



August 1991
Vol. 6, No. 8

Libertarian Party

NEWS

LP National Convention This Month in Chicago

LIBERTY TRIUMPHANT, the Libertarian Party's 1991 national presidential nominating convention, is set for later this month, Aug. 29-Sept. 1.

We can only hope that Chicago is ready for an influx of serious-minded, liberty-loving, freedom-seeking Libertarians.

The site of the convention will be the Downtown Marriott Hotel, located on Chicago's famous Michigan Avenue. The hotel offers 1,172 rooms and has an indoor swimming pool, health club, and sauna, as well as outdoor tennis and basketball courts. Three restaurants, a number of shops, and a lounge that offers dancing are also on the hotel premises. Exclusive retail establishments, famous nightlife haunts, and world famous cultural attractions are located nearby.

The convention's big event will occur on Saturday, when the convention delegates will choose the party's 1992 presidential nominee. A candidates' debate will be held Friday afternoon, leaving Friday night free for last-minute delegate arm-twisting. Will our candidate be Andre Marrou or Dick Boddie or who? We'll find out along with the rest of the country's political junkies

LIBERTY TRIUMPHANT

August 29 - September 1

watching on C-SPAN television.

In addition to the presidential nomination, there will be lots of interesting and exciting panels, workshops, and speakers—let's have no cracks about the Windy City—covering topics as diverse as gun control, fully informed juries, tax reform, campus activism, and eastern European capitalism.

Speakers at the convention will include NEWS Editor Emeritus and author Karl Hess, financial economist and Tax Cut Action! chairman Mark Skousen, National Review Editor Joseph Sobran, ACLU's Nadine Strossen, and lots more.

Libertarian Party business will, of course, take up much of the delegates' time. Along with picking the 1992 presidential/vice-presidential slate, delegates will be electing a new national committee, as well as national chair and other officers, debating platform and bylaws changes,



and addressing other party business.

The Lakefront Jazz Festival, the World Science Fiction Convention, and other events will also be occurring in Chicago while the LP convention is in town, so there will be plenty of choices for those delegates or attendees who get a few moments away from LP business.

Libertarians will be shaping the future of the party, the country, and the world

later this month. Dick Boddie and Andre Marrou will be in Chicago, as will many fellow Libertarians. C-SPAN television and its viewers will also be in attendance. Don't miss out on all the action.

If you haven't made arrangements to attend LIBERTY TRIUMPHANT, don't delay. A registration form, as well as a more complete daily convention schedule, appears on page 9 of this issue.

Money-Saving Convention Hints

The kickoff of the 1991 Libertarian Presidential Nominating Convention, "LIBERTY TRIUMPHANT," is quickly approaching! If you have not finalized your plans to attend, here are a few reminders to help you save money:

UNITED AIRLINES is the official carrier for the convention. United is providing 5 percent off the lowest supersaver fare or 40 percent off full coach fare. LIBERTY TRIUMPHANT's Meeting Plus ID# is 1004J. United's toll-free number is 800-521-4041.

DOWNTOWN CHICAGO MARRIOTT (MICHIGAN AVE.) is providing special room rates for convention attendees. The rate is \$89 per night for a single or double room. This special rate is available only if you reserve prior to Aug. 5, 1991. After that, rates go up to their normal level (\$199 for a single or \$229 for a double). The telephone number to call and reserve your room is 312-836-6128 or 800-228-9290. Be sure to mention you are attending LIBERTY TRIUMPHANT.

STILL HAVE QUESTIONS? Call us at 708-475-0391 between 7 a.m. and 10 p.m. (central time), or fax us at 708-475-3776. After Aug. 26 you can reach us at the LIBERTY TRIUMPHANT CONVENTION OFFICE at the Marriott, 312-836-0100.

Former Maine Republican Finds Libertarians Offer Fresh Approach

Dr. Paul Fichtner, 70, has been a leading citizen and leading Republican in the small town of Greenville, ME, for nearly 40 years.

Dr. Fichtner was, for a time, the only doctor living in his area of the state; he was a life-long Republican and very conservative; he was chairman of the town Republican Party committee and a member of the Republican county committee; he was appointed by the governor to the state's Land Use Regulation Commission, a position he continues to hold; and he ran for the state senate in 1982 as a Republican.

But earlier this year, at the Maine LP convention, Dr. Fichtner joined the Libertarian Party. Dr. Fichtner said he had been aware of the LP for some time, but he became very interested in the party in the last two years.

"It just seems that the Libertarian Party offers a fresh approach," Dr. Fichtner said.

"As a protest to some degree—as an opportunity to at least voice my opinion—I made the decision it was just not worthwhile staying with the Republican Party," Dr. Fichtner said.

"My reason for being discouraged with

the Republican Party was that I saw that the party was stagnating," he said. "Over and over again I'd go to county meetings and the same old graybeard faces show up, of which I was one. We'd talk about things that ought to be done, that we ought to get new, younger people involved. Yet there was a total lack of any activity. In addition to that, I became very concerned about the disharmony in our own state Republican organization."

Dr. Fichtner said another thing that bothered him "was the fact that there is a lack of leadership in the Republican Party, generally. I'm concerned about the things that have come out about the last few administrations. I voted for Reagan. I voted for Bush. I even voted for that squeally-eyed, son-of-a-bitch Nixon. And I saw him on TV and I saw him look you right in the eye and say, 'I am not lying,' and he was lying through his goddamn teeth. And that bothered me. There seems to be no principle left."

Dr. Fichtner is clearly a man who strongly believes in principles. He chose to join the LP because he felt "that here are people who think differently and have some principles and who are willing to stick to them. I don't believe everything that the LP has in its planks, but I never believed everything the Republican Party had in its

planks. I pick out those things that I am comfortable with.

"One thing I do like about the Libertarians," he said, "is they are saying that 'You are a master of your own destiny,' in essence."

He clearly shows his belief in this philosophy in his description of his views on federal drug policies. "I wouldn't want to be pictured as a proponent of the legalization of drugs, but I do believe that we have been through prohibition of alcohol, and we know that didn't work. We know that because there is a lot of money involved, it will not work with drugs. My attitude is—fine, if you want to take drugs, take drugs, but don't come to me and ask for help after you get into trouble."

As a medical doctor, Dr. Fichtner also has a unique insight into the abortion question. "I was brought up, professionally, when abortion was illegal, and I can't help but remember the days when anybody who assisted at an abortion, in any way, was come down on very hard," he recalled. "To see it as it is today, with it being free and easy, I have difficulties with that. On the other hand, I understand that people today have a different system of morals than the last generation had. My attitude, again, is that if you get pregnant

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Unity Through Community

By Mary J. Ruwart

If we asked everyone on the planet whether they'd prefer a peaceful and prosperous world or one plagued by war and poverty, we'd find that there IS something almost everyone can agree on. Since only Libertarian principles can take us there, almost everyone, whether they know it or not, is a Libertarian-in-the-making.

After experiencing the poverty of communism, Eastern Europe seeks the prosperity of free(r) markets. As the War on Drugs transforms our inner cities into combat zones and destroys our constitutional safeguards, legalization emerges as a viable option. People are guided to a libertarian lifestyle because it is the only means to their goal—a world of harmony and abundance.

Nor is this an accident of fate. Libertarian principles are based on the nature of humankind and its glorious potential. If these principles brought us to devastation, we'd wonder if we had correctly deduced the concept of individual rights. Reality is the best yardstick of how well we've understood the nature of our species. Reality is the best teacher of the world's many libertarians-in-the-making.

At the Michigan Libertarian Party convention this year, we had an opportunity to catalyze this transition. In a debate on the environment, a Libertarian spokesperson gave an excellent rendition of free market solutions to pollution. The Green Party representative replied, "I'd really like to disagree with what was just said—but I can't!" As the discussions progressed, the Green debaters assured us that they knew government was coercion and that they were convinced that decentralization to the level of the local community was a step in the right direction. They also explained that they just couldn't see how the Libertarian position, decentralization down to the level of the individual, could work in the real world.

In the "old" days, we might have denounced these people as "immoral utilitarians." Today, we are wiser. We know that libertarian principles work

because they are right. We also recognize that people are not our enemies even though their *beliefs* may be. When we listen to others respectfully, they will tell us exactly what would motivate them to change their beliefs. What most people want to hear is how libertarian principles will take them to the peaceful and prosperous world politicians always promise them.

When talking to others, we need to emphasize how "buying in" to the libertarian viewpoint promotes *their* goal of peace and plenty. If we focus on *their* gain, we're more likely to give them what they need to see things *our* way. Salespeople who sell what the customer wants are most likely to get their commission. Truly, putting others first is the free market, libertarian way!

Other schools of political thought claim brotherhood, charity, and unselfishness as their hallmarks. As the Michigan party chairman closed our convention, he remarked that he felt these things had been present throughout our meetings, but that he was almost ashamed to acknowledge them because they sounded like socialist rhetoric. Instead, they should be *our* rhetoric. After all, it's difficult to claim love for an innocent neighbor when you're pointing a gun in their direction! Practice of libertarian principles is a prerequisite for the community spirit that people the world over hope will accompany the peace and prosperity they strive for. It is not a sufficient condition, however. Only when we view those that disagree with us respectfully, even lovingly, as libertarians-in-the-making, will we experience the potential of our philosophy. Only when we recognize that our own self-interest lies in understanding rather than judging, explaining instead of complaining, helping rather than demanding, will we achieve our goals. That's reality!

Mary J. Ruwart, Ph.D., is a senior research scientist at the Upjohn Co., Kalamazoo, MI. She has been Kalamazoo County chair, a member of the LP Platform Committee, a 1983 presidential contender, chair of Internal Education, and organizer of the 1987 UNITY campaign.

New Member in Maine

continued from page 1

and you want to have an abortion, fine, but don't ask me to pay for it."

The actions of the U.S. government during the recent Persian Gulf war also concerned Dr. Fichtner. "I'm very disappointed about Bush and the war," he said. "Basically, we, the Germans, the Russians, the French, and the English made this man (Saddam). And then when he gets too big for his britches—and we've done it over and over again—then we suddenly become concerned that we have to do something about it."

"And it is not the higher up individuals that suffer, but the common man that suffers. We talk about human rights out of one corner of our mouth and out of the other corner we really don't give a goddamn. They (the Iraqi people) have just as much right to life as we have," Dr. Fichtner said. "We have developed the image of the big bully on the block."

"I have come to the conclusion that we really have very little control over our government, the way it is," Dr. Fichtner said.

Originally from Hartford, CT, Dr. Fichtner first started going to Maine with his family on summer excursions when he was very young. "From the time I can remember, at age 12, I wanted to be a general practitioner, a doctor, in Maine," he said. After serving in the military, in the medical department during the occupation of Japan, Dr. Fichtner came back to the U.S. and settled in Maine.

"I used to run a rustic, fly-in fishing camp. . . spent some of my summers up there (50 miles north of Greenville on

Moosehead Lake) until they lost all of their doctors here in Greenville," he said. Then he had to stay in town rather than go up to the camp in the summers. His moral obligations made it impossible for him to let the area go without a doctor for months at a time.

His interests in the outdoors have led to his concern for the environment. As a member of the state's Land Use Regulation Commission, basically a zoning commission for the unorganized territories of northern Maine incorporating over 10 million acres of mostly private lands, Dr. Fichtner has, as he puts it, "recently been at war with the Natural Resources Council of Maine (NRCM), a private non-profit environmental organization."

The arguments are about constitutional land ownership rights, according to Dr. Fichtner. While the NRCM seems to urge protection of the environment at any cost, Dr. Fichtner's attitude is, "Yes, let's conserve the environment, but let's do it within the confines of the constitutional rights of land ownership."

Environmental groups like the NRCM "intrude into government," he said.

The Libertarian Party is excited and pleased to have new converts like Dr. Fichtner. But in his modest way he said, "Don't confuse me with Ron Paul," another medical doctor who left the Republican Party after serving as a U.S. representative. "I've just been a grassroots Republican. I've never held office."

Dr. Fichtner, who has retired from active medical practice, is married and has three children.

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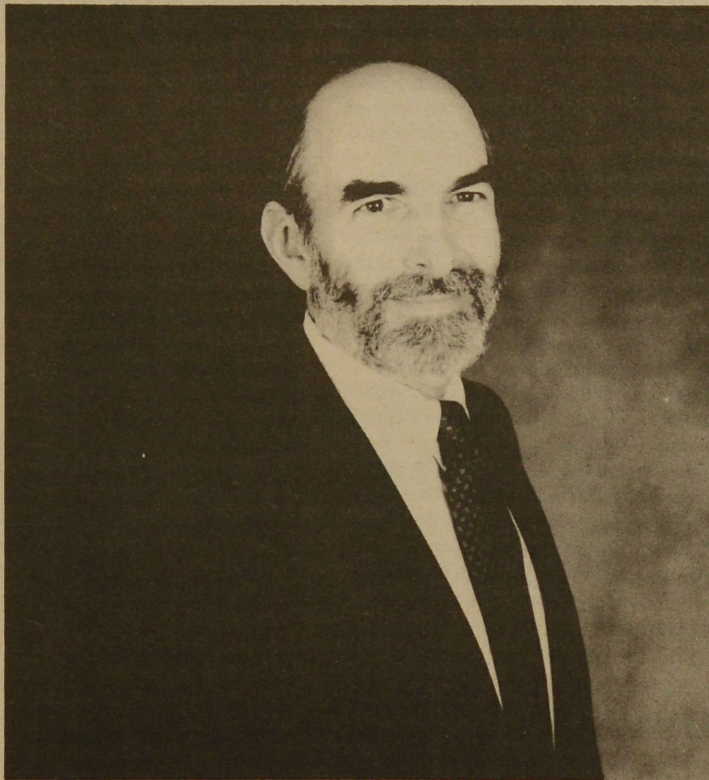
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Some Random Thoughts

By Dave Walter

Some random thoughts, as I end my term as chair of the Libertarian National Committee:

Political change takes place at the margins. That's why the appearance of Libertarian Republicans (and, it is to be hoped, Libertarian Democrats) should be welcomed. They provide a bridge between run-of-the-mill major party views and the views of the Libertarian Party. Rather than a chasm between the views, you have a continuum that allows easier access to the margin occupied by the LP. In the immediate future, we may see many less-than-hard-core libertarians voting for a Libertarian Republican in the primaries, and, assuming he or she is defeated, supporting the LP's candidate in the general election. This loss of votes will help to convince the GOP organization to become more libertarian in order to stem the erosion. The same kind of situation is needed in the Democratic Party if it is to be rescued from the thrall of socialists.

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This strategy requires cooperation and friendly competition with libertarians and quasi-libertarians who have chosen to work within the major parties. The major parties cannot be pulled in our direction if the "LP Libertarians" and the "non-LP Libertarians" are at each others' throats: Supporters have to feel free to cross back and forth between the camps to increase the leverage of their voting power.

But ideological differences have to be maintained to the extent necessary to still have two distinct camps. The pragmatics and the principled have to keep separate identities or 1) the margin gets fuzzy and less useful and 2) no one sees any advantage to one camp or the other and this blunts the voting power necessary to pull the major parties in the right direction.

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Sometimes it seems that LP candidates blur as many distinctions as possible in running against major opponents. This is usually in a quest for larger vote totals and so-called respectability. This is an ineffective game if your goal is more individual freedom. Even if your immediate goal is more votes, it seldom works. Why support a minor party whose differences with the major party are slight? Who joins a long-shot crusade over a 1 or 2 percent change in the rates?

We now see the phenomena of various single-issue groups being more hard-core than the LP in their insistence on **liberty now**. There are groups that would be happy to abolish the public schools, abolish taxes, end all welfare programs, return to hard money, etc., who think the LP is too wishy-washy on such issues. The LP platform tends to be more hard-core than the platform of many LP candidates. If someone could integrate the hard-core thinking of these fringe groups—say, for example, get the right-to-bear-arms people to see how their principles also lead to the right to practice a voluntary gay sex lifestyle and that refusing to wear seat belts has as much validity as refusing to salute



From the Chair

Dave Walter, LP National Chair

the flag or be conscripted to kill foreigners—then the pro-freedom bloc in this country would have tremendous influence. As it is today, you have ugly scenes such as "pro-freedom" Taxpayers' Party leaders advocating "neo-Nazi" treatment of homosexuals.

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Fortunately, the LP has made greater efforts to interact with and influence non-libertarian groups. Dialogues, and more, have been struck with the Gun Owners of America, Fully Informed Jury Amendment, and T.H.R.O. The "Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights" and "Tax Cut Action!" appeal to citizens of all stripes. This outreach effort must be expanded: Get LP spokesmen to their events, trade articles with their newsletters, use our connections to smooth the way for them. A Grand Freedom Alliance will not be built if we scramble to keep all the power to ourselves and worry excessively about the LP being diluted by too many "newcomers."

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It is counterproductive to have a third party trying to pursue dozens of themes at one time. The history of successful third parties (that either grow to majority status or had their ideas co-opted by an existing, larger party) would indicate that picking a handful of themes and building long-term support for one or a few pieces of model legislation is more successful than shotgunning ideas out there whenever the political wind shifts. For example, it may be more important for the LP to become known as the tax abolition party than as the party supporting free speech this week, private garbage collection next week, non-intervention in the Middle East on the third week, and advocacy of helmet-less motorcycle riding on the fourth.

These are all legitimate issues but the LP should pick several and stick to them for years, building a constituency for the changes we recommend. Some major issues I would recommend, in addition to taxes, are national health insurance, education, war on drugs, environment, and foreign policy.

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It has been suggested that the Libertarian Party formally change its name to the "Liberty Party," a non-threatening, all-American name that makes a positive impression on most folks. Objections run every where from "We'd have to throw out a lot of old letterhead" to "We would lose 20 years of building name recognition for the word Libertarian." Let's not stand on tradition if a name change can sell more product. Maybe someone can do some market research on their friends: "Which group, the Liberty Party or the Libertarian Party, would you be interested in learning about?" This issue may be raised at the national convention, so, if you are a delegate, be prepared for it. If you aren't a delegate, let someone who is know your preference. Me? I kind of favor the idea.

Dasbach Seeking LP Vice Chair Position

LP Regional Rep. Steve Dasbach recently announced that he will seek the office of national vice chair at the LP national convention.

"The LP has experienced substantial growth over the past three years," Dasbach said. "Some have joined the LP in response to outreach mailings or after calling our 800 number. Others have joined because of state and local activities. However, if we are to become the major political party of the 21st century, our growth must accelerate. We must be open to everyone who wants to reduce the size and power of government."

Dasbach is currently serving as chair of the national LP's Affiliate Party Committee (APC), having assumed the position from Mary Gingell in April. He plans to use the communications network now in place among local activists, state leaders, and the national party to help all levels of the LP grow and prosper.

"Our ability to attract and retain new members depends on how useful they think the LP is as a vehicle for expanding individual liberty," Dasbach said. "Inactivity and a lack of professionalism can turn off even those most devoted to liberty. The national LP must help state and local activists build effective, grassroots organizations, able to affect real political change throughout the country."

From 1988 until becoming APC chair, Dasbach served as chair of the Affiliate Campaign Committee. He has served three terms on the National Committee as a regional representative and is a member of the committee that wrote the Libertarian Party Program.

Dasbach has served on the LP state central committee in Indiana since 1980, including two terms as state chair. He has run for public office four times, including a race in 1982 that earned ballot status for the LP in Indiana through 1986.

Educational Choice Reference

The Heartland Institute has recently published "Rebuilding America's Schools," a new and authoritative manual on designing and implementing educational choice programs.

The manual contains, among other things: a heavily documented point-by-

point essay on the case for educational choice; an educational choice quiz; an examination of opportunities to privatize education through contracting out and loadshedding; answers to 30 questions most likely to be asked about educational choice; detailed guidelines for designing voucher and tax credit plans that are constitutional, effective, and affordable; 14 pieces of sample legislation, including the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program and the Epsom, NH, Education Tax Credit Plan; and a 20-page educational choice bibliography.

This manual is now available for sale from The Heartland Institute, 634 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, IL 60605; 312-427-3060.

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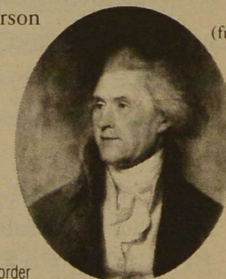
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Another LP Victory as New Campaigns Begin

Susan Frensley, a long-time Libertarian activist, was recently elected to the Board of Trustees of the Dallas County (TX) Schools. Frensley was elected to the seven-member board and will serve a six-year term. Frensley, as a trustee, will be voting on budgets, staffing, and salaries for the Dallas County school system. Frensley won one of two seats open this year from a field of 11 candidates.

In Missouri, Mike A. Bozarth lost by six votes in his comeback attempt to regain a seat on the Clarksdale City Council. In 1988, Bozarth won a two-year term as councilman, but then lost his re-election attempt in 1990 by three votes.

"I openly ran as a libertarian in the non-partisan election and emphasized my opposition to any property tax increase," Bozarth said. That opposition to property tax increases "drew fire from the mayor, city clerk, treasurer, and marshal," he noted.

In mid-June, Brent Snow filed his declaration of candidacy for the Kokomo (IN) City Council. Snow and his supporters collected more than 200 signatures to obtain a place on the fall ballot. Snow said he will emphasize his opposition to both "burgeoning city spending and the projected local tax increases" during his campaign.

Dale Dobberstein submitted over 1,000 signatures to be placed on the August primary ballot for Lansing (MI) City Council. In 1989, Dobberstein missed going on to the general election by only 12 votes.

"The people of Lansing need someone on the council who will just say NO to tax increases and excessive ordinances," Dobberstein said. He also said he supports privatization of most city services. "The community would benefit from improved quality and reduced costs. The people would be in control of performance rather than held hostage by a public monopoly," he explained.

In Pennsylvania, there are some strange goings-on. Hugh Odhner, LP state chair, accidentally got himself elected as the Democratic nominee for Perkasio borough council. Odhner circulated petitions at the polls for the recent primary election in order to be placed on the general election ballot as a Libertarian. Confused voters, however, wrote him in as both a Republican and a Democrat. Neither party put up candidates in the primary.

Odhner would have won the Republican nomination as well, but for a rule setting a minimum number of write-in votes required.

In November, Odhner will appear on the general election ballot as both the Libertarian and Democratic nominee. His votes will be combined against write-in candidates, if any contest.

Also in Pennsylvania, Brian Kominsky, a 35-year-old emergency room physician, is running for the Bucks County Commission. Kominsky has already received good press coverage, especially his proposal to privatize former government installations such as the Naval Air Development Center (NADC) in Warminster. The Pentagon has targeted the NADC—suggesting moving the operations to Maryland.

Lou Klein, of Brookfield, CT, has announced that he is seeking election as his town's first selectman this year and will run for the state legislature in 1994. Klein ran for mayor of Bridgeport, CT, in 1989.



Lou Klein

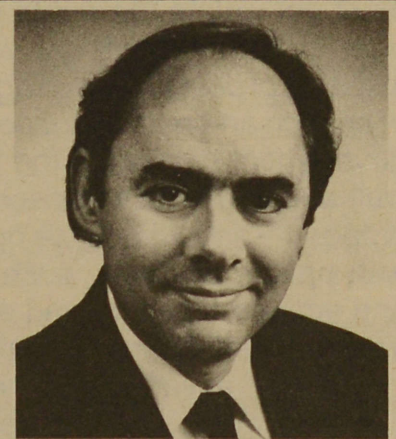
Klein, a professional recruiter whose motto is "I Discriminate—Without Prejudice," said his "only campaign promise to date is to reduce all property taxes 60 percent by issuing credit to non-users of the government—public—schools."

Michael Wolf has been campaigning for over a year for the Louisiana state senate. "I am a constitutional conservative committed to reducing our wasteful dependence on socialistic government," Wolf said. "I consider the development of personal responsibility to be the most urgent need of our society."

In a state where abortion has recently become a major issue, Wolf feels "the women of Louisiana should be able to make their own personal decisions—in private. We don't elect legislators to live our lives for us."

In California, the state campaign committee is trying to recruit at least 154 candidates for the 1992 elections. Campaign '92 director Ted Brown hopes to at least have candidates for both U.S. Senate seats, 52 U.S. House seats, 20 state senate positions, and all 80 state assembly races.

Many other Libertarians are actively campaigning around the country, and as election time draws nearer, the NEWS will be bringing you more information on their contests.



Michael Wolf

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An Open Letter to the Platform Committee

The time has come, I believe, for us to change the way in which we adopt and amend our national Platform.

At present, each time we convene, we take the existing Platform as a given. Additions, changes, and deletions are considered only if a majority of the Platform Committee recommends that we do so. Delegates never have the opportunity to vote on the "old" planks. As a result, the Platform changes very little from year to year. It simply grows longer and longer, bit by bit.

Much of the present language has not even been discussed on the floor for more than a decade. At every convention, I hear complaints that "We never get to vote on the major issues—only the minor amendments."

Starting at this convention, I propose that we begin our floor debate on the Platform by "re-ratifying" the existing one, plank by plank. Each plank would be read to the delegates (and to the American people watching on C-SPAN) by one or another of our "best and brightest" Libertarians. After each plank is read, there would be a simple "yea or nay" vote (without debate) on whether to retain it in the Platform. As per our present rules, a two-thirds vote would be required for affirmation. (The Preamble and Statement of Principles would stand as-is, and would not require reaffirmation—although we'd probably want to read them for the benefit of the TV audience.)

After every "old" plank is presented and voted on, we would move immediately to the report of the Platform Committee, which would be considered exactly as it is now. Additions, changes, and deletions would be debated and voted on in the same manner as they always have been. The only change would be that if an existing plank failed to be reaffirmed, any proposed changes to that plank would become moot and would not be considered.

The advantages of this "re-ratification" process are many. It assures that our Platform reflects our **present** views and concerns. It allows us to read the entire Platform, rather than isolated snippets, to the American people. By having our "stars" read the planks, we can "show off" some of our most impressive people, as well as delivering our message. And perhaps most important, the re-ratification process gives the delegates to each convention a sense of meaningful participation in shaping our Party's official position on the issues of the day.

I intend to introduce this proposal on the floor, and urge the Platform Committee to accept it and incorporate it into your report to the convention.

Yours for Liberty,

David R. Nolan
Mission Viejo, CA

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Las Vegas, Nevada 89104

Intolerance

By George L. O'Brien
Internal Education Chair

"Group hate." Racism, sexism, anti-semitism, or stereotyping based on religion, language, ethnic background, sexual orientation, etc. is objectionable and needs to be opposed. The real question is "how?"

Many libertarian historians believe the real origins of libertarian-liberalism came in the 17th century as a reaction to the religious wars that devastated Europe. They saw the destructive effect of intolerance and sought a better way.

The "enlightenment" view was that individuals should be permitted to live their lives in peace (with equal treatment under the law) no matter what their views on religion, politics, etc. This became codified in the Bill of Rights.

Tolerance came to include the view that each individual deserves to be treated with dignity and respect. Tolerance does not necessarily mean agreement with the views or even the non-coercive actions of others. It means treating people as individuals and not merely as part of some group.

Unfortunately, enlightened tolerance always has been extraordinarily rare. There is a natural tendency for people to prefer association with people who are very much like themselves, and to distrust and fear people who are different.

Traditionally, efforts to overcome intolerance have relied on reason and moral suasion. However, in recent decades attempts have been made to respond to intolerance with another form of intolerance. This has not worked.

Tolerance is unnatural. It requires a conscious effort to overcome feelings of discomfort when dealing with people who are different and to avoid treating them unfairly. It takes considerable effort to imagine oneself in the other person's shoes and to treat them as one would like to be treated.

Intolerance is emotional. Fear of outsiders (xenophobia) is deep seated even when there is no basis in fact. Outsiders may be competing for business or jobs, may be changing the ethnic makeup of one's neighborhood, or may simply irritate people with their practices.

In an incomprehensible world, stereotypes seem to create order out of chaos. The fact that they are wrong and unfair often seems beside the point.

Reacting to intolerance with more intolerance is not enlightenment, but simply a new form of bigotry. It fans fires of group hatred rather than dousing them with cooling waters of reason. Reacting to racism with the censorship of "political correctness" is only going to convince the racist he/she was right all along.

Silencing the bigot is not the same as bringing enlightenment. If anything it may make the process harder if the bigot's views cannot be exposed and refuted.

If intolerance of intolerance fails, trying to outlaw it is even more futile. Instituting compulsory quotas flames group

... libertarians must set an example. This means treating every individual with courtesy, dignity, and respect. This means honoring diversity and defending the right of others to be left alone.

conflict and does not deal with the root cause, intolerance, at all. The only way to prohibit bad judgments is to eliminate judgment entirely.

When libertarians oppose reliance on anti-discrimination laws and the intolerance of political correctness, it is not to defend bigotry. Libertarians understand that widespread bigotry and intolerance are antithetical to the maintenance of free society.

Libertarians fear that the objective of political correctness is not enlightenment, but to fan group conflict for the purpose of obtaining state power. (The fact that socialists, once in power, have a dismal record in dealing with minorities is hardly reassuring.)

By contrast, libertarians can show that government action often helps to create and sustain the very problems anti-discrimination laws are designed to attack:

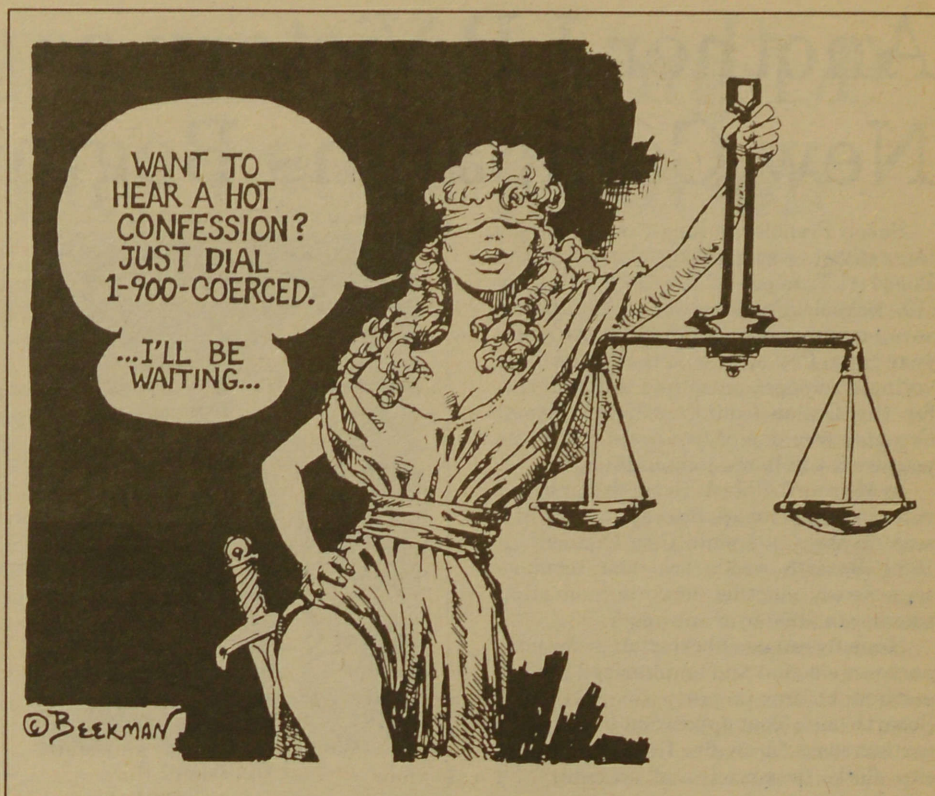
- Laws creating the special status of trade unions have permitted the unions to discriminate against minorities.
- "Equal pay for equal work" made it impossible for minorities to undercut the wage rates asked by favored groups, leading to fewer minorities being hired.
- Laws designed to "protect women" frequently lead to their not being hired at all.
- Business licensing laws and regulations serve to prevent competition from newer firms, which are more often owned by women and minorities.
- Even with welfare and other transfers considered, minorities (as a group) pay far more in taxes and tax-induced higher prices than they receive.

However, the libertarian message is not simply that government hurts minorities and women. Our message emphasizes reason and moral suasion (the real message of Ghandi and Martin Luther King) versus force and politically correct hatred.

For this message to be persuasive, libertarians must set an example. This means treating every individual with courtesy, dignity, and respect. This means honoring diversity and defending the right of others to be left alone.

However, treating a bigot with courtesy should not be confused with agreement. It is necessary to treat the bigot with respect as an individual while demonstrating how his/her views are wrong.

There is no place for intolerance even of intolerance.



From the

Libertarian Party Platform . . .

Statement of Principles

We, the members of the Libertarian Party, challenge the cult of the omnipotent state and defend the rights of the individual.

We hold that all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives, and have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to live in whatever manner they choose.

Governments throughout history have regularly operated on the opposite principle, that the State has the right to dispose of the lives of individuals and the fruits of their labor. Even within the United States, all political parties other than our own grant to government the right to regulate the lives of individuals and seize the fruits of their labor without their consent.

We, on the contrary, deny the right of any government to do these things, and hold that where governments exist, they must not violate the rights of any individual: namely, (1) the right to life—accordingly we support the prohibition of the initiation of physical force against others; (2) the right of liberty of speech and action—accordingly we oppose all attempts by government to abridge the freedom of speech and press, as well as government censorship in any form; (3) the right to property—accordingly we oppose all government interference with private property, such as confiscation, nationalization, and eminent domain, and support the prohibition of robbery, trespass, fraud, and misrepresentation.

Since governments, when instituted, must not violate individual rights, we oppose all interference by government in the areas of voluntary and contractual relations among individuals. People should not be forced to sacrifice their lives and property for the benefit of others. They should be left free by government to deal with one another as free traders; and the resultant economic system, the only one compatible with the protection of individual rights, is the free market.

The Miranda Decision: Thoughts on a Silver Anniversary

By Christopher C. Faille

You may have participated in, witnessed, or just read about events commemorating the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights. The commemoration of the ratification of that document is perfectly fitting. What is less fitting is that another anniversary seems to have gotten lost in the celebratory shuffle—I mean the 25th or “silver” anniversary of the Supreme Court’s famous Miranda decision, formally Miranda v. Arizona, 384 U.S. 436 (1966).

Miranda was but the most famous, or notorious, of a string of rulings in which the Warren-era Supreme Court developed and expanded the “exclusionary rule.” What is that? Despite all the smoke of argumentation generated by its enemies over the years, the exclusionary rule is very straightforward: If the state acquires a certain piece of evidence by unconstitutional means, then it is unconstitutional for the state to use that illegitimate acquisition to place in jeopardy the life, liberty, or property of an accused. In plainer terms, wrongfully obtained evidence is to be excluded from courts of law in criminal litigation.

But those who would undermine the appeal of this simple rule pretend to find a great anomaly here: “The criminal should not go free just because the constable has blundered,” they say. Why do they always imagine that this sounds profound? The Constitution in general, and the Bill of Rights in particular, exists precisely to protect individuals, to protect the accused, from “blunders” of “constables.” The accused “go free” in such instances only if, and because, the constable does not have sufficient legally obtained evidence to persuade a jury that the accused is a criminal after all. This is nothing more or less than what a commitment to due process requires.

Sometimes the illegally-obtained evidence is a coerced confession. The Fifth Amendment guarantees us that no person may be compelled, in a criminal case, to be a witness against himself. Miranda v. Arizona was not the first decision to apply the exclusionary rule to enforce that guarantee—see Chambers v. Florida, 309 U.S. 227 (1940) for a precedent that long precedes Earl Warren’s judicial career!

What Miranda added to the existing body of law was the reasonable determination that a “custodial interrogation” in the absence of a specific notification to the suspect of that suspect’s constitutional rights, and in the absence of an explicit waiver by the suspect of his right to remain silent, is **always** an act of compulsion. The Supreme Court defined a “bright line” by which all trial courts, federal and state, can know which confessions they must exclude in obedience to the Fifth Amendment, and which they need not.

We should not assume that the problems addressed in Miranda are matters of historical interest only, solved and left behind years ago. The problem of the great injustice that a coerced confession can do to an innocent suspect is very much with us, as viewers of the award-winning documentary, “The Thin Blue Line,” know only too well.

That film portrayed the railroading of an innocent man, Randall Adams. Adams was arrested, interrogated in custody without a lawyer, intimidated into a “confession,” and convicted of the murder of a police officer he had never met. Adams spent 12 years in prison awaiting execution until the publicity generated by that documentary led to a new trial, and that trial, untainted by the illegal confession and the other pseudo-evidence employed by the prosecution the first time, left Adams finally exonerated, having lost a mere 12 years of his life rather than his life itself.



NEWS Graphic by Mary Kelley Crawford

Let us think of Miranda as an investigation into the elements of “compulsion” inherent in an arrest. The moment an officer of the state tells a suspect, “You’re under arrest,” or places him into the back of a police car, or locks him up at the station house—the moment any such event takes place the suspect has already been deprived of his freedom of movement. A person who still enjoys the presumption of innocence has been, nonetheless, coercively restrained by the raw force of the state. How, without more, can any line of questioning be considered non-compulsory when it emanates from the very authority that made this arrest? It seems that such custodial interrogation is inherently suspicious. It is reasonable enough, then, that the Court in Miranda required that the state, through warning and waiver, alleviate its suspicions.

Some libertarians, nevertheless, remain cold to Miranda. There are those for whom libertarianism is in fact anarchism, and who believe that there ought to be no Constitution for the simple reason that there ought to be no United States to be constituted. I will not try here to resolve the long-standing debate between the two libertarian factions. I will only state, summarily, that I believe that some sort of state will remain necessary, for the indefinite future, in a night watchman’s capacity.

I address, in what follows, those who think likewise.

A state professedly dedicated to providing the services of a night watchman may, nevertheless, become a police state. There is no *a priori* limit to what persons with coercive authority might do in the name of protecting the lives and property of citizens. Limits on the state must be created *a posteriori*, within the flow of history and with the benefit of political experience. That is precisely what the founders of this country set out to do. When they threw tea off the ships in Boston Harbor, they declared that there were limits to the authority of Parliament. They kept declaring and enforcing limits through the next two decades, which is why we have a Constitution, a Bill of Rights, and an independent judiciary with the power of review.

Some acts of judicial review are disastrous, in that they undermine the very cause of human liberty that justifies the existence of that institution. But other acts of judicial review are fortunate, in that they serve that same cause. When one tries to think of Supreme Court decisions that have advanced the cause of human liberty, one’s mind ought to turn readily to Miranda v. Arizona. One ought to hope that, years from now, the LP NEWS will run a piece remarking on that decision’s golden anniversary.

Libertarian Essay Wins Scholarship in NJ

The following article is reprinted from the New Jersey Libertarian, P.O. Box 913, Matawan, NJ 07747.

Bridey Flynn is the daughter of long-time Libertarians Ginny and Len Flynn. Her essay, printed below, won the \$5,000 Emily Roebling Scholarship to Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute out of 200 submitted. Bridey will attend college next fall, probably at either MIT or Johns Hopkins University (sorry, RPI!) and pursue a career in biomedical engineering or medicine.

Bridey was class valedictorian at her high school, the Marine Academy of Science and Technology, where she attained a straight A average while working 20 hours a week as a checker at the Marlboro Pathmark supermarket. She also completed a 110 hour course with examinations to gain NJ state certification as an emergency medical technician—ambulance. Bridey serves as cadet sergeant on the Morganville First Aid & Rescue Squad and has credit for over 100 calls.

Topic: In 2028 you were elected the first woman president of the United States. It is now the year 2030, so you have served one year of your term. Upon entering office,

there were two major issues facing your administration. Please discuss these two issues, and how you have dealt with them so far.

I was elected the first woman President of the United States last year, defeating my opponents Barbara Smith and Amanda Jones. The two major issues facing my administration were the abolition of all foreign aid and repeal of the income tax. During the past year I have furthered both these causes and I am confident I will achieve complete success by the end of my term.

Although the question of whether or not to discontinue foreign aid has been raised before, it had not been given serious consideration until a few years ago. The financial aid given out by the United States has been greatly reduced since the twentieth century, but it still numbers in the hundreds of millions of dollars each year. The Russian conversion to a free-market economy and democratic government in 2002 marked the beginning of a world metamorphosis. Since then, the only countries that have needed money have been the remaining Communist and totalitar-

“ I hope to better my nation by making it as free for the individual as possible . . . ”

ian nations of the Middle East and southern Asia. Since these countries do not allow their citizens the basic human rights recognized by most other countries, many Americans like myself feel we should not condone, let alone support, their coercive governments.

During the past year I have traveled around the United States trying to gain support for this cause. From State Department officials who have visited the countries we aid, I have obtained a pretty accurate idea about what the money has been spent on. By reporting this information to the public, I have gained enormous support. I am confident that foreign aid will be abolished within the next year.

The second major issue faced by my administration was the abolition of the income tax. All other forms of taxation by that time had already been abolished. Although the income tax had already been reduced to a maximum of 0.5 percent as of

Jan. 1, 2027, the fact that it still existed was a problem. Other than a few government officials’ salaries there were no real expenses except for foreign aid, of course. The United States military no longer needed funding because they were employed by corporations to protect free trade. Schools were all privately owned and operated efficiently and inexpensively. After foreign aid has been abolished, there will be no need for an income tax. The salaries of officials can easily be paid by the revenues from leasing government property and state run lotteries. Over the past year I have helped in the effort to create a constitutional amendment to reverse the 16th Amendment, which allowed the collection of income taxes.

My opinions and promises on these two issues resulted in my election to the office of President of the United States in 2028. During this past year I have done everything in my power to abolish these two detriments to the American way of life. During my Presidency I hope to better my nation by making it as free for the individual as possible and by removing the remaining symbols of government waste and hypocrisy.

LP State Chairs Schedule Meeting During Convention

The Council of LP State Chairs will meet on Wednesday, Aug. 28, at the national convention site in Chicago.

According to Alicia Clark, coordinator of the council, this will be the seventh meeting of the group, the first meeting having taken place in 1981.

The goal of the council "is to encourage and improve direct communication among state chairs and parties; to share ideas and positive and negative experiences; and to learn from each other and try to avoid re-inventing the wheel everywhere, every year," Clark said.

There will be no featured speakers during the meeting, giving the state chairs the opportunity to share experiences.

"Our parties will save money, time, and effort, become better organized and grow faster, if the state parties help each other," Clark said.

For more information, contact Alicia Clark, 3445 Monterey Rd., San Marino, CA 91108, or call 818-796-8231.

LP Candidate Training Seminar Planned at National Convention

You or anyone you know who is planning to run for office in 1992 will want to attend the all-day Candidate Training Seminar on Wednesday, Aug. 28 at the LP National Convention in Chicago. Featuring elected Libertarians and experienced outreach campaigners, the seminar will help candidates in your state get the most out of their campaigns, including GETTING ELECTED!

Here's a line-up of what the seminar will feature:

THE AM SESSION: RUNNING FOR OUTREACH (8:00 - 12:00)

• Steve Dasbach - former Affiliate Campaign Chair (1988-1991)

Steve has talked with countless candidates over the past three and one-half years, studying their campaign successes and failures. He will share some observations and interpretations.

• Don Ernsberger - candidate for Congress (1988)

Don's campaign was characterized by setting measurable goals (all of which were

achieved), a plan of action for achieving those goals, and projections of what his campaign team thought would result. One goal dealt with obtaining newspaper coverage; over 200 articles resulted. Don will discuss setting and achieving goals, as well as some surprising results of his campaign.

• Toby Nixon - candidate for State Legislature (1990)

• Ron Crickenberger - Affiliate Campaign Chair and Toby Nixon's campaign manager

You'd like to use television in your campaign but think you can't afford it? Think again! Toby and Ron were able to produce clever, quality ads for less than \$300, allowing most of their campaign funds to be used to air the commercials. They'll explain how to produce low-cost ads, raise money to get them on the air, and what TV can do for your campaign.

• Tonie Nathan - former National Media Relations Director and five-time candidate (Vice-President, Congress [2], U.S. Senate, County Commission)

Some say the best media coverage is free media. Tonie will discuss what makes an event (or campaign) newsworthy, how to get on radio and TV talk shows, and how to get the most out of interviews and appearances.

LUNCH - INFORMAL DISCUSSION WITH SPEAKERS AND OTHER CANDIDATES (12:00 - 1:00)

THE PM SESSION:

GETTING ELECTED! (1:00 - 5:00)

• Andre Marrou - elected to the Alaska Legislature (1984 - 86) candidate for Vice President (1988)

Andre is one of only three Libertarians elected to a State Legislature. He'll describe how he got elected, as well as what he learned from his prior 1982 campaign that he didn't win. He'll also discuss the importance of television in today's campaigns. Let Andre help you join the ranks of elected Libertarians.

• Sandi Webb - elected to the Simi Valley City Council (1990)

• Aaron Starr - Sandy Webb's campaign manager

• Dan Weiner - helped develop Sandy's campaign strategy and telephone polling

Sandi went from zero name recognition to winning a seat on the city council in a city of over 100,000 people. Sandi, Aaron, and Dan will show you how they used television to build Sandi's name recognition and image with the voters, as well as how they used telephone polling to track the success of their campaign plan. These strategies can help you get elected, too!

THIS SEMINAR IS FREE TO ANYONE WHO HAS REGISTERED FOR A CONVENTION PACKAGE (activist level or above); \$20 to anyone else. Contact Ron Crickenberger, Affiliate Campaigns Committee Chair, 1351 New Hope Rd., Locust Grove, GA 30248, or call 404-957-6825.

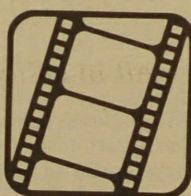
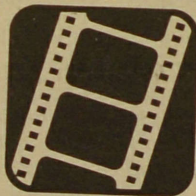
To Boldly Go . . . Sci-Fi Outreach Effort

Over the Labor Day weekend one of the largest gatherings ever of libertarians will take place in the windy city of Chicago. However, it will not be at the Libertarian Party's convention, but a couple of blocks away at the World Science Fiction Convention (World Con).

World Con regularly draws several thousand people, and experiences at other sci-fi conventions indicate that 60 percent or more of the attendees at these events are at least libertarian enough to score in the libertarian quadrant of the Nolan chart, a much higher percentage than the general population.

Sci-fi fans are a large, and mostly untapped, market for new recruits into the Libertarian Party.

Planning for outreach activities directed at those attending World Con is now under way. Events are to include: 1) A "Freedom is Suite" room showing libertarian science fiction films 24 hours a day; 2) An Operation Politically Homeless booth, both in conjunction with the suite and as a separate event; and 3) A panel discussion by several libertarian sci-fi authors on how true freedom will help bring about the type



of society that we all desire.

If you have interest in such a project, your input and help are welcome. We have a good list of movies, but we have had a problem coming up with movies that show libertarianism in a positive light, as opposed to showing how statism and big government are evil and oppressive. Your suggestions in this area would be very helpful. We are also looking for volunteers, as well as funds for the suite and movie rentals.

If you would like to help bring the fresh wind of freedom to a large group of folks who are already libertarian, but simply have not discovered the word that describes their philosophy, please call Ron Crickenberger at 404-957-6825, or write Ron at 1351 New Hope Rd., Locust Grove, GA 30248.

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Doris Gordon, National Coordinator

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- ___ TV ad on 3/4 inch tape, \$35

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- ___ Libertarianism in One Lesson (Bergland), \$5
- ___ America's Libertarian Heritage (Bergland), \$1
- ___ Ron Paul's Farewell Address to Congress, \$5
- ___ Restoring the American Dream (Ringer), \$10
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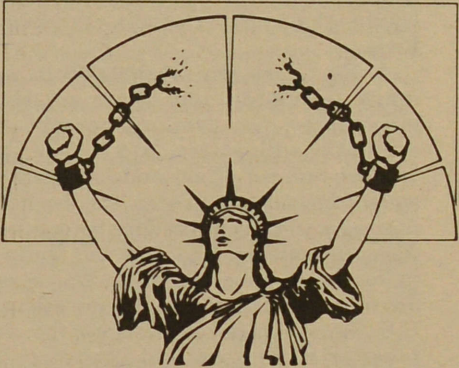
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Daily Convention Schedule

Type of Event	Time	Event
Tuesday, August 27, 1991		
National Party Business	9 a.m.-5 p.m.	Platform Committee Meeting
	9 a.m.-5 p.m.	ByLaws Committee Meeting
Wednesday, August 28, 1991		
National Party Business	9 a.m.-5 p.m.	Platform Committee Meeting
	9 a.m.-5 p.m.	Credentials Committee Meeting
	9 a.m.-5 p.m.	ByLaws Committee Meeting
	9 a.m.-5 p.m.	Council of State Chairs
	1 p.m.-5 p.m.	NatCom Meeting
Workshops	9 a.m.-5 p.m.	Candidate Intensive
Social Events	5 p.m.-7 p.m.	Chicago Tourism Cocktail Party
	6 p.m.-10 p.m.	Heartland Dinner
	7 p.m.-10 p.m.	200/20 Birthday Celebration of Bill of Rights/Libertarian Party
Exhibit Area	1 p.m.-6 p.m.	Set-up of Exhibits
	7 p.m.-10 p.m.	Libertarian Movie
Thursday, August 29, 1991		
National Party Business	11:30 a.m.-12:00 p.m.	Keynote (David Nolan)
	12 p.m.-4 p.m.	Platform Debate
Panels and Speakers	8:45 a.m.-9:30 a.m.	Gun Control (Larry Pratt)
	9:45 a.m.-11:15 a.m.	Bill of Rights Panel (Jarret Wollstein, Red Beckman, Michael Grossberg, Dr. Nadine Strossen)
	12:30 p.m.-1:30 p.m.	Eastern European Capitalism (Yuri Maltesez)
	1:45 p.m.-2:45 p.m.	Advocates Part II (Carole Ann Rand)
	3 p.m.-4 p.m.	Police State, USA (Susan Davis, Bill Margold, Kevin Bjornson, Marty Yant)
	4:15 p.m.-5:45 p.m.	Drug Legalization (Richard Dennis, Dan Polsby, Mark Kleiman, Scott Mendeloff)
Workshops	12:30 p.m.-2:30 p.m.	Candidates Mini-Workshop (Steve Dasbach, Ron Crickenberger)
	3 p.m.-4 p.m.	Cable TV (Jim Davies)
	4:15 p.m.-5:45 p.m.	State Party Building (Nick Youngers, Jim McClarin)
Meal Events	8 a.m.-9:30 a.m.	Breakfast (Gun Control)
	7 p.m.-10:30 p.m.	Taste of Chicago (with Second City)
Social Events	Late Evening	Hospitality Suites
Exhibit Area	9 a.m.-6 p.m.	Exhibits
	9 a.m.-5 p.m.	Food/Beverage Cart
	7 p.m.-10 p.m.	Libertarian Movie
Friday, August 30, 1991		
National Party Business	11:30 a.m.-4:45 p.m.	Platform Debate
	5 p.m.-5:30 p.m.	Candidate Debate
Panels and Speakers	8:45 a.m.-9:30 a.m.	Karl Hess
	9:45 a.m.-11:15 a.m.	From Right or Left to Libertarian (Richard Dennis, Joe Sobran)
	11:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Tax Reform (Jim Tobin, Mark Skousen)
	12:45 p.m.-1:45 p.m.	Activism in Libertarianism (Jack Herer)
	2 p.m.-3 p.m.	Outreach (Robert Clarkson)
	3:15 p.m.-4:45 p.m.	Privatization (James Mercer, Lou Schimmel, Richard Eberling)
Workshops	11:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.	Campus Activism (Jim Lark, Jim Lewis)
	12:45 p.m.-2:45 p.m.	Marketing and Fundraising (Sam Edelson)
	3:15 p.m.-4:45 p.m.	Ballot Access (Rick Arnold)
Meal Events	8 a.m.-9:30 a.m.	Breakfast (Karl Hess)
	12 p.m.-1:30 p.m.	Torch Club Lunch
Social Events	6 p.m.-11 p.m.	City Tour and Jazz Fest
	Late Evening	Hospitality Suites
Exhibit Area	9 a.m.-6 p.m.	Exhibits
	9 a.m.-5 p.m.	Food/Beverage Cart
	7 p.m.-10 p.m.	Libertarian Movie
Saturday, August 31, 1991		
National Party Business	8 a.m.-10:30 a.m.	Platform Debate
	1 p.m.-5 p.m.	Candidate Nominations
Panels and Speakers	9 a.m.-10:30 a.m.	Educational Choice (Joe Bast, Martin Buchanan, John Chodes)
	11:30 a.m.-12:45 p.m.	Unity and Future Vision (Mary Ruwart, Andre Marrou, Dick Boddie) (See Brunch)
	8 p.m.-8:45 p.m.	Ron Paul and the 1992 Presidential Candidate (See Banquet)
Workshops	9 a.m.-10:30 a.m.	FIJA (Larry Dodge, Red Beckman)
Meal Events	10:45 a.m.-12:45 p.m.	Brunch (Ruwart, Marrou, Boddie)
	7 p.m.-12 p.m.	Presidential Banquet and Dance
Social Events	6 p.m.-7 p.m.	Cocktail Party (See Banquet)
	Late Evening	Hospitality Suites
Exhibit Area	9 a.m.-6 p.m.	Exhibits
	9 a.m.-5 p.m.	Food/Beverage Cart
Sunday, September 1, 1991		
National Party Business	9:45 a.m.-5 p.m.	Party Business and Nominations
	5:30 p.m.-7 p.m.	NatCom Meeting
Panels and Workshops	8:45 a.m.-9:30 a.m.	Effective Party Management (Dave Walter) (See Breakfast)
	9:45 a.m.-11:15 a.m.	Fully Informed Jury Amendment (Larry Dodge, Red Beckman, et. al.)
Workshops	9:45 a.m.-11:15 a.m.	Initiatives (Martin Buchanan, Jack Herer)
Meal Events	8 a.m.-9:30 a.m.	Breakfast (Dave Walter)
	7:15 p.m.-10 p.m.	DieHard LP Dinner
Exhibit Area	9 a.m.-12 p.m.	Exhibits
	12 p.m.-5 p.m.	Exhibit Removal

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From Ed Clark in '80 to Andre Marrou in '92

By Andre Marrou

In 1980, Ed Clark received 921,199 votes for President. 1.065 percent of the vote. A Libertarian record.

Why did Ed Clark do so well?

1. In 1978, Ed Clark polled 377,960 votes for Governor of California. 5.5 percent! Against incumbent Governor Jerry Brown and Evelle Younger. He was a proven Libertarian vote-getter. A candidate to be taken seriously. Ed Clark represented performance, not just promise.

2. Ed Clark was on the ballot in all 50 states plus DC in 1980. He was the first—and last—Libertarian Presidential Nominee to accomplish this feat. This is a necessary, but not sufficient condition of being a credible candidate. Failing to be on the ballot in all 50 states plus DC gives major media an excuse for ignoring the Libertarian Presidential Nominee. Ed Clark overcame the ballot access barrier.

3. The Clark Presidential Campaign produced four thoughtful and well-documented Libertarian White Papers. The subjects were "Taxes and Spending," "Foreign Policy," "Social Security," and "Education." These 40 to 80 page policy papers showed how and why Libertarian positions would be implemented. These White Papers made us intellectually and politically credible to the News Media. Reporters don't care how much we care until they know how much we know.

4. The Clark Presidential Campaign

had an experienced, skilled campaign staff. Veterans of the 1976 MacBride for President Campaign and the 1978 Clark for Governor Campaign. People like Ed Crane, Chris Hocker, Ray & Carol Cunningham, Bob Costello, and Howie Rich.

5. Ed Clark ran \$1,300,000 in network television ads. These advertisements gave him name recognition and credibility with voters. 26,317 called the toll-free number. Thousands of others responded locally. But these ads also made him more visible and credible to reporters. As a consequence, Ed Clark was featured in People, on the cover of The Wall Street Journal, written up by Newsweek and U.S. News. More free coverage of the 1980 Libertarian Presidential Campaign followed. This made Ed Clark's 1980 Libertarian Presidential Campaign more credible and attractive to voters.

Can the Marrou for President Campaign take the lead from the Clark for President effort? Can we emulate the best and innovate the rest?

Why will Andre Marrou receive over 1,000,000 votes for President in 1992?

Based on the Clark Campaign, why will we do so well?

1. From 1985 to 1987, I served as an elected Libertarian State Legislator in Alaska. In 1982, I received 27.81 percent of the vote in my three-way legislative

race in Alaska, finishing second. In 1984, I was elected with 40.52 percent of my three-way race. In 1986, I finished second by less than 700 votes in a hard fought three-way race.

*** In 1988, I was the Libertarian Vice Presidential Nominee. I campaigned in all 50 states—a Libertarian first.**

*** In my four Libertarian campaigns, I polled 443,319 votes.**

2. I am the only Libertarian Presidential candidate committed to ballot status in all 50 states plus DC in 1992. Since December 1988 my PROJECT 51-'92 (Libertarian Ballot Status in all 50 States Plus DC in 1992) has raised \$123,591 for ballot drives and lobbying. I personally testified before state legislatures to lower ballot requirements in Oregon, Missouri, and Massachusetts. I lobbied state legislators in Nevada, Florida, Kansas, North Carolina, and Montana. We collected 81,482 signatures to put Nevada and North Carolina on the ballot for 1992. From late 1988 through today, I have actively worked for 50 states plus DC in 1992. By the Nominating Convention, we'll be on the ballot in 26+ states. A Libertarian record. Deeds, not just words.

3. The Marrou for President Campaign is contracting four initial White Papers. The subjects are: "Ending the Personal Income Tax in 1993," "Environmental Problems: Libertarian Solutions," "Educational Choice: The Market for Literacy," and "Choice and Open Market Alternatives to America's Health Care Cri-

sis." We must support our positions with reason, reality, and results, not just rhetoric.

4. The Marrou Presidential Campaign has an experienced, skilled staff. All are veterans of previous Presidential campaigns. Karl Hess, our chair, was 1964 Barry Goldwater Presidential speechwriter. Jim Lewis, our manager, was the 1984 Libertarian Vice Presidential Nominee. Tonie Nathan, our media coordinator, was 1972 Libertarian Vice Presidential Nominee and the first woman to receive an electoral vote. Michael Emerling, chief of staff, managed my 1988 VP campaign. Perry Willis, chief advisor, served in several capacities with the 1984 Bergland for President effort.

5. Marrou for President has budgeted \$340,000 to \$900,000 for network television ads to promote the campaign and recruit new Libertarians. These ads will be partly funded by Libertarians and partly self-funded through 900 numbers and other revenue generating modes. Can I raise enough money? You decide. **To date, my Libertarian campaigns and ballot project have raised and spent \$606,387.**

Thanks to the Clark for President Campaign of 1980, we have guidelines and a magnificent role model for the Marrou for President Campaign of 1992. As your Nominee, I can confidently say: We will get over 1,000,000 votes for president in 1992. And we will move the politics of liberty into the political mainstream.

A Pragmatic 'No' to Federal Matching Funds

By David Bergland

I hope it's not too late for a former (1984) Libertarian presidential candidate to offer his thoughts on the great "matching funds" issue so central to this year's presidential nomination race.

I have heard and read the arguments and spoken to many libertarians about the issue. Most know I opposed taking matching funds in my campaign, as have all previous LP presidential candidates. It seemed an easy decision in 1984. But since then, particularly when people I respect make the opposite decision, I have felt obligated to reconsider. Having done so, I am still opposed, but more clear on the reasons why.

It recently occurred to me that perhaps we've been asking the wrong questions. The issue has been posed: Should the LP presidential candidate accept matching funds? Putting it this way places the focus on the moral legitimacy of the candidate's conduct in taking the money. It invites the main argument in support of an affirmative answer: "We are only recovering stolen property." In summary, the argument goes: recovering stolen property is a moral act; libertarians have had megamillions stolen from them by taxation; conduct which allows libertarians to recover some of that loot is moral; therefore, taking matching funds is moral.

Without conceding the validity of that argument, it is possible to ignore it and the moral questions it raises and still conclude that our presidential candidate should not take the loot.

Let's ask a different question: Should the federal government be using taxpayer funds for the presidential campaign match-

ing funds program? All libertarians will answer, NO! Unequivocally. Why? We all recognize that taxation itself is immoral theft and that any government program which hands over money stolen from the people to **politicians** who want to rule over those same people is a multiple evil. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that any conduct which helps support the continuance of such a program supports the very sort of evils libertarians find morally repugnant.

This reminds me of a basic operating principle I have adopted for dealing with issues which are difficult to resolve. Always take the position which pushes the state back into its cage and tightens its shackles. No good has ever come from cutting slack for the State or its agents.

I do not choose to say that one who seeks and accepts matching funds is acting immorally. But certainly, the consequence of such conduct is to support the continued immoral conduct of the politicians and bureaucrats running and benefitting from the program. That strikes me as at least unwise.

It is unwise for a particular reason in today's political context. Following on the success of the presidential matching funds program, federal and state politicians are calling for public financing of all sorts of election campaigns. This promises to be one of the major issues in coming years. I want the Libertarian Party to be in the forefront of the opposition to taxpayer-funded election campaigns. That will be the winning position in the eyes of the people, and could even prevent the evil from spreading. I do not want anything to undermine the ability of Libertarians to take a principled and consistent stand on

these issues as they arise. It is very important that our presidential candidate not be the one to make it difficult to maintain that principled position.

When I say that the proposed conduct is unwise, the standard I employ is: What will help the LP grow and libertarian ideas become more influential? Don't do anything to curtail that growth or spread those ideas. It is my experience that the moral and the practical are virtually identical. Staying principled can be done in such a way as to promote growth. Compromising never seems to produce the short-term results sought and nearly always has some negative consequences.

By this standard, it is unwise to seek matching funds because this will undermine the respect LP candidates, particularly presidential candidates, have earned as uncompromising libertarians. My experience with hundreds of journalists tells me that with many of them the respect is grudging, and they would be ecstatic to find any significant backsliding on our part. I can see the headlines: "Anti-Tax Libertarian Party Seeks Federal Subsidy for Campaign." That's too high a price to pay.

The price is too high because you don't get much of a payoff anyway. In 1988, the New Alliance Party candidate, Lenora Fulani, received matching funds. Her vote total was about half that of Ron Paul and she made little or no headway in the public consciousness.

You may have noticed that libertarians take their principles and positions seriously. They will contest arcane points of libertarian philosophy endlessly and emotionally. And rightly so. These things are important, especially to us. How is that

relevant? The matching funds issue has the potential for doing great damage with the LP. Many LP members are profoundly convinced that taking matching funds is immoral. Many feel strongly enough to quit the party over it or sit on their hands (and wallets) during the presidential campaign if the wrong (as they see it) is done. (To be fair, there are some libertarians on the other side who believe taking the matching funds will be proof of having arrived at a new plateau of maturity and professionalism. However, my assessment tells me they are fewer in number and not so deeply affected by the issue as those in opposition.)

Finally, how will the public perceive the change in position from the past? I believe, taking their cue from the journalists, those who are moderately politically aware will write off the LP as just another group that talked a good game for a while and then joined the pack of pigs at the public trough. We will no longer be viewed as the champion of the taxpayer/individual, but as part of the rat pack trying to rip him off. Internally, we may be able to convince ourselves that "we are only recovering stolen property." The average voter will not take the time to hear the argument out, or if he does, will interpret it as just another politician's facile rationalization for getting into his pockets. And, he'll be right.

For more Boddie information, write Boddie for President, 8855 Atlanta Ave., Huntington Beach, CA 92646, or call 714-968-3973.

For more Marrou information, write Marrou for President, 4750 E. Sahara, Las Vegas, NV, or call 702-431-3848.

Boddie on Smith, Bulk Mail, Education, More

Bulk Mailer's Lament

My business depends on the post office as I send out bulk mailings every month. Bulk mail is an obvious burden on the postal employees—they try to discourage customers. Mail must be banded, labelled in a precise manner, and accompanied with a difficult-to-complete form. Recently a postal employee expressed jubilation that Western Graphics had a power failure and would not be bringing in their usual Friday mail. The other employee expressed the sentiment that "if the same thing happened at Andersen, it would make a perfect day." (Western Graphics and Andersen are two big bulk mail processors in San Diego.) I know of no other seller who is delighted when they lose business!

I received a 94-page book describing the new postal rates and fees effective March 3, 1991. It is riddled with bureaucratic charts, acronyms such as BMC/ASF, and unintelligible language. Then I attended a postal seminar for bulk mailers and received a 37-page supplement and a 10-page supplement to the supplement. The post office may out-ride the IRS in destroying trees for the production of government paperwork.

It takes the post office an entire book (plus two supplements) to describe and price their ONE service—tardy delivery. Currently, it takes 5 days to deliver a piece of bulk mail 15 miles from the post office. This is significantly slower than the Pony Express in 1860.

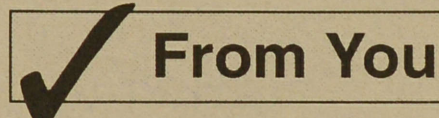
This country desperately needs to privatize mail—let others deliver mail just as UPS and other companies deliver packages. There was an article in the newspaper several years ago about a scout troop that was threatened with prosecution because their fund-raising project consisted of delivering Christmas cards in competition with the post office. Probably, they were doing a better, cheaper job, and they may have smiled at the customers and said thank you! That must be illegal!

Rae Marcus
San Diego, CA

Educational Vouchers

John Simmons excellent letter on educational vouchers (June NEWS) adequately summarizes the major reasons for urging the convention delegates to kill the "voucher temptation" at the LP national meeting.

Independent schools, as most libertarians know, are still the only realistic alternative to government-run schools, and parents who



Letters from members and readers

opt to enroll their children in these schools must suffer the penalty of paying twice for educational costs. Though vouchers, as we both believe, are essentially un-libertarian, delegates would seem to have a libertarian alternative in the tax abatement approach.

Take the Warwick (NY) Educational Tax Abatement Plan, for example. Under its provisions any individual owner of real estate who pays all or any part of the textbook or tuition expenses for any district student-resident would be eligible to receive an abatement on school taxes from the district in an amount up to \$1,000 per student. The plan is neither a subsidy, nor a rebate, nor a voucher measure. It would, after a break-even point, actually lower taxes. It would, in addition, broaden the opportunities for students to attend non-coercively funded, market-operated schools, unencumbered by the straight-jacket of politically correct thinking.

Edward P. Scharfenberger
Warwick, NY

Getting Active

I've just consumed your July issue *in toto*, and am more impressed with each issue. Heretofore, I have considered myself a populist (note the lower case) and have really tried to extract from the Populist and Libertarian literature a concise idea of the distinctions between them. The only one I'm sure of is in the matter of immigration, which the Populists would control and the Libertarians would not.

Special praise is due Dave Walter's item on perceptions. . . You've about got me convinced that the most effective populist is an active Libertarian. As politically naive as I am (at age 74!), I need some assistance in getting active locally. Put me in touch with the Kansas LP, okay?

Louis B. Hall
Winfield, KS

LA Abortion Law

As the chair of the LP of Louisiana, I cannot support the recent override of the governor's veto of the tough new anti-abortion bill. My reasons for this position are many and varied, but rest almost entirely on the

official position of our party, based in human nature, of freedom to choose one's own destiny. The natural correlate of freedom is personal responsibility—an issue somewhat lost sight of in the debate, and only resolvable with difficulty (if at all). Personal responsibility begins with rejecting government funds for medical care of any sort; I am opposed to the extension of government power in any area whatsoever, as this tends to soak the taxpayer rather than result in an equitable return on funds. . .

Now, I'll suggest a position: A society which values life would find a way to establish birth control implants like those under development in Europe. In any case the last word has not been said.

Perhaps physicians should go on strike, or even women should do so (read *Lysistrata* for details). Disgruntled voters hear my plea: turn 'em out at the next election!

David B. Langlois
Baton Rouge, LA

Soviet Comment

I have received second time your newspaper (April NEWS). Thanks lot! I would be glad to receive it in future.

Igor Dashkevich
Leningrad, USSR

Bulk NEWS

Thank you for offering the bulk subscription prices for the NEWS. I am behind the program 110 percent. I want my library and local news media to have each and every issue of the NEWS.

George Vickery
Concord, NC

Lithuanian Connection

The following letters were received from Algirdas Degutis, a Lithuanian who had visited LPHQ during a trip to the U.S. During his visit, Degutis mentioned how much a computer would benefit his organization, and national director Nick Dunbar passed on this information to Steve Fielder, former LP national treasurer, who donated one of his personal computers to Degutis.

I am composing this letter on the computer Nick Dunbar presented me with in your name. I am most thankful to you, and the thing proves to be extremely useful. My productivity has nearly doubled. And there is much to do.

I have founded here a small private

institute, LIBERTAS, for the study and advocacy of classical liberal and libertarian ideas. We are supported by a private corporation and state-independent. The whole thing is so new in Lithuania that mountains of efforts seem to be ahead. But the idea is really refreshing, so its impact is already being felt. . .

I thank you once more for the unbelievable precious gift. And I wish you and your libertarian friends all kinds of success.

Hard times now here in Lithuania, in sharp contrast to there in Washington. The Reds are getting mad, though desperately already, it seems. . . There are three of us in the Institute by now. Some work is already done, some begun, most of it intended. . .

Is it possible that you send LIBERTAS some of the libertarian periodicals, not necessarily recent (I have in mind Nomos, Reason, Freeman, etc.)?

Algirdas Degutis
LIBERTAS
c/o Interlita

P.O. Box 2264 Vilnius
232050 Lithuania

Telephone and Fax: (007) (822)74 41-87

Or
to avoid Lithuanian state postal service:
LIBERTAS
c/o Mr. Valdas Adomavicius
INTO Corporation
Karlsr. 5, Ludwigsburg
GERMANY

Boddie on Smith Letter

Having read the article by Andre Marrou in the June NEWS, and having been within five feet of the entire dialogue between Earle Smith and Andre while the discussion occurred, I must inform all concerned that Mr. Smith was **not** misquoted (see July NEWS "Letters"), he **never** indicated he was anything but a Republican, and he and his associate totally ignored me in their attempt to "convert" a Libertarian (I'm not sure why, but . . .).

Although I believe we should always seek to cooperate with others, we must be aware of who we're dealing with. Smith never revealed his "Liberty" label. Andre's article was true. Smith's letter was false.

Dick Boddie
Huntington Beach, CA

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National Director
Nick Dunbar

Upcoming Events

August 2-3, 1991:
Oklahoma LP Convention, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater;
405-377-8334. Speakers include Andre Marrou and Dick Boddie.

August 15-21, 1991:
Green Conference, Elkins, WV; 304-659-3193. Speakers include
Karl Hess.

August 24, 1991:
Maine LP Picnic, The Pavillion, Reed State Park;
207-874-6992.

August 28-September 1, 1991:
"Liberty Triumphant"
LP Presidential Nominating Convention,
Chicago Marriott, Chicago; 708-475-0391.

September 5, 1991:
Jury Rights Day, Jefferson Memorial, Washington, DC; National
News Conference and Rally at Noon;
406-793-5550.

February, 1992:
California LP Convention; 800-637-1776.



NEWS graphic by Brian McCleskey

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