



# Libertarian Party

# NEWS

Volume 2, Number 2

Liberty Enlightening the World

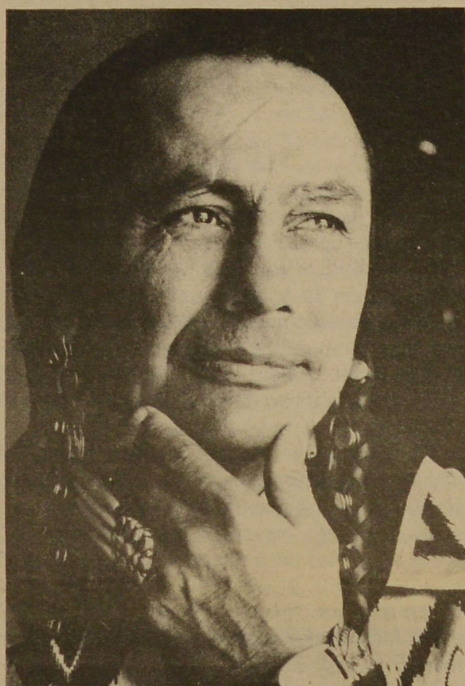
March/April 1987

## The Race Is On: Three Seek Nominations Means, Paul, And Marrou Announce

The recent California Libertarian Party convention, held in San Francisco in mid-February, produced a flurry of political activity, as three men announced their intentions to seek the nominations for national office for the 1988 election.

Andre Marrou, long-time Libertarian Party member, and two newcomers to the Party, Ron Paul and Russell Means, declared themselves candidates for Party nominations. Paul and Means announced they were seeking the Presidential nomination, while Marrou declared for Vice President.

Brief statements from each of the candidates are printed here, with more detailed information concerning their campaigns to follow in the next issue of the Libertarian Party NEWS.



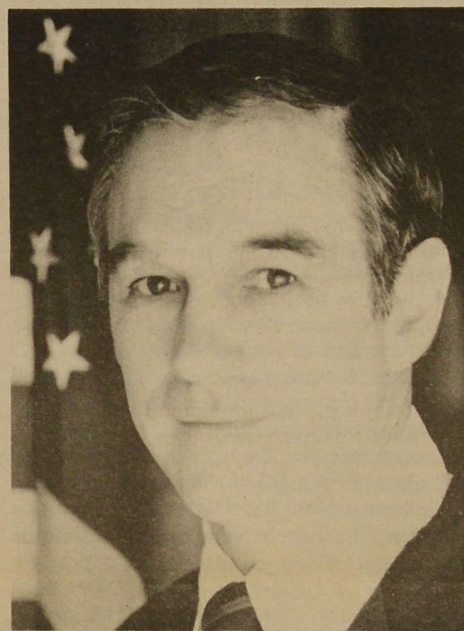
Russell Means

On February 15, 1987, long-time American Indian Movement activist Russell Means announced his intention to seek the Libertarian Party nomination for President of the United States.

Means, a Lakota Sioux from South Dakota, said his decision to run as a Libertarian came after discovering how much his philosophy and goals as an Indian matched those of the Libertarians.

Means says that his goal of self-determination for Indian people has not been sidetracked by his decision to run for President. "Actually," Means said, "the only thing that has changed is the scope of my goal. I now realize that all Americans, not just Indians, desperately need to regain control of their own lives."

The Russell Means organization can be contacted at: Means for President, 1412 West 9th Street, Austin, TX 78703. The telephone number is 512-320-0801.



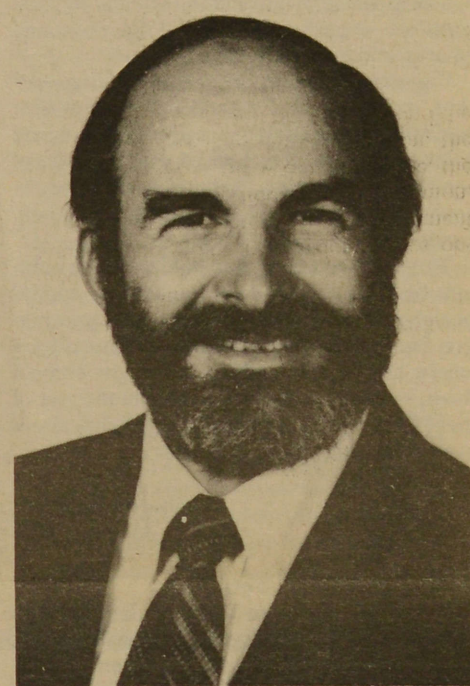
Ron Paul

On February 16, 1987, Congressman Ron Paul announced his candidacy for the Libertarian Party nomination for President of the United States.

Paul said he wants to challenge "big banks' privilege and the Federal Reserve; federal deficit spending in all areas, from social welfare to the Pentagon and corporate welfare; a run-amok IRS and outrageous tax system; government lying about everything; the vicious attack on our liberty and financial privacy; and the foreign policy that drains our wallets, enriches our enemies, shreds the Constitution, and kills our children."

"In 1988," Paul said, "Americans will be faced with Bush or Kemp, Hart or Cuomo, or some other big-government types. I intend to make sure the people have a choice for freedom. That's why I am seeking the nomination of the Libertarian Party for President."

The Ron Paul organization can be contacted at: Ron Paul for a Free America, Box 580387, Houston, TX 77258. The telephone number is 415-348-8215.



Andre Marrou

Andre Marrou, former Alaska state legislator, announced at the California Libertarian Party convention that he would seek the Libertarian Party nomination for Vice President of the United States.

Marrou said, "The two major parties obviously are far more interested in government power than individual liberty. In my opinion, this is the reverse of the way it should be, the reverse of the intent of the Constitution, the reverse of the Libertarian philosophy, and the reverse of my own philosophy."

"So my fight for the last several years in state government in Alaska has been against government power and for individual liberty, and I will continue this fight as a candidate for Vice President."

The Andre Marrou organization can be contacted at: 1630 Ottawa Drive, Las Vegas, NV 89109. The telephone number is 702-731-5794.

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## Libertarian Unity Endorsed

Writing in *Nomos* magazine, five libertarian activist-strategists have made a strong case for libertarian unity despite differences.

To Dave Bergland, 1984 Libertarian Party candidate for President, the rule should be "Thou shalt not trash other libertarians."

Continuing, Bergland writes that libertarians should:

"Keep the ultimate goal in mind and don't confuse various means with that goal. Avoid the 'one true way' fallacy. Libertarians engaged in one type of activity, which pleases them, too frequently act as if what they are doing is the only valid way to freedom. Some add a moral dimension and accuse other libertarians of being immoral betrayers of the cause. Most

important, avoid the 'Pygmalion' fallacy. Everyone isn't like you. Different types of people differ dramatically in basic motives, perceptions, how they communicate, and how they relate to others. You cannot change that. You can become aware of those differences, accept people as they are, and appreciate their positive qualities as you encourage their libertarian development.

"Each of us should find the activities in the freedom movement that appeal to us, and do them. A person is much more likely to be productive when engaged in activity that he or she believes is productive and that is personally rewarding because it allows that person to use his or her strongest attributes. Let's

encourage other libertarians to do well and keep developing while we help create new ways for more people to participate in the movement on their own terms."

Dave Walter, co-founder of the Society for Individual Liberty and a member of the Libertarian Party national committee, focused on the charge that libertarians, by engaging in politics, are sanctioning the very process that inhibits liberty:

"If one can't easily avoid using the mail or the roads or a subsidized airport, then what duty does a libertarian have to avoid 'sanctioning' government? The duty to speak out in favor of ending government's monopoly of a service and the provision of services through

coercively obtained funds! If one wishes to avoid traveling on Amtrak or can afford a septic tank instead of hooking up to the government sewer line he'll have to pay for when it runs by his house anyway, that's fine. Let nonlibertarians know why you are refusing to use the township park or garbage collection. But please avoid the 'holier-than-thou' attitude toward active, outspoken libertarians whose circumstances lead them to use such services when the alternatives are outlawed or financially prohibitive...

"It would be hard to argue that all Libertarian candidates have avoided sanctioning violation of rights. But that's not to say that

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# Letters to the Editor

## Research

As administrative assistant to the office of the Libertarian National Committee, I deal with inquiries from around the country and around the world.

It would be of great assistance to me if those of our members who run across research documentation which could be used to support Libertarian positions would mail *clear* copies of such materials to the office, along with information as to where and when it was published, and addresses from which I might obtain reprint rights.

Among the issues most often questioned are our stands on decriminalization of victimless crimes, privatization of government services, and our non-interventionist foreign policy.

I need specific information—facts, figures, statistics—on what did and did not work, and what is and is not effective.

For example, documentation of drug use/drug trafficking in England before and after legalization, health statistics in countries where prostitution is legal compared with statistics of societies where it is a "crime," inefficiency of government in the business sector, and so on, would be very useful.

Those Libertarians who hold differing opinions on "hot topics" such as abortion, capital punishment, and defense could send information backing up their position and an address where like-minded individuals might contact them, so that I could better handle the rest of the "I agree with you Libertarians about everything but..." inquiries.

Sharon Mitchell  
Houston, TX

## Veto

Voters do not seem to appreciate the link between spending and taxes. They will vote for almost any noble-sounding enterprise. But, when given the opportunity, they will also vote to protect their right to vote on issues, as seen in the recent California election results. I believe they would usually vote to limit government powers if able to vote on specific issues, as opposed to authorizing broad powers to achieve noble-sounding promises.

One solution would be a "veto initiative" process at all government levels, which would make the opportunity to veto any government action by placing it on the ballot. This could require far fewer signatures than an initiative to pass a *new* law (say 2 to 5 percent of those voting in the last election as opposed to 10 percent), since the threat of misuse would be far less. There is a legitimate distrust of the potential of initiatives for *new* laws to be used by one group to repress another. A veto initiative would cause no such problems, and could be clean and specific so that political

interference by the courts to stop such an initiative would be minimal. The political climate is good for working toward such a veto initiative process, since the process of purchasing votes in return for reelection support is becoming widely understood.

The solution to stopping the progress toward a totalitarian state has to be to provide the people with a *direct* means of vetoing government actions and regulations. Such a proposal could gain wide support because it does not sound radical, and is consistent with the vision most Americans have of their ideal relation to "their" government. It could be drafted and tested at local levels, and would create its own pressure to expand to higher levels of government if well drafted and with good results. I believe it could then be used to achieve most Libertarian goals. There is the "minor" problem of getting from here to that point.

William C. Marmon  
Los Altos, CA

## Killing

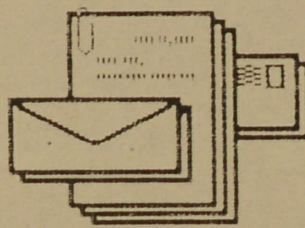
We have always had wars because most people believe that some things are worth dying for—or killing for. Sometimes there is no other way, or no better way, to protect your freedom, or those close to you, or the things you've worked all your life for.

But what if there was another way to defend those values, a way as effective as warfare but less dangerous and costly?

Recent research has shown that there are techniques of struggle which do not use violence, but which have often been just as effective. These techniques operate out of the insight that rulers, even terrorist rulers, are thoroughly dependent on their victims' acceptance of the submissive role. The largely nonviolent overthrow of Baby Doc in Haiti and Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines dramatically illustrates this dependence.

There are hundreds of similar examples in history of people using nonviolent techniques of struggle to resist both domestic and foreign oppression. Most of these cases have been surprisingly effective. They are not limited to struggles against "democratic" societies, such as Gandhi's. They include Poland's Solidarity movement, Czechoslovakia's seven-month defiance of Russian occupation troops in 1968, Denmark's refusal to comply with Nazi radical edicts, and the overthrow of the dictators of El Salvador and Guatemala in 1944.

This is a particularly fertile subject for libertarians for two reasons. First, the strategies and tactics of civilian based defense are designed specifically to undermine the legitimacy of ruling groups' actions. And second, if civilian based defense proves capable of deterring or defeating foreign aggression, it is a defense



program that can be carried out by private groups as well as by governments.

For those who want to explore the subject further, there is ample published material. The following are a good place to start:

- Introductory Packet on Civilian Based Defense, by the Association for Transarmament Studies.
- *National Security Through Civilian Based Defense*, by Gene Sharp.
- *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, by Gene Sharp.

They are all available from the Association for Transarmament Studies, 3636 Lafayette Ave., Omaha NE 68131.

Neil Steyskal  
Washington, DC

## Defense

The January/February *Viewpoint* was excellent. The LP must emphasize areas where libertarians agree rather than areas where they disagree. Still, it was unfair to suggest that the LP platform is inconsistent. The plank advocating an adequate defense is consistent with the plank demanding the abolition of involuntary taxation. There only appears to be an inconsistency if two different controversies are confused.

The anarchist-minarchist controversy debates whether it is desirable to have an organization similar to a traditional government; an organization that promotes common interests, seeks universal participation, and is governed by a democratic process. The radical-moderate libertarian controversy debates whether it is desirable for this organization, this "government," to ever initiate force.

While the wording is vague, the LP platform gives no hint of the "wholly denationalized, privatized defense" required by the anarchist position. Instead, the defense plank suggests government provision of "sufficient military force," implying the minarchist position. Still, as long as the government collects resources to "defend the United States from aggression" without confiscating property, attaching wages, or imprisoning tax resisters, the defense plank is consistent with the radical libertarian position demanding the abolition of involuntary taxation.

Moderate libertarians believe that "forcible collections" are sometimes necessary, and they often emphasize the resources the government must collect to provide for defense. It is this moderate libertarian position that is inconsistent with the LP platform. In the spirit of the January/February *Viewpoint*, the LP might

emphasize major tax reductions rather than tax abolition, so that moderate libertarians might join with radical libertarians at least part of the way along the road to liberty.

W. William Woolsey  
Charleston, SC

## Terrorism

**WARNING: ANY AMERICAN CITIZEN TRAVELING OUTSIDE THE PROTECTED TERRITORIES OF UNITED STATES BOUNDARIES DOES SO AT THEIR OWN RISK AND PERIL. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SAFETY AND WELFARE OF INDIVIDUALS OR AMERICAN ENTERPRISES LOCATED ON FOREIGN SOIL.**

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Suppose this kind of warning were posted in prominent positions at every airport, shipline terminal, and border crossing in the United States! What implication would it have on terrorists or would-be terrorists throughout the world?

While the politicians in Washington keep struggling with the problem of international terrorism, they continually overlook the obvious solution.

International terrorism, like any other problem, has a root cause. And the only way a problem can be eliminated is to eliminate the cause.

American citizens have become prime targets of terrorists because: (a) They are readily available; (b) they are extremely vulnerable; and (c) terrorists are fully aware that they can bring a world power government to its knees by taking hostages.

Would terrorists have this same advantage if individuals who chose to travel throughout the world were made to accept responsibility for themselves? Absolutely not!

Richard Whitelock  
Ionia, MI

## Connecticut

My goals as Libertarian Party candidate for state treasurer were to maintain ballot status and convey to as many people as possible the types of things an honest treasurer would do. Unfortunately, I failed the former, but did a pretty good job getting the idea across. My vote percentage was about 0.77 percent, less than the 1 percent needed. I did, however, mail out over 10,000 brochures, we distributed another 13,000, and I had articles published in all the major papers. In the meantime, freedom loving people from around the state mailed in more than enough money to get the job done. Given the chance I would gladly do it again.

Thomas S. Ross  
Woodbridge, CT

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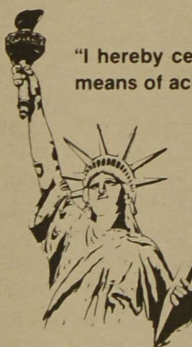
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## Viewpoint

# The Second Front

By Karl Hess

Most libertarians, if asked to locate the first front in the political battle for liberty, probably would agree that it is in attacks against the state's currently unlimited power to tax. That power is the politics of the state. Without it, its power to suppress liberty would, in fact, wither away. Whatever government remained would be there solely by consent of the governed.

I'd like to suggest a second front, one which offers as many opportunities for libertarian influence as does the taxation front. Also, it is a second front which, if won, would have as profound an effect as a victory against taxation. The second front is education, particularly at the lower school levels.

It is not by chance or by some genetic flaw that so many Americans have come to accept the thrall of government authority and to listen uncritically to the most absurd statements of its administrators.

Americans have come to accept authority, and give up liberty, because they have been taught to do it in their earliest years, their years in school.

Critical thinking and inquiry have been written out of popular education ever since Horace Mann and the other designers of state popular education decided that the most important role of such education was to create national citizens, actually obedient subjects of the nation state, rather than thinking individuals.

Today, for the first time in my memory, there is opposition to this notion that is of sufficient significance to say that an actual second front already has opened in the field of education.

It isn't an easy second front for libertarians. The good instinct of practically every libertarian would be to say that the proper frontal

assault in the field of education would be to oppose compulsory education of any sort and to advocate an absolutely free and volitional market in education.

There is another dimension to education, however, beyond the political and the administrative. That dimension involves the nature of the education itself. And it is in precisely that area that the second front of which I write, already has opened.

The struggle is simply stated. One side holds that the purpose of education, public or otherwise, is to teach facts so that pupils may acquire specific skills, accept conventional wisdom, and later become employable. This is known as *content* teaching. The other side holds that the purpose of education is to encourage independent reasoning power so that data may be understood, not just memorized. This is known as *process* teaching.

Conservatives like content teaching because it reinforces habits of obedience to traditional values. Liberals, although not wildly enthusiastic about content teaching, by and large support it because they have special reasons to oppose process teaching. Many of them consider process teaching to be elitist and to encourage the advancement of individual students rather than serving the favorite liberal purpose of education which is to make all students equal. Liberals and conservatives both seem to equate content teaching with the increasingly popular notion of "getting back to basics."

The usual definition of getting back to basics is a demand for rote drill in reading, in the multiplication tables, and in the sequence of historical events.

Process teaching emphasizes understanding

of how the processes work and their applications to real-world problems. Process teaching, in effect, adds Reasoning to the traditional three R's. Content teaching not only ignores reasoning but actively discourages it in favor of "teaching to the test."

In schools themselves, young, eager and enthusiastic teachers are likely to want to teach process, to engage their pupils, even in the earliest grades, in the process of thinking rather than the process of memorizing facts, or content. Older teachers may prefer the order and predictability of content teaching.

Administrators, by and large, favor content teaching for several reasons: because so many parents approve of it and find it reassuringly familiar, because it is easily quantifiable for record keeping, and because they wish to avoid any hint of favoring bright pupils—a favoritism that is almost guaranteed to bring howls of outrage from the professional representatives of the disadvantaged. (The disadvantaged, for the purposes of government education, never include bright, energetic students denied a chance to move at their own speed and for their own purposes.)

Libertarianism—a doctrine of absolute personal responsibility, consensual agreement, and non-aggression—is the politics or, better, ethic of people able to think independently, reason in regard to consequences, and plan for their own futures. Process teaching supports the emergence of such people. Content teaching, emphasizing authority and regimentation, discourages it.

So long as education is largely a government monopoly its administrators will reflect government attitudes. The most gifted teachers, today, are being discouraged by the constant growth of administrative staffs and demands and the declining attention to classroom activity. The schools accurately reflect the same sort of growth in the federal government. Any legislative changes that encourage private schools and home schooling will help break the monopoly that government schools now enjoy

over a crucial aspect of our very future.

Perhaps the most radical proposal ever made along those lines has come from MIT's Seymour Papert who developed the computer language LOGO, for very young children. In an eye and mind-opening book called *Mindstorms: Children, Computers and Powerful Ideas* (Basic Books, 1980), he argues that a personal computer being made available to a child may provide a more productive learning atmosphere than any formal classroom.

His book includes this truly revolutionary view of education, the free market, and individualism:

"Increasingly, [computers] will be the private property of individuals, and this will gradually return to the individual the power to determine patterns of education. Education will become more of a private act, and people with good ideas, different ideas, exciting ideas will no longer be faced with a dilemma where they either have to 'sell' their ideas to a conservative bureaucracy or shelve them. They will be able to offer them in an open marketplace directly to consumers. There will be new opportunities for imagination and originality. There might be a renaissance of thinking about education."

Libertarian Party members should seriously consider becoming active on this second front. If we cannot immediately abolish state schools, we might at least take what steps we can to introduce into them, and into all schools, and into all of our own relationships with children, the most subversive educational notion of all: that children be encouraged to think critically, analytically, and creatively.

## LIBERTARIANS FOR ANIMAL RIGHTS

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# Unity

Continued from Page 1

some haven't and can't continue to denounce taxation as theft and government activity as immoral and inefficient. An election promise to always allow citizens to voluntarily participate and pay for any non-monopoly government program they like should remove the contention that Libertarians have no right to force our ideas on others. Establishing a blind trust fund with a CPA firm and asking voters who support an elected Libertarian to contribute to it can effectively defuse the 'would you accept stolen money for your salary?' question.

"Properly fashioned, a Libertarian campaign for office can avoid appearing to sanction statist rule. If, through education, the state collapses because citizens no longer participate, fine. Some libertarians feel most comfortable with that route. Some very few others may advocate that the modern state can only be defeated through armed revolution. But most activist libertarians have, for now, chosen the political route as their best hope for maximum freedom in their lifetime. Perhaps they are wrong, but they aren't necessarily evil."

Gary Shilts, 1986 Libertarian Party candidate for governor of Illinois, writes "a view from the trenches":

"The only reward of a campaign as a Libertarian is had when, while talking to an 'average citizen,' one sees a flash of insight in her eyes, and she says something like, 'I never thought of it like that!' Once that happens, you know she will never again be able to listen to a politician espouse a statist position without there being at least a nagging tug in the back of her mind. If the Libertarian Party can accomplish anything, it can make people think."

"I fully understand that the purists of the world aren't impressed by this argument. They don't need to think anymore. They have, after all, completely worked through their political philosophy and have correctly concluded that politics is nothing more than a lot of small-minded people clawing for power over a lot of other small-minded people and even voting is giving sanction to this vile system."

"Until everyone has come to that conclusion, however, and until everyone abstains from government, it will be necessary for us, as the brilliant Anne McCracken wrote, '...to use every means available to protect our life, liberty and property...including political action.'"

"Political action is not for everyone, of course. The freedom movement, however, is big enough to utilize the talents of all her children."

Richard Kleinow, co-founder of the Libertarian Party of Minnesota, wrote:

"After about 20 years of working part time at advancing libertarian goals in every way I could think of, including helping found the Libertarian Party of Minnesota, running for governor, teaching classes in high schools and universities, petitioning, working on Libertarian presidential campaigns, talking with folks at state fair booths, trying to make headway in a major party, being a speaker at functions, going one on one, writing letters to editors and congressmen, networking, and dozens of variations of the above, plus a ridiculous number of hours debating the best strategy and tactics, I came to the conclusion as to which is best some time ago."

"It's all of them!"

"Not all at once from everyone, but let the market decide. I've come to encourage each to use the strategy he thinks best for three reasons: *motivation, understanding, and perspective.*"

"Motivation because if an individual is going at it in the way he thinks best, he will work one heck of a lot harder at it, and so accomplish much more than he would be giving half-hearted support to someone else's plan."

"Understanding because if he goes at it his way he will do things in a way he understands, and so will make fewer mistakes and accomplish more with less wheel spinning."

"Perspective because each person sees the problem differently, and so will communicate to those who see things from his angle, while others with a different perspective won't be so successful with 'his' audience—even if those others are more experienced and knowledgeable."

Arthur Hicks, a libertarian writer, stressed the matter of rights in libertarian politics:

"The Libertarian Party is a 'rights' party, supporting the rights and beliefs of various individuals."

"While I'm opposed to drug use and prostitution, I do understand the Party's support for individuals who practice either, because they are individuals with rights. The Party supports gay rights, and I do also—even though the majority of Americans are opposed to that."

"If an individual with strong beliefs is supported and elected by the Party, it's entirely up to Party members to periodically check the official's performance. If he hasn't kept his commitments, it then becomes the Party's responsibility to replace that official by mustering opposition from within its ranks."

"I suspect critics are right about the flaws in a political party system, but I also suspect that the Libertarian Party has more to offer the voter than any other party. Other parties ignore 'individualism' issues and sidestep controversy. The Libertarian Party, with its focus on individualism, uniquely touches upon the daily lives of Americans. It is the only Party that truly recognizes people as individuals with rights, needs, wants, liberties, and problems to be resolved."

## The Future of the Movement

For its first anniversary issue, "Free Marin," a California "journal of ideas for the libertarian/free market community," asked four libertarians, here and abroad, to share their thoughts on the future of the movement.

• One of the contributors was Andre Spies, who describes himself as "the most radical libertarian in the world." Creator of Free-network, an international association of libertarians, Spies recently moved the group's headquarters from Belgium to Douglas, on the Isle of Man (P.O. Box 107).

The heart of his comments were these "freedom keys":

"1. Take those practical steps that will increase the quantity and quality of your positive options (improve your health, knowledge, skills, power, wealth, happiness, etc.);

"2. Make contact with other freedom-lovers (particularly those who apply different approaches to freedom), and initiate exchanges of ideas, mutual aid, joint projects."

• Jack Dean, immediate past chairman of the Libertarian Party of California, wrote optimistically of the increasing attention being paid to such free-market think-tanks and educational organizations as Reason, Cato, Institute for Humane Studies, and the Pacific Institute and the work of "movement entrepreneurs" such as Marshall Fritz and David Bergland. Attention to libertarian ideas from such widely circulated papers as the *Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today* also were cited by Dean as good signs. He spoke specifically of political activities in predicting that "the Libertarian Party will develop more effective means of attracting libertarian-minded Americans into the movement."

"I look at the marketplace of ideas," Dean wrote, "much as I do a river: If it took 50 years to pollute it, it will probably take just as long to clean it up. We have to start back at the source—all those tiny tributaries that feed it—in order to make it clean and pure again."

"So we must continue to attract new people. Not quantity, mind you, but quality. People who believe in our ideas. People who will work to help spread them."

• Bill Forster, chairman of the Libertarian Movement of Australia, wrote:

"A movement which promotes...voluntary kindness, bans oppressive compulsion, and allows people to deal with each other according to a doctrine of free will, must succeed."

"Today the libertarian philosophy seems out of step and way ahead of its time. Many people tell us 'we are idealists and an ideal world will never exist.' This abstract concept called world, actually consists of millions of real, living, loving, fighting, hoping, struggling individuals. Just talk briefly to some and you become aware

that hardly anyone really likes to be pushed around by force or coercion; no one wants to be cheated by fraud. In short, most people are believers in freedom of thought and expression."

"This is what libertarianism is all about. 'No man has the right to initiate force, fraud, or coercion.' That is why I maintain the world is full of libertarians."

• From Fred Foldvary, publisher of the "Libertarian Digest," came a strong challenge to the entire movement:

"The biggest obstacle to freedom today is the libertarian movement."

"You know the saying—you are your own worst enemy? Or, we have met the enemy and they are 'us'?" Just as the biggest obstacle to world peace is the misguided and misinformed "peace" movement, which drains resources into futile activity, the major reason why the world is not progressing toward liberty is that the "libertarian" movement, especially the publicly visible "Libertarian Party," has become frozen in orthodoxy and is too often interested in the power of big fish in a small pond rather than in challenging ideas. The recent lack of progress by the Libertarian Party and allied organizations is therefore not surprising.

"The future for freedom, though, is bright, so bright it is blinding. The world is at the edge, and all the solutions have failed, except liberty. One hundred years ago, Henry George predicted that all the irrational methods would have to be tried before rational ones would ever be considered, and he was dead right. China, for example, had to experience the failure of socialism before it could move away from it."

"Now, socialism, facism, pseudo-liberalism, and conservatism have been exposed as failures. The world is ripe for liberty, but the libertarian movement cannot seize the time unless it is itself liberated from its premature old age, its failure to welcome allied movements such as the naturists and the Georgists, and the lack of openness in many of its organizations."

"The future for liberty is promising, but libertarians must widen their scope and be willing to challenge their fundamental beliefs if they are to succeed in liberating the world. We must first liberate libertarianism."

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## Gay? Lesbian? Or Simply Concerned?

Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns is the only group in our movement that focuses on gay/lesbian issues. For a sample copy of *LGLC Newsletter*, Send SASE to: LGLC, 1800 Market St., Box #210-A, San Francisco, CA 94102

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## Austin Slate

Incensed over the collectivist policies of the city council, Austin Libertarians are fielding a full slate of opponents to the incumbents in the April 4 election.

Pledged to vigorous, no-holds-barred campaigns are Gary Johnson, Fred Ebner, and Erich Schwarz.

Johnson, 33, an investor, is the Texas LP secretary and an at-large representative to the Libertarian National Committee. Ebner, 62, a retired textbook publisher's representative, a former college political philosophy instructor, and recent Travis County LP chair, is a native Texan and a graduate of the University of Texas in government. Schwarz, an entrepreneur and a student at the University of Texas, is a native Texan and co-founder and president of the University Libertarian Group.

Each is committed to accept all speaking engagements, answer all questionnaires, be available to the media, and, in short, to run a serious campaign to win.

Because Austin is a media center, this campaign is important to Libertarians all over Texas. It could change what your legislators read over their morning coffee during the legislative session. Instead of a unanimous, uninterrupted chorus praising collectivism, three voices of reason will be heard singing the praises of liberty.

The present politics of the Austin City Council are so intrusively interventionist that Fred Ebner has dubbed it "the Council of Commissars of the People's Republic of Austin" in his numerous letters to local newspapers.

This city council has interfered with individual freedom of choice by banning smoking

on private property in "public accommodations" and trying to zone adult-oriented businesses out of existence. In a city with the highest per-capita debt in the United States, they favor extravagant new spending for a convention center and "affordable housing" boondoggles.

A mass transit authority unanimously endorsed by the present city council has brought nothing but a government monopoly, empty buses, and higher taxes. A cable television monopoly has been rendered inordinately expensive by six government access channels.

Austinites are furious over the council's costly hiring of consultants to avoid taking the heat for its decisions. In disregard of the plain language of the city charter, the council voted to issue bonds without voter approval.

Ebner and Johnson lead the opposition to the establishment of the Capital Metro mass transit fiasco and its sales tax. They spearheaded a movement to recall the entire city council after it violated the city charter. Capitalizing on their enhanced name recognition, Ebner and Johnson plan to take full advantage of Austin's numerous radio talk shows and TV interview programs.

## LGLC

*This is another in a continuing series of brief profiles of non-party, and even anti-party groups which in some way support libertarian and/or free market positions. The series is presented, not necessarily to endorse any of the groups, but to assure Libertarian Party members of access to information about others who, each in their own way, are involved in the cause of liberty.*

Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns is an organization of gay women and men who want to introduce their fellow gay people to a "new and exciting way of thinking about public issues...libertarianism, a political and social philosophy in the classical liberal tradition which holds that individual rights are the fundamental bases of civilization, and must be completely respected...

"The libertarian movement has much to offer gay people."

*The Connection*, a New York newspaper for

gay people, described the group this way:

"Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns is a national organization that works to show members of the gay community that libertarianism is a viable, moral, and effective alternative to traditional party politics in the left-right spectrum. The members of LGLC believe that libertarianism provides a rational, moral, and believable framework for freedom, prosperity, and peace."

The group lists the Association for Libertarian Feminists, the Libertarian Party, and the Libertarian International as associated and supportive groups.

LGLC has chapters in Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, and San Diego and publishes a bi-monthly newsletter. For a sample issue write to LGLC, P.O. Box 953, San Francisco, CA 94101.

### By All Means

"Shall we dance?" said the politician to the lie.

"By all means," came the knowing reply.

"My point exactly," the politician said.

"In the end, as you well know, we'll all be dead."

—Chris Brockman

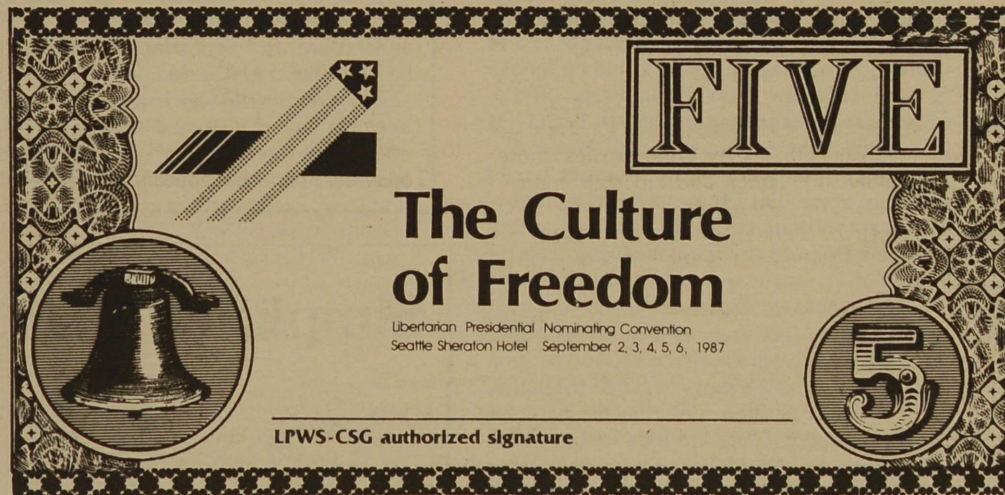
## LIBERTY BUCKS

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## A Major Advance In Economic Theory THE PURE LOGIC OF CHOICE

by  
Richard D. Fuerle

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## Vital Reminder Updated Concerning Ballot Access

By Richard Winger

Two years ago, in the Libertarian Party NEWS, I wrote an article on the vital importance of early beginnings and tough lobbying for campaigns to make it possible for the Libertarian Party to get on ballots. That article, which is reprinted below, is still valid and presents a vital reminder that the ballot challenge to the Libertarian Party goes on and on, giving us no chance to rest on our laurels or relax our efforts.

To be a political party we have to be on ballots. It's as simple as that.

When the original article appeared, two state parties, Texas and Georgia, heeded the challenge for early starts and hard lobbying. Today we are in far better shape in those two states than we had been earlier. Texas has ballot status for 1988 and Georgia's petition requirement has been reduced from 62,000 to 25,000. Those are the only two states in which we are in better ballot shape today than we were in 1983.

The message needs to be heeded and heeded fast: We need more successful lobbying of our ballot access message and now is the time to start. A month or so before an election is just too late!

Our most urgent needs are in Arizona, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Happily, campaigns are already getting started in Kansas, Ohio, Florida, Wyoming, Nevada, Arizona, and Indiana.

At any rate, here is my two-year-old report on efforts to gain ballot status along with my heartfelt hope that libertarians will take it seriously in 1987.

**On February 11, 1987, the Kansas Senate Elections Committee approved our bill to lower the number of signatures needed for a party to get on the ballot from 2 percent (16,000 signatures) of the vote in the last election for governor, to 1 percent.**

\*\*\*

In all but a handful of states, *now* is the time to start working to persuade your state legislature to improve your state's election laws.

*In a few months time, it will be too late.* Legislative deadlines are quite strict; many states require that all new bills be introduced within a few months of the session's opening. Many legislators agree to introduce a certain number of bills, and by the time the session opens they already have committed themselves to introduce that number, and feel they have no time or energy for any others. If we don't act soon, we will have missed the "window of opportunity" that opens only once every two years.

The Libertarian Party needs improvements in election laws in approximately half of the states. Persuading state legislatures to improve the laws is the best hope we have to get these improvements. The U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld Georgia's ballot access requirement of a petition signed by 5 percent of the number of registered voters in 1971. It has not backed away from that ruling yet. Consequently, we can't expect federal courts to help with the basic problem that many states require far too many signatures. State courts sometimes will act when federal courts won't, but our best hope lies with lobbying state legislators.

It can work. In 1979 the Georgia American Party persuaded Georgia's legislature to lower the requirement from 5 percent to 2½ percent (still far too high, but it was progress). In 1983 the New Mexico Libertarian Party persuaded New Mexico's legislature to lower the petition from 3 percent to one-half of 1 percent, an outstanding achievement. In 1984 the Kansas Libertarian Party persuaded the legislature to set the requirement for staying on at 1 percent

of the vote for any statewide office, the best level we can hope for in any state.

So how do you start?

First, the person responsible for the lobbying project in each state should buy a copy of *Third Parties in America*, an excellent paperback published in 1984 by Princeton University Press, 41 William St., Princeton, NJ 08540, written by three Yale political scientists (lead author is Steven J. Rosenstone). The book makes a strong case that the U.S. political system needs functioning third parties. Since the book is written by academics with no partisan tie to any third party, it will give you confidence when you encounter legislators who say "We need to make ballot access difficult in order to protect the two-party system." No expert political scientist has written any book which agrees with that statement. (If you think I'm wrong, I challenge you to find any such book.)

No expert ever says "We need to make ballot access difficult in order to protect the two-party system" because any expert knows that the United States had a two-party system in the 19th Century, yet there were no ballot access barriers back then whatsoever. There were no state-printed ballots, and the government had *no* control over which parties could participate; yet we still had a two-party system. "Two-party system" is a political science term which means that two parties win practically all the elections.

You can cite the example of Minnesota between 1920 and 1942 to make the point. During the period, the only parties with a chance to win Minnesota elections (other than for presidential electors) were the Republican and the Farmer-Labor Parties. Out of 207 election contests for federal or statewide state office in that period, the Democrats won only four, and those were only for Congress. By contrast, the Farmer-Labor Party won the governorship four times, a U.S. Senate seat five times, and other statewide offices 12 times. Yet the Democratic Party of Minnesota, weak though it was, did have a role to play, and I predict that any Democratic legislator you're talking to would agree that it would be foolish to have kept the Democratic Party off the Minnesota ballot in that period, just because it wasn't one of the two major parties. Generally, major party politicians of both parties would probably agree that Minnesota was well-governed, and no one could seriously argue that Minnesota should have kept the Democrats off the ballot.

What should you ask for?

Despite the fact that, as recently as 1948, there were 14 states which required no petition whatsoever for a new party to get on the ballot, don't ask that petition requirements be completely dropped. There are today more political parties in the United States than ever before, because Marxists continue splintering and forming new parties, yet never merge. In 1984 there were three Trotskyist presidential candidates (Socialist Workers, Workers World, and Workers League). Since mechanical voting machines have trouble accommodating more than nine parties, I agree that some ballot access barriers are necessary, for the practical reason of keeping the ballot from overcrowding. But no state needs a petition requirement greater than one-half of 1 percent of the last vote cast, to achieve this. This can be demonstrated with historical data. Write me at 3201 Baker St., San Francisco, CA 94123, and I will supply it; I can also draft a proposed bill for any ballot access-related issue you may be interested in.

If we are diligent, if we get the attention of the press, if we draft the proposals ourselves and then marshal the evidence, we *can* persuade state legislators to improve ballot access laws. And we must initiate our proposals very soon.

*Richard Winger, a San Francisco libertarian, is the LP's preeminent researcher of ballot data.*

## Chair's Column

By Jim Turney  
National Chair, LNC

February 1987 will go down in Libertarian Party history as the watershed point between the 1984 and 1988 campaigns. This month the LP finished paying the debt incurred for ballot access in 1984. **We now owe no vendors, creditors, or contractors—all current and past due bills are paid!** More money will be put into the TV Commercial account, but thousands of dollars are now available to start production. We can provide more money faster than it can be spent—so expect results in the next few months.

The kick-off for 1988 was at the California State LP Convention. Three candidates announced their intention to seek nomination in Seattle. Two of them—Russell Means and Ron Paul—have had extensive "public lives." It is a credit to the party that we can attract candidates who have public reputations from both sides of the political spectrum. Both men have broken ties with their previous political friends to endorse libertarianism. Both are new members of the national LP. Both are charismatic and articulate speakers for our cause. Both are candidates for the LP nomination of President of the United States.

Andre Marrou, former Libertarian legislator in Alaska and equally effective proponent of our cause, announced for the Vice Presidential nomination. Andre's entire "public life" is as a libertarian. Never before has a publicly elected Libertarian sought our nomination to national office.

These characteristics are a sure sign of a maturing political party. We have, after all, just celebrated our 15th anniversary (Dec. 11).

So now an exciting race is on for the nomination in September—a sure sign of a healthy political party.

Competition is healthy for the party and the candidates. Both candidates should be encouraged and appreciated. Both should be questioned and tested.

Emotion can run high in a contest like this one. We have a history of hard feelings left after such experiences. Where is Bill Hunscher who challenged Ed Clark in 1979

or Gene Burns from 1983? Earl Ravenal has proven to be a genuine part of the party by continuing to contribute since losing to Bergland in 1983. But we all know the hurt of losing many of his supporters in that confrontation.

Fortunately, there is plenty of time before the nominating convention. We can all make a careful selection of who will represent us in the 1988 campaign. But let's not weaken our party by splitting our numbers.

Threats to leave the party if the wrong candidate wins are childish. I believe the delegates to our convention can be trusted to make a proper decision. The candidates should be and will be forthcoming about their pasts and their principles.

We should give a candidate (or any libertarian) latitude on interpretation if he or she is consistent on principle. It is more important to know if a person is using libertarian principles in their reasoning than to simply know their position on an issue.

There are some important aspects of each candidate to consider which are not matters of principle. I hope none of our candidates are thinking of their personal ambitions as a primary reason to run—even though I hope all benefit from the experience. It is important that we all strive foremost to promote libertarian solutions to our society's problems. But there are now many organizations that offer that objective. Our candidates should be convinced that the LP is worth their best effort to help us grow into the influential organization we can be.

The chance of winning the 1988 Presidential election is very small. Our impact on the politics of the winner could be significant. Vote totals are not to be ignored, but the important result of the 1988 campaign must be a larger and stronger LP. **The party should set some growth objectives for this campaign and know that our candidate is committed to them.**

We should all know by now that our cause will not triumph overnight. It is a long time until we select a candidate in September—it is even longer from September until election day 1988. **We want candidates who are here for the whole race—a marathon to the finish of the state, not just a sprint to September.**

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It is my heritage to stand erect, proud, and unafraid; to think and act for myself, to enjoy the benefit of my creations, and to face the world boldly and say:

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## See you in Seattle in September!

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# South Africa's 'Solution'

By Kerry Welsh

**Johannesburg, South Africa**—In the waning days of 1986 *The Johannesburg Star*, the largest daily newspaper in this troubled country, published a prominent "People of the Year" feature story.

Although the article and photos were quite large, the list of VIPs was very small. Included was the cream of South Africa's business community, as well as its internationally known political players, including Zulu Chief Buthelezi, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, opposition leader Helen Suzman, and ANC activist Winnie Mandela.

Two relative unknowns, a husband and wife, managed to crack the prestigious annual list. According to *The Star*, the newcomers earned the honor by "having convinced large numbers of South Africans that despite all the indications of impending doom there is in fact a realistic chance of a peaceful, prosperous future."

The "newcomers" were South African libertarians Frances Kendall and her husband Leon Louw, well-known to many American libertarians for years, and co-authors of that country's number one non-fiction bestseller, *South Africa—The Solution*.

When it comes to dreaming and idealism, libertarians wrote the book. But no one, not even the most utopian, would have predicted the recent incredible course of events in South Africa in the last 10 months after this book was published.

Libertarianism has arrived in South Africa in a big way, and this beautiful country of 26 million first, second, and third world people will never be the same.

Self-published by the authors in April of 1986 with little money and less publicity, *South Africa—The Solution* quickly became a word-of-mouth phenomenon. By the middle of May it was at the top of the South African non-fiction bestseller's list. Ten months later (at the time of this writing) it still sits at the top, with sales actually increasing each month.

As South Africans and the rest of the world grope for an answer to this country's complex apartheid problems, the 234-page paperback remains the only concrete proposal before the public eye.

Indeed, in public speeches and media interviews, the Louws boldly and confidently state, "There is no other possible answer. *The Solu-*

*tion* is the only solution."

Remarkably, there has been little argument from across the political spectrum, from radical left to radical right.

In their book, the Louws propose a libertarian variation of the Swiss cantonal system of government, which for some 600 years has featured devolution of decision-making powers to the community, or canton, level.

The analogy between Switzerland and South Africa sounds naive and even ridiculous to an outsider who knows South Africa only through the media. But across this beautiful and richly endowed country, citizens of all colors are rallying behind the book.

That is not to say these supporters are libertarians. Indeed, the book only uses the "L" word once. Supporters of the book are simply everyday people who have found hope in a previously-thought-hopeless situation.

Although free market theory dominates the book, it enters rather subliminally, or as Leon Louw put it, "through the back door."

"We're effectively getting the message across to people who would never in their life consider reading a book about laissez-faire economics."

That free market message is not only getting heard, in one area of Southern Africa it's a reality. Louw is executive director of the Free Market Foundation of Southern Africa, a privately-funded watchdog/think tank/lobbying organization.

In the early 1980s the impoverished apartheid-created black homeland of Ciskei hired Louw to formulate an economic policy to entice business and create jobs.

The libertarian Louw suggested they cut bureaucratic red tape and eliminate corporate taxes. The result is Africa's first and only tax haven. While the rest of Africa wallows in zero and even negative economic growth, more than 75 corporations in the last year alone have established intent to open up shop in the Ciskei. Louw can't help but smile when the media calls Ciskei an economic miracle.

The incredible popularity of the book has even spawned an activist movement called "Groundswell." Formed only in November, the organization already has members in most areas of the country. Several multi-national corporations operating in South Africa have offered their support as well, including one well-known American firm that has promised \$500,000. The goal of "Groundswell" is to raise 30 million rand (about \$15 million) to promote the book as well as the overall benefits of devolution of power to the community and—ultimately—individual level.

South Africa is the first western, technologically advanced society to reach a real libertarian crossroad.

Each and every day the "Groundswell" movement grows, almost as if it has a life of its own. Many have asked us to form a political party, which we politely, quickly, and emphatically decline.

To do so would make us a threat to the established parties, which would then be obligated to reject our views, no matter how sound our viewpoint.

Victor Hugo once wrote, "There is one thing more powerful than all the armies of the world. And that is an idea whose time has come."

The time has come for South Africa. The momentum is ours.

We invite libertarians and freedom lovers everywhere to help and be a part of it.

Kerry Welsh left Los Angeles in May on a one-year pleasure trip around the world. Shortly after meeting the Louws at Libertarian International in Stockholm, Sweden, last August, he flew to Johannesburg, where he has been helping the Louws as a volunteer. Anyone wishing to support "Groundswell" either financially or otherwise can write to "Groundswell," Box 70076, Bryanston 2021, Republic of South Africa.

# Director's Column

By Terry V. Mitchell  
National Director, LNC

The National LP ended 1986 with a new energy—an energy that I feel will grow as we approach the presidential campaign season. This is evidenced by increases in our funding (always a barometer of the membership's enthusiasm) and in telephone requests from members who are getting active again and are trying to contact other activists.

Candidates for the presidential nomination are already appearing, and judging by those who have already declared, no matter who wins the nomination we're going to see a campaign of tremendous potential for the LP.

Finding our fundraising on the increase, the Chair and I set about retiring as much of the LP's debt as possible. As of the 14th of February, a whopping \$25,000 of old debt was laid to rest; virtually eliminating the '84 ballot drive debt (legal, vendor accounts, and personal loans). With these debts retired, we can now focus our full attention on the future.

Where will such attention be focused?

The National Committee is committed to increasing the LP's outreach program, spreading the libertarian philosophy, and adding to our rolls as new members respond. The National Office will focus on streamlining, upgrading, and improving our operations.

The computer-generated membership card fundraiser was a success, and current members will be receiving their membership cards before the next issue of LP NEWS comes out. There is a lot of support and enthusiasm for this project. I can't wait for mine!

On a related subject, in January the LP's mainframe computer was knocked out by what is believed to have been a power surge.

After a month with no operative computer, having spent \$2,000 on repairs, and with no solution in sight, the LP purchased one Macintosh Plus computer, printer, and modem, as well as the software appropriate to our operation. The LP's database is (as of this writing) being transferred into it.

What we have now is one very powerful computer system. The software purchased is very versatile and extremely fast. The accounting software will give us, for the first time, the ability to have our computer take over most routine accounting functions, including instant production of graphs and reports as needed. The phone modem will allow instantaneous transfer of data from the HQ to our newspaper editor (who also has a Mac)—something we have needed for a long time. We will also be able to create inhouse our advertisements, headlines, banners, and special letterheads—allowing great savings on typesetting and printing. (Our current printing company uses a Mac to do our typesetting.)

The upcoming presidential campaign and outreach projects are going to generate an enormous volume of inquiries, memberships, and financial data. A successful Independence '88 will also mean more work at the Headquarters. The LP needs a fast, versatile, and dependable computer system with which the staff can handle the new level of activity.

You'll find an envelope inserted in this issue—asking for your assistance in completing the modern computer system for the National Committee's Headquarters.

Let us all share our enthusiasm for the potential that this year and the campaign that will follow hold for the cause of liberty.

Join me in donating \$25.00 to the purchase of the computer system we need to make this the year the LP moves into a new phase of efficiency and growth.

Let's show the Republicrats how it's done!

# Campaign Underway

While most local and state parties are just now gearing up for nominating conventions and ballot access drives, one Georgia libertarian is already hard at work on the campaign trail for 1988.

N. Bruce Driggers, a restaurant manager and longtime political activist from Riverdale (outside Atlanta), has announced an "exploratory campaign" for the Sixth District seat of the U.S. House of Representatives.

"A lot of trouble the Libertarians have," Driggers explains, "is that in local races they only run candidates during the actual campaign season, where they are out-moned and out-media-ed by the two dinosaur parties."

To compensate for this, Driggers has already mounted an aggressive speaking schedule with local civic, business, and social organizations to discuss libertarian solutions to the nation's problems. Between meetings, he and a small cadre of volunteers are going door-to-door in some of the more densely populated areas of his district.

"Phase One of the plan is to build name recognition and a strong support base to recruit volunteers and acquire seed money so that we'll be ahead of the game with half the work done by January of 1988."

It won't be easy, but Driggers sees "a real chance for victory. We can do an enormous amount of guerilla campaigning in the 15 months before the real campaign season begins. That's a lot of grassroots organizing and personal stumping. Our only real expenditures during this time will be gasoline, mail, and

pamphlets. We're hoping to pull in enough money to have a sizable media war chest by June of 1988."

About \$4,000 has already been invested in a computer system, phone lines, pamphlets, and office supplies.

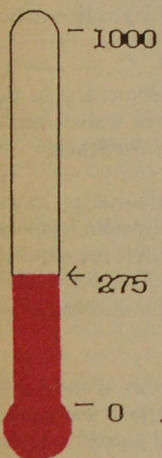
Driggers (who is at the moment running as an independent because the Georgia Party hasn't nominated yet—"Gee, I hope they pick me!" he jokes) describes his program as "populistic libertarian" and stresses "bold, pragmatic solutions to the problems of the '80s." Using the slogan, "It's Time for Courage in Congress," he is stumping with the pledge to be "the one voice of reason against the wind of irrationality that now governs the country." His arsenal includes an imaginative set of proposals to end the deficit, eliminate income taxation, and revitalize the American economy by freeing up the bureaucracy.

Central to his candidacy and arousing the most attention is his pledge to "accept no salary for the job of congressman. I cannot in good conscience speak out against the immorality of taxation and wasteful misuse of citizens' money in Washington while accepting \$85,000 for a job that should be a service to my country. I can support myself without burdening the taxpayers by feeding at the public trough."

Anyone wanting more information on the Driggers for Congress campaign can call 404-996-2774 or write Driggers for Congress, 363-A58 Upper Riverdale Road, Riverdale, GA 30274 (an SASE would help).

## National LP Goal:

1000 Monthly Pledgers by the  
National Convention



Help us make 1988  
the most effective  
year in the  
Libertarian Party's  
history!

Sign up today!

Join  
Independence  
'88!



# Gleanings

Outraged by threats from the state insurance commissioner to raise rates after voters defeated a seat belt law, Howard Katz, writing in **Massachusetts Liberty**, came up with this succinct libertarian critique: "An insurance system in accord with libertarian principles allows anyone to enter the field of insurance who wishes. The freedom to engage in business is a right, not a permission granted by the sovereign. Premiums are determined by free agreement between insurer and insuree, and the state cannot prevent anyone from cutting them. The possibility of competition acts to keep premiums in check. This is the system which exists in most [other] areas of American enterprise, from canned vegetables to rock music albums."

★★★★★

**Four Montana sisters** (youngest 59, oldest 66, all grandmothers) have succeeded in getting a property tax repeal initiative onto the state's ballot after collecting 50,000 signatures in a three-month flurry of activity. With state officials denouncing the initiative and press speculation that it's all a right wing extremist plot, the sisters insist that, "What we have in our hearts, what we're saying is, free our property so the government can't take it away. If the government can tax you, they can take away your property. When we're in debt, we're in bondage." They add that giving landowners and business more money would help reduce the state's increasing number of farm foreclosures.

★★★★★

**Latest socialist triumph** in the workers' paradise: Soviet government has cracked down on drunkenness by raising the price of vodka. Result: a new shortage in cheap perfumes, floor polish, and even insecticides which, according to the UPI, are being slurped up as vodka substitutes.

★★★★★

**Planning a letter campaign** to influence legislators? The Houston *Chronicle* reports a handy reminder: "[One] lawmaker said he was less impressed by 1,000 similarly-worded letters from one part of the district than by 18 clearly unrelated letters from scattered points."

★★★★★

**How poor are they?** Compared to anywhere else in the world, the definition of low income in America must seem downright plush. Latest reflection of that: The U.S. Public Interest Research Group reports that "nearly one in five low-income households do not have a telephone because they say it costs too much." On the other hand that means that four of five low-income homes do have phones. Are there socialist regimes that have done better?

★★★★★

Slick, bright new newsletter from New York state's Libertarian Party, entitled **Free New York**, and edited by engineer Mike North, leads off its first issue with this libertarian language suggestion: "I still hear knowledgeable and thoughtful libertarians referring to 'public schools'...but I want to spread the use of more direct and 'de-euphemized' terms for which I nominate 'government schools.' It is amazing the double-take this appellation causes, but no arguments. This particular [usage] has greater power for us in our everyday use than any other I can think of offhand. Government planning boards, government roads, government-protected banks, government controlled insurance companies, etc."

★★★★★

Carol Moore is putting together a directory of "200-plus radical decentralist-oriented publications, organizations, and booksellers." It's available, for \$1, from **Decentralize!**, Box 106, 632 Cloverdale, Los Angeles, CA 90036.

★★★★★

Writing in **Maryland's Free State Libertarian Letter**, Clifford F. Thies offers this reminder of the distance between design and reality: "However the American Republic may have been designed, the ultimate result is a

relentlessly growing federal government which offers the possibility of another major war to permanently boost its size."

★★★★★

On the basis of 57 votes dealing with "free market principles and economic competition," the **Competitive Enterprise Institute** has rated U.S. Senators and Representatives. Best in the Senate (with 96% pro-economy votes) was Phil Gramm (R-TX). Best in the House (with 98%) was Richard Armey (R-TX). Other Senate high scorers were Jesse Helms (R-NC, 91%), William Armstrong (R-CO, 90%), Gordon Humphrey (R-NH, 87%), Pete Wilson (R-CA, 83%), Dan Quayle (R-IN, 82%). Highs in the House: Ed Zschau (R-CA, 96%), Steve Bartlett (R-TX, 95%), Connie Mack (R-FL, 93%), Norman Shumway (R-CA, 93%), John Hiler (R-IN, 91%). Champion lows: Rep. Louis Stokes (D-OH) and Henry Gonzales (D-TX) each with 2%. Overall, Senate voted 50% of time for competitive or free market principles; House, 42%.

★★★★★

Libertarian Party member Glenn Mensching, an Eastern Michigan University librarian, has joined a colleague, Teresa Bungard, in presenting a **Banned Film Festival**, showing movies banned or censored in the U.S. and elsewhere. "People should be able to choose what they want to see," says Mensching. Sidelight: The two have been active in a film cooperative for several years. Until the banned film festival, the coop had been a money loser. Now it's profitable—and teaching an important lesson in liberty despite such efforts to stop them as bomb threats and crowds of protestors.

★★★★★

**Freedom Network News**, a publication of Libertarian International, quotes Vietnamese Communist Party Chief Truong Chinh as saying, "We recognize the long-term necessity of the small production economy, existence of the private capitalist economy, and petty bourgeoisie in a number of branches and trades... wherever they are needed in the country."

★★★★★

Ronald Reagan's protector of public morality, Attorney General Edwin Meese III, has delivered himself of perhaps the most profound legal concept to emerge from this Republican administration in its defense of the individual. In his attack against the so-called Miranda warning of persons arrested, he said, "You don't have many suspects who are innocent of a crime. That's contradictory. If a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect." After some strong objections, Meese said it was "a bad choice of words." That's all.

★★★★★

South Carolina Libertarian Party members, undeterred by failing to win any elections in November, are planning major projects for the coming year, according to **Sandhills Libertarian Gazette**, the newsletter of the state's midlands. "At the top of the agenda is another campaign to halt the Local Government Finance Act, which would allow cities and counties to impose a variety of new taxes on their citizens. This bill has both Democratic and Republican supporters. The Libertarian Party is the only political party that has opposed it...A petition drive is planned, and so is a letter-writing campaign...Additional projects include the traditional Tax Protest Day on April 15, efforts to fight the legislature's attempt to make zoning easier, and possibly a raffle to be held in late spring."

★★★★★

Newsletter of **Libertarians for Greater Cincinnati** reports that on one day alone, three libertarian letter writers made the letters column of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, the town's major daily. Seven other libertarian letters made it in two preceding months.

★★★★★

**Alabama Liberty**, newsletter of the LP in that state, has printed a moving "momentous date" birthday tribute (Feb. 2, 1905) to the late, great philosopher-novelist Ayn Rand. It's a useful reminder of an important part of our libertarian heritage. State party is also sending copies of David Bergland's *Libertarianism in One Lesson* to media people across the state.

★★★★★

Interesting free market test of **the appeal of the contras** in Nicaragua: Three mailings aimed at conservatives and sent to 200,000 people, have raised \$75,000 for the contras, so far. The money raised, given usual mail solicitation costs, may not have been much more than the cost of the project itself. And, according to the man who did the mailing for the United Nicaraguan Opposition, none of the money has even gone to the contras. Instead, it is being "reinvested" to expand the mailing list.

★★★★★

**Doug Anderson**, member of the Colorado LP's board of directors, is running for the Denver election commission, pledging to open up the election process for third parties and to provide a "none of the above" column for local elections.

★★★★★

Strategy suggestion from **Tom Zuber**, in the Ohio Libertarian: "We should focus in only on those offices where there is minimal opposition, no opposition, or two opposing candidates who are disliked...This way, whatever resources we have can be concentrated on one or two efforts. People in parts of the state who could not travel to the place where the chosen candidate is running could contribute money, or address envelopes, or type, etc. This way, the concentration of the entire state could be on one race and it would be either winnable or feasible for high percentage to the Libertarian candidate. Also, we should look to this strategy on a regional basis as well...we could study the most vulnerable spots in three or four states; get together with activists in those states and plan to concentrate resources on one or two races..."

★★★★★

It's all over in **Hungary**. The Associated Press reports that five McDonald's fast food restaurants are scheduled to open in that communist country.

★★★★★

**Deregulator**, libertarian newspaper published by Rick Henderson (P.O. Box 2755, Chapel Hill, NC 27515-2755; published monthly, \$8/yr.), is offering a copy of "Liberty Reclaimed," by 1984 LP vice-presidential candidate Jim Lewis and Jim Peron, with new subscriptions.

★★★★★

Interested in how libertarianism is doing up north, in Canada? "Bulletin," the official publication of the **Ontario Libertarian Party** (2086 Yonge St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4S 2A3) is available to U.S. subscribers for \$8 a year.

★★★★★

You might expect something unusual in a volume of poetry by South Carolina's **John T. Harllee**, editor of the "Southern Libertarian Messenger." On the back cover is a request that readers who have to pay a sales tax on the purchase of the book protest to the state government along these lines: "This is a tax on knowledge and makes the state an enemy of education. You should all be ashamed." The book, entitled *But Not For Love*, is a collection of Harllee poems written over 30 years, sells for \$2.85 from Tommyhouse Plantation Press, a division of Quality Education, Inc., Route 10, Box 52A, Florence, NC 29501.

★★★★★

What's the meaning of it all? Shawn Rosenberg, a University of California professor who studies **political images**, says these characteristics of a candidate are worth up to 10 percent in additional votes: flat cheekbones, angular jaws, eyes rounded at top.

★★★★★

Libertarian International is organizing a **world-wide letter-writing campaign** to deluge South African Prime Minister Botha with letters supporting the peace plan that has been proposed by the libertarian, anti-apartheid activists Leon Louw and Frances Kendall (see story, this issue). For info on the LI's South Africa Peace Project write to Libertarian International, 9308 Farmington Dr., Richmond, VA 23229 or phone (804) 740-6932.

★★★★★

Famed for her Galt's Gulch Reunions, last year's Future of Freedom Conference, and the "Free Market Yellow Pages," **Dagny Sharon** announces what sounds like a libertarian conglomerate by turning her sole proprietorship business, Dagny Enterprises, into a free market business trust which will: market nutrition products; operate a conference and speakers bureau; include an entertainment division to produce a libertarian cable TV show and various audio and TV tapes; a publishing division to handle the "Yellow Pages" and other publications; and a Freenetwork credit, referral, arbitration, and matchmaking service, and product exchanges. Working capital is being solicited in gold at a gram per share. Dagny Enterprises, P.O. Box 224, Long Beach, CA 90801.

★★★★★

Changes at one of the most creative of all libertarian publications, **Nomos: Studies in Spontaneous Order**. The Chicago-based editors of the bi-monthly journal, Joseph Bast and Diane Carol Bast, have resigned their positions. Reason: "We're working too hard and reaching too few people. We've been investing about 30 hours a week to produce a magazine that currently serves just 400 paid subscribers and the prospects of significantly increasing that number without a very sizeable investment of cash look slim." They're looking for successors and hoping that Nomos will continue publication.

★★★★★

**Democratic Leadership Council**, a panel of top party figures, suggests reviving the idea of national service. A study paper on the idea of involuntary servitude for all young Americans said that "besides serving national ends [more soldiers], such a program could rekindle a sense of civic responsibility—the notion that being an American involves duties as well as privileges." Moral: The Democrats think that the state *lets* you be an American and, thus, can extract duties from you in payment. Question: Are the Republicans much different?

★★★★★

Here's a wonderful way to turn trips in your car into learning experiences: **Knowledge Products**, 120 Tremont Street, Boston MA 02108 (800-453-1900) now offers 22 cassette tapes describing the background of, and giving extensive readings from, classics of obvious interest to libertarians. The writings covered: Paine's *Common Sense*, Thomas Jefferson and the *Declaration of Independence*, Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Mill's *On Liberty*, Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, Etienne de la Boetie's *Discourse on Voluntary Servitude*, Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, Rousseau's *Social Contract*, Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Paine's *Rights of Man*, Hamilton, Madison, and Jay's *Federalist Papers*, Hobbes' *Leviathan*, Locke's *Two Treatises on Government*, and de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. Price for the complete set is \$179 if paid in advance, or \$14.95 per month, plus \$2 shipping, if charged to a major credit card.

★★★★★

Interesting definition of democracy in the **Connecticut Libertarian**: Two wolves and a lamb, voting on what to have for lunch.

★★★★★

**Free Vermont**, the state libertarian newspaper, reminds of an Albert Einstein formulation: Just five percent of the people are required for dramatic political change. Five percent is a 'critical mass' and five percent devoted to an idea can change the world.

★★★★★

**The Free Kansan**, newsletter of the LP in that state, reports that libertarians are joining forces with four other political parties to lobby the legislature to drop the requirements for getting on that ballot.

★★★★★

**Andre Marrou**, former Libertarian member of the Alaska legislature, is now in Nevada working on Libertarian Party efforts there.



# Libertarianism in Poland

By Bill Evers

Janusz Korwin-Mikke, a libertarian underground publisher from Warsaw, has visited libertarian and conservative groups and institutions across the United States including Stanford Libertarians, the Center for Libertarian Studies, the Independent Institute, the Pacific Institute, the Cato Institute, and the Hoover Institution. Korwin-Mikke makes his living as an illegal publisher; officially he is considered a "social parasite" with no visible means of support. LP NEWS interviewed him when he was in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Korwin-Mikke was able to come to the United States only because limits on his freedom that were imposed in October 1985 were recently removed. In 1985, he was caught with a car-full of unbound portions of underground books. Back in the 1960s, he spent time in jail—several weeks or months at a stretch—for political activities.

In his authoritative *KOR: A History of the Workers' Defense Committee in Poland*, Jan Jozef Lipski says of the pamphlet series *Alternatywy*, published by Korwin-Mikke's publishing house, that it had a "truly pure [classical] liberal laissez-faire orientation." Lipski describes it as having been "original" and "edited with flair." Indeed, Lipski reveals his own political stance by declaring that the "sharp attack" in one of these libertarian pamphlets on all varieties of social welfare programs was a "paradox."

Korwin-Mikke is currently the publisher of a political journal *Stanczyk*, named after a Polish court jester who is a "symbol of political skepticism." He is himself the author of a dozen underground pamphlets. He is as well the author of an underground book of essays on historiography and political definitions. He is also the author of two as yet unpublished books—one on taxes, the other on politics and morality. Korwin-Mikke has also written a few articles for the official press. One was on the sensitive and controversial subject of Polish-Soviet trade.

Korwin-Mikke's political ideal is "the ultra-

minimal state" roughly of the sort proposed by Robert Nozick, and he says that in American terms he would be somewhere between the libertarian and conservative positions on the political spectrum. For example, Korwin-Mikke prefers a voluntary military, but would be willing in an emergency to have conscription with the option of purchasing an exemption from military service. He also believes that the libertarian position requires opposing abortion except in cases of rape. But he believes that the police are "the cause" of the drug problem and that a Reagan-style war on drugs is antithetical to liberty. He would support an ultraminimal state with a low, flat head-tax.

Korwin-Mikke does not favor having the officials in his proposed ultraminimal state chosen by democratic means. He says there are numerous other possibilities. One he mentioned was training a substantial portion of the population for governmental jobs (as was done in the Chinese Mandarin system) and then choosing officials from this group by lottery (as was done in ancient Athens).

Korwin-Mikke was the principal adviser to the Artisans' and Craftsmen's Solidarity during 1980-1981. (The Craftsmen's Solidarity and the farmers' Rural Solidarity favored establishment of a free market and private property in Poland. The more famous Workers' Solidarity favored a moderate form of socialism.)

Korwin-Mikke is quite optimistic about the prospects for substantial liberalization of Poland's economy and society in the immediate years ahead. He contends that Poland's authorities have two choices: establishment of market institutions (whether openly or disguised, perhaps as "shareholder socialism") or total collapse of the economy. He says that the military has enough common sense to recognize that neither the present course nor more thorough-going socialism will work. The military may in the future turn against the civilian bureaucracy, much of which supports the present system. Korwin-Mikke does not think that a popular revolution is likely during the economic bad times that lie ahead for Poland.

Much of what Korwin-Mikke said about Poland is difficult to fit in with Western stereo-

types of full-scale Stalinist totalitarianism. What exists in Poland is a still dangerous, but often toothless, totalitarianism. Reformers and rebels must pick their way skillfully amidst the permissiveness of a weak, unpopular government that still cracks down arbitrarily and unpredictably on dissidents. The government is so weak that it is anxious to cooperate with the moderate opposition, but this is dangerous for the dissidents because such cooperation would limit what they could say and would damn any cooperative dissidents in the eyes of the thoroughly anti-regime Polish people.

Korwin-Mikke says that substantial popular sentiment exists for pro-market reforms. But he admits that the left underground, which favors the establishment of some sort of "true" socialism in Poland, is larger and more effective than the pro-market underground. Korwin-Mikke attributes the strength of the left underground in part to donations from socialists and left-liberals in the West as well as subsidies to the left from the Reagan Administration's National Endowment for Democracy.

According to Korwin-Mikke, there are 15 (16 if you count liberal democrats) underground pro-market publishing houses in Poland that are known to him. The pro-market movement is increasingly influential. One of the top advisers to Poland's Catholic primate is sympathetic to libertarian thought. Two official, legal weeklies are heavily influenced by the movement in favor of the market and personal and political liberty. Korwin-Mikke recently gave a lecture to a meeting of the officially-sponsored Patriot Movement for National Reconstruction. In this lecture, he said that "socialism is dead" and came out for privatization of schooling. He was pleased that shortly thereafter an article appeared in one of the officially-communist popular weeklies likewise advocating privatization of schooling.

Polish libertarians, according to Korwin-Mikke, favor giving factory workers transferable shares in business enterprises in order to privatize Polish industries. Korwin-Mikke points out that in Poland, unlike in other Soviet-type societies, farmland is already almost entirely in the hands of private owners.

He adds that the existence of so much private land and private economic activity provides an alternative career for communist officials who lost out in power struggles—they can retire to become prosperous family-farmers. This private-enterprise safety net makes political struggles less heated than in other communist countries.

Korwin-Mikke likens the Polish communists to the Normans who conquered England in 1066. After several generations on the land, as Korwin-Mikke points out, the Normans were assimilated. They adopted much of the English culture and "thought of themselves as English patriots," not as conquerors. He contends that the same thing is happening to the Polish communists. Customary bribery, the black market, and private property are turning the communists, whose predecessors were a conquering "Red horde" brought to power by Soviet bayonets in the late 1940s, more and more into ordinary members of Polish society.

Korwin-Mikke says that the most important thing is for advocates of the market—in the West as well as in the East—not to be constantly "on the defensive." Proponents of the market should never treat socialism as a noble but unworkable ideal. "Socialism is bad because it is immoral, not because it is inefficient," Korwin-Mikke says.

Friends of the various pro-free market publications in Poland are establishing a foundation to purchase printing equipment and other publishing materials that must be purchased with hard currency in order to be imported into Poland. (Private ownership of computers and printers is legal in Poland; ownership of photocopiers or photo-offset equipment is not.) Libertarians wishing to aid the pro-market movement in Poland should give money to the Leopold Tyrmand Foundation, which is still in the formative stages. Checks made out to the foundation should be sent to the foundation's American representative: Peter Swistak, 1450 E. 55th Place, #923, Chicago, IL 60637.

Bill Evers is an associate editor of the *Libertarian Party NEWS*.

## Gleanings

★★★★★

**Santa Clara Libertarian** newsletter features a classy way to get useful political statistics across to people. It's in the form of a quiz. Some examples, useful to show to people who think that only the state can provide basic services: There are over 16,000 airports in America. How many are privately operated? 500, 1500, 4000, 11,000 (Ans. 11,000). There are about 400 government schools in Santa Clara County. About how many private schools are listed in the area phone directory? 30, 80, 200, 500 (Ans. 500). About what percent of libraries in America are public libraries? 90, 75, 45, 20 (Ans. 45%).

★★★★★

Good slogan from the **Metro-Detroit Libertarian** newsletter: A libertarian act a day helps keep tyrants away.

★★★★★

**Linda Paustian**, member of the Pennsylvania LP, won the Mencken Award for best editorial at the annual Free Press Association banquet. Her editorial, which appeared in the *Philadelphia Enquirer*, was one of a series of pieces she wrote opposing a Philadelphia convention center. Impressed by the editorials, and feeling that anyone fighting redevelopment agencies, planning commissions, zoning boards, or land use commissions should read the Paustian editorials, **California Libertarian News** is offering photocopies of the series for \$3, to cover copying and postage. Write Sarah E. Foster, Editor, CL News, 777 Terrace 49 Los Angeles, CA 90042.

★★★★★

Welcome to new editors of the Illinois Libertarian, **Scott and Sue Walton**. Address: #405, 1111 Church Street, Evanston, IL 60201. They want to exchange copies with as many other libertarian letters as possible.

★★★★★

Some snappy figures from the *Washington Post* to help understand just how really impressive is the historic leap from a multi-billion dollar budget to the Reagan Administration's **trillion dollar budget**: If someone handed you \$100 every second you'd have \$8.6 million by the end of day one. But to get to a trillion dollars you'd have to get that \$100 every single second of every single day for 317 years. To spend all the money in the trillion dollar budget, the federal bureaucrats have to dispense it at the rate of \$136,702 a second! If you packed a trillion dollar bills into average railroad box-cars, it would take a train of 15,743 cars, 167 miles long, to haul the budget booty. If a trillion dollar bills were laid end to end they would reach 96.7 million miles, enough to reach all the way to the sun, with about \$38 billion left over.

★★★★★

Some highlights from the index of the current *Journal of Libertarian Studies*: Stephen Cox writing on "Ayn Rand: Theory versus Creative Life"; Fredric Young writing on "Nozick and the Individualist Anarchist"; Roy Cordato and Sheldon Richman writing on "Tax Rate vs. Tax Base: A Public Choice Perspective on the Consequences for the Growth of Government"; Bruce Benson writing on "Guns for Protection and Other Private Sector Responses to the Government's Failure to Control Crime"; and Carl Watner writing on "Consent Theory in the Radical Libertarian

Tradition." The distinguished semi-annual journal (\$25 for institutions, \$17 for individuals) may be addressed at P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011.

★★★★★

Libertarian Party member **Charles Graner**, 711 Sharron Av., New Richmond, WI 54017, offers access to his collection of about 15,000 articles, hundreds of books and pamphlets, dealing with subjects of interest to libertarians. "I would like to offer this information to anyone who requests, on a voluntary basis. They send in a request for whatever information they want, and I will send copies of whatever I think they need along with a slip telling them how this system works. This service is voluntarily funded. Whatever the material is worth to you is the cost. As long as support continues, so too will this service."

★★★★★

**Emily Salvette**, now handling phone inquiries, mail, and records for the Libertarian Party of Michigan, gives this systems analysis of LP status: "The Libertarian Party is still in its recruitment stage of development. How does a group recruit supporters? One on one contact/persuasion at local meetings, lectures, social events, demonstrations, etc. Many, many such activities must go on to recruit the number of people we'll need to actually produce the output we want: Changing our political system from statism to freedom."

★★★★★

Reminder that one of the country's most unusual book catalogs, **Loompanics**, P.O. Box 1197, Port Townsend, WA 98368, often cited for its survivalist and martial arts books, also carries some libertarian classics such as Eunice Minette Schuster's *Native American Anarchism*, Max Stirner's *The Ego and His*

*Own*, and Lysander Spooner's *No Treason*.

★★★★★

A report in *The Oldest Profession Times*, on the **Second International Congress of Whores**, held in Brussels, includes this libertarian comment: "At the end of our discussion [with feminists] none of us threw down our garter belts and vowed never to do it again, and none of the feminists asked to borrow our stockings, but we did agree that it was important to try to understand each other, because maybe we all want the same thing—self-determination, the right to own our own bodies."

★★★★★  
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Continued from Page 2

**Paul**

In last month's "Letters to the Editor" Jeff Daiell cited Ron Paul's willingness to "sell out for votes" as an example of why he should not be nominated as the LP presidential candidate. Daiell should be aware that Paul was unwaveringly against the harbor project he referred to and was a thorn in the side of many Freeport businessmen. I personally know people who to this day are anti-Paul precisely because he didn't budge on this issue.

I have always been impressed, if not almost astonished, by the fact that Ron Paul took so many uncompromising libertarian positions in the U.S. Congress where he survived quite well among representatives who not only habitually put constituents above principles, but who were economic illiterates when it came to honest money, the meaning of monetization, inflation, the bankruptcy of Social Security and the welfare system, the actions of government bugbears—subjects on which he tried to enlighten them. It was due greatly to Ron's ceaseless proselytizing for "honest money" among other congressmen and Federal Reserve members that the U.S. finally issued the Liberty coin as a nod, at least, to the idea that, yes, Ron, gold is money.

If Daiell must "lower himself" to Ron Paul, I'll take one giant step up and work with him for the nomination of the only man in politics who owns his own soul and not one grafted by his constituents.

**Kevin Southwick**  
Houston, TX

**Paul**

The Libertarian Party platform states that "recognizing that each person must be the sole and absolute owner of his or her own body, we support the right of women to have a personal choice regarding the termination of pregnancy."

[The] possible LP presidential candidate, ex-congressman Ron Paul, has stated he believes "laws should protect all viable life" (which he has proved means from the moment of conception) and has co-sponsored a "Human Life Amendment" to the U.S. Constitution that would outlaw abortion...

My very first organizing experience was as a pro-choice activist in the early 1970s. In 1976, I became pregnant. If I had not had the freedom to have an abortion, I might possibly be dead now...I hope my life is as important to libertarians as the freedom of draft resisters like Paul Jacob. Yet, in supporting Ron Paul, libertarians prove to me that while they oppose draft slavery for men, they are indifferent to sexual slavery for women.

**Carol Moore**  
Los Angeles, CA

**Paul**

As a candidate for Congress in Michigan's 10th District in 1982, I learned that Ron Paul was raising money in Texas for my Republican opponent, conservative anti-abortionist Larry Reed...I have received many fundraising letters from Mr. Paul's supporters over the past four years, despite the fact that I have more than adequately expressed my feelings towards Mr. Paul in returning them. Presently, I simply tear them up...I would like to think my candidacy in '82 helped keep a typical sniveling conservative out of office, and I do not choose to support a man who raised money for him.

**William A. Spiers**  
St. Johns, MI

**Rights**

As a working member of the press, I find that the Libertarian Party is the only party which gives me a definite guarantee preserving my First Amendment rights, not to mention my Second Amendment rights which protect the former.

**Sid Crown**  
Editor-in-Chief, *Industrial West*  
El Monte, CA

# Letters to the Editor

**Gold**

In an interview (LP NEWS, Nov./Dec. 1986) Dr. Ron Paul is quoted as follows: "I urge a 100 percent reserve, gold coin standard...I also advocate repealing all laws...that block voluntary arrangements in money."

The statement is liable to misunderstanding. If the arrangements in respect of money are to be truly voluntary, as libertarian principles hold, legal sanctions cannot be imposed to require a particular reserve against the retirement of demand notes for gold. Mr. Paul has, of course, the personal right to urge that a 100 percent reserve be maintained; but the requirement of it, the laws being repealed, must be left to those voluntarily accepting such notes who, like Mr. Paul, will be free to make their own terms.

In practice, under a voluntary system, the government not intervening either with regulators or with insurance, the terms of the notes, including the provision of reserves, will be controlled by market forces. As the saying is, the public will vote with its feet, patronizing banks whose notes are most secure, and discounting notes that lack this assurance. Banks courting depositors will voluntarily improve the security of their notes to their satisfaction. The government, in its responsibility for the public peace, need only interfere in two cases where society is injured; that is, where the notes are issued fraudulently by the banker or as counterfeit by others.

**R.S. Malloch**  
Canyon City, OR

**Sell**

LP members should do the following:

(1) Develop free market methods of financing. Norma Jean Almodovar's campaign points out that the road to freedom should be paved with free enterprise solutions. Sell posters, stickers, T-shirts, etc.—all to raise money for the Libertarian Party.

(2) Tackle the issues which concern Americans. Despite his zeal to invade student privacy, Pete DuPont has a plan to phase out price supports. Agriculture has been demolished by government policies; the LP should be calling for massive reductions in these subsidies, before the Ag budget becomes an "untouchable boondoggle" like Social Security.

(3) Build supporters by appealing to basic American values. America is founded upon the principles of personal and economic freedom; most Americans are basic libertarians, desiring peace and prosperity as promises delivered by a free society. It is our task to educate them about the blessings of liberty, and to make freedom a reality. Ron Paul/Earl Ravenal: *Looking great for '88.*

**Brent Bielema**  
Fulton, IL

**Honored Virtues**

The Dark Ages came from too much government. The church and state were combined. Scientists were persecuted. Oppressive taxation built spacious public buildings and temples. Producers were tortured. The fruit of the people's labor was expropriated, and they said, "To heck with it!" They lost pride in their work and were driven to decadent "amusements" to forget. Finally, England came out of the Dark Ages after 10,000 laws against producers were repealed.

When people are left free to choose and are allowed to suffer or benefit according to nature's laws, they learn cause and effect. They progress. This is Libertarian! They develop those honored virtues of honesty, integrity, and wisdom.

**Sharon Bird**  
Provo, UT

**Mauled**

The first time I ran for office as a Libertarian I was physically beat up three times; once by a marijuana dealer who didn't want decriminalization, once by a factory worker who didn't want his kids smoking marijuana, and a third time by a guy who wanted me to "go back where I came from."

Here in Utah we don't have many Libertarians who have been active as Democrats or Republicans. In fact, most never voted until Libertarians started running for office. The republicans in this state try to outdo one another in socking it to civil liberties...If we were to become a freedom caucus within the Republican Party we would never be heard from again. Outside of the Republican Party we continue to gather force, and have created a momentum that will gain victory in our time.

The other day the president of the most prestigious Mormon intellectual society indicated that, in his opinion, the Libertarian Party by insistent drumming on the non-coercive drum, is preparing the way for long-needed reform within the Mormon Church itself.

From my point of view it is essential that we have a continuing Libertarian Party on a national level, but I do believe that constitutional Republicans should remain Republicans and stop masquerading as minarchist libertarians. When I signed up I promised I was in for the duration. I am still here and I will remain here.

**Ron Amos**  
Salt Lake City, UT

**Agreements**

I believe most people agree with us Libertarians on at least some issues. For example, I recently read in a *Wall Street Journal* article that 30 percent of young professionals believe that Social Security will not be in existence by the time of their retirement. Through a mass mailing, the Party (or a special committee focusing on this issue) could simply ask those addressees who have an interest in finding an alternative to Social Security (i.e., privatization) to drop a pre-addressed postcard in the mail for more information on what they can do. The Party would then have names, addresses, and phone numbers of people who might respond warmly to Libertarian philosophy and politics.

This is but one issue which could be utilized in this manner to attempt to identify people in agreement with Libertarian policy positions.

The question is where to get new names and addresses. I am due to receive anytime now a new alumni directory for the graduate business school I attended. Probably very few of these names were on previous mailing lists the Party has used, such as the *Reason* magazine subscription list. I would be happy to lend such an alumni listing to the Party and I think many other Party members would do likewise.

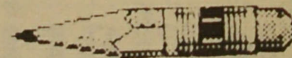
My hope is to promote an ongoing, serious discussion among all Party members concerning new methods of Libertarian outreach.

**William Redpath**  
Secretary, LP of VA

**Backwards**

Does [former libertarian De Ann Pullar] really think that "a flourishing economy (is) an important condition for personal liberty"? If she does, she has it backwards. I would say that "personal liberty is an important condition for a flourishing economy," but if I have to make a choice, I'll take personal liberty. If we have to wait for the economy to flourish before the people have liberty, we will have to wait forever.

**Frank Germann**  
West St. Paul, MN

**Conflicting Commitments**

Maintaining member commitment and unity is difficult because not all members can go along with everything that the Party espouses. Doing so requires a great deal of tolerance.

For example, while I believe in minimum government, free trade, non-intervention, legalizing drugs (not because I like them), I hold a deep belief in a supreme being or power. Since atheism is obviously strongly held by many active libertarians, my commitment to libertarianism carries a flaw. It prevents a "total" commitment.

Moreover, it is the nature of most people who are attracted to libertarian beliefs to want to be left alone—to try and manage their personal lives, businesses, etc. and not get involved in areas (spelled "government") which try to influence, cajole, or manipulate other people. Political parties, unfortunately even the Libertarian Party, are tainted with this image. This is a problem for which I can find no answer. Our platform, along with the unique and sometimes offensive beliefs of libertarianism's most ardent supporters and leadership, adds further dimensions to the already strange and terrifying notion of freedom. It prevents mass conversion.

Party leadership should try to minimize the discomfort by emphasizing the things which people like about freedom and de-emphasizing the things which alienate or scare a skeptical market.

Unfortunately, the equity value of any investment in the Libertarian Party is remote, diffused, and unrecoverable. The motivation to support is not based on a highly-leveraged return on taxpayer dollars through pork barrel or "social" return on Party contributions. All it can achieve at this time is a slowing down of a trend toward total collectivism of human activity under a consuming socialist aristocracy. Hopefully, people will continue to invest their hard-earned residual dollars in order to neutralize a portion of the vast public dollars dedicated toward maintaining this country's momentum toward socialism. But the Party, in its enthusiasm, must respect the financial responsibility which each member has toward him or herself. Members cannot expect those whom they have supported in the past to look after them, and their responsibility toward themselves dictates that they must keep their own financial house in order. This is particularly true now that savings, investment, and capitalism have been legislated into oblivion.

**Richard Ayres**  
Dearborn Hts., MI

**Heads**

I've heard two heads talking in the Libertarian Party.

Head #1 sets up a dogma of freedom and anyone who wants to be a Libertarian has to believe, right down to the dill and cumin. Freedom in everything except your beliefs about freedom. One Libertarian told me it took him a couple years to become an active Libertarian because he had to change his way of thinking so he could accept all the Party "doctrine."

Head #2 says we are an association of people who believe in liberty as a way of life, and want to take steps to see that government acts in the same way.

Many of the arguments sound like '60s rhetoric. Two sides—us and you. We are good and will one day win even though today we are laughed at and spit upon and down trodden. You are evil and will one day know that we are right. Fundamentalist Christianity in a political form.

There are always more than two sides, and nobody is all good or all bad, all right or all wrong.

**Doug Moreland**  
Oak Park, MI



# LP's Ron Paul Sends "Dear Frank" Letter

*Following is the text of a letter sent to Frank Fahrenkopf, chairman of the Republican National Committee, by Ron Paul, former member of Congress from Texas and now a member of the Libertarian Party.*

As a lifelong Republican, it saddens me to have to write this letter. My parents believed in the Republican Party and its free enterprise philosophy, and that's the way I was brought up. At age 21, in 1956, I cast my first vote for Ike and the entire Republican slate.

Because of frustration with the direction in which the country was going, I became a political activist and ran for the U.S. Congress in 1974. Even with Watergate, my loyalty, optimism, and hope for the future were tied to the Republican Party and its message of free enterprise, limited government, and balanced budgets.

Eventually I was elected to the U.S. Congress four times as a Republican. This permitted me a first-hand look at the interworkings of the U.S. Congress, seeing both the benefits and partisan frustrations that guide its shaky proceedings. I found that although representative government still exists, special interest control of the legislative process clearly presents a danger to our constitutional system of government.

In 1976 I was impressed with Ronald Reagan's program and was one of the four members of Congress who endorsed his candidacy. In 1980, unlike other Republican office holders in Texas, I again supported our President in his efforts.

Since 1981, however, I have gradually and steadily grown weary of the Republican Party's efforts to reduce the size of the federal government. Since then Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party have given us skyrocketing deficits, and astoundingly a doubled national debt. How is it that the party of balanced budgets, with control of the White House and the Senate, accumulated red ink greater than all previous administrations put together? Tip O'Neill, al-

though part of the problem, cannot alone be blamed.

Tax revenues are up 59 percent since 1980. Because of our economic growth? No. During Carter's four years, we had growth of 37.2 percent; Reagan's five years have given us 30.7 percent. The new revenues are due to four giant Republican tax increases since 1981.

All Republicans rightly chastised Carter for his \$38 billion deficit. But they ignore or even defend deficits of \$220 billion, as government spending has grown 10.4 percent per year since Reagan took office, while the federal payroll has zoomed by a quarter of a million bureaucrats.

Despite the Supply-Sider-Keynesian claim that "deficits don't matter," the debt presents a grave threat to our country. Thanks to the President and the Republican Party, we have lost the chance to reduce the deficit and the spending in a non-crisis fashion. Even worse, big government has been legitimized in a way the Democrats never could have accomplished. It was tragic to listen to Ronald Reagan on the 1986 campaign trail bragging about his high spending on farm subsidies, welfare, warfare, etc., in his futile effort to hold on to control of the Senate.

Instead of cutting some of the immeasurable waste in the Department of Defense, it has gotten worse, with the inevitable result that we are less secure today. Reagan's foreign aid expenditures exceed Eisenhower's, Kennedy's, Johnson's, Nixon's, Ford's, and Carter's put together. Foreign intervention has exploded since 1980. Only an end to military warfare for foreign governments plus a curtailment of our unconstitutional commitments abroad will enable us really to defend ourselves and solve our financial problems.

Amidst the failure of the Gramm-Rudman gimmick, we hear the President and the Republican Party call for a balanced-budget amendment and a line-item veto. This is only a

smokescreen. President Reagan, as governor of California, had a line-item veto and virtually never used it. As President he has failed to exercise his constitutional responsibility to veto spending. Instead, he has encouraged it.

Monetary policy has been disastrous as well. The five Reagan appointees to the Federal Reserve Board have advocated even faster monetary inflation than Chairman Volcker, and this is the fourth straight year of double-digit increases. The chickens have yet to come home to roost, but they will, and America will suffer from a Reaganomics that is nothing but warmed-over Keynesianism.

Candidate Reagan in 1980 correctly opposed draft registration. Yet when he had the chance to abolish it, he reneged, as he did on his pledge to abolish the Departments of Education and Energy, or to work against abortion.

Under the guise of attacking drug use and money laundering, the Republican Administration has systematically attacked personal and financial privacy. The effect has been to victimize innocent Americans who wish to conduct their private lives without government snooping. (Should people really be put on a suspected drug dealer list because they transfer \$3,000 at one time?) Reagan's urine testing of Americans without probable cause is a clear violation of our civil liberties, as are his proposals for extensive "lie detector" tests.

Under Reagan, the IRS has grown bigger, richer, more powerful, and more arrogant. In the words of the founders of our country, our government has "sent hither swarms" of tax gatherers "to harass our people and eat out their substance." His officers jailed the innocent George Hansen, with the President refusing to pardon a great American whose only crime was to defend the Constitution. Reagan's new tax "reform" gives even more

power to the IRS. Far from making taxes fairer or simpler, it deceitfully raises more revenue for the government to waste.

Knowing this administration's record, I wasn't surprised by its Libyan disinformation campaign, Israeli-Iranian arms-for-hostages swap, or illegal funding of the Contras. All this has contributed to my disenchantment with the Republican Party, and helped me make up my mind.

I want to totally disassociate myself from the policies that have given us unprecedented deficits, massive monetary inflation, indiscriminate military spending, an irrational and unconstitutional foreign policy, zooming foreign aid, the exaltation of international banking, and the attack on our personal liberties and privacy.

After years of trying to work through the Republican Party both in and out of government, I have reluctantly concluded that my efforts must be carried on outside the Republican Party. Republicans know that the Democratic agenda is dangerous to our political and economic health. Yet, in the past six years Republicans have expanded its worst aspects and called them our own. The Republican Party has not reduced the size of government. It has become big government's best friend.

If Ronald Reagan couldn't or wouldn't balance the budget, which Republican leader on the horizon can we possibly expect to do so? There is no credibility left for the Republican Party as a force to reduce the size of government. That is the message of the Reagan years.

I conclude that one must look to other avenues if a successful effort is ever to be achieved in reversing America's direction.

I therefore resign my membership in the Republican Party and enclose my membership card.

## The Essence of Political Persuasion

*The following is an excerpt from Emerling's "The Essence of Political Persuasion," © 1987.*

Libertarians are for freedom.

So what?

Saul Alinsky used to say, "If there's no opposition, it's not an issue." Try to find someone who says he's against freedom. The communists freed Russia from the czar. Mao Tse Tung freed China from Chiang Kai-shek. The ayatollah Khomeini freed Iran from the Shah. Every terrorist group in the world is trying to free their people from oppressors. Ask them. Every elected official in America will say he's for freedom...properly understood. Saying we're for freedom doesn't distinguish us from other political viewpoints.

"But when we say we're for freedom, we mean it."

"We're the only people for true freedom."

"We're the only people who take freedom seriously."

I've said these things many, many times. Haven't you? These comments change nothing.

Every valid definition has a genus and a differentia. What differentiates the libertarian concept of freedom from all others? Individualism.

Libertarians are for individual liberty, individual rights. We don't just want our group to be free from another group's domination. We want each individual to be free from coercion, collective or individual.

The Society for Individual Liberty figured this out years ago. *Always use the qualifier "individual."* We are for individual freedom, individual choice, and individual responsibility. Let the collectivists say the individual doesn't matter. We know better. On both political and linguistic levels.

*Some libertarians describe the free market as an unregulated economy.* "Unregulated" implies something unbalanced or out of control. That's negative. Describe the free market as a *self-regulating system*. A dynamic *self-correcting* economy. The free market is a responsive self-regulating economy. This is more accurate and more useful in persuasion.

*Aren't libertarians radical advocates of liberty?* After all, "radical" really means to get at the root of. When "radical" is used in newspapers and magazines, on television and radio, which groups is the word applied to? Bomb throwers, fanatics, and other violent men and women. Do we want to be placed in this category?

*Isn't libertarianism a revolutionary political viewpoint?* "Revolutionary" is used in many libertarian publications to describe our viewpoint. It's self-destructive. Back to newspapers and magazines, radio and television news. Who are the "revolutionaries?" Terrorists, hijackers, hostage grabbers, and thugs. Do we belong with these criminals?

*But libertarianism is an extreme political position.* In popular usage, "extremist" usually refers to people who are willing to resort to violence, to racial or religious bigots, or the borderline political psychotic.

Want to join this club?

It doesn't matter whether others refer to us as radical, revolutionary, or extremist, or whether we use those terms to describe ourselves. These terms slander and damage the libertarian position. Discard them.

Suppose someone goes into the etymology of the term, saying, for example, "Well, the word 'extreme' means 'to a great degree,' as in extremely honest or healthy or fair. In that sense of the word would you call yourself a

political extremist?" Don't take the bait! You'll find yourself quoted as being a "political extremist," an "admitted extremist," and the phrase will dog you forever. The explanation will be lost and forgotten.

Instead of "radical," use "fundamental" or "basic."

Instead of "revolutionary," use "bold," "new," "innovative," or "challenging."

Instead of "extreme," use "principled" or "consistent."

Remember I said define or be defined. If we are *principled* advocates of individual liberty, that makes the opposition *unprincipled*. If we are *consistent* supporters of individual freedom, then the opposition is *inconsistent*. Why would anyone take unprincipled or inconsistent people seriously?

I have developed a simple but powerful format that gives libertarians a lot of intellectual leverage. Whenever you find our position described with a biased phrase, take the following steps:

1. Unpack and list the connotations of the term.
2. Judge them.
3. Define our position with a more accurate phrase.
4. Identify two or three positive outcomes of our position.

For example, someone might ask, "Wouldn't you say that your libertarian viewpoint is pretty radical in terms of contemporary politics?"

Using the format, we get this response: "Usually the word 'radical' is used to describe fanatics, political terrorists, bomb throwers, and hijackers. I'm totally opposed to that. Libertarians advocate individual liberty and self-responsibility. We believe that all human relations should be voluntary and peaceful."

Someone might say, "I like a lot of your ideas, but I can't support your isolationist foreign policy."

Using my format, you'd answer: "Usually the word 'isolationist' means insulated, cut off from the rest of the world, like medieval Japan or China. And we're opposed to that. Libertarians support free trade and free travel. We call for a *non-interventionist* foreign policy. We don't want the U.S. government interfering in the affairs of other countries, meddling in foreign matters, or sending bureaucrats, advisors, or soldiers into foreign countries."

Re-defining the issue and enhancing linguistic precision is not the last step in political persuasion. But it is a vital first step on the road to individual freedom in our lifetime.

*Libertarians are for freedom.*

### The Meaning of Life

*The Golden Mean has lost its shine  
to situation comedy and cheap wine.  
And social security is the meaning of life.  
Meaningful relationships are made in kind;  
Sex without love, love without mind.  
And designer drugs are the meaning of life.  
Mean what you say has become passe;  
kids can't say what they mean to say.  
And public education is the meaning of life.  
The deeper meaning of reality  
has Congress passing on morality.  
And organized religion is the meaning of life.  
I've thought about it at some length and it  
seems to me  
the problem has its roots in the fact that we  
have allowed ourselves to become only  
means  
to the end of someone else's bandwagon  
dreams.*

—Chris Brockman



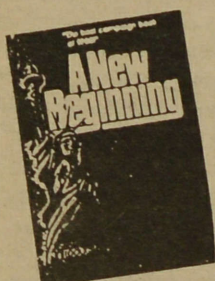
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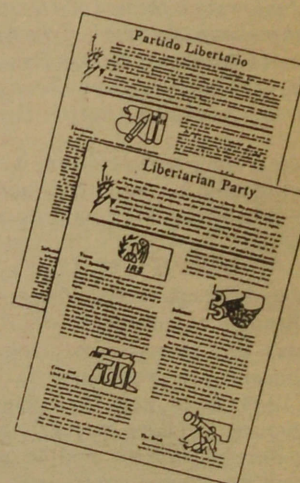
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