



Libertarian Party

NEWS

Volume 2, Number 1

Liberty Enlightening the World

January/February 1987

Controversy

How It Turned Out

In view of recent criticism of the Libertarian Party NEWS, and at least one strong call for the resignation of its editor (see the November/December issue), here is a summary of where things now stand.

Support for the way in which the Libertarian Party NEWS is being handled by Karl Hess and Randy Langhenry has been strong. Support by the National Committee has been emphatic. Support by individual state parties has been encouraging.

One state party, Wisconsin, formally disapproved of some NEWS content in a presentation to the most recent National Committee meeting. Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Illinois, South Carolina, and West Virginia sent along strong resolutions of support of the current editorship. Individual expressions of support have been widespread, warm, and most welcome. Of the many letters received, not one, to date, has supported the call for the resignation of the editor. Those letters will not appear in this issue of the Libertarian Party NEWS—although they are deeply etched in the appreciative consciousness of the editors. Our hope, now, is just to get on with the work of putting out a newspaper.

The overwhelmingly supportive response, along with reduction of the paper's budget and frequency by the National Committee, has been enough to satisfy the harshest critic of the current editorship, Dr. Murray Rothbard, who, in a personal note to the editor, expressed pleasure that we could all begin working together again. The editors share that pleasure.

Hess and Langhenry, to sum it up, have been asked to continue doing their jobs.

A new contract with Lysander, Inc., for 1987 is being prepared for signature.

Because of a tighter budget there will be only six issues a year. The outreach issues will be dropped, but outreach supplements in regular issues will be tried. Issues will be smaller in page number (dropping to 12 after this issue) and in circulation (as complimentary subscriptions are dropped).

The editors understand fully that not everything they do pleases everyone. But *someone* has to edit the paper and the decision seems to be—in good libertarian fashion—that it might as well be an individual, even an imperfect one, rather than an editorial collective.

The newspaper, although it is the official *organ* of the Party, is not its official *voice*. The official voice is that of the Chair and of the National Committee. The newspaper covers what it hears and sees. Its editors and contributors express their opinions and interpretations. Statements by Party officials are identified as such. That's why it's called a newspaper and not a party line letter.

—KH

NatCom

Turney, Mitchell, NEWS OK'd

By Bill Evers

The Libertarian National Committee, at its November 22-23 meeting in Los Angeles, confirmed National Chair Jim Turney's nomination of Terry von Mitchell as national director, adopted a \$263,000 budget, and appointed half the members of the 1987 national platform committee.

The Committee declined to adopt a proposal to add an overhead charge when billing its self-funded subcommittees. It also heard but did not adopt the recommendation of NatCom member Dale Hemming that a thorough housecleaning was needed in the Houston headquarters staff, in LP NEWS, and in the post of national chair.

The appointment of Mitchell gave Turney a national director who was directly Turney's own choice. The previous national director, Perry Willis, had been appointed by immediate past chair Randy VerHagen. Willis continued into Turney's term, but had to resign when chronic illness prevented him from working full time. The motion to confirm Mitchell was supported in a vigorous speech by Emil Franzi, who argued that a chairperson ought basically be able to "pick his own director." This, according to Franzi, meant a better working relationship between chair and director and allowed the Party membership and the National Committee to "hold the chair responsible" for the director's performance.

The budget adopted by the NatCom was drafted and proposed by Turney and was based on work done some weeks earlier by the budget subcommittee. The adopted budget assumes conservatively that 1987 revenues will be like 1986 revenues. National Treasurer Sam Treyner, Vice Chair Sharon Ayres, and former treasurer David Walter had been contending for many months that fiscally conservative assumptions of this sort were necessary if the Party wanted to have a "realistic budget."

Other notable features of the budget were a reduction in spending on LP NEWS (while still preserving its frequent appearance) and a small allocation for seeking new members and donors. The need to seek new members and donors was the central feature of a well-prepared finance report by Sharon Ayres. The NatCom also adopted an incentive program, proposed by David Walter, that will reward the headquarters staff if more money is raised than is assumed in current budget projections.

Another well-prepared report was that of ballot-access chair Stephen Fielder. He explained the effects of the November 1986 election. He reported on the success of the Texas ballot drive, which was completed by the state party on its own. The LP has, however, lost ballot status in Idaho. Fielder explained that the ballot-access subcommittee did not learn about the problems in Idaho until it was too late.

Fielder reported that his subcommittee had detailed projections of the costs of each state ballot drive. He was optimistic about the fundraising situation. But he noted that the ballot-access effort needed additional support



Terry von Mitchell, newly confirmed national director.

from donors in order to reach the \$6,000 per month that is needed to pay for getting the 1988 national ticket on the ballot in all 50 states.

National Secretary Dean Ahmad proposed that a 10 percent overhead charge be added by national headquarters when billing all self-funded subcommittees for items. The wording of the resolution and the subsequent debate left it unclear whether the effect of the measure was to add an overhead charge only to bills that subcommittees paid to the national headquarters, or to collect an overhead on all spending by self-funded subcommittees.

Those favoring an overhead charge said it made good business sense and reflected real overhead burdens imposed by the subcommittees. Ahmad contended that self-funded committees were a mechanism that places "an increasing portion" of the national LP's funds

off-budget, thus "sidestepping" the NatCom's own debt-reduction requirements. Overhead charge supporters also said that it is difficult to raise money directly to support headquarters overhead, and if most "glamorous projects" were farmed out to self-funding subcommittees, then headquarters would starve.

Those opposing an overhead charge said it would cripple decentralized initiative and did not reflect real overhead burdens imposed by the subcommittees, but was instead an unwarranted cross-subsidization. Franzi suggested that an overhead charge would appear to donors as a subsidization of a pattern of going into debt.

Hemming at several points during the meeting said that action needed to be taken to replace the Party's current top management. He questioned the appropriateness of appointing Mitchell, saying that there were financial and membership problems during Mitchell's tenure as acting director. He said that certain material published in LP NEWS constituted a breach of contract by the subcontractor and proposed that if "any further breaches" occurred, the subcontractor be sued for damages.

He also proposed that the NatCom call for the national chair's resignation on the ground that the chair had not effectively dealt with the Party's financial, membership, and debt problems and had not heeded the NatCom's policy directives on what was to be done. Hemming's proposals did not receive support from the Committee. Committee members stated in private conversations and in debate that the new realistic budget, discussions between the editor and the national chair on LP NEWS editorial policy, and new membership and fundraising efforts are the best ways to tackle the problems cited by Hemming.

The NatCom appointed 1984 presidential nominee David Bergland as temporary chair of the platform committee for the Seattle presidential-nominating convention. It selected Lew Rockwell, Paul Jacob, Robert Poole, Murray Rothbard, Joe Cobb, Kathleen Richman, Larry Dodge, Dale Pratt, and Peter Breggin to serve on the committee. Additional members are to be selected by the 10 largest state parties.

New Hampshire Poll Taken

The Libertarian Party of New Hampshire recently completed a survey of 1,000 citizens in the state. The survey was performed by Public Opinion of New Hampshire (based in Concord). Survey results may be of interest to both the voter and the political establishment:

- 52 percent of those responding want lower property taxes, compared to 41 percent who are satisfied with the tax rate as it stands. (The rest want higher taxes or have no opinion.)
- 50 percent favor privately funded kindergartens, or want a mix of public and private kindergartens; 48 percent favor standard tax-financed kindergartens.
- 98 percent of the responses say law enforcement should not concentrate its funding

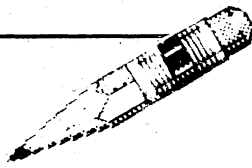
on victimless crimes such as gambling.

- To solve the prison overcrowding problem, 37 percent say more money should be spent on crime prevention; 25 percent want private companies to build and run the prisons; 16 percent say the state should build more prisons; and 13 percent want NH to spend more money on rehabilitation.

- When questioned about the maximum speed limit of 55 mph in the state, 56 percent favor either raising the speed limit or letting highway engineers (not politicians) decide what the safest speed limit is.

- 76 percent say the sale of second-hand goods, such as jewelry and stereos, should not be regulated by the state.

Letters to the Editor



Ron: Yes

It certainly isn't too early for Libertarians to consider who to run in the presidential sweepstakes. Already the statisticians have lined up calling for big government. At this time the leading contenders are Mario Cuomo, George Bush, Pat Robertson, and Pierre DuPont—not one of them an advocate of anything remotely resembling freedom.

What is fascinating is that all these candidates (except for Robertson) are from the pro-State middle of the political spectrum and will be unacceptable to large numbers of liberals and conservatives. This means that large numbers of people who are pro-free market or pro-peace/civil liberties are left out in the cold. The Robertson campaign should die out rather quickly at the GOP convention and not even God will be interested in resurrecting it. Expect no miracles from the Robertson camp.

This leaves Libertarians with the opportunity of a lifetime—a dream ticket combining the concerns of so many voters. We will be able to reach the large number of conservative voters unimpressed with Bush and the large number of voters unimpressed with the mediocrities of the Democratic Party. The dream ticket should reflect both the so-called “conservative” and “liberal” wings of the Libertarian Party. I suggest a Ron Paul/Earl Ravenal ticket or perhaps an Earl Ravenal/Ron Paul ticket. Either one would be acceptable to me.

What are the advantages of this ticket? First, both candidates have impressive credentials in the so-called “real” world, both are libertarians, and both have supporters outside the movement. Paul, with his emphasis on the free market, has a wide following in conservative circles while Ravenal, with his emphasis on non-intervention, is highly regarded in liberal circles.

More importantly, this ticket may help heal the painful split in libertarian ranks. Paul is surely acceptable to the large number of Libertarians who supported Bergland and I'm sure Ravenal is still acceptable to those of us who supported him at the last nominating convention.

Jim Peron
San Francisco, CA

Ron: No

Ron Paul for the LP nomination for President? Ron Paul has already demonstrated a willingness to sell out for votes—hardly the type LPers should nominate as the candidate of “The Party of Principle.” While in Congress, a big pork-barrel harbor project in Paul's district was proposed. When it looked like opposing it, or even waffling on the subject, might cost him the election, Ron Paul endorsed it heartily (since the boondoggle was unrelated to defense, he hasn't the excuse about it being

for “a legitimate function of government”). If he'd prostitute his ideals for that, who knows what would be next? His 1984 campaign for the federal Senate certainly wasn't hard-core; why would anyone think he'd be more principled running for a higher office?

Ron Paul did some good in Congress, and he should be thanked for that. He has the ability to present libertarian stands to conservatives in a way that appeals to them, and he should be congratulated on that. But we don't need to lower ourselves to the level of the subsidized parties by nominating someone who's that quick to sell his soul for votes.

Jeff Daiell
Houston, TX

Ron: Yes

A Ron Paul campaign could bring back for us the visibility and momentum we lost between 1980 and 1984 and are just now very slowly regaining.

Television is expensive but it's essential if we are to reach people. Running ads only on cable and then only very late in the campaign in 1984, we ended up with less than 250,000 votes. Reaching people is the whole ballgame. Ron Paul can raise the money to do it.

What would cause Paul not to run? The fear that there will be more of the factionalism and childish egoism that cause the Party to focus inwardly at the expense of outreach and growth, that sapped the strength of many an activist, and that led to a full-fledged split in the Party at the 1984 convention. I'm not suggesting that fierce argument and discussion should stop or lessen even a single degree, but we cannot afford to become a debating society—especially an unfriendly one.

At my 1985 trial in Little Rock, Arkansas, for having refused to register for the draft, Dr. Paul had this to say: “...the State is massive... the State is now encroaching on our personal liberties, it's encroaching throughout the world on a daily basis...and also in the economy. I think the State itself is a threat to us. It's a threat to the individual liberties, not only of Paul Jacob, but of every single solitary person in this country.” Ron Paul was there to testify when I needed him; he'll be there in 1988 because the cause of liberty needs him.

Paul Jacob
Springfield, VA

Norma Jean

Now that the election is over, do I intend to disappear from the political scene? Absolutely not. I was politically active before the campaign as a prostitutes' rights activist, and I will continue to do so. I think that in speaking to audiences about the right to engage in any type of consensual adult behavior that one wishes

to, I adequately cover the Libertarian idea of self-ownership. More importantly, I have an audience to speak to. It is well enough to have a great philosophy, but unless one has an audience, the number of the philosophy's adherents will diminish in a short time.

Most recently, I was invited to speak at Princeton University, at the Fall Forum on Pornography. I was well received, and I was taken as seriously as any of the distinguished guests.

I appeared on the Oprah Winfrey Show two days after the election, and one week later I appeared on the Joan Rivers Show. I have been invited back as a possible regularly-appearing guest on Joan's show.

I am planning to get on the college lecture circuit, as soon as I finish my book (Spring 1987). When I am on the circuit, I would like very much to be able to address Libertarian Supper Clubs or other Libertarian meetings in the areas where I lecture. If any of the local Libertarian chairpersons would like me to speak to their group, I'd appreciate hearing from them as soon as possible, so that I can plan my schedule for 1987.

For those of you who tried to reach my campaign headquarters to get posters, I am still selling them. Soon, I hope to have them in poster stores near you, or you can still order them from me. If there is anyone interested in a distributorship for your area, please contact me. I'll make you such a deal!!! For anyone who wants to be on my mailing list to be notified when my book comes out (*Cop to Callgirl*), please write me and send me your address.

My address is: Norma Jean Almodovar, 1626 N. Wilcox Ave. #580, Hollywood, CA 90028 or call 213-382-6445.

Norma Jean Almodovar
Hollywood, CA

Gambling

I must take issue with Andre Marrou's unqualified assertion that “Libertarians are in favor of legalized gambling.” It appears to this Libertarian that gambling is in opposition to the libertarian ideal of voluntary exchange of value for value, since no consideration is rendered for the profit or gain received. Thus, I believe that gambling should not enjoy the sanction of legality, but rather should be denied legal recognition and be treated as purely voluntary gift-giving, without penalty or enforcement of payment, since no payment nor obligation exists.

Scott H. Bergeson
Vice Chairman, DLP
Wilmington, DE

Continued on Page 5

NEWS Guidelines

Here are some guidelines for gathering news for the Libertarian Party NEWS. They are offered in hope of inspiring more people to send more and also better news for sharing with other libertarians.

If you send clippings, be sure they are dated and the source is clearly stated. A note giving your impression of why the clipping should interest other libertarians would be helpful. The situation covered in the clipping may not be clear to someone totally unfamiliar with it.

All state and local newsletters are welcome and the editors of the Libertarian Party NEWS hope that every single libertarian editor will send a copy of their product regularly to us. But newsletter coverage also may assume familiarity which, it is best to assume, we do not have. Please, if there's an item that you want to suggest for publication in the NEWS but that could be subject to misinterpretation or that requires some background knowledge to make it clear, add a note supplying pertinent facts and background.

If you want to talk over a story by phone but don't want to spend money for a long distance call, just drop us a postcard about the situation and we'll contact you for that discussion. (We probably have a cheaper long distance service than you do.)

Sometimes a short but significant story on something you or a local group is doing can best be summed up in a letter to the editor. That section of the paper is well read and is a prime vehicle for libertarian communications.

If you can possibly send typewritten material rather than handwritten, our weary eyes would deeply appreciate it. If it's double-spaced, our typesetter will appreciate it even more. Sheer physical limitations make handwritten material hard to get to and to get through.

Be on the alert, particularly, for information that will help other Libertarian Party members in their practical political work—reports of successful campaigns, analyses of failed ones, for instance.

Running debates on policies and practices inside the Libertarian Party often may be handled by letters to the editor but there may be times when issues such as this become major and demanding of larger debate. At such times, we will try to present substantial opposing views so that libertarians may make up their own minds. If there are issues that you feel merit such debate, suggestions of both topic and of persons able to represent the various views would be appreciated.

Rumor clarification is another area of interest to the editors. If you know of a rumor that is proving irritating or destructive to libertarian activity, please let us know. We'll try to track down the facts. If you already know the facts, we'd like to hear about that as well.

And, always remember, one of our favorite injunctions is to “question authority.” We want that to apply to the Libertarian Party NEWS and to the Libertarian Party leadership as well as to any other persons, places, or things. If there is something you want to know about your Libertarian Party or your newspaper, feel free to ask. We will answer.

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THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY *Liberty Enlightening The World!* 301 West 21st. • Houston, Tx 77008



The Libertarian Triad

Personal Liberty, Economic Freedom, Peace

By Gene Berkman

Libertarians advocate maximum personal freedom, and the goal of the Libertarian Party is a social environment conducive to maximizing freedom. In considering any political issue, the Libertarian takes the side of greater freedom and less government power. The American Libertarian advocates non-intervention by the government into the personal life or business activities of individual Americans, and non-intervention by the U.S. government into the affairs of other nations. This advocacy is summed up in the Libertarian Triad: personal liberty, economic freedom, and international peace.

The desire for freedom is deeply ingrained in the American people. Even the politicians who have limited or abolished one freedom after another have defended their actions as necessary to protect our free society. In recent years, voters have supported Republican candidates in the hope of real cuts in the size and cost of government. What they have gotten is a commitment by Ronald Reagan to "slow the rate of increase" of taxes and government spending.

President Reagan's inability to achieve even this modest goal has led some voters to support the Libertarian Party. Others have been unwilling to go along with the total commitment to freedom so central to libertarianism. Before you decide to support the Libertarian Party, a brief examination of several issues might show the relationship of civil and economic liberty and peaceful foreign policy. Consider taxation, the draft, foreign aid, and drug laws.

Taxes

When the government *forces* you to pay taxes, it commits an economic crime: theft. When the government forces you to provide it with information about your income and as-

sets, it takes away your right to privacy. If the Internal Revenue Service thinks you did not pay enough and takes you to tax court, you have fewer rights than a murderer or a rapist. Taxes are a civil liberties issue as well as an economic issue.

The Draft

The draft is a tax, taken in the form of compulsory labor rather than money. If you are drafted, you lose several years of your life. You could have used those lost years to get an education, develop your career, or just earn wages. If you die in war, you pay what is called "the ultimate price." While in the military, you lose most of the personal freedoms you take for granted as a civilian. The Democrats and Republicans who propose to bring back the draft are a threat to your civil liberties and to your financial livelihood. Draft registration, like an income tax form, violates your right to privacy. Right now, if you are a young man, you can go to prison for failing to tell the government where you live.

The draft is also a foreign policy issue. The primary duty of the United States government in foreign policy is to keep this country out of war. The power to draft gives the government the power to involve this country in a war without convincing those who will have to fight. An end to draft registration, and a permanent prohibition of the military draft, will effectively limit the government's power to get us into war.

Foreign Aid

Foreign aid is one of the main foreign policy tools of the U.S. government. Foreign aid to the government of France and then to South Vietnam preceded and led to direct American involvement in the Vietnam War. Aid to

repressive governments in Asia and Latin America has made the U.S. government an enemy of freedom in many countries. American aid to Israel has brought the United States close to war on several occasions.

Foreign aid is paid for with coerced tax dollars, and therefore is a violation of your economic rights. If you are philosophically opposed to repressive government, foreign aid can violate your freedom of conscience. When a repressive government or a government at war kills innocent people with weapons provided by the U.S. government, you have been made an accessory to murder against your will. Clearly, foreign aid is a question of conscience, as well as a question of economics and foreign policy.

Drug Laws

Drug laws restrict the right to produce, sell, possess, and consume certain products. They are first and foremost restrictions on free enterprise. Certain drugs, such as alcohol and tobacco, are regulated in a more lenient manner; users of marijuana and other drugs are therefore denied the equal protection of the laws guaranteed under the Constitution. Since almost all use and all purchases of drugs are voluntary, police often resort to questionable and dishonest means to arrest drug users and sellers.

The effect of these restrictions on free enterprise and civil liberties has been to enrich organized crime and to punish millions of ordinary people because of their personal habits. After 50 years of marijuana prohibition and more than 70 years of laws against cocaine and heroin, the politicians tell us we are deep in a drug crisis. To deal with the crisis, President Reagan proposes to further limit the freedom of Americans, and to attack their personal dignity

through widespread drug-testing.

To stop drugs from being imported into the United States, the government has increased military aid to Bolivia and other repressive governments, and made threats against Colombia and Jamaica. The drug crisis, once an excuse to limit civil and economic liberty in this country, is now a foreign policy question.

In *The Federalist Papers*, James Madison warned that for the would-be tyrant, "there is always a crisis" which he would use to enhance his own powers. The real crisis is that our politicians are addicted to power. Their programs give them a feeling of euphoria, but do not solve our problems.

Libertarians are for freedom. So are many conservatives and many liberals, up to a point. Conservatives want a government big enough to enforce morality, but small enough to leave their business alone. Liberals want a marketplace of ideas, but are afraid of the economic marketplace. The Libertarian viewpoint is that economic and social freedoms are intimately related to each other, and that freedom and peace are short-lived if separated from each other.

Berkman is proprietor of Renaissance Books, P.O. Box 2451, Riverside, CA 92516.

Split Infinitive

To be just
or
To just be
Is not just
A matter
Of position

—Chris Brockman

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Gleanings

Maryland LP's state convention produced an excellent set of member-contributed guidelines for party action. Top seven were: "Better relate our philosophical approach to issues. Show concrete applications of principles. Get people to understand the difference between special interests and the general interest. Give simple (uncomplicated) explanations of our principles. Some positive action is better than no action at all. Relate our issues to the issues of others. Market ideas to meet the needs of others instead of being too esoteric."

★ ★ ★

California's Liberty Bell electronic bulletin board system is now operating 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The bulletin board, which is for all libertarians to use in swapping info and keeping in touch, is accessed through the FIDO-NET system. The FIDO-NET address is 143/6 and the phone number is 408-947-1776. Access is free and is available to 300, 1200, or 2400 baud. The communications parameters are eight bit, no parity, and one stopbit. The only time the board isn't available to outside callers is between 12:30 and 2:30 a.m. PST, during which time the board handles communications with other FIDO-NET bulletin boards. Donations to help support the board may be made payable to the Libertarian Party "Liberty Bell" project and sent to 401 East Taylor Street, San Jose, CA 95112.

★ ★ ★

Sharp comment in the **New Mexico LP's newsletter**, commenting on a dispute between two old-party pols each claiming to have built a local vo-tech school: "The Libertarians will not take sides on this issue. However, if either [politician] can produce a photograph of themselves laying so much as one brick or driving one nail, that should settle the dispute—or bring a lawsuit from the local carpenters' union."

★ ★ ★

Cato Institute's excellent 1987 publications catalog is now available from the group at 224 Second St., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

★ ★ ★

Kansas LP newsletter, The Free Kansan, cites research by R.J. Rummel, in *Wall Street Journal*, saying that governments of all kinds have killed 199 million people in the 20th Century. And that's not including war, another government activity that killed an additional 35.7 million people.

★ ★ ★

University of Cincinnati libertarians have organized a **student group**, held one meeting, and scheduled more. Contact there is Diane Baker at 513-221-2864.

★ ★ ★

Another comment on the recent Future of

Freedom Conference, from the editor of the libertarian "Free Marin" newsletter, Dan Dougherty: "I found this conference blessedly free from the **minarchist-anarchist debate**. Humility was the common thread of many presentations and there seems to be a growing acceptance and encouragement of pluralism in the movement with a genuine respect for each individual and group doing what's comfortable."

★ ★ ★

Libertarian Student Network's tabloid publication, *Young Libertarian*, is now being distributed for the 1987 school year. Included are articles on Ron Paul, Paul Jacob, Norma Jean Almodovar, the American revolutionary tradition, and Jimmy Stevens, a native libertarian leader in the New Hebrides. Paper's address is P.O. Box 64, Trenton, MI 48183.

★ ★ ★

North Carolina's lively libertarians have come up with a new award for old-party politicians: membership in an annual dirty dozen "for the 12 most harmful and/or least sensible actions, statements or proposals." Winner of an honorary doctorate in revisionist history and constitutional law was Senator Jesse Helms for his defense of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet's imposition of martial law: "A lot of people...are not aware [that our constitution] provides martial law...I fear that [communist] terrorism will come to this country on a large scale...in which case you will see martial law and whatever is necessary to quell that sort of thing. Whatever is necessary to keep the United States free of communism, I'd be willing to do."

★ ★ ★

Mobil Oil Company, publicly advertising on behalf of a consumption tax, uses as one of its arguments the observation that the tax "would capture some of the money that now goes unreported and untaxed. Participants in the huge and growing underground economy, who currently do business on a cash basis... would have to pay the tax as they make purchases."

★ ★ ★

Another **student libertarian group** is forming at the University of Washington. Organized by economics major Greg Cancelada, and called the Libertarian Discussion Group, it can be addressed at FK-30/Box 176, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195.

★ ★ ★

Washington Post columnist Meg Greenfield, commenting on her trip to China and the difficulty of knowing how far pro-freedom reforms can go: "The only indisputable fact is that the heresy about Third World countries needing more, not less, freedom to prosper may be doing better here [in China] than in some quarters at home."

★ ★ ★

Another *Washington Post* staffer, Sidney Blumenthal, writing that new Chief Justice

William Rehnquist is "**big government's best friend**," reminds readers that "he has been a conservative statist at least since 1952 when he wrote that '...in the long run it is the majority who will determine what the constitutional rights of the minority are.'" Tellingly, the writer adds that, "Already Rehnquist has fostered disillusionment among the libertarians, conservatism's mine canaries, who are often the first to sniff the fumes of an impending ideological cave-in."

★ ★ ★

Anyone looking for a model approach to presenting a bill of particulars for local governmental expense cutting should be interested in the **free-market-oriented Heartland Institute's** 92-page analysis of budget cuts for Chicago. If you ask for a copy, it would be appreciated if you'd accompany the request with a tax exempt contribution. Address: 55 East Monroe, Suite 4316, Chicago, IL 60603.

★ ★ ★

Poor IRS. The agency is begging for more money to track down uncollected federal taxes which, last year, increased by \$45 billion, bringing the official, and probably low, estimate of total tax resistance to about \$150 billion—a major world economy all by itself. In addition, the IRS is worried about the increasing number of physical attacks against its agents. Finally, the agency reports that there are now 54,000 Americans who are officially known to the IRS as tax protesters.

★ ★ ★

Currently circulating issue of *New Libertarian* is jam-packed with revisionist history articles including an analysis of the cost of U.S. interventionism in the Middle East by LP's national secretary Dean Ahmad. Publication is available (five issues for \$15 in gold, \$17.50 in currency) from the New Libertarian Company of Free Traders, 1515 West MacArthur Blvd., #19, Costa Mesa, CA 92626.

★ ★ ★

The Washington Libertarian, newsletter of the state party there, warns "against associations with...rightist fringe organizations which may share superficially similar political positions with libertarians. The non-violent right wing groups consist of the Constitutionalists, the Populist Party, the Duck Club, the American Freeman Association, and others. Naive libertarians may not realize the close ties of these patriot groups to their more violent and openly racist ideological neighbors such as the Aryan Nations and The Order...The Populists want to abolish the federal reserve bank—because they view it as a private bank under the control of an international Jewish/Communist conspiracy. The Constitutionalists oppose the income tax, not on principle, but because the 16th Amendment was not properly ratified and only a national sales tax is considered legitimate."

★ ★ ★

The **Louisiana LP** is trying to pay off an old

debt—the legal costs of a ballot access challenge—by selling off a state secret. Alice Montestruc's Louisiana Liberty Jambalaya recipe ("guaranteed to set your taste buds free") is being offered for a dollar (or more) contribution, plus a SASE, to Libertarian Party of Louisiana, P.O. Box 66301, Baton Rouge, LA 70896.

★ ★ ★

Arizona Libertarian Party members registered 40 new members at the state fair, and got 370 ballot access petitions at the same time.

★ ★ ★

Party memberships at the state or local or national level often expire this time of year. Check yours. **Renew memberships as promptly as you can.** And don't forget that membership in the national LP is entirely separate from membership in a state or local party. Check your local libertarians. Do what you can to involve yourself in the support of local liberty as well as the national effort.

★ ★ ★

New Jersey LP has embarked on a major fundraising effort, calling on as many volunteers as possible, plus paying up to five percent commission, plus expenses such as toll calls, for people who want to do it professionally.

★ ★ ★

The **third edition** of former presidential candidate Dave Bergland's *Libertarianism in One Lesson* is now available with an eye-catching new cover. Contact the national office regarding copies.

★ ★ ★

Strong addition to intra-party communications is being made by Bruce A. Daniel, chairman of the Placer County, CA, Libertarian Party. He's sending a "**chair to chair**" newsletter to other state and local chairs, telling what he's up to, encouraging others to share the same sort of info. His address: P.O. Box 165, Loomis, CA 95650.

★ ★ ★

From the *Southern Libertarian Messenger*: A Dutchman explained the symbolism of the red, white, and blue in the Netherlands flag to an American. He said, "Our flag is symbolic of our taxes—we get red when we talk about them, white when we get the bill, and blue after we pay them." The American replied, "It's like that in the USA too, only we also see stars."

★ ★ ★

An ambitious, four-part recruiting and outreach program is underway by **Metro Detroit Libertarian Party members**. Larry Ludlow and Keith Edwards are setting up a "Principles of Liberty" course and a speakers bureau. Virginia Cropsey is keeping track of all libertarian activities such as letters to the editor or calls to talk shows. Paula Moreland is checking letters in local papers, looking for those with libertarian flavor and then sending the writers libertarian info packs. Bill Shotey is sending out info packs to other prospective libertarians.

Libertarian Party NEWS

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

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How Not to Defend Free Market Capitalism

By Tibor R. Machan

The recent controversy about comparable worth—whether women ought to be paid the same wage or salary as men when they hold jobs that are virtually identical to those held by men—touches on a fundamental dispute between free market capitalists and various advocates of a planned or regulated economy.

Marx, for example, in contrast to neo-classical advocates of the free market economy such as Milton Friedman, argued that there is a way to determine whether a price is right or wrong. The free market economist believes that all a price tells us is where demand and supply intersect, never mind whether the demand or supply is rational, right, good, or whatever. And for these economists the free market is essential, not only to learn about the prevailing market price of commodities and services, but also because economic freedom is essential for the securing of individual freedom. In contrast, Marx denies that "the negation of free competition [is] the negation of individual liberty." He charged that the "free" market embodies a "free development on a limited foundation—that of the dominion of capital." He convinced many people, from Lenin to the Nicaraguan regime and some in the women's movement, that in a free market capitalist system only the rich flourish. The poor, however, must suffer and always to the benefit of the rich. For Marx, free market capitalist "liberty is...the most complete suppression of all individual liberty and total subjugation of individuality to social conditions which take the form of material forces." Karl Marx and millions who follow him deny "that free competition is the final form of the development of productive forces, and thus of human freedom." Rather such free competition "means only...the domination of the middle class."

Marx and those influenced by him hold the prices and wages which are evident on a free market—including the salaries of women working as administrative assistants, nurses, or secretaries—are mostly the expression of the interests of those with property. They can call the shots and they call them in their own favor, exploiting those without property by paying them mere subsistence wages.

Comparable worth is an idea which has resurfaced from this Marxian and other elitist critiques of free market capitalism. It holds that there is a right price for women's work, namely that which is due them in light of the real worth of their service, one which men are receiving because they command greater power in the marketplace. And public policy should be directed toward adjusting the wages to reflect this "real worth!"

Marxism is not the only source of this elitist critique of the free market. Recently the Roman Catholic bishops have issued drafts of a letter in which they take on free market capitalism for failing to adhere to the proper ranking of social priorities. They argue, in essence, that free market capitalism misallocates resources, including labor, in the pursuit of frivolous and even demeaning ends, while neglecting important objectives that might otherwise be attained. This is how free market capitalism can tolerate poverty, famine, social insecurity and the like in the midst of opulence for some members of society.

There is some sense in this, contrary to the protestations of many modern economists who hold that there is no place for value judgments in economics. We often do make pretty good guesses about how exorbitant some price is, how overpriced some item is on a given restaurant's menu, how overpaid some people are, and how the salary someone receives is merely nominal—one "in name" only—and fails to record the real worth of the person's work. We can also intelligibly lament the fact that some objectives go neglected in a free market—e.g., we often find it disappointing how little heed members of the business com-

munity pay to educating people about the merits of the market economy itself.

Now such judgments are intimately tied to particular contexts. They can be made mostly only from moment to moment, with full knowledge of the details of the circumstances. The groceries in one store may be overpriced, but this can only be known by those who are familiar with local conditions. The wages of some secretary may be too low, yet this too requires detailed knowledge of the market. Suppose that because some person is disliked by the boss, he or she receives no raise even though others doing the same work have been advanced. And suppose the basis of dislike has nothing to do with performance. If one knows this, one can say, correctly, that the person is underpaid. There is, furthermore, no way to tell without knowing the details whether some corporation is spending its money correctly when it chooses to promote classical plays on PBS rather than support a think tank which spreads the word about privatization and the virtues of free market capitalism. Not that these are mysteries, only that they are difficult to know.

And of course these are just simple examples. Attempts to generalize about the situation are futile, however, and this can be shown by considering how difficult it would be to generalize about consumer discrimination against producers—e.g., if people refused to purchase goods from blacks, or women, or orientals, and patronized only stores run by others. This could certainly go on but it would be impossible to trace and to remedy via the powers of the state.

It is one thing to know that such cases are possible, quite another to be able to demonstrate specific cases. Without the detailed knowledge, no such demonstration is possible. Still, those who protest the idea of injustice in the marketplace overstate their case when they say that the idea is nonsense. It is nonsense only from the point of view of economic science, which aims to explain, describe, and predict events in the marketplace, not to evaluate them.

But economic scientists are not the only ones who can make intelligent, informative comments about what happens in markets. No more so than physiologists being the only people who can say what happens to one's body when one is in pain—there is also the person who can feel the agony from a bruise which the physiologists describe in tedious value-free terms.

Consider why many people find value judgments about market transactions significant. Why do they reject the idea that all consensual capitalist acts are equally deserving of moral respect or even indifference? Why do they confidently voice value judgments regarding free transactions?

Clearly, some elements of free market capitalism can irk even the most libertarian of us. Think of its frivolity and trivia, such as the pet rock fad of a few years ago or the Michael Jackson glove craze of more recent times. And those are just the wildest cases. People keep flocking to shops purchasing frivolous and even disgusting merchandise—e.g., Cabbage Patch dolls, Perrier water, pornography, cigarettes, hard liquor, and the like, not to mention useless diet pills, pointless cosmetics, or breakfast cereals.

Such enterprises clearly siphon off a good amount of the productive energies of a community, energies which could have gone toward the creation of genuinely vital goods and services. A very productive system is geared away from what is important and useful toward what is trivial, silly, and even foul. There is a great deal that's more important than to satisfy such desires, even if it is sometimes difficult to tell from afar what is really important to people. We have to admit that millions waste a lot of their income on stuff they could readily do without.

In a society of millions of working people, such reckless spending is surely going to be

extremely influential. When people decry low wages and high prices, they are implicitly extending their awareness of the market's ability to make room for all this kind of nonsense. They are saying, in effect, "Yes we know that all this is partly the result of individual choices, but those choices stink." And that they sometimes do stink is evident to us even when economists try to dismiss the idea as a medieval concept. The response to that in many people's minds is, "What your science says, our common sense tells us better."

What is disturbing in all this is not that people can perceive that the market makes mistakes—e.g., that people are often wrong as they go shopping and spend their earnings. That is plain common sense and everyone who has ever regretted throwing good money after some silly product knows it. But critics of free market capitalism go much further and are willing to promise that they will put into place the right political and legal checks against wasteful extravagance, injustice, imprudence, and all the other human foibles which admittedly make an impact on the behavior of markets.

The problem, contrary to economic supporters of free market capitalism, is not that no evaluations can be made about the way markets behave. The problem lies with the promise of fixing it by way of state intervention. This is simply a promise that *cannot* be fulfilled. Marx at least knew this. For him communism was not a better alternative to free market capitalism but a system that would arrive some future day, of its own accord, whether we like it or not, because the world just happens to move that way. (To Marx, capitalism was to communism as the caterpillar is to the butterfly: a necessary ugly prerequisite!)

But since communism is an ugly nightmare, the question remains: What is really the best system for us now in this world? The belief that some special class of leaders—the likes of Ralph Nader, Mother Teresa, or Walter Mondale—should take power and guard us against the human foibles we are all capable of in a free society, just produces the Lenins, Stalins, Hitlers, Gadaffis, and other little and big dictators of human history, as well as a population unwilling to guard itself against some of life's adversities—e.g., shyster lawyers, lying used car salespeople, unscrupulous brokers, quacks, etc. There is no escape from the fact that human beings can do wrong, but the free market copes better with human fallibility than do socialism and related efforts to wish our problems away by counting on firm outside help. No, the marketplace is in fact the best thing we have for resolving the problems we face in our economic lives. We know that things can go wrong there, and to pretend otherwise is self-delusion. Some economists, unfortunately, do claim that the marketplace is a perfect instrument for securing the good and right things in human society. It is not. Human beings enjoying freedom are also capable of misusing it. But giving some people political power to remedy matters only worsens the problem.

In a free market, errors get corrected more readily than in any planned society. They do not become entrenched or petrified but can (though may not always) be erased when and where people think clearly and promptly.

Finally, features of the market often deemed to be trivial, useless, unjust, unkind, and so forth, are not what they seem to be. There is a lot of hasty judgment about matters of commerce—about who is getting his or her share, who is paid well or badly, etc. That famous pet rock, which became a fad, may very well have been the most touching gift for an old Colorado miner on his 85th birthday and brought a warm smile to his face as it reminded him of his life spent digging among the Rockies. When the large group of women employees marched in protest of low wages at Yale University, they kept saying they should get paid as much as Yale's truck drivers did. They were of com-

parable worth, they claimed. Upon closer inspection it turned out that, among other things, Yale paid its truckers higher wages but gave them only a week's vacation, in contrast to the three weeks received by the administrative staff. And there are all sorts of perks which were conveniently forgotten about. The fight appears to have been fought in terms of high sounding moral notions not because these really applied but because that seemed the best strategy for getting what some people wanted. But the fact that moral categories can be corrupted in the heat of argument and the urgency of desire does not invalidate them.

Of course, it is one thing to defend free market capitalism and another to claim that any society enjoys one today. But even if no such system is in place and even if those societies historically associated with the idea have enormous distortions in their midst, the merits of the theory need to be clearly articulated, not overstated, in order to know in which direction we should be making progress, toward or away from free market capitalism.

In the end only utopian perfectionists will disregard such matters and make the futile and tragic attempt to impose some perfect vision on us all. They should heed the words of Herbert Spencer: "The ultimate result of shielding men from the effects of folly is to fill the world with fools."

Machan is a professor of philosophy at Auburn University, Auburn, AL.

Corrections

There were several inadvertent omissions in our November/December issue.

Election returns from Oregon were omitted although they had been among the very first received, thanks to Joseph Dehn III's use of electronic mail to get them to us. This is no reflection on E-mail but only on our sometimes flawed editorial process. At any rate, some highlights from Oregon were the races by Ed Marhart, for state representative, who drew 10 percent of the vote, and Bill Goodman, running for Yamhill county treasurer, who drew 14 percent. Other races, and percentages: Bob Fauvre, Steve Dodds, and Richard Sharvy for state representative, with 4.3, 2.6, and 4.5 percent respectively, and Mona Loner, running for Yamhill county commissioner, with 5.9 percent.

(If there are returns from other states which did not appear in the NEWS, but which could be usefully run in our next issue to get them on the record, please send them to the NEWS by February 8, our next deadline.)

Also omitted in the last issue was a byline for one of the liveliest of our stories, the one reporting on the Georgia LP's "Cracked Pot" awards to legislators with dismal performances by libertarian standards. The article was authored by James W. Harris, of Columbus, GA.

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Letters: A Powerful Tool for Activists

An approach developed by Rochester, NY Libertarian activists has resulted in over 300 letters appearing in local newspapers in one year, which is about a tenfold increase over previous letters programs that were tried.

By Steve Becker, Alan Burris, and Dave Hoesly

Why write libertarian letters to the editor? Because they're widely read and are an effective and inexpensive way to communicate ideas. Because composing a letter induces us to think about the ideas for liberty and how to express them persuasively, thereby making each of us more effective in our other, personal contacts with prospects. Because they produce in the community a libertarian presence to which others who love liberty can rally (we recruited one of our most active local Libertarians when he responded to a letter a member had written). Because local candidates receive a warmer reception when they knock on people's doors, if they've previously gained name recognition through regular letters. Because making a public statement helps reinforce the individual's dedication to activism.

The Problems

The main problems in any letters program are motivating people to write, and assisting writers who are less articulate and less familiar with issues and libertarian ideas. Unless these problems are overcome, only a very few of the most dedicated and knowledgeable Libertarians will write letters. We tried several ways—even providing rough drafts—to motivate more people to write, before we found one that resulted in letters rather than promises.

A Solution

The key is to make letter writing a regular group activity. Groups can provide the needed motivation and assistance. Discussions and socializing with refreshments turn a chore into an enjoyable party. Selected newspaper clippings provide ideas for letters.

We've seen accomplished writers develop

from members who by themselves would never have written letters, and from new members whom we would never have asked to write letters on their own. We believe that even if the letters were never published, the meetings would still be worthwhile for internal education alone. We can't stress strongly enough the importance of the *esprit de corps* which develops from working together in a group to advance the ideas of liberty!

Any letters program with these features should produce better results than trying to get people to write on their own. However, for maximum effectiveness, a systematic approach is essential. The following system has worked well for us.

The Details

First, determine which media will accept letters to the editor, or replies to radio or TV editorials. Contact these papers or stations to find out their limits on how frequently they will publish letters from the same writer. Many large daily papers will restrict a given writer to one published letter per month, but some weeklies will print you every week. An area weekly has printed one of our writers 49 times in the last year, and a radio station encouraged him to send commentaries more often than his usual once a week!

Suppose that the major daily newspaper limits you to one per month. The delay between your mailing the letter and their publishing it often prevents you from appearing more than once every five or six weeks, so that's how often a Libertarian letter-writer should be asked to write. Writing this infrequently is not onerous, and hence it's relatively easy to get such commitments.

Next, form groups of Libertarians who agree to meet regularly, for example every six weeks, to write the letters.

We've found it desirable to have about a dozen people committed to regularly attend their group's meeting. With the inevitable problems of schedule conflicts, backsliding,

forgetting, etc., this number will usually provide attendance of at least six to eight writers—the "critical mass" needed for mutual stimulation. We set up the groups so newer people mingle with the veterans—both to encourage the veterans by the appearance of new faces, and to help educate the newer people by contact with those who are familiar with the arguments for liberty.

At the meeting we review the newspaper clippings, and each participant takes two to use as a basis for letters. Then we discuss questions about how to best explain the issues, and everybody starts writing.

For continued enthusiastic participation of writers, they must be urged to be very serious about the task, but not urged so much that they don't enjoy the meetings. We recommend that the goal of each writer be to *finish* two letters at each meeting, with a *minimum* of one *completed* letter, ready to mail.

We also recommend a time limit of two hours for meeting—for example, 7:30 to 9:30. Longer meetings may result in writers dropping out from burnout, lack of sleep, etc.

At the end of each meeting, the Chair should collect all the finished (and reviewed) letters, and after making a photocopy for the files, mail out one or two a day. Spreading out the mailing makes the letters more likely to be published, and letters appearing regularly will have more impact than a bunch at longer intervals. Participants should bring their own stationery, envelopes, and stamps (TANSTAAFL!).

The Chair keeps a log of who wrote to which paper on what topic at a given meeting. The Chair watches for the letters to appear, clips them, and enters them on the log. If a writer's letter has not been published in 10 days, the writer is requested to call the newspaper asking if the letter will be used. Using this approach, about 85 percent of our letters have been published. The most recent letters published are displayed at the letter-writing meetings; seeing results encourages the participants.

For several reasons, we've decided to ask only about half of the writers to include in their letters the words "libertarian" or "Libertarian Party." First, new writers may not be as effective as desirable in presenting the libertarian point of view. Second, editors may look less kindly on an organized, systematic program of letters than on letters from individuals not connected with a "movement." Third, someone who reads the letter may wish to contact the writer, but might be put off by explicit reference to a political organization. The flip side of this coin is that reference to "libertarian" provides a rallying point, an identification with which individuals can connect when they read agreeable points of view. (There are a lot of libertarians out there who just don't know what they are, and our movement can benefit greatly from contacting these folks and stirring them to action!)

During the week before a group meets, a volunteer (or two) clips articles which are just crying for a libertarian response. Each clipping should have written on it the name and date of the publication. Thus the writer can refer in his/her letter to the specific article, increasing the chances of the letter being published.

Another volunteer sets up a schedule for those who are participating, and calls the members of a given group about a week in advance, advising them of the location of their next meeting (the time should always be the same).

One of our members is responsible for recruiting new participants into groups if attendance has waned. The letter-writing program should be explained to new prospective libertarian activists, and they should be asked to join a group fairly soon. Many people do nothing active to advance liberty simply because no one has asked them!

For additional information, contact the Rochester Libertarian Party, Box 267, Webster, NY 14580, or call Dave Hoesly at 716-671-8821.

Letter to Another Editor

This letter, from Marge Chapman, Vice Chairman, Libertarian Party of Utah, was written to The Salt Lake Tribune.

It is very discouraging when the Libertarian Party is misrepresented such as it was on NBC Nightly News on August 18.

It was stated Libertarians were for abortion, for the ERA, and for legalizing drugs. This is a misrepresentation of Libertarian principles.

Libertarians believe every person should be free to believe in the moral principles of their choice—without interference from others: specifically, government intervention. Libertarians do not believe people have a right to force others (by legislation) to guarantee them a job, income, necessities, life, etc. Libertarians want all laws removed that enslave some individuals to satisfy the needs and desires of others.

Libertarians believe everyone has the right to be free from the coercive acts of others (this means everyone)...and some legislation and bureaucracies represent the most coercive acts ever perpetrated upon U.S. citizens.

Libertarians believe everyone should be free to pursue their own goals, earn their own way, and be responsible for their own actions...and that any law that interferes with this principle is a coercive law, a form of slavery, the antithesis of freedom, and should be eliminated now.

Libertarians are not for abortion, for the ERA, for legalizing drugs. Libertarians are for removing all laws that interfere with the freedom of any individual. Libertarians are in favor of people having whatever they want as long as someone else is not forced to provide it.

Letters to the Editor

Continued from Page 2

News Coverage

The news coverage of non-party libertarians (such as LROC, voluntarists) and quasi-libertarian groups (decentralists, Greens) is actually valuable for the Libertarian Party.

The positive or negative responses received by those groups can help the LP learn what works and what doesn't, in terms of presenting liberty to people. If some of those groups seem successful at attracting people to their side...it tells us our potential audience is getting bigger. It can provide leads for where to find potential "recruits" or allies to help promote liberty...

Hiding its head in the sand and suppressing news about its "Brand X" competition would be about as helpful to the Party as it is for a business executive to surround himself with "Yes" men.

M.R. O'Mara
Baltimore, MD

Porn Principle

I would like to add something to Tom Radloff's very clever media event involving the scientific observation of the bizarre effects of pornography on people (Letter to the Editor, Libertarian Party NEWS, Sept./Oct. '86).

The principled defense of freedom of speech is not that pornography is harmless. It is that the *freedom to choose pornography or not* is harmless, and any coercive withdrawal of that right is harmful.

So to make Tom Radloff's porn-fest really meaningful he should not use volunteers, but people selected by someone of the Moral Majority; i.e., people most sensitive to the effects of pornography: criminals, teenagers,

nuns—no, wait, they're pretty tough—ahh, Sunday School teachers, let's see...mentally handicapped, any group the opponents of pornography want.

Then you obtain some hard-core snuff-porno, not just copulating naked bodies but the worst kind of junk a vice-officer has ever seized, and boxes of it. Now instead of just revealing it, let's make the test far more diabolical. We'll lock two groups into specially prepared rooms; the one a control for the other. In the first I would propose a market situation in which there is some brown-paper-wrapped pornography and alongside that, what all would agree is culturally up-lifting material. Any of the material would be revealed to those who pay the going rate. (I don't know what a peek at *Arizona Highways* costs, maybe 10¢ an hour, and the porn, maybe as high as two quarters for three minutes.) Then in the other room we have the same two piles of materials but there's a guard in the room too. His job is to prevent them from looking at any of the pornography, although the rest of the material is unrestricted.

I think there is little doubt which group would have the more uncomfortable experience.

Tom's test is utilitarian. It legitimizes the notion that "whether pornography is harmful or not determines its legality." If he proves that pictures of sex are harmless he leaves open the argument that some things can be harmful and therefore should be illegal. I realize he was just having fun with this idea, but it is all too common for libertarians to use the arguments of practical utility rather than principle.

Walter Clark
Fullerton, CA

One Plus One

The way to make more libertarians is by education. The best educational technique was discovered by Socrates: Ask the person the right question, the one that gets him to draw the conclusion himself.

I keep hearing about "outreach" efforts to get more people into the LP. How about trying something more modest: to get people who have *one* libertarian position to accept just *one more*? Even that would be worth working for.

Most gays are not libertarians. This is astonishing. The next time anyone says that the government has no business interfering in private acts among consenting adults, ask "So you oppose minimum wage laws?"

The next time someone says that a woman should have absolute dominion over the interior of her own body, ask "So she should be free to ingest marijuana?"

The LP could do some good by running such one-step-at-a-time ads in the publications of special groups, such as publications for gays, gun owners, etc. Most of these people do not know the LP exists, or what libertarians are. Really.

In the November 1986 *Leaflet*, published by the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML), I found this comment on a survey they had done of their members' political positions: "...liberal... conservative. Surprisingly, many people responded to this question by claiming they were fiscally conservative and socially liberal. A new party in the making, perhaps?"

GRRRRRRRRRR!

Richard Sharvy
Eugene, OR

Continued on Page 12

Viewpoint

Defense, Abortion, Religion Test LP Principles

By Karl Hess

There are some issues which pose particular problems for Libertarian Party members. Some of these are issues where the two older parties have staked out clear claims on one side or another. Some are issues on which there is no absolutely clear Libertarian Party position.

Foremost among these issues are defense, abortion, and religion.

Because they are highly charged issues, contentious and even divisive, the advice and practice of many libertarians has been to avoid discussing them.

It is, however, an operating principle of this newspaper that there are no subjects which should be taboo for free men and women. Thus, a few comments on these issues and the controversy that often accompanies them.

Defense

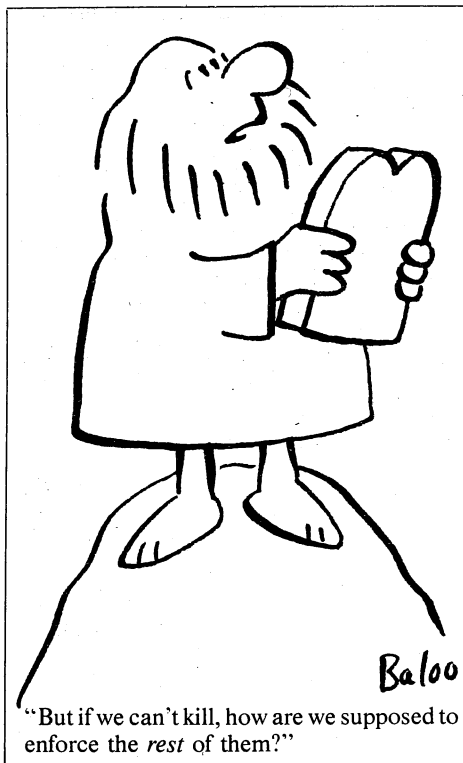
The defense issue reflects an even deeper one: the fact that there is, and probably long will be, a "split personality" in the Libertarian Party when it comes to the issue of the State itself. There are libertarians who are anarchistically opposed to the very existence of the Nation State. There are certainly as many libertarians who support a classically minimal state, rigorously confined to the protection of individual rights and to defense!

The most recent platform of the Libertarian Party, on the matter of defense, is no anarchic credo. It is a "minarchist" statement which "recognizes the necessity for maintaining a sufficient military force to defend the United States against aggression." It also favors negotiation toward general and complete disarmament but only "provided every necessary precaution is taken to effectively protect the lives and the rights of the American people."

On the other hand, the same platform opposes "all government activity that consists of the forcible collection of money or goods from individuals in violation of their individual rights." And, on the question of those very same individual rights, the platform does not equivocate: "...no individual, group, or government may initiate force against any other individual, group, or government."

If not an outright statement of anarchist libertarianism, that platform statement is at the very least an unequivocal statement that only voluntary social associations are ethically acceptable to free men and women.

The defense plank of the platform is not a principled plank. It is a practical political plank. The platform plank against "forcible collection" (i.e., involuntary taxation) is a principled



plank. That two such positions should co-exist in a document representing "the party of principle" is tribute to the fact that the Libertarian Party is, after all, a political party rather than any other sort of libertarian organization or association. Its great appeal to libertarians who voluntarily choose to engage in public political activity is that it is a party at least based upon respect for the principle of individual sovereignty and more expressive of that principle than any other political party in the land.

The Libertarian Party is neither a perfect party nor a perfect expositor of pure libertarianism. But—and this could be the most crucial "but" in anyone's consideration of the LP—the Libertarian Party exists and is available for anyone who wants to engage in politics and promote libertarianism at the same time.

Thus, its defense position will surely not be shared by those who sincerely feel that they cannot be true to libertarian principle and still advocate any form of tax-supported defense effort. But it may, at least, be respected as the sincere effort of some libertarians to operate in the admittedly treacherous swamps of regular public politics and to take so-called real-world positions which, although not perfect, may help move the Party and, consequently, all the

principles of libertarianism, into wider public consciousness.

And a final comment about the defense issue. No matter the fervor of either side on the defense issue (strong national defense vs. wholly denationalized, privatized defense), the impact of the Libertarian Party will be small. The defense issues of this land-mass, alas, will be decided for many years by the two older parties. Libertarians can lend weight to one side or the other, perhaps tip a balance here and there, perhaps wisely inform a policy-maker here and there.

For any libertarians to destructively fight among themselves over an issue which they so slightly impact is, in my view, sadly wasteful. Debate, of course. To try and destroy another libertarian over it? Never.

Abortion

Abortion is another issue which seems to bring out the most implacably hostile nature of libertarians. All libertarians apparently agree without equivocation that tax-supported abortions are anathema. Some, however, believe that an abortion under any circumstance or sponsorship is simply murder (the fetus being an innocent victim). Others believe that some abortions are acts of self-defense and thus justify killing the fetus which is seen as an intruder and, in the case of rape, an uninvited one. Others believe that at a certain stage the fetus simply is an undistinguished growth which may be excised with as little care as one would take in paring away a toenail. Some say, "Look, it's my body!"

In political terms (once again reminding ourselves that this is a political party, no matter how philosophically profound its members may be) the fact that all libertarians can agree to oppose, as their political activity, all tax-supported abortions could mean that in the Party we unite on that, and proceed, even while carrying on our various other beliefs on the subject in all available forums including state and local LP meetings and even the national convention. It is probable, however, that at all those meetings in the near future as in the past, the only agreement that will be reached will be on the issue of state power. Libertarians who leave the Party because that's less than they want will be making an individual judgment which we should respect. Libertarians who wish to expel or silence anti-abortion advocates would be acting in a far less libertarian manner.

Religion

The majority of libertarians and, presumably,

Libertarian Party members, are not religious. But libertarianism is not about majorities any more than it is about minorities. It is about individuals.

Some individuals, who subscribe to every social and ethical principle that derives from the basic libertarian opposition to the initiation of force, also are deeply religious. They believe in a god. But libertarians who believe in god also may believe that liberty and individual responsibility, non-interventionism, and voluntarism are precisely godly in nature and derive from the very word of god. In my experience this is exactly what they believe. Many have spent rigorous and rewarding hours researching scriptural writings for support of this notion and they have found a considerable amount.

Yet, these same people—in letters to this newspaper—have expressed anguished concern that their personal belief in a god will result in ridicule by other libertarians. It should not.

Some of us have an almost religious feeling about quantum mechanics, Gresham's Law, or the speed of light in a vacuum. We expect some good-natured quips about it. We do not expect ridicule. We do not expect to be made to feel unwelcome at Party functions. Neither should our religious libertarian brothers and sisters.

A believer in god can believe in liberty and aspire to a heaven in which all are free. A believer in expedient defense can believe in liberty and yearn for a world in which to be free. An abortionist can believe in the liberty of an unwilling mother.

We are, most of us, nowhere near where we want ourselves and the world to be. We are travelers toward, not yet residents in, a free society. There are many who walk backward toward forceful rule by some over others. There are many who walk sideways, toward making things as they are just a bit more tolerable even if basically unchanged.

But there are many of us walking many other paths toward liberty. We seem sometimes lost, sometimes bemused or confused. Maps come and go. The road itself broadens, then almost vanishes, reappearing again beyond a thicket or a hill. We run into others as we go. Should we want companions (and some never will) we need to talk a lot about the path itself, and the direction we want to go. To argue implacably and angrily about our hiking gear, our boots, or whether we should carry a stick will not get us very far.

I want to make the whole trip. I welcome companions. And that is why, perhaps like a broken record, I keep on saying things like this.

Message for a Young American

By Hugh Butler

I have a son. He's nine months old—33 years younger than I.

When he is 33, I and 75 million other Americans will be eligible for social security under today's rule.

I'm told that I've got a little money put away by the Reagan administration for my retirement. Some of it is in Nicaragua, some in Libya, and there's quite a tidy sum of investments in Europe I'm told will mature just when I need it.

I do not intend to steal from my son to finance my old age. I wish for him all the things my parents wished for me—health, happiness, and prosperity. But more than that I wish for him and for me a life free of the heavy hand of oppressive government.

Ours is the generation born to a world half dead from war. We were raised as the hope of a generation so battered by strife they called a decade without military involvement a "Cold" War. We rose up against the undeclared war which sought to take more lives and we stopped that war.

Our aging leaders spend more now in preparation for the next war they desire than they did fighting in Vietnam with the bodies of half a million of our brothers and sisters. Do they really think we will remain politically asleep while they filch more and more of our substance to finance a war we won't allow?

We are the new America. We must rise from our slumbers and take the helm. *Time* magazine says we're conservative on economic issues and liberal on social issues. *Right*. They say we don't vote. *Right*. They say we're cynical about politicians and government. *Right*. They say we have no political ideology.

Wrong. We are the libertarians. We've proven we're here to stay. Now we're going to show what we're here to do.

I pledge my best efforts to arouse the consciousness of our generation, to promote the liberty path leading to a better life for us all, to prepare and plan for the day when we cynics find reason to run to the ballot box and change the world for the better.

Butler was the Libertarian Party candidate for the U.S. Senate, from Utah, in 1986.

Buy Liberty Bucks to Support The Culture of Freedom

You can save money by investing now in your 1987 LP National Convention. The Libertarian Party of Washington State is selling Liberty Bucks redeemable for the Convention at a current discount of 15%.

A full convention pass costs \$295 during pre-registration, but you can pay as low as \$250.75, if you buy Liberty Bucks before March 31. Or you can buy enough Liberty Bucks for a \$250 delegate pass, a \$160 economy pass, or a \$45 basic pass. A pre-registration economy pass, for example, paid for with Liberty Bucks, and purchased before March 31, will cost you \$136. What a savings!

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VCR's Target Of Porn Attack

A Tennessee criminal court jury ended a nine-day trial by reporting to the judge that they were hopelessly deadlocked in their efforts to convict or acquit Michael Goode and the business, Video, Etc., for renting adult videotapes in violation of Tennessee's obscenity law.

Prosecutors immediately announced plans to seek a new trial in early 1987.

The trial was the culmination of a massive FBI undercover operation involving the search and seizure of adult videotapes at 17 family video stores and six adult bookstores in April of 1985. Prosecutors had chosen Video, Etc., and owner Michael Goode, a Memphis attorney, as the test case. Testimony by the key prosecution witness, an FBI undercover agent, marked the first time the federal government had ever moved against a family video movie store for renting adult movies.

According to federal prosecutors, indictments against the distributors of adult videotapes are expected soon from the federal grand jury in Memphis.

Just as conservative Memphis was selected by the federal government as the site for the widely publicized "Deep Throat" obscenity trials, it has again become the choice of prosecutors as the most likely place to win convictions for the interstate shipment of adult videotapes. Memphis juries have traditionally convicted those accused of violating laws governing obscenity.

According to the defendant Michael Goode, after the "hung" jury was dismissed: "I'm sorry that the jury was unable to unanimously vindicate the rights of VCR owners to watch what they want in the privacy of their homes. But I'm very grateful that some members of the jury were outraged by the ridiculous lengths the FBI has resorted to in their war against what people can view at home. We proved that sexually explicit material is not obscene and is tolerated by our community. This prosecution was not the result of local complaints. It was a direct attempt by the U.S. Attorney General in Washington, DC, to impose the views of a federal censor on our community."

The Meese Commission Report on Pornography, released in July 1986, has spawned renewed attacks on pornography all across America. The Memphis case is the first involving federal agents acting against a video movie store.

Calling Card

The Libertarian Party NEWS can be a calling card for local activists.

If there's a local editorial writer that you'd like to reach, make an appointment to see him about the Party's publication, and suggest that it may contain editorial material, pro or con, that will be of use. Take a copy or two. If he wants his own subscription, the local party could offer him one. It could be the best \$10 investment in public relations that you could make.

When the NEWS has articles on privatization, you might use that as an excuse to visit with local officials.

And don't forget to try and get the Libertarian Party NEWS into libraries and, particularly, into college libraries.

IS ABORTION AGGRESSION?

Libertarian arguments against abortion and in favor of children's rights. Literature packet: \$3. (SASE for information only.)

Libertarians for Life
13424 Hathaway Drive, #18
Wheaton, MD 20906, 301/460-4141



"OK, PAL, LIBERTY WEEKEND'S OVER—UP AGAINST THE WALL! WE GOTTA CHECK THAT MAGAZINE FOR DIRTY PICTURES... LET'S SEE YOUR HETEROSEXUAL CONDUCT LICENSE ...YOU BEEN SMOKING ANY CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES? FILL UP THIS BOTTLE, PLEASE..."

Convention Volunteers Sought

The 1987 Libertarian Party Presidential Nominating Convention will be held next September in Seattle and there is a lot of work for Libertarians to do. As your newly-appointed Convention Production Director I am requesting volunteers to work on the project of producing an outstanding Convention. I invite you, and I mean the person who is sitting in your chair reading this paper, to look at the possibility of your participation in this project. If you would like to participate but are unsure what you could do, contact me anyway. There will be plenty to do for everyone. If you have any special skills, talents, or interests, let me know about them. There are many types of opportunities available, with various responsibilities.

This is our Libertarian Convention, our chance to make a difference. Not only is the Convention a time for socializing, it is also a forum for advancing our Libertarian philosophy. Those of you who volunteer and those of you who do not will all make a difference, one way or the other, in the final results. This is your chance to have your commitment to freedom come alive for you

and for the rest of the world. The better our Convention is, right down to the impeccable placement of the banquet napkins, the more people will take notice.

The purposes of this Convention are (1) to produce and empower a presidential candidate who will create a noticeable difference on the American political scene, and (2) to turn the corner in Libertarian Party effectiveness. If you are willing to be committed to these purposes then I need you to work on this project. At times the work will be hard, but we will also have fun along the way. If we want extraordinary results we must be willing to make extraordinary promises, to ourselves and to our fellow Libertarians. We must be willing to stretch the boundaries of what is possible, and operate at the edges of those boundaries. I think that we are up to the task. I think that we can produce the most effective Convention yet. Let's get to work. Contact me at 514 N. 11th St., Apt. 2, Tacoma, WA 98403, telephone 206-383-3822.

Shepard has been a Libertarian since 1978, and has been active in previous national and local campaigns.

Essential Similarities

free as a bird...
free as the wind...
free as the sea...
...then why not
free as me...

—Chris Brockman

DEREGULATOR

8-page monthly tabloid
on liberty
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Feds Dump on US

The General Accounting Office has announced that federal agencies have shipped 8,300 tons of toxic wastes, in just six months, to a California waste disposal facility that the Environmental Protection Agency had found in "significant violation" of environmental laws.

Is there any way to get the federal government to obey its own laws? Replied the GAO: "The only way the EPA can prevent federal agencies from using a particular facility is to close the facility."

Meantime, the agencies continue to dump such dainties as PCBs—which could cause the arrest of a mere citizen. And who is the largest dumper? None other than the Defense Department.

The NRC

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 freemarket 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.

The National Resistance Committee (NRC) was organized in 1980 to oppose draft registration. Its newspaper, *Resistance News*, is a multi-ideological forum for discussion of resistance to registration. The focus is on an issue—draft registration—and a tactic—resistance—rather than on any particular political or religious critique of conscription.

Although the current members of the editorial collective draw their analysis of draft registration from feminism and the political left, in the past many libertarians have worked with the NRC. The paper welcomes articles and letters from people who approach the issue from perspectives other than its own. Recent issues have included essays by draft resister and libertarian Paul Jacob, as well as one of his letters from prison. The paper is committed to publishing the widest possible range of views.

The goals are:

- To resist current U.S. preparations for conscription and war by encouraging those of draft age to refuse registration.
- To sponsor and promote nonviolent civil disobedience to oppose draft registration.
- To build a grass-roots movement by collecting pledges of nonregistration, distributing literature, holding public actions, forming support groups, and working with existing organizations to resist registration.

Subscriptions to *Resistance News* are \$15/year (4 issues) from NRC, P.O. Box 42488, San Francisco, CA 94142. Send \$1 for a sample copy.

See you in Seattle in September!

Libertarian Presidential Nominating Convention
Seattle Sheraton Hotel • September 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 1987

Sing a Song of Passive Revolution

By Gary Alexander

While America luxuriates in the bicentennial of its Constitution, those of us who never signed that revered social contract, and therefore don't feel bound by the "chains of the Constitution" (Jefferson's phrase), keep looking back to the Declaration of Independence and the War for Independence for the renewal of a more pure American spirit of freedom.

One aspect missing from both the 1976 bicentennial (and the 1986 Statue of Liberty centennial) was an examination of the actual words and music which inspired the original tax rebels, whom most of us now call patriots and Founding Fathers. In their continual repetition of national anthems, military marches and endless patriotic songs, such celebrations tend to ignore the actual songs the original patriots sang.

"Yankee Doodle," the only Revolutionary song to survive to this day, was actually a British ditty lampooning the American rubes. The patriots picked it up as their rallying cry, as if to say, "We may be country bumpkins to you, but then we don't wear red coats into battle, either." Most of the other songs Americans sang during the Revolutionary era were of the same origin—British songs to which new words and new messages were added. It is from those messages that we know what the original Revolutionaries were thinking.

The solo vocal pieces, with tunes taken from the British musical stage, were propaganda songs performed at home and in small gatherings to affirm patriotic feelings with sarcasm and fervor...To summarize and amplify slightly: When the colonies went to war with Great Britain, a small amount of new music was composed to commemorate the struggle; a larger amount of propagandist verse was written and sung to well-known British tunes. (From The Birth of Liberty: Music of the American Revolution, by Richard Crawford, Recorded Anthology of American Music, Inc.)

1768: Three "Liberty Songs"

Perhaps the best example of Americans lampooning British songs is the "Liberty Song," written in 1768 by John Dickinson (1732-1806). The hoary British patriotic tune, "Heart of Oak," was one of the most popular of the patriotic British songs, written in 1759 by David Garrick and William Boyce to commemorate British victories in the French and Indian War (Seven Years War, 1756-1763). The original British chorus was:

*Heart of oak are our ships, heart of oak are our men.
We always are ready. Steady, boys, steady.
We'll fight and we'll conquer again and again.*

With the passage of the hated Townshend Acts in 1767, the following parody version appeared in *The Boston Gazette*, July 17, 1768. This is the American refrain, based on defending their purses from unjust taxation:

*In freedom we're born, and in freedom we'll live,
Our purses are ready. Steady, boys, steady.
Not as slaves, but as free men, our money we'll give.*

Finally, a far more pointed and bitter "Parody Upon A Well-Known Liberty Song" (also known as "Come Shake Your Dull Noodles," which serves as the opening line of the song) appeared in the same *Boston Gazette* just two months later, on September 26, 1768. The song was written to shame the colonists who meekly gave in to the new British taxes:

*In folly you're born, and in folly you'll live
To madness still ready, and stupidly steady.
Not as Men, but as Monkeys, the Tokens you give.*

The Boston Occupation of 1775

When British Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne entered Boston Harbor on May 25, 1775, to take over British military operations there, the Americans composed a light-hearted "Junto Song," which lampooned British taxing avarice. The chorus is a humorous and repetitive "A-taxing we will go, A-taxing we will go," etc. The tune was written for the British stage by Thomas Arne (1710-1778) and is known today as "A-hunting we will go," etc. Some of the Americanized verses show the humor the patriots expressed in those "taxing times." The song is written as from a British taxman's perspective:

*We'll force and fraud in one unite, to bring them to our hands;
Then lay a tax on the sun's light, and King's tax on their lands.
Tis money makes the member vote and sanctifies our ways;
It makes the patriot turn his coat for money we must raise.
A-taxing we will go, a-taxing we will go,...a-taxing we will go...*

Following the slaughter at the Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775), the colonists' humor understandably turned sour, and many Bostonians turned to the church for musical solace.



Much of the music of the era was based on the sacred psalms, as much of their lives revolved around their religion. In a close parallel with Psalm 137 ("By the rivers of Babylon..."), William Billings (1746-1800) wrote *Lamentation Over Boston* which recalls the British occupation of the city between the Battle of Bunker Hill in June, 1775, and the British evacuation of March, 1776. The opening lines of Billings' Lamentation recall the Biblical lamentation:

*By the Rivers of Watertown, we sat down and wept,
when we remembered thee, O Boston.
God forbid! That those who have sucked Bostonian
Breasts should thirst for American Blood!
Voice was heard in Roxbury, which echo'd thro' the
Continent, weeping for Boston because of their danger...
Boston my dear Town, my native Place.*

At about the same time (November 27, 1775), ye olde *Boston Gazette* came through again with another light-hearted parody of "The King's Own Regulars," dramatizing the supposed cowardice of the British troops, from the time of the French and Indian War through the current occupation of Boston. Benjamin Franklin has often been credited with writing the parody, but the true author must remain anonymous. Of the 15 original verses, the following three trace the story of a Boston Marathon in reverse:

*I'll sing you a song—as a body may say,
To the King's regulars, who ne'er run away.
Our hearts were all stout, and bid our legs stay,
But our feet were wrong-headed and took us away.*

*To Ticonderoga, we went in a passion,
Swearing to be revenged on the whole French nation
But we soon turned tail, without hesitation,
Because they fought behind trees, which is not the fashion.*

*For 15 miles they follow'd and pelted us, with no time to
pull a trigger,
But did you ever know a retreat perform'd with more
vigour?
For we did it in two hours, which saved us from
perdition,
'Twas not in going out but in returning consisted our
expedition.
...They beat us in the fight, but we beat them in the race.*

The Tories Fight Back

As if to fight the Americans at their own game, the Tory song, "The American Vicar of Bray," appeared in the Loyalist newspaper, *The New York Gazette*, on June 30, 1779. It was written to the tune of "Country Gardens"—a tune from *The Quaker's Opera* (London, 1728), and a tune which was later popularized by Percy Grainger. It told the story of the ambivalence of many colonists between loyalty to the crown and their equally strong desire for freedom and independence. Of the 10 long stanzas, these three summarize the story pretty well:

*When Royal George rul'd o'er this land, and loyalty no
harm meant,
For church and King I made a stand, and so I got
preferment.
I still opposed all party tricks, for reasons I thought
clear ones.
And swore it was their politics, to make us Presbyterians.*

*Now all went smooth, as smooth could be, I strutted
and looked big, Sir;
And when they laid a tax on tea, I was believ'd a Whig,
Sir:
I laughed at all the vain pretence of taxing at this
distance.
And swore before I'd pay my pence, I'd make a firm
resistance.*

*When Howe with drums and great parade, March'd
thro' this famous town,
I cried, 'May fame his temples shade, with laurels for a
crown.
With zeal I swore to make amends to good old
Constitution;
And drank confusion for the friends of our late
Revolution.*

The fact that all the words in this essay were written to the tunes of the most famous, most stirring British ballads of the day, gave them double power: (1) The colonists had no trouble singing these familiar melodies and thus propagating them widely among the common folk; and (2) the not inconsiderable pride of the British Empire was brought especially low when they heard their most noble songs butchered by the Yankee Doodles. After all, we even turned their most sacred "God Bless The King" into "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." How disrespectful can you get?

In conclusion, Americans obviously showed their famous sense of humor early in this nation's history. Today, Americans are saying the same kinds of things in their bumper stickers, underground films, stand-up comedy routines, and editorial cartoons. One can imagine the quality of libertarian satire we could see from the likes of Woody Allen, Dick Gregory, Mort Sahl, Robin Williams, or Bill Cosby (once their tax bills are high enough to command their attention)... "Gee! Then we could get Stephen Sondheim writing lyrics to the great tunes of Tin Pan Alley, and then we could rent Carnegie Hall for a night..." (A scene from the forthcoming Mickey Rooney movie, "The Hardy Boys Rally 'Round the Revolution.")

Gary Alexander is managing editor of *Wealth* magazine, *Gold Newsletter*, and four other publications. He is descended from Bostonian tax rebels who may have sung these songs, and is a part-time disc jockey in New Orleans, where he plays great American music like this on WWOZ.

'Solution' to South Africa's Problem Outlined

Best-Seller Probes Practical Application Of Libertarian Ideals

The following book review, condensed from the "Bulletin" of the Ontario Libertarian Party, is commended to the attention of all libertarians for several reasons. First, it concerns the work of two of the most active and influential libertarians in the world, Leon and Frances Kendall Louw. Second, the review itself, going beyond the content of the extraordinary book that is its main subject, makes points about national libertarian ideologies that may be of interest to libertarians everywhere. Third, it concerns an issue, South Africa, that inevitably will involve the attention and demand the comments of American libertarians.

By George Dance

As its title suggests, *South Africa: The Solution*, by Frances Kendall and Leon Louw (Ciskei: Amagi, 1986), offers a solution to the current racial violence and political unrest in South Africa. Libertarians who read the book only for that reason, though, will be making a serious mistake. Not that the title is misleading. *The Solution* does deliver a plausible, politically attainable solution to the South African crisis. But it contains a far more valuable lesson for the libertarian movement.

For libertarianism to develop in a country, it must be placed on that country's political agenda. That is, it must be promoted not only as a set of ideas but as a distinctly national ideology, stemming from and addressing itself to the mainstream political debate in that country.

Construction of such a national ideology—of a distinctly South African libertarianism—is the approach taken by Kendall and Louw. Kendall, editor of *The Individualist*, and Louw, executive director of the Free Market Foundation, could easily have written either an academic treatise or a basic introductory primer on libertarian philosophy. Instead, they have taken the more difficult route of presenting their philosophy in the context of a practical solution to the South African crisis: a critique of the historical base and state policies that have produced that crisis, and of a libertarian-based solution to it.

As such, *The Solution* serves not only as a powerful vehicle for introducing South Africans to libertarianism, but also as a step-by-step model of how to develop a national ideology. It should be studied by libertarians in other countries who are seeking the most effective way to present their ideas.

The History

The first necessary step in developing a national libertarian ideology is identifying a national libertarian tradition. This is not as hard as it sounds. Free markets and the ethics of nonaggression are natural to man; all cultures have roots in them. Political power uniformly tends toward corruption and injustice; all countries have traditions of resistance to unjust political authority.

Kendall and Louw begin *The Solution* by chronicling black South African tribal society, which they describe as "a system of voluntary exchange and private ownership." They establish that the economically inferior position of blacks in that country today is the result, not of ethnic inferiority or of capitalism, but of laws passed by the white-dominated government to restrict the blacks' economic activity.

Next the authors give a brief history of the dominant white South African group, the Afrikaners, which they summarize as "the history of a people's struggle to free themselves from government interference in their lives." The Afrikaners' desire for separate development, the root of apartheid, is explained by them as simply the desire to be free from external political authority; its original mani-



festations were the 18th and 19th Century treks of Afrikaners throughout the country, and the resulting multiplicity of small, limited, largely voluntary states.

Apartheid, on the other hand, is shown to be the product of Dutch and English imperial rule; an attempt to reconcile separate development with the imperialists' desire for a unitary state. Far from anti-black legislation being invented by Afrikaners, it was originated by foreign masters that were simultaneously anti-black and anti-Afrikaner.

This history prepares the reader for the authors' conclusion that "it is only by returning to their origins, to a dual system which maximizes individual freedom, that blacks, Afrikaners, and all of South Africa's other groups of people can live together in peace and prosperity."

The Status Quo

The second step in developing a national libertarian ideology is to present a purely libertarian critique of the political status quo. The widely perceived evils within a country, which serve as sources of political unrest, must be seen as integral parts of the country's statist political system.

Part II of *The Solution* portrays the generally statist, regimented character of the South African political/economic system, and presents apartheid as merely an exaggerated version, for blacks only, of this system. Kendall and Louw declare bluntly that South African "blacks live in a socialist world—a world in which everything is owned by the state...It is this which prevents [them] from progressing." This system of "black socialism" is given as the cause of South Africa's troubles, and its removal is claimed as necessary to any solution.

It is also necessary, in criticizing the political status quo, to deal with competing political ideologies. The authors do this by giving an encyclopedic survey of important South African political movement. They then point out that, first, "none of them, except for the classical Marxists and the Afrikaner nationalists, have offered concrete proposals for reform" (Marxist and nationalist proposals already having been rejected); and, second, "no single group is representative of anything approaching a majority of the population." For these reasons, they can dismiss all competing ideologies as "lead[ing] to a dead end."

The Solution

The final component of a national libertarian ideology is a vision of the future that is compatible with both the legacy of the past and the critique of the present. This blueprint for a libertarian future must (1) be attainable politically, and (2) result by itself (i.e., with no

further political action required) in a free society.

To libertarians, this will be the most controversial part of *The Solution*. Despite its advocacy of the free market throughout, the book falls short of demanding the establishment of a free market economy in South Africa.

Instead, Kendall and Louw propose the institution of a canton system: a political system similar to that of Switzerland, with power devolved to over 100 small, autonomous political districts, with a weak central government upholding a common constitution and bill of rights. "Each canton would determine its own economic policy, its own labor, transport, education, tax, subsidization, welfare, and race policies."

The canton system plainly is not a completely free society; a fact that will cause it to be rejected out of hand by some libertarians. By the criteria noted above, though, the system has to be judged a valid blueprint for a libertarian future.

There is no doubt that a canton system could be attained far more easily than could a unitary libertarian state. None of the significant political groups in South Africa advocates pure libertarianism; all could be expected to oppose it. Yet all could be convinced to support a canton system, based on their diversity of views and the inability of any one to politically dominate the others.

While "no single group is representative of anything approaching the majority of the population," each could easily become the majority in a single canton. Even supporters of apartheid could, through migration and purchase of property, create "whites only" and "blacks only" cantons.

But would such a system result in a free society? It would from the beginning be freer than the present South African, or any other existing, political system. The central government would be almost non-existent by current standards. Canton governments, the source of real power, would have that power severely circumscribed by the Bill of Rights. The authors list several rights of individuals that would be rigidly enforced by the central government against the canton governments: freedom of movement, acquisition of property, proprietary rights, anti-expropriation safeguards, nominative boundaries, freedom to associate, referenda, and protection from victimization and intimidation.

Freedom of movement and its subsidiary rights (such as "nominative boundaries," a novel proposal whereby a property owner on the border of two cantons could belong to either) would act to limit the power of cantons in a more indirect way. All citizens could "vote

with their feet by moving from one canton to another and taking their wealth and property with them." Complete freedom of movement among a diversity of political and economic systems would lead to competition for citizens and capital which would be won by the freer cantons, and would lead to their systems being copied.

Freedom of movement would, over time and with no further political action required, result in a system in which each canton would have only those powers explicitly delegated to it by each of its citizens: by definition a libertarian system.

Applying the Solution

South Africa: The Solution has already had a considerable impact in that country, being a South African bestseller for over eight months. The extent of that impact is as yet uncertain. What is certain is that the libertarian option has been permanently placed on the South African political agenda.

Development of the South African libertarian movement should lead to the creation of national libertarian ideologies in other countries. One can imagine a British libertarianism, for instance, using the intellectual heritage of Locke, Spencer, and Herbert to criticize the current British socialist state; or an Irish libertarianism, offering the free society of ancient Ireland as a solution to the ongoing religious warfare there.

A Canadian libertarianism could start from the 19th Century rebellions against the Family Compact and for responsible government, moving to a critique of the present-day ruling clique and the lack of responsible government under the current system.

The ways in which libertarianism could be applied to political systems are as numerous as the number of political systems themselves. Any attempt to apply libertarianism in this way, though, should follow the patterns used in *The Solution*. In particular, it should employ the three stages of (1) presenting a native libertarian tradition, (2) using the tradition to critique the injustices of the present system, and (3) offering a program for the future that (a) is politically attainable and (b) will lead to liberty.

Colorado LP Officeholders

Elected officials are not the only public officials. There also are appointed officials. Keeping track of libertarians in such offices is as important as keeping track of libertarians in elected offices, and the Libertarian Party NEWS hereby urges all state parties to notify the editors of such officeholders.

In Colorado, for instance, there now are five libertarians in appointed public offices.

- Kenton Riggs is on the board of directors of the Housing Authority in the city of Lakewood, a Denver suburb of some quarter-million residents.

- Penn Pfiffner, LP state chair, is chairman of the board of the Adams County Housing Authority. Adams is an urban county north of Denver.

- Holly Kibler is on the board of appeals in the university town of Boulder. Along with other members of the board, she hears challenges to the interpretation and application, by city officials, of the local building code.

- Kevin Edwards serves on the Boulder Mall Commission, overseeing the issuance of vendor licenses, activity permits, and signs for a six-block downtown pedestrian mall.

- Richard Crow has been appointed as an alternate on the board of adjustments in Woodland. The board acts on recommendations of the local zoning board. Crow and the others all believe that they may have the opportunity to make a positive impact for liberty in their positions.

Debate

To Vote or Not To Vote?

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Do It

By Fred Foldvary

When a robber points a gun at you and cries out, "Your money or your life!" he is giving you a chance to vote. An anarchist who believes that voting is immoral might think, "If I choose, I sanction the theft," and refuse to vote. The robber could then kill the anarchist and say that at least he had given him a choice.

"Some choice!" you say. Certainly, it is not a free choice, but the issue here is whether voting is immoral because it allegedly sanctions or grants legitimacy to coercion.

Let's go one step further. You, along with 10 others, have been kidnapped. Fortunately, the kidnapper is a fanatical majoritarian democrat. He will let his victims vote on whether he should set them free or kill them. If six of the victims vote for freedom, he will let everyone go. Otherwise, all die. Unfortunately, six of those kidnapped happen to be anti-voting anarchists. They refuse to vote because this would sanction the kidnapping. Only five vote to be set free, so the kidnapper shoots everyone and justifies it by saying the group as a whole could have saved itself, but chose not to.

Of course, the whole process was immoral, but is it wrong for the kidnap victims to vote to set themselves free? It would be a grotesque morality that required someone to die rather than save his life by voting, even under compulsion. The five who voted could even have some grounds for accusing the nonvoters with complicity in the murder, since their refusal to vote helped cause their death.

Some who claim that voting sanctions the "state" presume that a democratic "state"

derives its legitimacy from the participation in the democracy by the citizens.

A democratic "state" is like a cooperative organization, in which each member has one vote. Typically, only a small portion of the co-op memberships bother to vote for the board of directors. Does this make a co-op illegitimate? Of course not. If most members choose not to vote, they are letting those who do vote decide on the officials and policies.

A democratic "state" is a co-operative composed of members called "citizens," which claims ultimate ownership over an area of territory. The legitimacy of such a state, from its point of view, derives from its alleged "sovereignty" or claim to the territory. Voting simply lets the members decide who will be on the board of directors, or governors, making rules that apply to anyone living in that territory.

Libertarians, especially anarchists, deny that the territorial gangsters calling themselves a "state" have any legitimate claim to the territory they govern. In that case, the governors of the "state" have kidnapped the land, and those residing on the land are given the coercive choice, "your money, your life (or time in jail), or get out." When the governors allow their victims to vote on how they should be robbed or how they must act, the choosing no more sanctions the government than the choices of the victims of the kidnapper and robber.

Voting *can* grant sanction to a government when the vote is in favor of coercion or candidates who favor coercion. Voting against coercive measures and candidates is an act of self-defense against the government. The Libertarian Party therefore has the important role of providing the voters the choice of candidates who stand for individual rather than state sovereignty.

Berkeley activist Fred Foldvary is author of *The Soul of Liberty*.

Eschew It

By Julie Pfeiffer Watner

As I was driving down the highway, this billboard jumped out at me: "Young Americans, please take note: VOTE AMERICA." It set me to thinking. Yes, let's do take note! What does "vote America" really mean? What is America? Is it the politicians in Washington, DC, or is it the spirit of liberty and independence, freedom and hard work, honesty and generosity? Despite the fact that this land has been designated the United States of America, it is more accurately a question of the United States (the politicians and statist bureaucracy) versus America (the order of the free market).

We all vote every day, in every transaction that we make in the market place: this brand over that brand, this price over the other price. But, clearly, the billboard wasn't urging us toward laissez-faire exchanges. It was urging us to vote in the political arena. This raised a disturbing question: "Is voting morally correct?"

Maybe some light can be shed on this subject if we compare the morality of voting in the marketplace and voting in the political realm. Any of us would be hard pressed to find someone who was hurt by "voting" in the market: the buyer exchanging his hard-earned dollars for a commodity he deems more beneficial, the seller trading his product for the dollars—an exchange both parties enter into freely, and find profitable.

But what about voting in the political realm? When one casts a vote in the voting booth, there are a number of things which must be considered. First, never in the history of this country or any other has the majority of eligible voters voted. Thus, since the inception of

voting, the minority has used coercion to rule the majority. The reasons that the majority doesn't vote are somewhat immaterial, yet the fact remains that the minority forces the rest of us to do things with our lives and property that we feel are wrong, would not choose to do on our own, or both.

Since only the uninformed or naive question that corruption is rampant in political circles, many seek to "put the right man" in office. Let's examine that angle for a minute. Without a doubt, the "right man" can never be very effective. He is *always* in the minority and his hands are tied. Given that he is rare and automatically reduced to only protesting the issues he sees as wrong, he would have no choice but to compromise, as compromise is inherent in the job of political office-holding. Most important, however, is that the Libertarian, once in office, would use coercive means to achieve a "good" end: *coercive* means, because the use of coercion is within the nature of political action; the two are inseparable. He would, in essence, be *forcing* men to be free. Isn't that a contradiction? The entire issue boils down to coercively insisting on having *your* way, which is no different than any of the other political parties. Thus, to borrow from the Stoic philosopher Zeno, "If you stoop to throw mud at the mudslingers, how can we tell you apart?"

Having the chance to choose who is going to rule over you is like having a choice as to how you will be killed, or who will kill you. It is no choice at all. The fact of the matter is that you *will* be killed. I choose not to vote at all in the political realm. I refuse to force my wishes on anyone. I choose to give whatever influence I may have to educating interested men and women in the profitability of a truly *free* society. I refuse to vote for the United States, I choose to "VOTE AMERICA."

Julie Pfeiffer Watner is on the staff of *Freedom Country* in Campobello, SC.

Federal Funds Influence Electoral Process

By John Majewski

For the last several years many people have argued that elections are unfairly influenced by political action committees, special interest groups, and television forecasting based on early returns. While debate on these issues continues to rage, two economists have uncovered a new source of election fraud—your tax dollars.

George Mason University economists Thomas DiLorenzo and James Bennett argue in their new book *Destroying Democracy*, published by the Cato Institute, that federal funds are illegally used by myriad organizations to influence the electoral process. Although used predominantly by the left, DiLorenzo and Bennett have found that conservatives also use federal funds to advance their cause.

Meticulously researched and documented, *Destroying Democracy* shows convincingly that millions of federal dollars apparently allocated to help the poor or improve foreign relations actually finance political propaganda.

DiLorenzo and Bennett reveal that millions of dollars in program grants are also illegally used by political candidates. For example, California politician Tom Hayden used government housing and crime prevention grants to rally grass-roots support for rent control laws as part of his Campaign for Economic Democracy. Hayden has also channeled tax dollars in the form of solar energy grants into policy institutes that support his call to socialize oil and gas energy. According to DiLorenzo and Bennett, such funds played an important part in Hayden's successful attempt to build

his political base in the Santa Monica area.

Hayden is not the only politician to use federal funds successfully to further his political interests. The Department of Education recommended that Jesse Jackson's People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) return \$1.7 million because the money was used for political purposes. Indeed, one investigation revealed that a federal education grant was used to print 10,000 Christmas cards bearing an autographed photo of Jackson.

Perhaps a more widespread problem than abuse by specific politicians is the tendency of consumer groups and welfare rights organizations to use federal dollars to support political positions. For instance, the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC), which receives two-thirds of its money from federal grants, calls itself an "organizing tool for poor people and their allies to create meaningful social changes." An important part of FRAC's agenda is to organize a "fair budget campaign" to educate people on the "devastating effects of the Reagan budget policies."

Another organization using federal funds for ideological purposes is the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN). As an organization ostensibly designed to help the poor, ACORN receives hundreds of thousands of dollars in federal grants. But ACORN spends much of its money in the political arena. An ACORN publication referred to local chapters holding meetings "to kick off our involvement in the 1984 presidential campaign" to show the public that "ACORN members are ready to work hard to beat Reagan next year."

Bennett and DiLorenzo have many examples of left-liberal organizations' improper use of federal funds for political purposes, including labor unions, Ralph Nader organizations, and many public-policy institutes. *Destroying Democracy* presents voluminous amounts of data to demonstrate the existence of a well-coordinated network of political activists that obtains millions of federal dollars every year.

But as *Destroying Democracy* indicates, many conservatives also use federal funds for political activity. The U.S. Information Agency, for example, gave the Claremont Institute nearly half a million dollars to bring young foreign conservatives to the United States. The conservative American Enterprise Institute receives over \$200,000 annually from the government. And the Office of Juvenile Justice

and Delinquency gives millions of dollars to conservative causes involved in such areas as pornography and school crime.

Bennett and DiLorenzo point out that conservatives receive less tax money than liberals. But the fact remains that both camps use federal dollars extensively.

It is clearly unjust to force taxpayers and competing political interests to finance political activities and views of which they disapprove. If we really want to keep the electoral process fair, we should eliminate the millions of dollars in subsidies to privileged political advocacy groups.

John Majewski is a fellow of the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University.

Writing 'Op-Ed' Pieces

"The following are points to consider when writing 'Op-Ed' articles:

- (1) The lead should draw the reader into the story. Take extra time to make it interesting. The lead should relate to a current news event or a topical issue.
- (2) An open-minded, intelligent reader who is uninformed about the topic should be able to follow your reasoning. (Think of "your mother the librarian"—will she follow the logic and find the facts persuasive?)
- (3) Writing should be tight. Make each point clearly and only once, except for a restatement at the end, if appropriate.

- (4) Avoid sarcasm. Don't use jargon unless you define it. Jargon includes such words as "negative-sum games," "marginal cost," and "market-clearing price."
- (5) You must bolster your argument with facts. The more vivid and concrete your examples, the better. Do not make controversial assertions without supplying evidence.
- (6) If your article is longer than three and a half double-spaced pages, it is too long.

—Jane S. Shaw and Richard L. Stroup
Political Economy Research Center

Letters to the Editor

Continued from Page 5

Nicaragua

I just read Bill Birmingham's letter in your Sept./Oct. 1986 issue. He refers therein to the issue of supporting Contra aid "for hiring mercenaries to murder Nicaraguans and crush their revolution." It is this last phrase that I found most perplexing. Does Mr. Birmingham really believe that what Nicaragua now has in the way of a society constitutes the revolution of the Nicaraguan people? If anything, it is the betrayal of the revolution that had been promised to them by a gang of Marxist/Leninist thugs.

This is a separate matter from whether the U.S. government should send money from the taxpayers to aid the Contras. One can oppose the latter without falling victim to the self-aggrandizing rhetoric in which the current Nicaraguan state of affairs is seen to be desirable.

Tibor R. Machan
Auburn, AL

Unity

The Libertarian Party of Florida has become a political organization with the goal of creating a libertarian society. We are still small and still poor, but we are united in our goal and agree on the steps to be taken next. Philosophical bickering has been put aside. We will argue each step *when it is time to take that step*, not before. With a clear goal and a series of steps leading to it, we have a program that anyone of libertarian leanings can support. Those who help with time or money need not be concerned that their efforts are wasted on a debating club. We have started a membership and fundraising drive in preparation for the 1988 elections. Each hour, each dollar, will go to building a free society.

Charles T. Manhart
Chair, LP of FL

Government Giving?

Senator Robert Dole, speaking in regard to a new tax bill, boasted of what a great thing they were doing for the common man: "When we give them that much money to spend it will be a tremendous boost to the economy."

Correct me if I'm wrong but don't most Americans work within the framework of a market system for every penny they earn? The exception to this rule being employees of the federal government! All employees...pay a hefty chunk of their income to the government in the form of income taxes. This income tax pays the salaries of all government employees, one of which is Senator Bob Dole. This being the case, how can Senator Dole and his cronies give us something which in fact we gave them, albeit involuntarily, but we usually give it to them anyway. They can give it back or they can give a little of it back which is what they seem to be doing in this case. Something ain't quite right here. I wonder if Senator Dole sees it that way? Somehow, I think not.

J. Edgar Culberson
Melbourne, FL

Liberty Year?

I have enjoyed immensely the wonderful celebration of the Statue of Liberty and I agree wholeheartedly with the proposition that the United States is indeed the Land of the Free.

I have heard speeches of pride, principle, and freedom.

No one talked at all about what has actually happened this year in Kansas.

1986 was the year we were ordered to fasten our seat belts, and "No more happy-hour." The Supreme Court now allows the bureaucrats into our bedrooms with their video cameras to make sure everything is done so-so. Our President restricted our right to travel to

Libya; furthermore, he ordered us to sell our oil properties there, despite whatever financial loss that sale might incur.

We are no longer allowed to buy gold coins from some countries or bananas from others. We must now buy our bananas from Canada which gets them from Nicaragua. This is the year we were told by the Supreme Court that discrimination because of race can be used to combat other discrimination because of race.

An additional one percent of our disposable income was taken by the State for whatever use they had for it and our young people were declared second class citizens with no right to make their personal decisions regarding alcohol. Kansas is considering going into the gambling business in November but will put the citizen in jail if he does likewise.

They put a cap on the damages that you can get if, when you go in for an appendectomy, someone mistakenly cuts off something important. While you are there they now want you to wee-wee in a bottle. And Mr. Meese will write you threatening letters if your store sells any dirty pictures.

Indeed, 1986 has not been a good year for freedom in Kansas.

While I am always delighted by celebrations of freedoms, I do think it advisable to have a subsequent "Day of Mourning" to remember freedoms lost.

Douglas N. Merritt
Atchison, KS

Fourth School

In her article on the "Nobel Prize in Economics" (Nov./Dec. 1986), Jennifer Roback stated that with "Buchanan's Nobel, all three major free-market schools of thought have been recognized by the Nobel committee," the three being the Austrian, the Chicago (monetarist), and Virginian (public choice)...she omitted the fourth free-market school of economic thought, the classical school...

Yet clearly the classical school qualifies on all three grounds. The school of thought goes back to the French physiocrats, who coined the term "laissez faire." Well-known classical-school economists include Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Henry George. Furthermore, this free-market school never died out, but continues today with economists and publications, including the classical-libertarian quarterly, *Fragments*. Though one of the minor schools today (not to be confused with the neoclassical school), its influence on economics in general has been immense. Libertarians such as Albert Jay Nock, author of *Our Enemy the State*, and Frank Chodorov (*Fugitive Essays*) have been of the classical school.

As a classical-school adherent, I think the ignorance about the classical school reflects poorly on the libertarian movement. We have no grounds for complaining that society does not pay attention to our ideas when we ignore one of the economic schools of our libertarian heritage.

Fred Foldvary
Berkeley, CA

New Collars

A recent TV news segment identified a potential new political constituency. It called this group "new collar workers" and suggested it could easily become the basis of a new political revolution in the next decade. The segment also pointed out that no political party is prepared to tap "new collar workers."

The characterization of this group was quite interesting. It suggested that for this group, unemployment wasn't the problem. In fact, quite the contrary. Often both family members work. The couple interviewed in the segment were both employed. The woman was a teacher, the man a carpenter. The problem was that even with two jobs and an income over \$20,000

they couldn't get by! And it wasn't because of mismanagement of funds. "The destruction of the middle class" is brought to mind. We might be a bit more sophisticated and point out that this is, as many, many people, including former Treasury Secretary William Simon, and others, have said, just the inevitable payments for past and present government excesses coming due in hundreds of sneaky little ways.

If we wish to capitalize on this growing group, we might begin by asking a few questions. For example, why has the work week remained at 40 hours per week over the past five decades during a period when capital investment and productivity have grown at an unprecedented rate? Why do increasingly large numbers of families have to have both parents working to maintain a slipping standard of living? Why has the optimism of this whole century that children would grow up in a more affluent society been replaced with the opposite expectation in the '80s? Why hasn't this made more people angry? But then, maybe it has! The news segment suggested "new collar workers' " anger hasn't been expressed politically yet. Good—because I've been angry about this for years. It'll be nice to have company.

It seems to me this is a natural libertarian constituency. As you may know, Neil Smith, author of *The Probability Broach*, claims that without the direct and indirect costs of government intervention, we inhabitants of the arbitrarily defined geographical area called "The United States of America" would have eight times the spendable income we now have. That translates into a five hour work week to maintain your current standard of living. Neil does have some convincing arguments and ball park figures to back this up but they probably wouldn't stand up to the rigorous attacks the implications of this assertion are bound to attract. This needs to be backed up with appropriate figures and research, and would be a major path to tap "new collar workers" as well as other groups. How about it, all you libertarians out there?

Rick White
Las Vegas, NV

IRS Recruiters

Who'd think it? The Internal Revenue Service may turn out to be the top LP recruiter for 1987.

Have all you letters-to-the-editor writers out there seen the new IRS W-4 withholding forms?

Bye now...I'm off to my ink well, my typewriter, my word processor...time to get busy...

Leo Alman
Pittsburgh, PA

Winning Big

It can be discouraging—the endless war against state ballot non-access laws, pleading for coverage from a disinterested media, trying to explain freedom to an often apathetic public. I can see why some think we're losing. But they're wrong. We are winning. Winning big. Look at all we've accomplished. As an electoral party, we have come from nothing to a clear position as America's third party. In 1988, our presidential candidate will be on the ballot in over 30 states for the fourth consecutive election. Only two other parties have done that in my lifetime.

If our growth as an electoral vehicle has been slow but dogged, our growth as a policy vehicle has been meteoric. These days it is all but cliché to say that the Socialist Party has been the most influential party of this century, with virtually all of the turn-of-the-century Socialist platform now public policy in the U.S. Today, the LP plays that role.

Remember the state of political debate when the LP was founded? We had wage and price

controls, for heaven's sake. If you mentioned Austrian economics in 1971, people thought you meant Bruno Kreisky's socialism, if they thought anything. Privatization? School vouchers? Deregulation? Tax cuts? For the looks you'd get, you may as well have been telling people you were from the planet Gorgulak. But these ideas, incubated in libertarian or quasi-libertarian think tanks, were introduced into the political debate by the LP, and today are part and parcel of mainstream political debate, if not policy. Other, more radical issues are now filtering into the public arena in the same manner—abolition of mandatory schooling, an end to victimless crime laws, sale of government lands, private roads, and more. Fifteen years ago, such topics were not open to discussion in polite company.

Of course, cause and effect get mixed up in these things. Are these issues being debated because of the LP, or does the LP exist because people were ready to debate these issues? I suspect both relationships exist. The question is, would libertarian ideas be having the same impact if there were no LP, if we all just packed our bags and joined the GOP, or, what the heck, went home, read Ayn Rand, and watched TV?

Or we can make an "organized entry" into one of the other parties. Of course, Michael Harrington did that with his Socialists a while back, and the Democrat Party has been moving slowly away from socialism ever since. By working outside the other parties, we are not left with supporting their candidates in the general elections. How many press conferences did Dick Randolph hold this fall? Dick was more effective in the legislature as a Libertarian than as a Republican, and received more votes, and more media attention for libertarian ideas, as an LP candidate than as a Republican.

Brad Smith
Dallas, TX

Time Is Money

By Mike Pierone

It has been said that freedom can be bought only with the blood of patriots, but I believe we can purchase *some* measure of it for less. The problem is that while most of us, like myself, are quite prepared to dedicate our time to further freedom, we, like myself, do not always have the necessary cash. Since we all have talents and abilities, there can be another way to generate capital from our collective talents.

What I propose quite simply is a trade between Libertarian Party members to the benefit of the Party. If you cannot afford to purchase liberty with dollars, do it with your time!

For example, assume we have an LP member who needs some typing done. Rather than pay a temporary, this person could pay the NJLP who would provide an LP member willing to donate the requisite time in typing skills, in exchange for a pledge for future services from someone else.

I am asking all members who run your own business or need a job done to call or write me first. Likewise, if you want to commit some time rather than money then get in touch. Let's create a clearing house for our members that benefits the Party and its members. This is a good way to make important contacts, get to know each other, and advance the cause of freedom.

If we want liberty we must pay for it. Here is an opportunity for even the poorest of us to contribute. Already donated is a day of time from the computer consultant who also contributed this idea—somebody out there call me and take advantage. Let's make this idea work!

Pierone is a Sussex County organizer for the LP of New Jersey. His proposal is reprinted from the "New Jersey Libertarian."

Civic Clubs Offer Opportunities For Free Market Alternatives

By Barry Klein

Part of being a Libertarian, in my opinion, is the conviction that many community concerns now administered to by one or more government entities can be better handled by individuals in private voluntary associations. Civic clubs are the perfect expression of this idea, and it is my experience that libertarian ideas are easily advanced in this setting. I believe all Libertarians should join one or more civic clubs.

Civic clubs are primarily designed to advance or defend the interests of a geographic area such as a neighborhood. In fewer cases civic clubs address a particular community problem (such as pollution) and gather their membership area-wide. When Libertarians are involved in civic clubs their opinion and analysis can be very effective. Our perspective forces us to be creative in attacks on community problems because we are not bound by the habit of looking to government for solutions. During club discussions we can offer data and pertinent examples from *Reason* magazine, *Cutting Back City Hall* by Robert Poole, local publications, and other sources which will not otherwise be heard.

I find it odd that while many Libertarians are veritable experts on every civic question, because of years of thought and reading on social matters, astonishingly few participate in organizations where their knowledge and understanding can be brought to bear in a useful fashion.

The cost of participation in a civic club is one night a month plus one or two more nights for those willing to do committee work. Twelve nights a year is only three percent of one's evening time but Libertarians who feel they are too busy to be active with a club should join one (at least) anyway. The bulk of every organization is dormant. However, simply holding a membership is being an "active" member which is a useful status to have if one expects to be a political candidate someday.

In the meantime one receives the club's newsletter so that one learns the club's history as it develops with the passing months. And, at some point when one's schedule relaxes or an issue arises that prompts participation, one has the credential of being a long-term member.

It is easy to become an influential and effective member of a civic club. Very few civic club members attend meetings and even fewer accept committee assignments. Therefore, anyone who regularly attends meetings will be respectfully heard and those who accept committee work quickly become leaders. Members in the smaller clubs are likely to be an officer within a year or two of joining.

Immediately upon joining a civic club one should ask for a set of the bylaws. A copy of the *1981 Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised* (about \$16.00) should be acquired as well. With both in hand one can learn quickly one's rights and obligations as a member. Most organizations from habit and ignorance slight the correct form of Robert's Rules of Order. When an organization is disregarding the intent of Robert's Rule of Order the knowledgeable member should raise a point of order.

The fatiguing part of clubwork grows from excessively sloppy procedure which hampers an organization's decision-making ability. An equally serious problem is that of careless and lazy officers who neglect their duties. The alert member who knows the rules knows when to stand to call attention to a problem.

After working in the club awhile, the serious member will realize that the bylaws have one or more serious flaws. It is a universal problem and an excellent opportunity for the activist to volunteer to be chair of a bylaws revision committee. By the time he makes his report he will be recognized as the club expert on the bylaws and parliamentary procedure (no mat-

ter that his knowledge of Roberts is still incomplete). It is a useful reputation to have.

Bylaws committee work and the study of Robert's Rules of Order is not difficult especially if one has made the acquaintance of members of the National Association of Parliamentarians. This group includes professional parliamentarians as well as many hobbyists who simply enjoy the study and practice of parliamentary procedure. They are often available for hire on an hourly basis. Many are so ready to be of service that they gladly work for expenses or for free—particularly when the consultation is by phone. Local chapters of the NAP have monthly meetings where novices can meet parliamentarians and practice. One can call the NAP headquarters to be put in touch with local chapters and units (phone 816-531-1735 in Kansas City, MO).

Civic clubs, like all organizations, appoint committees to study the difficult issues. It is in the committee work that Libertarian activists can make the greatest impact. For instance, a club may create committees to consider neighborhood problems such as a poorly-managed city garbage collection department or an inadequate city-regulated taxi service. A Libertarian committee member in the first case can raise the examples of the Wichita and Atlanta systems of competitive garbage collection. In the second case a Libertarian can raise the case of Washington, DC, which sets no limit on its number of cabs and has the highest number of cabs in the country per 1,000 population. Each Libertarian in his respective committee can suggest a resolution calling for a free market style change in the current system.

Resolutions proposed in situations such as these will often need to be inventive, so that they genuinely contain the free market and civil liberties principles but don't fully challenge the status quo. Proposals for small-scale "experimental" change will be much more successful than ones for wholesale radical change. Most people will not endorse abrupt and utter abandonment of a system. Furthermore, civic clubs are not designed for full-scale philosophical debates on the proper role of government which a radical proposal would incite. (Later, when the resolution is placed before government officials, it is much more likely to be accepted. Once the free market experiment proves itself, the civic club can pass resolutions calling for expansion of the innovations.)

Since it is unlikely that a member on either a committee or of the general membership would have serious objections to experimental adjustments to a failing system, resolutions such as the ones above should pass without difficulty. During debate prior to passage of the resolution a Libertarian may wish to speak in favor of a resolution this way: "I favor this resolution regarding our garbage problem not just because I believe it is wrong for our government to do the job of private industry or to limit a low income person's options to go into business, but because we have clear evidence that this idea can work and we should try it." In civic clubs, practical arguments tend to be the most persuasive but in this way one can put the moral concepts before people.

The moral perspective is more easily raised during committee discussion. But even then hardcore attitudes and blunt expression of them such as "All taxation is theft" will be unsuccessful. Effective Libertarian activists will learn to fashion gentle presentations of their more startling ideas.

A factor which eases passage of committee sponsored resolutions is that they are proposed by leaders of the club. The bulk of the membership is inclined to let the leaders have and do what they want. Serious objections would be raised only if a resolution calls for a large expenditure of club money or membership time.

Once the civic club has assumed a Libertarian position a separate motion should be passed instructing the corresponding secretary to send copies to the appropriate officials and to the media. (The Libertarian activist may have to volunteer to prepare these notices to ensure that the news is effectively announced.) The more people who learn of the endorsement of free market ideas the better. For one thing, other civic clubs may find the resolutions useful as models for resolutions of their own. In addition, formal presentations on the issues may be made to other civic clubs with a request for a vote in support of the resolutions. If successful, the news should be spread far and wide. Do everything possible to help the ideas catch fire.

The publicity is good for the club, too. It can become prominent: The media, politicians, neighborhood businesses, churches and other institutions, and government bureaucrats become respectful and cooperative. Membership will increase.

The study and thought a committee member must invest results in a high level of knowledge and a lasting understanding of the issues on which the committee is focused.

A member should mention that experience as he identifies himself whenever discussing those issues in a public forum. His opinion will be received with the heightened respect it deserves. Also, membership in an important committee, like membership in a civic club, is a political asset worthy of mention in a candidate's resume.

In the course of time one becomes acquainted with a great many other community activists of every stripe. This familiarity with the personalities in the fore and background of community politics means that one has a quick grasp of political developments in the community. There is substantial satisfaction in this knowledge. Plus, the Libertarian activist who becomes a candidate for public office armed with this ability is much more formidable than the Libertarian candidate who can only ground his public comment in free market theory and

sketchy knowledge culled from memories of newspapers.

Another election-time pay-off of civic club work is that *Libertarian candidates in the appropriate races have the opportunity in their statements to the press and in candidate forums to endorse the civic club resolutions which call for free market solutions to community problems.* In this way they will show a practical knowledge of community affairs and an awareness of the desires of ordinary citizens. They are not likely to be perceived as unrealistic ideologues preaching airy theory, which has been a problem in the past.

By tying their platform to such resolutions, Libertarians will gain a credential they usually lack. Libertarian candidates who are also civic club activists will have credentials which are much better. The very best credentials, naturally, will be held by the activists who have put themselves at the forefront of their civic club's publicity for resolutions and who have carried the resolutions from club to club looking for support. They become widely respected for their civic club work.

Many people active in Democratic and Republican politics join civic clubs. Their political activism becomes part of their identity in their clubs. So it should be with Libertarians. Libertarianism needs to be perceived by more people as an ordinary part of the political landscape and an acceptable alternative to the usual political choices. Familiarity breeds acceptability.

This identity as a Libertarian will stimulate questions about one's political philosophy. The occasions arise during the coffee-and-cookies part of the meeting, during the socializing that often follows a meeting and during work sessions on club projects. These are the opportunities that develop new sympathizers and activists. Many civic club members have a reformer's bent, as do Libertarians, so the atmosphere is cordial to new ideas, and the ground is fertile.

I hope this article encourages others to follow suit. Six months is all the time one needs to become a prominent civic activist.

Barry Klein is a member of over half a dozen civic clubs in the Houston area. This article appeared originally in Free Texas, the LP paper of that state.

Scoring a Point for Individualism

For anyone looking for a pointed way to set students to thinking about individualism and collectivism, a long-time libertarian, Butler Shaffer, has come up with an idea tailor-made for the classroom. Here's a form that Shaffer distributes to his students at the beginning of each school year:

The undersigned, a student in Prof. Shaffer's _____ course at Southwestern University School of Law, does hereby agree to have my grade for this course determined according to the following system I have chosen after having had both options explained to me. Each system will incorporate, by reference, the evaluation criteria set forth in the Syllabus for this course. It is understood that I may, at any time prior to the last day of class for this course, revoke this agreement and opt for the other grading system.

(1) Individual Determination of Grade. My grade will be determined solely on the basis of the grade I receive for work done by me. My grade will be neither increased nor decreased by any other students' grades, but will be based solely on my own performance. For example, if I receive a "75" on the final exam for this course, my course grade will be a "75."

(2) Collective, Group-Averaged Determination of grade. My grade will be determined as follows: All students who

opt for this collective system of grading will have their grades pooled, with each member of the group receiving an identical grade. For example, if three students (A, B, C) choose this collective method of grading, and if, on the final exam, A receives a "65," B a "75," and C an "85," these three grades will be averaged, and each student in the group will receive a "75" for the course. Students who opt for the individualized grading system will not, of course, have their grades computed into this collective system of grading.

Along with the options for grading, Prof. Shaffer has been using a questionnaire which seeks to elicit either collectivist or individualistic answers. In his classes of, typically, 50 students, about 40 percent start out giving fashionable collectivist answers to questions about whose responsibility it is to regulate this and that or to accomplish good works.

Yet, when it comes to something that concretely affects their lives—the grading option—Prof. Shaffer reports that only once has he had as many as two students in a single class opt for the collective scoring procedure. In that case, one of the two came back in a few days asking to switch to the individual scoring procedure. In all other cases, Prof. Shaffer says, not more than one person per class chose the collective course, so that those students who did so choose became responsible for their own marks whether they wanted to or not.

Business Profile

Merchandising Libertarian Goods, Ideas

A catalog that combines a slick, upscale look with the ideas of Adam Smith, Albert Jay Nock, and Murray Rothbard is now in circulation. Featuring nearly 400 books, audio tapes, video tapes, games, neckties, novelties, and other gift items, the LibertyTree catalog is the leading edge of one of two new ventures created by a San Francisco libertarian entrepreneur, David J. Theroux.

The first organization is the mass-marketing firm, LibertyTree Network, which combines the themes of individual liberty, free markets, enterprise, self-reliance, privatization, and peace for a merchandising theme of "Products for Your Life, Liberty, and Prosperity." Theroux's second venture is a new libertarian think tank, the Independent Institute.

As an entrepreneur, Theroux has successfully applied his own vision and approach to libertarian activism in successfully organizing programs ranging from student organizations, conventions, scholarly research, seminars, media events, and supper clubs to periodical publications, book publishing, and political campaigns. As an early member of the Libertarian Party, he was instrumental in helping to organize the LP in California, Louisiana, and Illinois, and organized

the successful campaign to obtain ballot status for the LP in Alabama.

As a vice president of the Cato Institute, Theroux organized its academic program of research, book and monograph publication, newsletters, and conferences. More recently, he established a highly effective program for the original Pacific Institute, including a book program on dozens of major social, economic, and environmental problems.

Leaving Pacific Institute early this year, he set out to establish an ideal model of libertarian entrepreneurship. Within a few months, he had completely organized a limited partnership to fund the venture, and had assembled the entire catalog enterprise. With operations in Phoenix, the LibertyTree Catalog was mailed to 400,000 this fall. An annual distribution of from one to three million is planned, making it probably the largest-scale enterprise to market libertarian-oriented products to the general public.

Theroux seeks to provide the knowledge, motivation, and opportunity for budding entrepreneurs to develop quality products which can then be effectively distributed to new markets through LibertyTree.

Products range from Statue of Liberty crystal

and polished pewter collectibles, games such as the revolutionary "1776" and "Stick the IRS," all-silk Thomas Jefferson and Statue of Liberty neckties, Liberty T-shirts, and books such as the *Pentagon Catalog* of military cost overruns; *Dreams Come Due*, a new lexicon of antidotes to the ills of government by "John Galt"; *The Entrepreneurs*, based on the new fall TV series; *How to Pay Zero Taxes*; *Making Europe Unconquerable*; and *How to Be Your Own Lawyer*. There is also a selection of scores of audio and video tapes which includes programs on entrepreneurial success and self-defense.

Those who want a LibertyTree catalog can receive a complimentary copy by writing to LibertyTree Network, 1142 West Indian School Road, Phoenix, AZ 85013, or by phoning 602-241-9594.

The Independent Institute, with offices in San Francisco, will specialize in pursuing in-depth, interdisciplinary studies of serious, yet neglected, public issues such as government's role in higher education, the complex issues of toxic waste liability, and U.S. foreign interventionism. The Independent Institute's program is designed to critically analyze the

nature and consequences of *any and all* government policies pertaining to important public issues, regardless of momentary political or social biases and fashions, to redefine the debate over public issues, and to foster new and effective alternatives to statism.

The Institute's research program is being overseen by the distinguished libertarian economist, Dr. M. Bruce Johnson, Professor of Economics, University of California, Santa Barbara, who until recently had also teamed up with Theroux in organizing the Pacific Institute's program. Johnson is assisted at Independent by a board of advisors which includes such renowned scholars as Thomas Borchering, Robert Crandall, Arthur Ekirch, Jr., Ronald Hamowy, Donald McCloskey, Bruce Russett, Richard Stroup, Gordon Tullock, Richard Wagner, and Sir Alan Walters.

Having recently sponsored a reception for the free market development economist Peter T. Bauer (Lord Bauer) from the London School of Economics, the Independent Institute plans to sponsor four books plus one or more major conferences per year. Further information may be obtained by writing the Independent Institute, 847 Sansome Street, San Francisco, CA 94111.

Economic Considerations Of Providing Day Care

By Michael Walker

One of the central economic issues of the next few years, and an important potential policy plank for the next federal election, will be the issue of universal, subsidized day care. I want, therefore, to make a pre-emptive strike as it were, and get some of the economic issues out on the table.

First, we have to distinguish clearly between three forms of day care. The most prevalent and, at the moment, most important is child care in the home by the parents. The other two are privately-provided day care and government-provided day care. In the case of home day care and privately-provided care, the costs are borne almost exclusively by the parents. In the case of publicly-provided care, some but not all of the costs are provided from tax revenue and the costs are therefore not directly borne by the user.

Private day care is offered both as a separate service and by employers as a convenience for their employees. In both cases, the extent of provision and the terms offered are determined by the economics of the situation. In the case of the for-profit service, the rates they charge are a factor which must be taken into account by parents deciding whether or not it makes sense for both spouses to work or whether one should remain in the home.

The extent of day care service provided, in turn, is determined by the number of parents for whom such a service makes economic sense. If the average potential user of a day care facility does not earn enough income by working to pay the full cost of day care for their children, then there will be few day care centers and, from an economic point of view, rightly so. What sense does it make for a person to leave the home and pay somebody else more to look after their children than they can earn by working in the first place?

Another form of private day care facility is that provided by the firms who employ the parents. Private businesses provide day care facilities because it is in their economic interest to do so. For some, day care facilities have meant a more reliable, conscientious workforce because the parents are freed from travel and other inconveniences associated with child-care by relatives or other care facilities distant

from the place of work. For some corporations, like Campbell Soups, it has also meant a better rapport with employees and the ability to hire people who would otherwise not have been available.

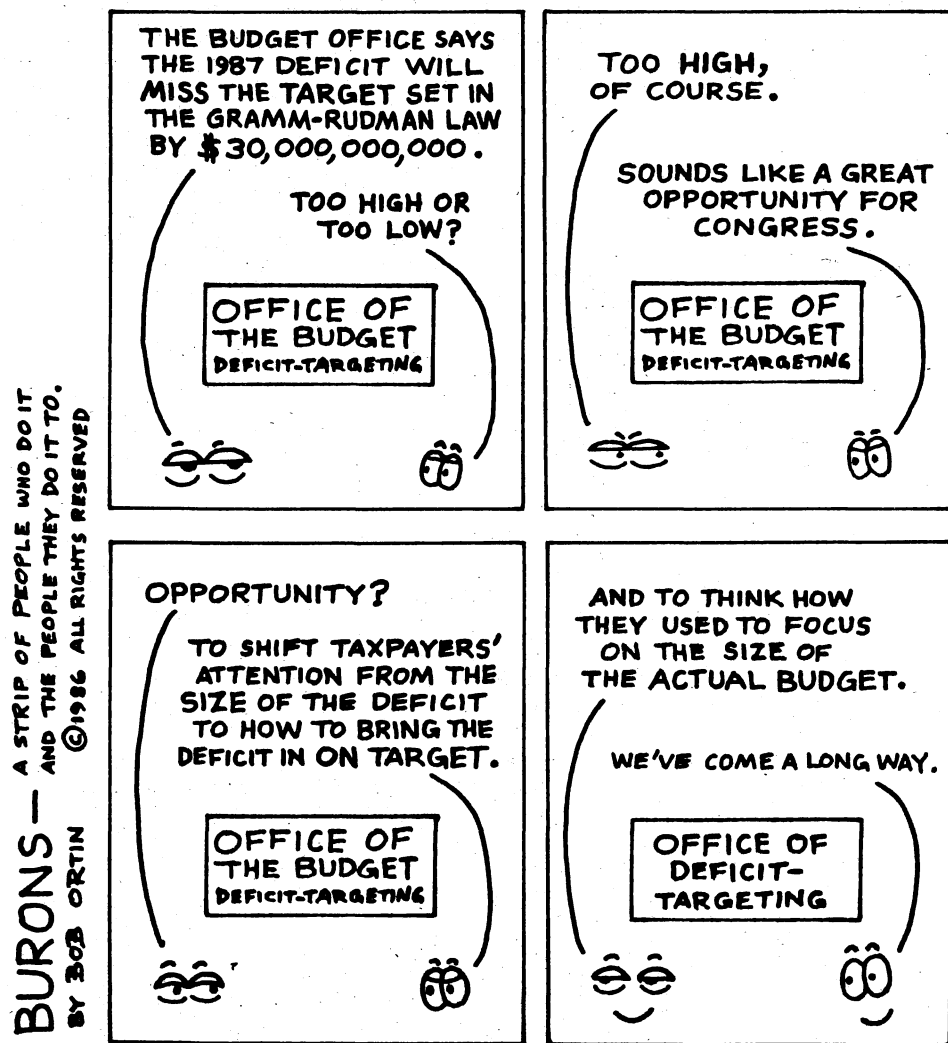
Undoubtedly, these facilities enhance both the economic circumstances of the companies and the employees and also make a net contribution to society's well being. Recent debate and two reports on day care have focused on another sort of day care, namely universal day care provided by government. Unfortunately, such a system does not have all the harmonious features of private day care. The main reason is that it is designed precisely to thwart the very economic calculus which makes private day care sensible.

Under private provision, parents deciding whether one or the other or neither should remain at home would simply not have to calculate the economic implications. In consequence, there would be no necessary relationship between the cost of providing the day care and the net economic advantage to the parent of going out to work. In many instances, the net value of the work the parent can do would be less than the cost of the day care. To the extent that is the case, it makes no sense to provide such a service.

In part, of course, the cost of day care is due to the heavy regulation to which it is subjected. The notion that private day care is too expensive for all but a narrow segment of society results from observing those day care establishments which are laboring under a very heavy load of safety and staffing regulations. While well intentioned, such requirements for commercial day care facilities may encourage parents to place their children in informal care facilities, with neighbors or others, where there may be few, or inadequate, facilities or supervisors. As usual, the attempt to achieve perfection by regulation leads to an unexpected and perverse result.

Dr. Walker is director of The Fraser Institute, Vancouver.

See you in Seattle in September!
Libertarian Presidential Nominating Convention
Seattle Sheraton Hotel • September 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 1987



Paul Jacob Honored

A year ago, Paul Jacob was in a federal prison at Seagoville, Texas. This year Jacob has been selected as an Outstanding Young Man of America for 1986 "in recognition of professional achievement, superior leadership ability, and exceptional service to the community" by Outstanding Young Men of America, a private group.

Jacob, who was imprisoned for resistance to the Selective Service registration and the draft, is a member of the Libertarian National Committee (from Region 18/19) and is the president of Volunteers for America, an educational pro-volunteer/anti-draft group.

"The people who are truly outstanding in America are the many people who are out standing up for the freedom of all individuals and the peace and prosperity that freedom brings," Jacob says. "In that spirit, I'm happy and proud to be selected and share this award with activists in resistance movements, with libertarians, and with all those who seek political liberty."

In a letter to Jacob announcing his selection, Doug Blankenship, the Chairman of O.Y.M.A.'s Board of Advisors and past president of the U.S. Jaycees, wrote, "A man of your character is truly an asset to his family, as well as to his community, state and nation."

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The Insurance Crisis?

By Murray N. Rothbard

The latest large-scale assault upon property rights and the free market comes from the insurance industry and its associated incursers of liability—particularly groups of manufacturers and the organized medical profession. They charge that runaway juries have been awarding skyrocketing increases in liability payments, thereby threatening to bankrupt the insurance industry as well as impose higher costs upon, or deprive of liability insurance, those industries and occupations that juries have adjudged to be guilty. In response, the insurance and allied industries have demanded legal caps, or maxima, on jury awards, as well as maximum limits on or even elimination of, legal fees, especially contingency fees paid to lawyers by plaintiffs out of their awarded damages.

Before analyzing these measures, it must be pointed out that there may well be no crisis. Critics of the insurance industry have pointed out that insurance companies have refused to reveal the figures on verdicts and settlements from year to year, or to break them down by industry or occupation. Instead, the insurance industry has relied solely on colorful anecdotes about bizarre individual awards—something they would scarcely do in running their own business. Also, the critics have demonstrated that average insurance payments have not advanced, in the last 25 years, much beyond the rate of inflation. So there may well be no insurance crisis at all, and the entire hysteria may be trumped-up to gain benefits for the insurance industry at the expense of victims of injury to person or property who are entitled to just compensation.

But let us assume for the sake of argument that the insurance crisis is every bit as dramatic as the industry says it is. Why are the rest of us supposed to bail them out? Insurance com-

panies, like other business firms, are entrepreneurs. As entrepreneurs, they take risks; when they do well and forecast correctly, they properly make profits; when they forecast badly, they make losses. That is the way it should be. They should be honored when they make profits, and suffer the consequences when they make losses. In the case of insurance, companies charge premiums so as to cover, with a profit, the liabilities they expect to pay. If they suffer losses because their entrepreneurship is poor, and payments are higher than premiums, they should expect no sympathy, let alone bailout, from the long-suffering consuming and taxpaying public.

It is particularly outrageous that the insurance companies are trying to place maximum limits on jury awards and on legal fees. It is everyone's right as a free person to hire lawyers for whatever fee they both agree upon, and it is no one's right to interfere with private property and the freedom to make such contracts. Lawyers, after all, are our shield and buckler against unjust laws and torts committed against us, and we must not be deprived of the right to hire them. Furthermore, the much abused contingency fee is actually a marvelous instrument which enables the poorest among us to hire able lawyers. And the fact that the attorney depends for his fee on his "investment" in the case, gives him the incentive to fight all the harder on behalf of his clients. Outlawing contingency fees would leave attorneys only in service to the rich, and would deprive the average person of his day in court. Is that what the insurance industry really wants?

As for jury awards, do the insurance industry and organized medicine really wish to destroy the Anglo-American jury system, which for all its faults and inefficiencies, has long been a bulwark of our liberties against the State? And if they wish to destroy it, what

would they replace it with—rule by government? As long as we keep the jury system as the decider of civil and criminal cases, we must not hobble its dispensing of justice—especially by senseless quantitative caps that simply proclaim justice may only be dispensed in small, but not adequate, amounts.

None of this means that tort law itself is in no need of reform. The problem is not really quantitative but qualitative: *Who* should be liable for *what* damages? In particular, we must put an end to the theory of "vicarious liability"; i.e., that people or groups are liable, *not* because their actions incurred damages, but simply because they happened to be nearby and are conveniently wealthy; i.e., in the apt if inelegant legal phrase, they happily possess "deep pockets." Thus, if we bought a product from a retailer and the product is defective, it is the *retailer* who should be liable and not the manufacturer, since we did not make a contract with the manufacturer (unless he placed an explicit warranty upon the product). It is the retailer's business to sue the wholesaler, the latter the manufacturer, etc., provided the

latter really did break his contract by providing a defective product.

Similarly, if a corporate manager committed a wrong and damaged the person or property of others, there is no reason but "deep pockets" to make the stockholders pay, provided that the latter were innocent and did not order the manager to engage in these wrong actions.

To the extent, then, that cries about an insurance crisis reflect an increased propensity by juries to sock it to "soul-less corporations"—i.e., to the stockholders—then the remedy is to take that right away from them by changing tort law to make liable only those actually committing wrongful acts.

Let liability, in short, be full and complete; but let it rest only upon those at fault; i.e., those actually damaging the persons and property of others.

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CULTURE n 1: CULTIVATION 2: the act of developing the intellectual and moral faculties esp. by education expert care and training 4: enlightenment and excellence of taste acquired by intellectual and aesthetic training 5a: a particular stage of advancement in civilization b: the characteristic features of such a stage or state

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