what a recent issue of this newspaper referred to as my "community and neighborhood orientation." I live in a rural neighborhood. My community, however, is the community of all who love liberty. The orientation is not, I feel, offensive to either reason or liberty. It does mean that it is of particular interest to me to receive and to report information having to do with Libertarian Party activities at the local level. It is at that level that impressive Libertarian Party successes have been recorded already and it is at that level that, day by day, Libertarian Party members carry on impressive work. It is the level upon which Libertarians can build a record from which actions at the state, regional, and national levels gain credibility. Just as a picture is said to be worth a thousand words, so is a practical demonstration of liberty in action worth many a claim in the abstract.

Am I a capitalist? That question, too, has occupied some libertarian debate. I am by occupation a free marketer (crafts and ideas, woodworking, welding, and writing). As a frequent barterer, I am a capitalist of the laissez faire persuasion. I am not a defender of state-corporate capitalism, the capitalism of the two larger political parties. Nor do I hold that capitalism is the only way in which a free market may be maintained. There are myriad other sorts of agreements about property and ownership and money which, if made and maintained voluntarily, seem to me to be libertarian. It does not strike me as particularly productive for a political party, operating in an open and free market of ideas, to exclude any ideas that are in accord with the basic libertarian notions of voluntarism and opposition to the initiation of force.

I am, to give a shorthand summary of it all, a free market pluralist.

This pluralism extends to my feelings about personal, familial, and romantic relations. I have chosen one form. Others should choose their own. All, if made and maintained voluntarily, are appropriate to liberty.

Am I a Luddite, railing against modern technology or any technology at all? I am not fond of the way in which the state and its corporate satraps deploy technology. Because of that I am often criticized as an

I am, to give a shorthand summary of it all, a free market pluralist.

opponent of "bigness" and a flower child devotee of smallness. I happen, actually, to be what could be derided as a "techie." There is no technology that I despise simply because it exists. I do not hate nuclear reactions or reactors but I do despise the state controls and subsidies which have molded the technology into what amounts to a socialist enterprise. In a free market, I suspect that nuclear reactors would be far different than they are today—safer, probably smaller, and economically efficient. I feel the same way about genetic research. Its values seem to me obvious. Its peril is not the technology itself but the exclusion of the technology from the free market where it would be a far safer and friendlier matter than if concealed in government-controlled laboratories. In all cases, of course, I hold that the users of technologies should bear the entire cost of the externalities of that usage, such as the disposal of waste materials in ways which do not aggress against the life and property of others.

As for the general tendency of technology, it is true that I detect, enthusiastically, a movement toward miniaturization and decentralization. But that tendency is not because of some sort of hippie insistence. It simply is. Today's technologies, when stripped of controls and state domination, favor at every turn the liberty of individuals rather than the power of institutions. Computers and blue jeans may do more to weaken the terrible tyranny of the Soviet Union than all the bluster and bombs of the nation state.

I have mentioned these matters because I do not want to operate under any false colors—either of my own invention or the invention of others. If you have any questions at all about where I stand on any issue—stands which you feel might prejudice the operation of this newspaper—please ask me. The same should go for any issue that affects the paper or the Party. Rumors, for instance, are best dealt with openly rather than muttered about and left to fester. Ask about them. Explain them. Answer them.

Not every opinion or thought of every libertarian can be contained in these pages. To the extent possible, the widest range of thoughts will at least be noted as the editors are made aware of them.

There is one mission that seems a major

A final word: I have, during years of participation in libertarian gatherings and activities, been described as a "scold," nagging away at the notion that libertarians should balance their deep concern for precise theory and love of internecine argumentation with enthusiastic concern for actions in the rough-and-tumble of the marketplace and in public forums. I do not anticipate changing. Nor will I feel offended at all if no one pays any attention.

one: to report as best we can on the actions of Libertarian Party members in political affairs. That mission is, after all, unique to this publication. But it depends, more than any other, on the active participation of every Libertarian Party member. Tell us what you are doing. It will be the somewhat arbitrary editorial judgement of the people actually putting out the paper as to the extent of the reportage and even the selection. But the process depends absolutely on that first step: your taking the time to tell us something. The idea that any one person should or does know all that is going on in the Party strikes me as erroneous and dangerous. The Party is a constant flow of information. It is human action. It should not be the fantasy or the property of a single person, sponsor, sect, or faction. It should be liberty in action where liberty always must act—where we are and where we work and where we dream, act, learn, love, yearn, and strive.

A final word: I have, during years of participation in libertarian gatherings and activities, been described as a "scold," nagging away at the notion that libertarians should balance their deep concern for precise theory and love of internecine argumentation with enthusiastic concern for actions in the rough-and-tumble of the marketplace and in public forums. I do not anticipate changing. Nor will I feel offended at all if no one pays any attention.

I believe very deeply in liberty as individual responsibility. No Party discipline, no loyalty, no reverence, no orthodoxy is held higher for me. I do not believe that human action is the action of any great wheel of destiny or history or society. I believe that it is the action of individual humans.

Because I hope that this newspaper can encourage that sensibility, I have agreed to be its editor. Should it ever be decided that the newspaper does not reflect that sensibility, I will not be its editor.

And now, as a hero of mine would put it, "the game is afoot."

**Libertarian Party NEWS
Open Minds, Open Markets**

WHO ARE "TERRORISTS"?

By Murray N. Rothbard

"Terrorism" has been made The Issue of the Year, for which Americans are expected to tighten their belts, pay countless billions in taxes so the U.S. government and its allies can arm to the teeth, and suffer an escalating repression of their liberties.

Yet *who* the terrorists are supposed to be remains vague and shadowy. Their only apparent common characteristic is that they are swarthy and foreign; no Nordics need apply.

The top villains seem to appear and disappear kaleidoscopically. A few years ago it was Colonel Khadafy; remember the sinister, swarthy, and "bearded Libyan hit men" supposedly sent to the U.S. to assassinate President Reagan? For that alleged act a partial embargo was imposed on Libyan trade. Yet, the "hit men" seemed to have vanished into the night, never to be heard from again.

After Khadafy had his day in the sun, the Bulgarian equivalent of the KGB had its time at the top, supposedly having engineered Mehmet Ali Agca's attempt to assassinate Pope John Paul II.

The "Bulgarian connection," so highly touted by conservatives and neo-conservatives in this country, seems to have blown itself away on the sea of lies, contradictions, and lunacies in Agca's testimony. The only sure quantity in Agca and his proven colleagues is that they are right-wing Turks, hardly fitting candidates for the current White House-U.S. Establishment hit list.

After the fading away of the Bulgarian evil empire, the Lebanese Shiites and their alleged mastermind, the Ayatollah Khomeini, had a long run as "Top Terrorist of the Month."

The U.S. Navy had their turn at shelling and destroying Shiite villages in Lebanon, but the Shiites proved a hardy bunch, and the idea of bombing the alleged Shiite training camp headquarters in the Bekaa Valley foundered in the realization that Syria was there, with anti-aircraft rockets, and with Russia and World War III looming in the background.

Then, suddenly, presto chango, and the dread Shiites seem to have disappeared as the top terrorists, to be replaced by... none other than Colonel Khadafy, back from his long rest.

The chain of evidence linking the Colonel to the recent airport bombings is even flimsier than the hysteria over the Khomeini and Bulgaria, and ranks up there with the disappearing Libyan hit men.

The airport bombings "look like the work" of Abu Nidal, head of the militant Palestinian Fatah Revolutionary Council. That takes care of that, even though no one is really sure that Nidal is still alive.

Having established the Nidal responsibility to its satisfaction, the U.S. government then tries to link Khadafy to Nidal. The claims of the White House and the CIA that they have secret evidence should be met with the same contempt as the alleged "secret knowledge" the CIA was supposed to have had on Vietnam. No person or group should be convicted on secret knowledge.

Even the U.S. admits that its evidence against Khadafy "wouldn't stand up in court." But a basic tenet of both libertarian and Anglo-Saxon law is that everyone must be considered innocent until proven guilty; otherwise, retaliation or punishment would itself be open criminal aggression, in fact would be "terrorism." Why doesn't such a standard apply also to Arabs, even if foreign, swarthy, and sometimes even bearded?

In truth, Khadafy is not even charged directly with masterminding or even financing Nidal or other terrorists. He is charged with allowing Nidal to have bases on Libyan

territory, with "harboring" terrorists. An interesting charge. (Although even here, there is some evidence that the airport terrorists came from bases in Lebanon, not Libya. But who cares, right, so long as we kill some Arabs, *any* Arabs?) What does it mean?

In New York and other cities of the United States, hundreds of innocent men, women, and children are terrorized every day, in crimes called mugging. Should the United States government carpet-bomb New York City, destroying it for "harboring" terrorists, and for allowing them to use the city as a "base?" But, you might say, that would mean murdering masses of innocents? Sure, so why then is it OK for the United States government to shell Shiite villages, murdering the innocent, or for Israel to bomb Tunisia, killing 61 innocents, or for the United States to bomb Libya?

The U.S. and Israel say that they deplore *having* to kill innocents, but since they feel that they must "retaliate," and they can't pinpoint the actual terrorists—in fact, they don't know where the terrorists are or even *who*

Viewpoint

they are—therefore, they must do *something*, and killing the innocent becomes a regrettable necessity.

But how does such an argument differ from the U.S. government carpet-bombing New York City ("We *must* retaliate, and it is regrettable that we have to kill thousands, but we can't pinpoint the SOB's"). Or, for that matter, how does it differ from policemen trying to catch a criminal fleeing into a crowd, and simply machine-gunning the entire crowd?

To bring the case closer to home, there is some evidence that the Air India plane that blew up out of Canada was sabotaged by Sikh terrorists, and that those Sikhs were trained in a CIA training camp in Alabama. Would the Canadian, or Indian, government be justified in a bombing strike against the CIA base in Alabama, even at the regrettable cost of killing a few thousand Alabamians? If not, why not? Isn't Alabama a "harbinger" of Sikh terrorists?

Furthermore, every group in this struggle has grounds to believe that *they* are "retaliating"; the Arabs believe that they are retaliating against Israeli aggressors and their backers in the United States.

The rule should be absolute: no "retaliation" is ever justified that injures or kills innocent people, and that means people who are not themselves active criminals. Anything else is an apologia for unremitting and unending mass murder; anything else is chaos and old night, and a justification for "anarchy" in the bad sense.

Everyone rightfully scorns Communists for holding a double moral standard, for holding that no acts are immoral so long as they advance their cause. But what about the egregious and flagrant double standard upheld every day by the American establishment: from the White House down to the major political parties and the media? If they did not hold such a double standard, they would be condemning the following flagrant acts of terrorism:

*The CIA mining that damaged several neutral and peaceful vessels in Managua Harbor.

*Acts of brutality by the Nicaraguan *contras*.

*The U.S. government's aggression against an invasion of Grenada.

*The U.S. government's flagrant war threats against Libya.

*Reagan's act of terrorism against U.S. citizens in Libya, by threatening them with jail sentences if they do not leave.

This last act has an interesting twist: these Americans, who have been peacefully let alone by the dread Libyan government, are supposedly being forced to leave Libya by the U.S. for "their own protection."

Struggling to wriggle out of this blatant double standard has been a major project of the favorite theoretician of the conservatives and neo-cons, Mrs. Jeanne Kirkpatrick, she who first made her mark with a sophistic distinction between "authoritarian" torture (good) and "totalitarian" torture (bad). Any sensible treatment of terrorism would define it as "aggression against innocent people."

First, Mrs. Kirkpatrick and her colleagues tried to redefine "terrorism" as such aggression by *private* groups, thereby letting the U.S. and Israeli governments off the hook.

But then, with escalating hysteria against Khomeini, Khadafy, Bulgaria, etc., the conservatives were forced to include "state-sponsored" or "state" terrorism in their lexicon.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick's latest attempt to justify a double standard is that terrorists are evil because their "demands are unlimited" and random, whereas good guys make demands that are attainable and specific.

While the "unlimited" criterion might apply to the alleged airport bombings by Abu Nidal, they most emphatically do *not* apply to most previous terrorist acts, such as the Achille Lauro hijacking, since they have generally been linked to very specific demands for the release of Arab comrades from Israeli jails. Another sophistic attempt to whitewash U.S. and Israeli terrorist actions thus comes a cropper.

There also is a related double standard at work. So far, every bombing or assassination *abroad* is attributed to "terrorists"; while every similar occurrence *within* the United States—from the average mugging to the assassination of John F. Kennedy—is quickly assigned to the category of "lone nut," or, at the least, non-political.

Why a *political* murder should be considered somehow worse than a lone-nut or non-political one is itself a fascinating question. But the main point is that when a clearly political dynamiting or murder does take place *within* the borders of the United States—an area that the U.S. government should concern itself with far more than events 5000 miles away—no one seems to give much of a damn.

When one American, Leon Klinghoffer, was murdered on a hijacked Italian cruise liner, the New York media did not stop wailing about the deed for a solid month, and New York's egregious Senator D'Amato actually proposed Klinghoffer for the Congressional Medal of Honor.

When one American, Alex Odeh, was murdered by the dynamiting of his Los Angeles office of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination League, few kicked up a fuss. No media wailed day after day, no senator called for the granting to Odeh of the Congressional Medal of Honor. Why is that? Why the double standard?

Why is the murder of one American thousands of miles away treated so very differently from the murder of another right here at home? It would be interesting to see what moral theory Mrs. Kirkpatrick comes up with for *that one*.

We have been robbing the American people without a gun for years.
—Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole

Practical Politics

Running to Rouse Running to Win

By Dave Scholl

Dave Scholl has been involved in practical politics for 22 years. He has been successful in consulting many winning local campaigns—including the upset Libertarian victory for Supervisor in Placer County, California.

Some Libertarian Party members have cooled on hope of winning elections. They view the party solely as an educational vehicle—overlooking the party's unique strength to gradually gain political offices and use those offices to diminish political power over people.

They make a powerful point in suggesting that political campaigns, even if unwinnable, are a key to increasing public awareness of the libertarian philosophy and to recruiting and developing greater numbers of activists and opinion leaders in the cause of individual freedom.

But there are real opportunities right now for Libertarians to win public office and to begin to erode the dominance of government and politics over our lives. Those opportunities are in local, non-partisan offices.

In *A Liberty Primer*, Alan Burris has an excellent chapter on "Strategy for Liberty." He notes that history shows that circumstances must be right for sweeping political changes. "We must wait until the state shoots itself in the foot. We must be prepared to act decisively in the brief period while the state is hopping around holding its bloody foot, but before another even worse government takes over and shuts out liberty. The building of the Libertarian movement in preparation must take place before the crisis, or it will be too late."

This chapter in *A Liberty Primer* is worth reading and re-reading by any Libertarian serious about making political advances for freedom.

I'd like to offer one amendment to Burris's comments. It is not just a major crisis of national proportions that will provide a brief opportunity for liberty. There are constant small crises caused by statism that provide frequent opportunities at local levels for preliminary victories. Just as the Libertarian movement must be prepared for the likely major crisis, it must also be prepared to build on the frequent minor ones.

Voters are concerned with practical matters.

It is a rational choice for many to elect statist who are talking about some tangible problem—and to ignore advocates of freedom who are talking only about esoteric issues.

"Sure we know those guys are crooks. Sure we believe in getting government off our backs. But you guys don't know how to stop the sewer from smelling."

It is also rational to vote for someone you know, or feel you know.

Politicians spend their time shaking hands, kissing babies, and attending functions of civic groups for just that reason. Libertarians too often get together with just their own discussion groups and never socialize in the wider circles necessary to influence local opinion leaders.

Libertarians talk about how free people will voluntarily solve social and economic problems. But many fail to act in private groups working to remedy those ills.

It is again quite rational for voters to select statist who have shown concern for those problems by activities in civic groups, even if their political solutions will really only make matters worse. The civic activists are seen working for "practical" solutions in the real world.

To win public offices, Libertarians must offer credible candidates. The voters must perceive them as qualified, practical, and involved in the community.

A person with less experience in public office can win on the right issues. But it is much easier with both issues and experience. A Libertarian candidate—for city council, legislature, or congress—who has held a minor office or responsible positions in civic and professional groups will be taken more seriously by the media and the voters than one whose only qualification is "Libertarian Party activist."

Believing electoral victory to be unattainable, some Libertarians fail to study the techniques of campaigning—polling, targeting, scheduling, budgeting, special events, direct contact, direct mail design and production, mass media advertising, and gaining press coverage.

Pick Winnables

Every year thousands of public offices, elected and appointed, are filled by default. No one really wants the job, and somebody is persuaded to take it as a "civic duty."

They aren't glamorous, but can be easily obtained, and help build a base of credibility. They can be used to win small victories for freedom, and to create issues leading to more victories.

Treasurers and clerks for local governments are an example. Usually those offices are uncontested. But for Libertarians, they can provide access to information to develop issues on government spending, taxation, and administration. The persons holding those offices become very credible candidates for city councils and boards of supervisors.

Positions in many agencies—such as fire districts, cemetery boards, planning or recreation commissions, redevelopment agencies, and rent control boards—often go to the only person who applies. These bodies offer opportunities to present free market alternatives to their usual socialist approach and some of their harmful effects can be diminished. At the same time, holding a position on these agencies helps establish credibility for other elective offices.

The more competitive offices should be targeted carefully. Libertarians have limited resources. Time, money, effort, and emotions should be spent on winnable races.

If you can't develop a strong issue, the race will essentially be a popularity contest.

That's okay if you're popular. But if the other guy is well-known, and respected and willing to work hard and spend the necessary bucks to win the office—and you don't have a comparable candidate or any good issues—your chances are slim.

However, don't be fooled about your strengths and weaknesses, or your opponent's. Politics attracts strong egos. The opponent may think he/she is popular, and that may be true, but in a limited circle. The majority of voters may have no idea who either of you are. The misperceptions of public image can present an opportunity for an "upset" victory. The stunned reactions of the press and opponents, to such upsets, can provide even more opportunity to get the Libertarian message across.

Assessment

The first step in your race is to do a detailed, objective assessment of your strengths and weaknesses, and those of your opponent.

The assessment should be done by the candidate and independently by each person who will be involved in your campaign, especially by the candidate's spouse, lover or anyone else with whom the candidate actually lives.

The assessment should include the reason for seeking the particular office, the personality traits of the candidates, the financial resources available, the time the candidate and each campaign team member can put in, probable and possible issues (including any of the proverbial skeletons in the closet).

The assessment should evaluate you and your opponent.

Once each member of your campaign team has completed their assessment, a brainstorming session should be held to review each other's perceptions of the possible race.

Develop Base

You can't run a campaign, much less win an election, if you don't have some ardent supporters. You need a campaign team, contributors, volunteers, hosts for socials, and a solid number of voters you can rely on to vote for you.

One sad truth about registered Libertarians is they don't all vote.

Typically, less than 50% vote in Presidential elections. Even in the Placer County, CA, race for a majority on the Board of Supervisors less than one-third of registered Libertarians voted.

An early step in your campaign is to have every person involved list every individual they know, with address, phone, political leanings, issues that interest them, and whether they will support your candidate. You should then check voter lists to be sure all your potential base support is registered. Each person should be assigned specific dates to get your base registered, and should be assigned their personal acquaintances for Get-Out-The-Vote on election day. *Even better, they should try to get as many as possible to vote via absentee ballot, to make sure those votes are in.*

Identify Voters

This does not, at this stage of the campaign, mean learning who is for or against you. It means discovering exactly who is likely to cast a vote at all.

Only about half the voting age population in the country is registered to vote. Of those, only about 75% vote in presidential elections. About 55% vote in primaries, where many non-partisan races are decided. And only about 25% vote in hotly contested purely local races held separate from general elections. Often less than 15% of registered voters cast ballots in local elections.

It is public record exactly who votes in what elections. You just have to know where to look, and how to use the information.

At every election, each polling place has a sign-in sheet. These sheets are retained in city and county election offices, usually for four years.

If a person votes, they sign the sheet. All you have to do is look at those sheets and note all those who vote.

For low turnout elections—record the names of voters. Find out which of your base supporters need more effort to turn out. Spend your walking time going only to the residences of probable voters, saving immense amounts of time and energy. Concentrate your direct mail on likely voters, saving as much as 80% of mailing costs.

Polling

The only way to be sure your assessment matches public perceptions is through a survey of the voters.

Professional polls are expensive. But a survey that is adequate for local races can be done with volunteers, provided they are well trained and monitored.

The keys to an accurate poll are well written questions asked in a neutral manner; random selection of those you survey (remember, you only need to contact those likely to vote); proper tabulation (so you can see how different sub-groups of your voters differ in attitudes and images); and objective analysis.

When you go to the election department, check what information is on their voter registration roles. Some useful items are date



of birth (allowing targeting by age groups); political party; place of birth; registration date (so "newcomers" can be picked out); gender; whether the address is an apartment (or mobile home park); and, sometimes, occupation.

Don't rely on your callers to go home and phone their assigned list of respondents. If you do, the survey will almost always be put off, and often fudged.

Instead, try to find a supporter who will let you use several phone lines (real estate, insurance, law offices, for example) that you can use between 5 and 8 pm. Get the polling crew together, with at least one person assigned to supervise.

While every campaign survey will include questions particular to that race, there are a few that should always be included:

"What do you personally consider the most important problem in (name of area). What is the issue that concerns you most personally?"

"Do you know who the following are, and if so, do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of: (List of candidates, community leaders who may endorse, and civic groups—including the LP—which may get involved.)"

If you can't get professional help designing the questionnaire, at least try to look at a few examples of professional polls.

Target

A major mistake of many campaigns is trying to win every vote. It can't be done, and is counter-productive. You spend so much time trying to win unwinnable votes, that those who could be persuaded aren't.

Remember, in a local race with just two candidates you only need to win the support of from about 8% to 25% of the registered voters to win. And when there are several candidates in a winner-take-all situation (such as most city elections), you can win with only 5% to 15% of the registered voters!

You've got your list of probable voters. The poll shows how sub-groups of those voters can be persuaded, and which ones can't be swung your way.

All your resources should now be spent working on those winnable votes! And your issues should be the ones which concern that target group.

One caution: DON'T PICK ISSUES THAT WILL MOBILIZE LARGE SEGMENTS OF THE PUBLIC AGAINST YOU! It's okay to upset special interests that wouldn't support you any way. Just don't pick highly emotionally charged issues that will encourage the usually apathetic public—those who usually don't vote—to get out and cast ballots against you.

The key to winning is to give voters solid

information about your practical solutions to real issues, in an attractive, easy to assimilate form; no long dissertations, just concise statements about the issues, and what you plan to do about them.

Television is the most powerful medium for that purpose, but too expensive for LP local races.

The most cost effective for our purposes is Direct Mail. Mailing just to persons in the group of persuadable likely voters, and using carrier route coding, you can put out as many as four specialized direct mailings for the cost of one full mailing to all registered voters.

(For small local campaigns, get the carrier route scheme from your local post office. For larger campaigns, carrier route codings of mailing lists are available from many computer houses.)

A direct mail campaign isn't just one general interest mailer. Instead, it is several (even numerous) pieces designed to convey a particular concept and image to special audiences.

You need a general piece that covers the key issues and introduces the candidate.

But you also need specialized mailers with a personal touch. These would include letters from the candidate's spouse, letters from respected community leaders, letters to identified groups from people, not necessarily well-known, who have a similar background (i.e. from a "senior citizen" to people over 60; to parents of school age children from a mother or teacher; or to people in a targeted neighborhood from someone who lives in the area).

Even newspaper ads are nowhere near as effective as your own direct mail. You can usually put out a targeted, single edition special tabloid "newspaper" of your own for about what it costs for a newspaper ad campaign.

Radio ads are the next most cost effective. Again, these should be issue-oriented, and short.

Regardless of the medium used, it may be wise to resist the Libertarian tendency to talk about issues that will "shock" the public.

Even if the majority of the likely voters agree with you on those issues, they may not consider them personally important. Those issues don't have a good record of winning votes.

You Can Win!

It is impossible to teach in one article all the techniques that will win your campaign.

It is important to realize you *can* win against much better financed opponents, through a planned effort.

Experience with small local races will provide winning experience and build a base of credible candidates for future battles—and win at least one small advance for the cause of liberty.

Canada

A Political First North of the Border

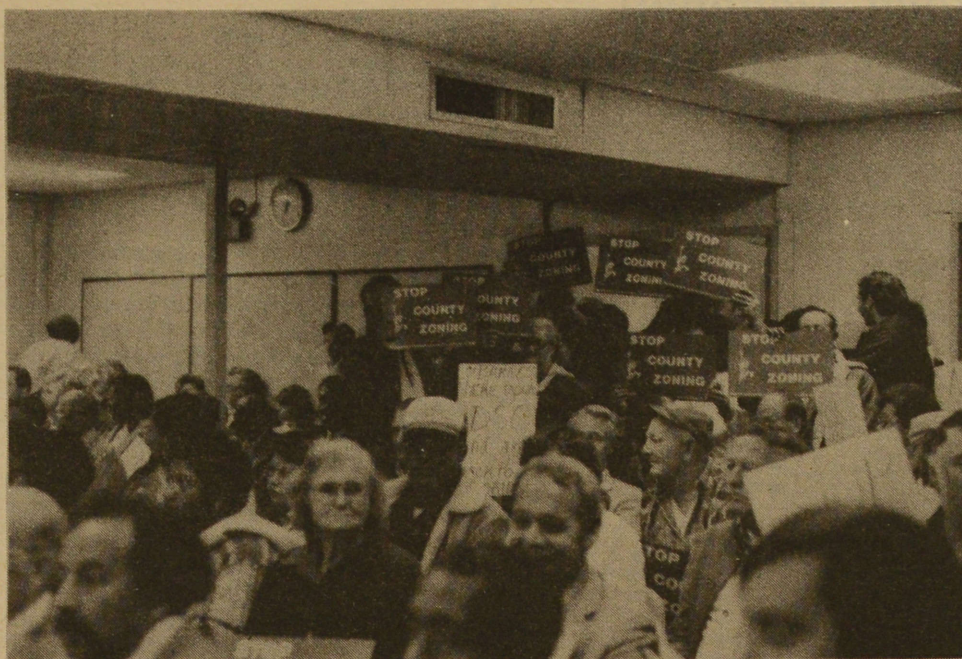
(From the Canadian Press Service)

"In a world that normally dotes on political firsts of any kind, Kaye Sargent's landmark triumph went largely unnoticed.

"The grandmother from the southwestern Ontario town of Innerkip became the first woman leader of a political party in the province when she was elected . . . to head the Libertarians.

" . . . none of the seven political parties currently registered in Ontario have ever had a woman leader . . .

"The Libertarian Party, one of seven officially recognized parties in the province, was registered in Ontario in 1976. Two of its members hold office at the municipal level."



NEWS photo by Ron Heaton

Libertarians crowd the Aiken County (SC) Council meeting in opposition to a countywide zoning plan. The signs carry the Libertarian Party logo and the words "Stop County Zoning."

South Carolina

County Zoning Plan Stopped

After a year-long campaign, South Carolina Libertarians were successful in stopping a countywide zoning plan in Aiken County.

More than 200 people, mostly members of the Aiken County Libertarian Party and the Aiken Committee for Libertarian Principles, attended a special Aiken County Council meeting in December. The group carried signs with the LP logo and the words "Stop County Zoning" printed on them.

At the meeting, John Heaton, chairperson of the Aiken County Libertarian Party, urged a binding referendum be held before any laws

dealing with property rights be considered by the county council.

"If the people in the fringe areas of the various municipalities want zoning, then they can ask to be annexed into one of the local towns or cities that is nearest to them," Heaton said.

"But people in the county should not be forced to give up their personal freedoms for a select group of people's protection."

Heaton suggested "deed restrictions, covenants and common sense" as alternatives to zoning.

One week after this special meeting, the council again met and voted 5-3 to no longer consider countywide zoning.

Following the council vote, Heaton and the other Libertarians who had fought the zoning battle were able to proclaim, "We Won!"

Editorial Request

Computers, Programmers, Communications, And a Challenge

There are probably more brilliant computer programmers and tinkerers associated with or sympathetic to the Libertarian Party and libertarianism than to any other philosophical/political position in the world.

To all of them, the editors of this paper issue a very special challenge and plea:

Help us think of new ways to use advanced information technologies in the work of advancing liberty.

Elsewhere in this issue there is a story on an electronic board being sponsored by the Libertarian Party of Santa Clara, California. Ideas on how best to use and extend bulletin boards, and on the feasibility or use of a national libertarian bulletin board, would be of great interest to the editors. In this current issue, to indicate that our interest is very active, there is one story (David Scholl's) that was sent to the newspaper offices by modem. The editor, Karl Hess, uses a Macintosh linked to a Pro-Com modem. Any and all suggestions as to how to enhance the Libertarian Party NEWS' operations using information technology would be appreciated.

An assessment of teleconferencing pro-

grams and systems would be useful, with suggestions of how regional, state, and local Libertarian Party members could use such programs and systems to strengthen their activities.

There are, among libertarians, outstanding innovators of encrypting systems. Their assessments of ways in which libertarians appropriately can use their systems would always be welcome.

Just in general, it seems to the editors, the brainpower of computer-using libertarians who may be interested in Libertarian Party projects must be enormous. Their ideas on how to use information technologies at every level of and in every phase of Libertarian Party activities would be welcome and is, hereby, solicited.

A particular invitation for new lines of communications between people actively involved in practical politics either as, or on behalf of, Libertarian Party candidates or causes is also extended. People like David Scholl, whose article on practical politics is featured in this issue, have expressed interest in being able to share experiences and information most readily. Scholl, personally, would welcome continued contact with others who are engaged, as he is, in political consulting. He may be addressed in care of this newspaper, at P.O. Box 173, Kearneysville, WV 25430. Ideas about regularizing and extending this special net of Libertarian political tacticians would be welcome.

Liberty feeds on information. Tyranny chokes on it. Let the discs and drives hum and let freedom ring throughout the land.

Connecticut

A Barrier Broken

Until now, only one Libertarian Party candidate for office in Connecticut had broken the 1 percent barrier of votes in order to have automatic access for the Party in a subsequent election.

Now, not one but four Libertarians have broken that barrier, guaranteeing the LP a ballot position. (The first barrier breaker was Lou Garofolo, running for state treasurer in 1982.)

The new barrier busters are Walter Gengarelli, who ran for the state house of representatives; Peter McNamara, who ran for Manchester town director; Mark Sloan, who ran for mayor of Torrington; and Russ Smith, who ran for selectman in Torrington. McNamara's campaign was bolstered by his regular, and well received, letters to the editor of the local paper. And all of the campaigns introduced Libertarian positions at a practical, local level.

Right Left Libertarian

In Vermont, the liberal arts and news weekly, *The Best of Vermont*, took a reader poll for "Best Right Wing Whacko" and also for "Best Left Wing Whacko" in the state. Guess who showed up on both lists? A Libertarian Party member, Bob Bennett. "He's a Libertarian," the poll compiler wrote. "They're all over the place."

Happily indicating that the poll's notion of "whacko" was not as pejorative as it might sound, one of Bennett's companions on the left wing list was the distinguished anarchist philosopher Murray Bookchin, while one of his companions on the right wing list was John McClaughry, fresh from service in the Reagan White House.

Former Candidate Announces Forum

The Libertarian Party's 1984 presidential candidate, David Bergland, has announced the development of a comprehensive communications workshop designed to educate Libertarian Party candidates, campaign managers, and other spokespersons. The series, which will include detailed instruction on a variety of important topics, will also feature the use of video cameras for evaluating and critiquing candidate performance with the media.

"I have felt for some time that the party could benefit from a workshop of this type. It will be particularly valuable for our 1986 candidates. We will cover everything from what color suit to wear on television to how to answer policy questions with the most impact," Bergland explained. "I tested a three-hour version of the program during the recent state LP convention in Arizona and it was a hit. I got nothing but great comments about the format."

The workshop will be a two-day series consisting of lectures, workbook instruction, homework, and video camera training. Mock interviews will aid the candidate in dealing with reporters and individual attention will be given to all class participants. Other areas covered will include "How To" sections on public relations, fund raising, advertising, debates, LP policy responses, and image development. For information, please contact Laurie Sano, Flair Advertising, 383 Redondo Ave., Long Beach, CA 90814; phone (213) 438-9923. Or Orpheus Publications, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92626; phone (714) 751-8980.

One-Stop Freedom Shopping

QTY.	ABOUT THE PARTY	\$ AMT.
_____	Q & A Brochure—explains LP positions and purposes in question and answer format	(10¢)
_____	Libertarian Party—shortened version of the Q & A brochure 8 1/2 x 11"	(5¢ ea.)
_____	Libertarian Party—master for local reproduction	(\$1 ea.)
_____	Preguntas y Respuestas—panfleto en Español; traducción del folleto "Q & A About the Libertarian Party"; 8 1/2 x 11"	(5¢ ea.)
_____	1984 Platform of the Libertarian Party—current statement of principles and official positions	(50¢ ea.)
_____	1984 Libertarian Party Bylaws & Convention Rules	(50¢ ea.)
_____	Fourth of July Brochures—new & revised; great handouts	(5¢ ea.)

ISSUE PAPERS / BOOKS

_____	Statue of Liberty Logo—master in assorted sizes	(\$1 ea.)
_____	Nuclear Weapons Freeze—LP Issue Paper	(50¢ ea. 10 or more 25¢ ea.)
_____	A New Beginning by Ed Clark	(\$4 ea.)
_____	Libertarian Political Action—campaign skills, including organization, petitioning, fundraising, outreach, media	(\$5 ea.)
_____	Liberty in One Lesson by David Bergland	(\$1.95 ea.)
_____	Liberty Reclaimed by Jim Lewis	(\$1.95 ea.)

FILMS / VIDEO / TAPES

_____	The New Jim Crow Laws by Walter Williams, reprint of Reason article	(\$1 ea.)
_____	We Hold These Truths—excellent introduction to the Libertarian Party. Available in 16mm film (\$125), VHS (\$45) & Betamax (\$45, specify Beta I or Beta II)	
_____	Rentals—film: \$25 for one week; tapes: \$15 for one week. (Specify VHS, Beta I or Beta II)	
_____	The Incredible Bread Machine—16mm film by World Research, Inc.; rental only	(\$30 / 1 week)
_____	Why Be A Libertarian Candidate? by elected Libertarians; audio cassette tape	(\$2 ea.)

_____	Social Security—featuring Ed Clark, Murray Rothbard and Bruce Daniel	(\$2 ea.)
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POLITICAL TECH. FILE

_____	The Activists' Handbook published by Society for Individual Liberty	(\$2 ea.)
_____	Campaign Workbook—excellent campaign manual; A-Z for the "underdog" candidate	(\$18 ea.)
_____	Letters to the Editor—good "how-to" brochure; 8 1/2 x 11"	(5¢ ea.)
_____	How to Get Elected to Your State Legislature—Article by Hank Parkinson; reprint	(\$1.50 ea.)
_____	Winning Political Campaigns with Publicity—by Hank Parkinson; LP reprint; paper	(\$5 ea.)

POSTERS / BUMPER STICKERS

_____	Statement of Principles—sepia calligraphy on 8" x 10" parchment-like paper; suitable for framing	(\$2 ea.)
_____	"Statue of Liberty" Deluxe Poster on 80 lb. 23" x 35" glossy stock	(\$2.50 ea., 5 for \$10)
_____	LP Posters	(\$2 ea. or 10 for \$10.00)
_____	"Against The Draft"—LP NatCom resolution; 11" x 17" parchment-like paper	
_____	"No Draft, No War"—anti-draft resolution; 23" x 35" glossy	
_____	"Clark for President"—19" x 26" campaign poster	
_____	Bumper Stickers—blue / white, 15" x 3 1/4"	(\$1 ea.)
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Director's Column

Who's Who In Houston

By Perry Willis

So what goes on at the National Headquarters? Glad you asked. I always wondered that myself. Now I know.

Let me tell you, it isn't very glamorous. It's mostly hard work. Keeping the books, entering data on the computer, filling orders, and stuffing envelopes. Dealing with complaints. It's fascinating the things people can find to be unhappy about. I must say, however, having also had several "real world" jobs, that Libertarians are very generous with their praise as well, and that tends to balance things out.

I think we Libertarians are probably nicer folks than we give ourselves credit for. And that's what I'm going to talk about in this column; the nice folks who make things happen here at the HQ.

You've met most of them before, in pictures and bios in the Libertarian Party NEWS, but I think it would help to give you a run down on where they fit into the organization and a review of some of the outstanding services they have rendered to our Party. It is very important to me that all of you come to view those of us in the national office as your friends and partners in the fight for Liberty, and not as some mysterious "them."

When I arrived on the scene there were only two employees other than myself: Tom Radloff and David Kelley.

The three of us did our best to keep up with the workload, but we were outnumbered.

There were other handicaps to deal with as well. Tom, who takes care of the computer, was working full time without pay, and David, who keeps our books and processes all of our financial reports, was several weeks behind in pay.

When it became impossible for Tom to work without pay any longer we were faced

with a difficult situation: lose Tom, or find a way to pay him at least something. The Party was in bad financial straits at the time, but we couldn't afford to give up yet another employee. I was already foregoing a thousand dollars of my own salary every month, and was hard pressed to do more, but I did manage to pay Tom for one month out of my own pocket. Tom, David, and I invested a lot to keep this Party going.

This is the kind of dedication that our employees have always shown. Honey Lanham, Allan Vogel, and probably others, have made similar sacrifices (or for people who don't like that word, investments) when the Party was in need.

Tom has done a great deal to make this office more efficient by improving our computer software, and David Kelley's passion for accuracy has been vital to smooth operations here.

In October, as our financial picture improved, we were able to hire Ken Kirchheiner as administrative assistant. Ken fills all of the orders that come into the office, answers the phone, does address corrections, sends out thank you notes and various renewal notices, and many other tasks.

Our most recent addition is Terry Mitchell who has a background in advertising. Terry will serve as finance director, a function I had been performing myself. Having Terry on board will allow us to accomplish many innovations that we did not have time for previously.

So that's it. Five people charged with changing the world. And we're going to do it, too. Of course, most of the work is still done by volunteers and contributors all across the country.

Next issue we'll begin to look at each of the jobs that has to be done in this office. I am hoping that by giving a nuts and bolts description of what we do here, some of you will find ideas and methods that have applications in your local organizations.

Keep up the fight.

WANTED

Reports on state and local activities of Libertarian Party members

Copies of your state and local newsletters

Up-to-date information on all Libertarians holding office

Details of ways in which Libertarians are using the political process to make free market decisions about their lives

Problems faced by and successes recorded by businesses trying to operate in a truly free market

Targets of opportunity for Libertarian Party activism

Good photos of Libertarian Party actions and key personalities

Cartoons or ideas for cartoons

Humor with a libertarian twist, particularly one-liners for speakers

Plans to run for elected office

News of Libertarian Party members appointed to public boards or offices

Hints, experiences, warnings about practical political actions and issues

Suggestions of stories the NEWS should investigate

Volunteers to report meetings or actions of interest to Libertarian Party members

Copies of articles, statements, reports from sources outside the Party but of possible interest to Libertarians

Advance notice of events and actions of possible interest to Libertarian Party members

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The address of the Managing Editor, Randy Langhenry, is 22 S. Braddock St., Winchester, VA 22601.

Call, yell, send a carrier pigeon. Teleport. But stay in touch! Beam us up, Scotty!

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Action Urged On HR 2320

House Resolution 2320, the ballot access bill introduced nearly a year ago by Michigan Democratic Congressman John Conyers, Jr., remains bogged down in the Subcommittee on Elections in the Committee on House Administration.

An attempt to standardize the federal ballot access requirements in all 50 states, 2320 will make it easier to get a third-party candidate on the federal ballot in those states where it is now extremely difficult.

Cedric Hendricks, a legislative assistant to Conyers, said there is a need to contact legislators and urge them to support 2320.

"We need to keep the pressure on," Hendricks said. "I know a lot of people (congressmen) know this bill, but for whatever reasons, they are ignoring it."

Hendricks suggested that anyone supporting the bill, which should include all Libertarians, should first contact their own representatives and urge them to become co-sponsors of the bill. He said there are currently 13 co-sponsors, but more are needed.

Hendricks said Rep. Al Swift (D-WA), chairman of the Subcommittee, and Rep. Frank Annunzio (D-IL), chairman of the House Administration Committee, also should be contacted and urged to start hearings on 2320.

Hendricks said he gets a call or two a day from other congressmen's offices asking about 2320, usually in order to draft a response to a letter received from a constituent. So action is being taken but more is needed.

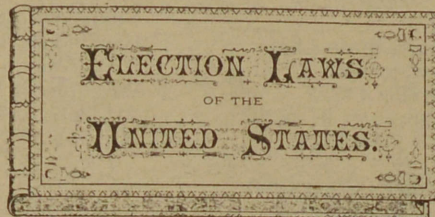
Similar legislation has not been introduced in the Senate, and Hendricks is "looking for an enlightened senator" to do just that. He suggests Libertarians write their own senators and urge them to sponsor such legislation.

Opponents of 2320 argue that making ballot access easier will simply allow all kinds of strange individuals to run ridiculous campaigns and drive up election costs. Hendricks believes this argument is a "smokescreen."

saying this just hasn't happened in states where ballot access is easier.

Aside from writing to Washington, Hendricks also suggests writing letters to the editors of local newspapers, addressing local ballot access concerns and pressing the question of fairness. For a third party to have to spend all its time and money simply getting on the ballot, obviously puts the third party at an unfair disadvantage to the two big parties.

Americans often complain about the one party system in other countries, Hendricks explained, and yet the U.S. is only one step beyond those political systems.



By DeAnn Pullar

In a January 7th meeting, House Elections Subcommittee Chair Al Swift disclosed his position on HR 2320, the ballot access bill, and his reasons for not scheduling hearings on the bill.

First, he said, there are no co-sponsors on the Subcommittee. Despite Richard Winger's efforts in Washington, D.C. in October, this fact remains a drawback.

Second, Congressional support is not widespread, or even substantial. Almost all of the thirteen co-sponsors listed at the time of the meeting are members of the "Rainbow Coalition," Swift said.

Third, not enough widespread public sup-

port has been demonstrated for Al Swift to justify scheduling hearings on this bill. With this support, Swift's position can be demonstrated by his statement, "Hearings on this, I would like very much to explore."

Swift's personal viewpoint, however, shone through during the interview. He said, "There is value to the two party system. Things which tend to fractionate it may not be helpful." Thus, public pressure may be the best tool to prompt the scheduling of hearings.

If you are interested in seeing the equal access to choice of third party and independent candidates, send a letter to your representative and Rep. Al Swift (his address is: 1502 Longworth Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20515).

Those whose representatives are members of the Subcommittee should particularly encourage co-sponsorship. These representatives are: Al Swift-Washington; Joseph Gaydos-Pennsylvania; Charles Rose-North Carolina; William Clay-Missouri; Sam Gejdenson-Connecticut; Bill Frenzel-Minnesota; William Thomas-California; Barbara Vucanovich-Nevada; Pat Roberts-Kansas; Mary Rose-Ohio; and Leon Panetta-California.

Please help to remove the ballot access barriers which are, at best, burdensome and, at worst, impossible to overcome.

Happy Birthdays to Lysander and Lysander

The first board meeting of Lysander, Inc., the company formed to handle production of the Libertarian Party NEWS, among other things, was held on January 19. It took incorporator Randy Langhenry to bring to the attention of the other board members that the date is also the birthday of Lysander Spooner, a founding father of American libertarianism.

NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the Libertarian Party NEWS, set to be published during the last week in March, will be a special "outreach" issue featuring material that could be of interest to people just becoming interested in or who *could* be interested in Libertarian Party activism.

Your suggestions and contributions for this purpose are needed.

Copy deadline for the next issue is March 8.

The outreach issue also will feature material having to do with taxation, tax resistance, and the dramatizing and publicizing of Libertarian Party and other libertarian positions, practices, and actions regarding forced taxation.

If you know of any actions, any analyses, any data that can help in the crucial opposition to tax tyranny, please get material regarding it (preferably a complete story) to the NEWS by March 8.

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