

Libertarian NEWS Party

Libertarians Rally Against War

Libertarian Party members across the country are sticking fast to their non-interventionist principles and declaring their opposition to the Persian Gulf conflict.

Libertarians drew significant attention during the nation's largest Persian Gulf War protest rally to date in Washington, DC, where an estimated 75,000 -250,000 demonstrators representing a broad cross section of Americans marched from the Capitol to the White House.

Libertarians, carrying signs reading "Libertarians Against the War," "Read My Lips: No Death, No Taxes," "Say No To the Draft," "Peace and Free Trade," "Support Our Troops, Bring Them Home Now," and others, placed themselves at strategic points along the parade route and let the march pass by them. During this time, over 5,000 LP brochures were passed out to marchers.

The sign stating opposition to the draft, which was brought to Washington from Pennsylvania by LP member Don Ernsberger, especially caught the attention of many of the protesters, as it was one of the few signs visible addressing that issue. Ernsberger said that the sign has seen its share of demonstrations, dating back to the Vietnam War protests.

Although it was difficult to estimate the crowd size, marchers passed by the Libertarian position in a non-stop, 25-30 person-wide parade for nearly three hours.

The demonstration, coordinated by the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, was attended by groups as diverse as the United Methodists, Greenpeace, high school and college contingents, gay and lesbian organizations, and military veterans.

Libertarians also operated an outreach booth, distributing many copies of the "World's Smallest Political Quiz" and other LP material, as well as registering people to vote. The outreach potential of the Libertarian involvement in this and similar demonstrations cannot be overlooked.

In Los Angeles, Libertarians have been actively protesting U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf since early

Sheldon Richman on
Why Libertarians Should Oppose
Bush's Gulf War
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September.

Libertarian Jerry Collette, from the San Fernando Valley Region, initiated the first series of on-going Libertarian Party demonstrations against the war build-up, in a combined event with the Peace and Freedom Party, the other California ballot status party on record in opposition to the war. In October, L.A. Libertarians decided to join a larger coalition in weekly demonstrations at the Westwood Federal Building, near U.C.L.A.

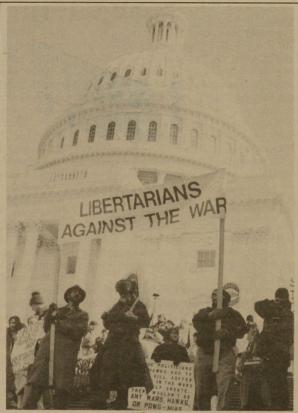
Neal Donner, who has been largely responsible for

Neal Donner, who has been largely responsible for organizing LP participation, said that the outreach implications of these protests are significant. By working with other groups, the LP allows other organizations to discover libertarian principles and philosophy, Donner explained

During a recent protest, LP members were testing more than 70 people each hour with the diamond chart survey. Donner said that 11 percent (almost 40 people) of those tested in one afternoon were "100 percent libertarian," according to the survey results. Nearly 70 percent of those tested fell into the "Libertarian quadrant," Donner explained, and many have signed up requesting more information concerning the LP.

In addition, Libertarian Ernst Ghermann has regularly staffed a voter registration table, which registered 10 new Libertarians in a single afternoon recently.

The LP has been able to increase its visibility because continued on page 10



NEWS photo by Randy Langhenry

Libertarian Party members carry a banner down the steps of the Capitol in Washinton, DC, during the nation's largest anti-war rally to date.

UNDER ATTACK

LP Announces Bill of Rights Committee

BILL OF RIGHTS

In 1791, the final states ratified the first 10 amendments to the United States Constitution, known collectively as the Bill of Rights. It can be argued with little disagreement that these protections of individual liberties against government coercion are the single most important institutional reason the United States has maintained the level of personal liberties its citizens enjoy today.

LP Membership as of 2/12/91:

9,745

LP Goal for National Convention: 10,000

Yet as at times in the past, these basic protections are under attack by individuals and groups that place personal individual rights in a secondary position to values such as order, equality, central planning, or national interest.

This year will mark the 200th anniversary celebration of the Bill of Rights, and the Libertarian Party plans to be ac-

tive in that celebration.

From our particular perspective, WE BELIEVE IN ALL OF THE AMEND-MENTS. Unlike groups like the ACLU that look at the First, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Amendments as important, while ignoring the Second, Ninth, and 10th Amendments, the Libertarian Party's recently formed Bill of Rights Committee will be educating all Americans on the

importance of every amendment that protects individual liberty.

This year will provide the Libertarian Party with an excellent opportunity to make the American people aware of our views on the Bill of Rights, and on the LP's political alternatives to the Republicans and Democrats. As you probably know, the Phillip Morris corporation is transporting, for public viewing, copies of the original Bill of Rights to several hundred locations throughout the nation. The LP Bill of Rights Committee will enable the participation of local LP groups in this display. In addition, this year hundreds of local Fourth of July parades and fairs will feature the

200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights as a theme, and the Committee will encourage and assist local LP involvement. The Committee has drafted a special organization manual for local participation in the Phillip Morris corporation displays, as well as Fourth of July parades.

Finally, on Dec. 15, the Committee will be holding a special observance in front of the U.S. Supreme Court Building to mark the 200th anniversary celebration. We expect live C-Span television coverage for this exciting event that will feature speakers, music, and surprises.

The LP Bill of Rights Committee now has developed two different buttons, a bumper sticker, two flyers, and one "white paper" booklet on our project. The Com-

continued on page 10

The War: LP Stands on Its Principles

There are just wars and causes worth dying for. Ejecting Iraq from Kuwait is not one of them. What is worse than war is the loss of individual freedom and self-determination. I don't believe the Kuwaitis ever enjoyed either, and won't when this war is

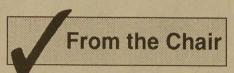
Support for this war is like the Platte River-a mile wide and an inch deep. The youths chanting "U.S.A., U.S.A." as if they are at an Olympic event have broken no speed records rushing to enlistment centers. Many of those "supporting the troops' look a little embarrassed at explaining "this war is necessary to defend freedom. As in all wars, there is great initial enthusiasm that it is going to be easy, that it can be safely conducted without much loss of life. Johnny Reb marched off thinking he could whip 10 Yankees; the English were afraid they'd be too late rushing off to France in 1914 because it would be over before they could cross the Channel. And, then, this war has a high-tech pretense that allows many to pretend that slaughter isn't happening.

If it becomes a long war (I'm writing this Jan. 29, when that is becoming a greater possibility), with mounting casualties, many more Americans will question why the U.S. ever got involved in the first place. We hope and pray that it doesn't drag out, even if we Libertarians get less mileage out of the situation. Being able to say told you so" pales in importance next to the blood and treasure that will be expended in a long war.

Where does the Libertarian Party stand? On the principles in our platform that you will find enumerated on page 6 of this issue. If it is in the platform, then that's where the party stands on any issue.

Saddam Hussein is an evil man; there is no denying that. So was Ho Chi Minh, whom we fought, much to the chagrin of some people who now tub-thump for this war. So were the Khymer Rouge, whom we

The rulers of China have killed a million Tibetans and repressed a fledgling democracy in their nation. George Bush toasts them. Hussein killed 20,000 Kurds with poison gas, but the Reagan administration killed Congress' attempt to pass sanctions in 1988. Instead, Hussein was given mili-



Dave Walter, LP National Chair

tary aid to help in his aggression against Iran. Many of our coalition allies have committed unspeakable crimes against human rights in recent times. Latvian and Lithuanian blood is still fresh on Gorby's hands! So this is a war against a particular criminal and not a holy crusade against the principle of aggression or for that heavily cliched ideal of "freedom."

The Iraqi gangster attacked a Kuwaiti rival over the issue of dividing up oil loot and resolving national boundaries artificially imposed on the Arab peoples by colonial imperialists. These Middle Eastern nations, save Israel, are so totalitarian that a libertarian political movement would not be permitted to exist in any one of them. That any American, let alone a libertarian, could justify the loss of one American life to keep certain of these governments in power is a sad commentary on the values held by the body politic.

President Bush and the bipartisan leadership of our government seem to believe that the U.S. should be the world's policeman. American young people, who join the military services to defend the U.S., are no more than mercenaries to be shifted around the globe wherever we choose to stop "aggression" or back a cause Washington wishes to promote. Those who believe in the policeman's role should at least acknowledge that the policeman should be doing nothing to aid and abet the criminals he must later face when their depredations against the citizenry can no longer be ignored. Saddam Hussein is a vicious criminal helped to power and succored by those who now expect Americans to die to stop him. The American "policeman" has made common cause with other criminal leaders. At the very least, if you accept the policeman's role, you must stop creating more crime.

Libertarians, of course, reject the policeman's role. We would do nothing to stop those who wish to volunteer for causes they deem just, nor would we stop those

who wish to boycott anyone who would strengthen the hand of tyranny. But we will not force our fellow citizens to support, or lay down their lives for, our cause

Wars will continue to erupt so long as there is no widespread acceptance of the moral code that says one person (or collection of persons styling themselves a "government") is prohibited from seizing rights or property earned by others. For all America's moral fervor, the vast majority of our congressmen fail this simple test. Wars will continue as long as Americans keep electing people who put the U.S. into situations where war becomes probable. where Americans are sent overseas to serve as tripwires to inflame the rest of us against aggressors.

It might be argued that America has a responsibility to stop Saddam Hussein because we did much to create him. This theory holds that it is our responsibility to stop the Frankenstein monsters we loose on the world. Yes, there are those who are responsible for loosing this monster on the world: let them fight him and pay for the cost. Let them, more importantly, resolve once and for all to stop creating such monsters!

If President Bush was so inclined, he could ensure that this is the last such monster created by America. He could adopt the libertarian principle of non-intervention. He could resolve to do his part to lead the world towards adopting methods that permit disagreements to be worked out without war, so that justice can be done short of violence. He could, irrespective of "linkage" concerns, resolve that the successful suppression of Saddam Hussein will lead to an international conference to attempt a just resolution of the festering Palestinian question. If this isn't accomplished, the Middle East will continue to be a tinderbox for decades to come.

Libertarians can be a moral force against this war and future wars. We must not let our voices be stilled because flag-waving patriotism is in vogue. Libertarians are patriotic; we love America! It's the politicians we hate.

One forceful voice was raised by Connie Willis in the last issue of LP NEWS: "A Mother Pleads for Her Son's Life." I've copied the article and sent it, with a letter, to George Bush, my senators and congressmen, and to various newspaper col-

Please do something similar to let the opinion leaders know that wars like this are **not** noble. Use the LP's new telephone service (1-900-4-LIBERTY) to send a letter for you, if you wish. Unless we take action to put our principles into practice, our platform is only words on paper.

Times like these challenge us to live up to those principles. Let us not falter in the cause of a free, prosperous, and peaceful America.

LP Victory in Texas Election

By Dianne Pilcher

In a stunning upset victory, Texas Libertarian Otis Walker has been seated as District Representative on the San Antonio River Authority.

The non-partisan 12-member board is comprised of six members from Bexar County (San Antonio) and two members each from three other counties containing the San Antonio River. Walker, elected in Goliad County, defeated two opponents including a former Goliad County auditor who had served as auditor for 17 years.

Walker, a recent member of the LP, is a retired rancher and gun shop owner in Goliad. Walker ran as a write-in candidate when the incumbent did not file for re-election.

Roger Gary, a long-time LP activist and Life Member, was also a candidate in this election, representing Bexar County. Although Gary was initially declared a winner by three votes over a 12-year incumbent, a recount showed a discrepancy of 10 votes and Gary's opponent was declared the winner. Further action may be taken concerning the vote totals, but regardless of the outcome, Gary's showing was significant and impressive.

The San Antonio River Authority has a yearly budget of approximately \$20 million and is concerned with issues of water quality, irrigation, flood control, recreation, erosion, and pollution.

NRA Outreach

The National Rifle Association's (NRA) national convention will be held in San Antonio, April 16-21. Texas LP activists, coordinated by Dianne Pilcher, are preparing to assure a visible LP presence at the meeting. Those of you who plan to attend can swell their ranks. Libertarians will wear "Stick to Your Guns - Vote Libertarian" buttons, and distribute specially prepared "sell the LP" literature. They may host a hospitality suite.

If you are going, remember that any life member of the NRA, and anyone who has been a member for the past five years, can vote on resolutions. Contact the Bexar County (San Antonio) LP if you want to know how to connect with the other Libertarian gun owners attending. The phone number is 512-737-0949.

If you won't be attending but want to contribute to this special outreach effort, send a check to the Texas Libertarian Party, P.O. Box 56426, Houston, TX 77256. Enclose a note specifying that it is for the NRA convention out-

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

Karl Hess Editor Emeritus

Editor Randy Langhenry Staff Artist Mary Kelley Crawford

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Tax Day Protests

April 15 is approaching fast. To get literature and suggestions for mounting tax day protests, LP affiliates and groups may contact the LP national headquarters at 202-543-1988.

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Wheaton, MD 20906; 301/460-4141 Doris Gordon, National Coordinator

Hatfield Honored by LP

In early January, Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon) was presented the "Defender of Peace" award by the Libertarian Party for "courage in the face of legislative battle." The award was in recognition of his efforts during congressional debates to keep the United States out of war in the Persian Gulf.

Hatfield was perhaps the most forceful speaker in opposition to war, and the only senator to oppose both resolutions offered, one to continue economic sanctions and one to authorize President Bush to use force in the Persian Gulf. While the media and most congressmen saw the choice as "either-or," both Hatfield and the Libertarian Party saw either choice as authorizing an undesirable U.S. presence in the region.

"Sen. Hatfield stood alone in the Senate debate as a true advocate of peace," LP Chair Dave Walter said. "We did not want his courage to go unnoticed. We only hope that the wisdom of his arguments will not have to be proven by thousands of Americans coming home from Saudi Arabia in body bags."

Hatfield objected to the Pentagon calling body bags "human remains pouches," and accused the Pentagon of trying to "give us the impression that war will come in a tidy little package"

in a tidy little package."

"If we are this divided now, think about how divided we will be when the shooting starts and when our young people start coming home in those 'human remains pouches' that aren't so neat and tidy after all," Hatfield added.

GA Meeting to Highlight Candidates and Top Issues

By John Taylor Chairman, LP of Georgia

This country is at a critical crossroads in its history. While simultaneously trying to fight a War on Drugs, a War on AIDS, a War in the Persian Gulf, and a War on the Deficit, the politicians are getting more than a little stretched. Today is the day the libertarian solutions must be brought to the forefront of the discussion. Our next presidential candidate will be the standard-bearer for the LP in addressing the multiple crises the failed Democratic and Republican policies of the past have created. The LP cannot afford to go unheard. We cannot afford to step to the line with anything less than our best.

To that end, the LP of Georgia is sponsoring a convention entitled "Campaign" 91" on Saturday, April 27, in Atlanta. The convention will be held at the Colony Square Hotel, one of the premier properties in midtown Atlanta. (This convention will be held in conjuction with a scheduled NatCom meeting at the same location.)

All announced candidates for the presidential nomination, as well as those whose names have been discussed as possible candidates, will speak at the convention. Dick Boddie and Andre Marrou will address the convention and respond to questions in a morning forum. Later in the day, Dr. Mark Skousen, Dr. Walter Williams, and Gene Burns will deliver addresses and also take questions from those in attendance.

Also speaking at the convention will be J. Warren Cassidy, former executive vice president of the National Rifle Association. He will speak to the assault we can expect on our gun rights in particular, and to our civil liberties in general. Bill Shipp, widely regarded as the most respected syndicated political columnist in Georgia, will discuss what he foresees on the political horizon over the next decade.

Perhaps the most entertaining segment

1-900-4-LIBERTY

The Libertarian Party's telephone line which allows you to send a message to your senators stating opposition to the war.

\$2 per minute.

of the convention will be a debate over the drug war. Participants opposing the drug war include James Ostrowski, practicing attorney and policy analyst with the Cato Institute, and Kevin Zeese, vice president and counsel for the Drug Policy Foundation. The team in favor of continuing the war on drugs includes Robert L. Barr Jr., former U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia and rumored to be a future U.S. Senate candidate, and Matt Towery, the 1990 Republican candidate for Georgia lieutenant governor.

lieutenant governor.

UNIGLOBE VIP Travel, Inc. has negotiated special discounts on Delta Air Lines for those who will be attending the convention from out of state. As an attendee, you will qualify for a 5 percent discount off Delta's published excursion fares or a 40 percent discount off Delta's round trip day coach fares. These discounts are available exclusively from UNIGLOBE VIP Travel, Inc., Monday-Friday, 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., at 800-359-0079. Identify yourself as a Libertarian convention attendee and UNIGLOBE will make both your airline and hotel reservations. The special room rate at the Colony Square is \$75/night.

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CAMPAIGN '91

Presidential Candidates Forum

Atlanta, Georgia April 27, 1991

All announced (and discussed) presidential candidates will meet in Atlanta. Be there to raise the issues and form your own opinion. This may be the only time all potential candidates are together. Do not miss this important opportunity.

Schedule of Events

April 26th

7:00pm Welcome Reception - The Colony Square Hotel

April 27th

11:00am Presidential Candidates Forum with Dick Boddie & Andre Marrou 12:15pm Luncheon - J. Warren Cassidy; EVP-National Rifle Association,

"Alive or Dead in the 21st Century"

1:30pm Dr. Mark Skousen; Editor, Forecasts & Strategies

"Please, No More Political Labels"

2:45pm Bill Shipp Syndicated Political Columnist

4:00pm DEBATE - "Stop the Drug War!"

PRO < James Ostrowski, Cato Institute Kevin Zeese, Drug Policy Foundation

Bob Barr, former U.S. District Attorney

CON < Matt Towery, '90 Republican Candidate for Lt. Gov. of Ga.

5:30pm Cocktail Party

6:30pm Dinner - Dr. Walter E. Williams; Professor of Economics at

George Mason University, "Liberty and Libertarians"

7:30pm **Keynote Address** - Gene Burns; WRKO Radio in Boston, Mass. "The Nature and Role of Government: Why the Statists Are in Chaos"

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING

The regularly scheduled meeting of NatCom will be held concurrent to this meeting. Agenda items include the 1991 Platform and Campaign.

CAMPAIGN '91

INFORMATION 800-221-0265

REGISTER NOW Seating Is Limited		r To 5/91	After 3/14/91	
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Drug Debate thru Banquet	- \$5	50.	\$65.	
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'The FREEDOM Alternative' on CT PATV

A number of LP affiliates are producing public access television shows. Here is the story of the Connecticut experience.

By Jim Davies

The Libertarian movement has been starved, in my opinion, for lack of access to the media. For several years, however, one kind of "air" time has been ours for the asking - public access television (PATV). We can blame only ourselves if we don't

As soon as we succeed in abolishing the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), it will be available no longer. But then, at that time, we shall not need it

nearly as much.
When regulating the cable television industry a few years ago, the FCC laid down that local governments would grant franchises to cable broadcast companies, but that they must provide "public access' without charge and with very liberal rules, to any person or organization that re-

A Faustian deal, certainly; the cable folks are forced to provide free time on one of their channels, but in return are given a monopoly in their area-or at least are made one of a very small and fixed number of competitors. Sure, it stinks. But, as a well-known newscaster used to say, "That's

Yours for the Asking

Far later than I should have, last fall, I discovered this gold mine. All you have to do is to tape a program (usually half-inch VHS is acceptable), and take it to your local, friendly cable station. Result: Your neighborhood gets to hear more about the freedom philosophy in a half hour than they ever heard or saw in their lives.

There are nearly 6,000 cable systems nationwide. Connecticut has 21 systems, serving a population of 3 million. Last November, LPCer Peter Verderosa and I started making weekly tapes of news and comment from a libertarian perspective, and we contracted with Comcast in Danbury for 13 weeks. Recently I extended it for another 13 weeks. We have a prime time half hour every Thursday.

What has happened to date is that with the help and sponsorship of other LPCers (and one Republican sympathizer) we are now broadcasting over seven cable networks every week-about one-third of the whole state of Connecticut-or close to



800,000 potential viewers weekly.

"The FREEDOM Alternative"

That's the name of our program. The "Lword" is used sparingly. We try to deal with a different topic every week (Social "Security", schooling, drug prohibition, war, etc.) and show how very much better off everyone would be, in that context, if government were absent.

The technique is to do an in-depth interview of a Connecticut LPer who is knowledgeable in the subject. Though our movement is small in number, we score very heavily there: We really have very high quality people. Between us, we have a vast store of expertise.

Each interview is preceded by five or 10 minutes of comment on what's happening, from a viewpoint that people have never heard before. I hope to cause a local epidemic of cognitive dissonance.

Occasionally we do a live panel show with call-in, and again the cable station is most helpful; providing cameras, studio, and crew, all at very low cost. I shall always remember with satisfaction that, 70 minutes after George Bush first started bombing Baghdad, I was broadcasting live a denunciation of the Gulf War as 100 percent unconstitutional, utterly pointless, and desperately dangerous. Timing like that cannot, of course, be planned.

Our particular style and emphasis owes much to David Friedman and Jorge Amador, though neither of them know it yet. The content of each program is uncompromisingly anarcho-capitalist (though that's a term we have not yet used) and tries to stress the practical advantage to each viewer of abolishing government altogether, rather than just either tinkering with its rate of growth or deploring its immorality.

What's Needed

Any LPer, anywhere, has the same op-

Contractually, the producer has to sign a release promising not to broadcast naughty words or naked ladies, so it's best done by an individual rather than by the state LP itself. The program must not support named election candidates, but that's no problem if you just stick to phi-

The equipment needed is, at minimum, a VHS camcorder with flying erase head (for seamless edits), plus video and audio dubbing facilities (for overlaying video or sound). Otherwise, a makeshift studio, a tripod, and a VCR are all you'll need. Most LPs will have several members with such equipment already; even bought new,

The one high cost of using PATV is time; it takes about 30 minutes of work to produce one minute of final program. So count on using your weekends in promoting liberty. I had zero TV production experience before last November. As well as being well worthwhile, every minute of it has been a bunch of fun.

portunity we have. The more "local" the production, the easier it is to get a good time slot. The style and emphasis placed will be entirely in the hands of the local producer.

losophy and news.

\$1,000 would take care of it

"Good As Gold"

The national Libertarian Party has announced the three latest winners in the "Good As Gold" promotion.

Dieter Dahrmann of LaFayette, CA, Katherine Conley of Rutherfordton, NC, and Bronwyn Richardson of Issaquah, WA, each received a one-tenth ounce gold coin.

The "Good As Gold" letters were sent to individuals who were instant members, but hadn't subscribed to the NEWS, lapsed members, and people who had sent contributions for the LP census project, but didn't join the party.

Although those who received the promotion letter were encouraged to either join the party or subscribe to the NEWS, they simply had to return a form to enter the promotion.

Another "Good As Gold" promotion is planned for the near future, with more gold coins being offered.

Television Effective Recruiting Tool

By Tom Mason

Television can be an effective tool in recruiting new party members, an experiment by the Kansas LP has shown.

Although a shortage of funds and a focus on petitioning for ballot access precluded participation on the Kansas ballot in 1990, the effort to make the Kansas LP grow was powerful. One generous Kansas City Libertarian wanted to fund an experiment to recruit new Libertarian Party members by the use of television com-

The experiment was limited in funding, so it focused on building a party structure where we were weak. In Shawnee County, where the state capital of Topeka is located, there were only 12 registered Libertarian voters in January, 1990. By Aug. 1, this number had increased to 16. Topeka's population is approximately 120,000, with the number of cable television hookups only a portion

The production of the ads was handled by libertarian activist Mark Syverson, whose video production company helped keep the ad costs within a very modest budget. All ads were targeted by running them on the Cable News Network (CNN) at a variety of times between Oct. 4 and Nov. 6.

Only one ad was produced, focusing on a brief statement of the Libertarian Party's position as the only principled political party consistently seeking freedom and fighting big government. The 30-second ad was run 30 times.

Between Aug. 1 and Nov. 1, Shawnee County's LP registration grew at a spectacular rate. There were 146 Libertarian voters registered after the election. Shawnee County now has the highest percentage of voters registered as Libertarian in the entire state.

There is no way of knowing if some other factor may have played a role in increasing Libertarian voter registration, but at the same time as the ads were running, there was absolutely no other LP activity in this area. There were no LP candidates on the ballot, and there was no petitioning for ballot access in Topeka. In fact, the only visibility for the LP occurred through the TV ads. Ironically, the ads did not appeal to the voters to register to vote as Libertarians, but the Topeka voters did so any-

way.
The Kansas LP is following up on this success by contacting each of these new Libertarians with LP program and membership material.

The results of the ad showed that each new registered Libertarian was reached for the very reasonable cost of

In other states which allow Libertarian voter registration, this is a tool which could be valuable in recruiting new party members and activists.

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Marrou and Boddie Discuss Issues for 1992

This month the NEWS asked the Boddie and Marrou campaigns to look into the future and discuss those issues which they thought they would stress in the 1992 presidential campaign, if they are chosen to represent the Libertarian Party. Each campaign was asked to limit their responses to about 1,000 words.

Libertarian Breakthrough in '92

By Andre Marrou

What will be the major political is-

Consider a few possibilities. The Iraq War. The Environment. Welfare. Health Care. Federal Deficit. The Economy. The Savings and Loan Crisis. Term Limitation. A Fully Informed Jury Amendment. Abortion. Drugs.

What will be the major issues in the Marrou for President Campaign?

As Thomas Pynchon wrote in "Gravity's Rainbow," "If they can get you asking the wrong questions, they don't have to worry about the answers.

And those are the wrong questions.

Issues can be endorsed and embraced by anyone. Themes can be subverted and diverted. Positions can be co-opted and corrupted. Programs can be diluted and prostituted.

The right questions are these: What really distinguishes Libertarians rom Democrats and Republicans? What's the basic difference between

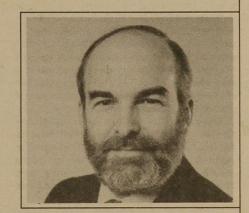
our politics and theirs? We Libertarians are committed to one fundamental principle: each person's life is his/her own. Each person has an inalienable right to his/her own life, liberty, and property. As a consequence, all human dealings must be voluntary. Force and fraud are

What's the difference between Libertarian politics and the Statist Quo? It is not just a matter of rhetoric and promises. It is a matter of deeds and direction. Libertarians would move us toward more individual liberty and less government. The Democrats and Republicans move us toward less individual liberty and more government.

Our message will be the direction America should go. Do we want higher taxes or lower taxes? Do we want more government control over our choices or less government control? Do we want to move in the direction of less individual freedom or more individual

We will put the Democrat and Republican politicians to the true test of their beliefs and values. We will examine their deeds, not just their words.

Where are their tax cuts? Where is their Balanced Budget Amendment? When was the last time they submitted a balanced budget for a vote? Where is their bill requiring hard money? What did they de-regulate this month? Which laws have they repealed this term? Which subsidies have they abolished this month? Which government programs have they eliminated this year? How many federal jobs have they eliminated? How many bureaucrats



have they terminated? The federal budget this year is larger than last year: did they vote for it or against it?

Let's get personal: where's the Republican-backed Constitutional Amendment limiting terms of representatives and senators? Or one limiting the terms of federal judges?

Are these politicians voting for more government or less? That is the touchstone. Are they moving us toward more government or more liberty

As an elected Libertarian Alaska state legislator serving from 1985 through 1987, I can put my record to the test. I voted against every new tax. Against every tax increase. I was part of the successful initiative to abolish the Alaska state income tax. I cosponsored and spearheaded the Alaska initiative which successfully de-regulated transportation services. I voted against every increase in the size and power of the government. My vote was always on the side of more individual liberty and less government. My deeds speak out for liberty.

What do we want the 21st Century to hold for America: more individual freedom or more government? More personal choice or more government regulation and regimentation? More self-responsibility or more government

When I deal with specific issues during the Marrou for President Campaign, I will tie my answers to the basic libertarian principle of individual liberty and self-responsibility. Then I will put the basic question to America: do you want more liberty or more government? It is one or the other. Liberty dies as government grows. And government withers where liberty flourishes. Which do you want: more government or more individual liberty

If you support more individual liberty, act on your beliefs and values. Vote for liberty. Vote Libertarian.

For more information, write the Marrou for President Campaign, 4750 E. Sahara, Las Vegas, NV 89104; or call 702-431-3848.

Carpe Diem (Seize the Day!)

By Richard Benjamin Boddie, Esq.

(CAVEAT: The following sentence is the most important idea in the following article.

THE CANDIDATE FOR U.S. PRESIDENT FROM THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY WILL PROBABLY NOT BE ELECTED TO THE WHITE HOUSE BY THE AMERICAN VOTERS ON NOV. 3, 1992.

(This is obvious to most, but it is significant enough that before proceeding, perhaps you might take a few seconds to reread the previous sentence. Reflect on the statement from the perspective of the LP today, our mission, goals, objectives, stategies, tasks, etc.)

If we are in agreement as to the initial premise, then the sole issue regarding the LP candidate for president is: Who can attract the most people to join the LP at the least cost?

If we disagree about the initial statement, then you probably have information to which most of us are not privy, or you suffer from understandable "wishful thinking," or, God forbid, you have been involved in LP activities with the mistaken belief that you are involved in a traditional (R & D Parties) type political movement.

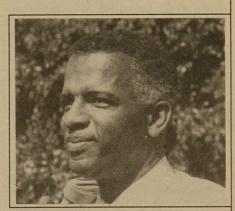
There are 173,341 voting precincts in this country. Until we have at least one Libertarian per precinct, our chances of winning the presidency are not great, to say the least.

It is the fundamental mission of the Boddie for President Campaign to strive to do just that - 173,341 libertarians. Also to get more members in the LP, and to have an impact in making "libertarian" a household word are equally as important in 1992, and perhaps 1996, too. Realistically, the first and most important goal of the LP should be - to get more members.

We are the "neo-Abolitionist" Party of the 21st Century, and I humbly see myself in the Frederick Douglass role in our movement.

There are many historical parallels. They sought to abolish slavery, while we seek to reduce the coercive, multinational, military industrial welfarewarfare, collectivist state.

The Boddie for President Nomination Committee, which includes David Bergland as honorary chairman, Jack Dean as advisor, and Jeffrey E. Jared (1990 Washington State House Candidate who received 29 percent) as campaign manager, among other Libertarian activists, believes it is crucial to the future survival and effectiveness of the LP to attract: "The Left" and Advantaged Idealists (most important); Christians; African-Americans (aka Aframericans, black, etc.) and other



"minority" groups; The Politically Homeless (wrongfully called "apathetic"); Republicans who are uncomfortable with a party that includes David Duke, Jesse Helms, and George Herbert Hoover Bush; Democrats who have at least read an economics book (hopefully free market); Populists who understand the Second Amendment and gold, and; Constitutionalists who understand jury nullification and the Bill of Rights, among other things.

As a communicator, teacher, facilitator, and mediator with media expertise, I can attract, and perhaps influence, a great number to join us in our moral quest for individual rights, self government, and private property order.

Our priorities are: First, Taxation. Taxes are the #1 problem in the eyes of most Americans likely to vote Libertarian at the present time. In opposing taxes the Boddie Campaign will not sound like a conservative pundit nor a supply-sider. But taxes are much more than an economic issue. Taxation is a profound moral issue; it strikes at the core of what libertarianism and the LP are all about. Taxation is theft!

Second, Civil Liberties and the Bill

The 200th year of the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, guaranteeing certain rights to all individuals, is 1991. We will emphasize all aspects of these rights, and their near demise, throughout the campaign.

Civil Liberties is a broad set of concerns vital to libertarianism. In 1992, the Boddie Campaign will focus on some of the following major civil liberties issues, showing how they are interlinked in many causes: war on drugs (citizens); draft registration; gun control; privacy and secrecy; jury nulli-

Third, Foreign and Military Policy. We have a great opportunity to capture the peace issue (if we can sneak some free market economic books, tapes, or videos into the "lefty" envi-

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The Night of Jan. 16

One View: On Coming of Age as a Peacenik

By John Vernon

"John, I'm calling to let you know that you did something I didn't approve of, said a voice on my answering machine. It was the night of Jan. 16, the day American bombs began dropping on Iraq.

It was also the day that I performed my first act of civil disobedience, with the deliberate intention of getting arrested. That day, I was one of 76 men and 76 women who were arrested at the Federal Building in downtown Los Angeles, attempting to bring business-as-usual to a



LP member Rebecca Donner meets with Vietnam veteran and author Ron Kovic at a December peace rally in Los Angeles.

halt in government offices, trying to prevent the inception of a shooting war between America and Iraq.

It was a day of joy and fervor, and a day of great sadness, for the bombing began as we sat, detained, in holding cells in the basement of that government building.

When I finally spoke with the gentleman caller, it turned out that he had seen me in a television interview, given at the demonstration before the bombing began, and, that he disagreed with my publicly announced opposition to American intervention in the Middle East. The caller had been a volunteer in the Ron Paul presidential campaign, and had also assisted in my campaign for Congress in 1988. I explained that the Libertarian Party has always maintained a foreign policy of noninterventionism, and that there was no unique reason in this instance to deviate from that policy. I also informed him that Ron Paul was one of the most consistently non-interventionist members of Congress, facts of which he seemed unaware

He politely told me that we should bomb Saddam Hussein into oblivion, and that we should then go after the Soviet Union and a bunch of other countries. My caller was at least consistent in his interventionism. "Sounds like a good way to launch a nuclear war," I responded.

He went on to say that "we" should fight the Russians, and that "we" should air-lift weapons to the people of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia to help them secure their independence. I tried to find out who this "we" is that should be doing the fighting. Since he didn't make that clear, I explained that the Libertarian principle allows all people to defend their life, liberty, and property. It also allows individuals to assist others in their struggle for freedom. But that principle does not allow "us" to enslave others to do our fighting, nor does it allow "us" to seize the money of others to

buy arms and ammunition.

I asked him if he intended to go do this fighting against the Soviet Union. He told me that he is a pilot, a skill which he and I have in common, and that he could easily learn to fly a military aircraft, but that he has a medical condition which requires that he eat regular meals, which would prevent his engaging in combat. I restrained myself from asking if the fact of his medical condition conferred on him rights not held by others—a right to enslave the lives and commandeer the property of

others for his noble purpose.

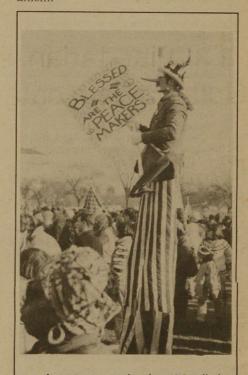
Like the bravery of those who are daring with other men's lives, and the generosity and compassion of those who are lavish with other people's money, my caller's patriotism must be called into

So it appears to me that the principle of American non-intervention in the affairs of other nations is as essential to libertarianism as any other element of the Libertarian Party platform. It is distressing to hear some libertarians imply-or loudly proclaim—that this current conflict is a 'good war," one in which the United States must justly participate.

If one takes the attitude, "My country, right or wrong," then there is hardly a war which will not be justified. But America has not been attacked, nor is there any interest in the present conflict which applies to all-or even most-Americans. What should be clear from the facts is that George Bush has wanted war since before Aug. 2, 1990. Hussein was his patsy, misled into believing that the United States would not oppose his invasion of Kuwait. From that moment, George Bush pushed for an "international" (read "American") rather than an Arab solution to the invasion.

Our president would lead us to believe that Saddam, who, even with our assistance, could not defeat Iran, is the Hitler of the '90s, and that he, whom we formerly aided, is a threat to "the American way of life." The entire drama is a chapter out of the Iron Mountain Report.

The world is now in the grip of two madmen, and one of them is ours. One appears to be entirely out of our reach. The other, our American president, may be more accessible. Now, more than ever, it is essential that Libertarians maintain their positions and their principles, and demand that the United States initiate an immediate cease-fire, and sue for peace. What's at risk here, for us, is the soul of libertari-



A protester at the Jan. 26 rally in Washington, DC.

According to the Libertarian Party Platform . . .

The following excerpts from the Platform of the Libertarian Party relate to U.S. involvement in the war in the Persian Gulf and the Libertarian Party's view of

Foreign Affairs

American foreign policy should seek an America at peace with the world and the defense-against attack from abroad—of the lives, liberty, and property of the American people on American soil. Provision of such defense must respect the individual rights of people everywhere.

The principle of non-intervention should guide relationships between governments. The United States government should return to the historic libertarian tradition of avoiding entangling alliances, abstaining totally from foreign quarrels and imperialist adventures, and recognizing the right to unrestricted trade, travel, and immigration.

Diplomatic Policy

1. Negotiations

The important principle in foreign policy should be the elimination of intervention by the United States government in the affairs of other nations. We would nego

tiate with any foreign government with-out necessarily conceding moral legitimacy to that government.

2. International Travel and Foreign Investments

We recognize that foreign governments might violate the rights of Americans traveling, living, or owning property abroad, just as those governments vio late the rights of their own citizens. We condemn all such violations, whether the victims are U.S. citizens or not

Any effort, however, to extend the protection of the United States government to U.S. citizens when they or their property fall within the jurisdiction of a foreign government involves potential military intervention. We therefore call upon the United States government to adhere rigidly to the principle that all U.S. citizens travel, live, and own property abroad at their own risk.

3. Human Rights

We condemn the violations of human rights in all nations around the world.

The violation of rights and liberty by other governments can never justify foreign intervention by the United States government. Today, no government is innocent of violating human rights and liberty, and none can approach the issue with clean hands. In keeping with our goal of peaceful international relations we call upon the United States govern ment to cease its hypocrisy and its sully-ing of the good name of human rights. Only private individuals and organizations have any place speaking out on this

4. World Government

We support withdrawal of the United States government from, and an end to its financial support for, the United Nations. We oppose U.S. government participation in any world or international

Military

 Military Policy
 Any U.S. military policy should have the objective of providing security for the lives, liberty and property of the American people in the U.S. against the risk of attack by a foreign power.

2. Presidential War Powers

We call for the reform of the Presidential War Powers Act to end the President's power to initiate military action, and for the abrogation of all Presidential declarations of "states of emergency." There must be no further secret commitments and unilateral acts of military intervention by the Executive Branch

We favor a Constitutional amendment limiting the presidential role as Commander-in-Chief to its original meaning, namely that of the head of the armed forces in wartime. The Commander-in-Chief role, correctly understood, confers no additional authority on the President.

International Relations

3. The Middle East

We call upon the United States government to cease all interventions in the Middle East, including military and economic aid, guarantees, and diplomatic meddling, and to cease limitation of private foreign aid, both military and economic. Voluntary cooperation with any economic boycott should not be treated

We oppose the incorporation of the Persian Gulf and the countries surrounding it into the U.S. defense perimeter. We oppose creation of new U.S. bases and sites for the pre-positioning of military material in the Middle East region. We condemn the stationing of American military troops in the Sinai peninsula as a trip-wire that could easily set off a new world war



Why We Should Oppose Bush's Gulf War

By Sheldon L. Richman

"America goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own.

- John Quincy Adams

By libertarian standards, George Bush's Gulf War is a catastrophe. Here's why:

The first reason is formal; that is, it applies apart from the particulars of the conflict. Libertarians seek to limit government power and so they oppose its concentration. The U.S. initiation of war against Iraq was an unmistakable case of one unchecked man pushing a nation into war. But there was a congressional debate and vote, someone might reply. Really? Let's quickly recap the events.

On Aug. 2 Iraq's forces invaded Kuwait. Two days later Bush ordered a massive deployment of troops to Saudi Arabia, ostensibly to deter an Iraqi attack on the kingdom. He also put in place a unilateral blockade of Iraq to keep ships carrying any kind of goods from entering or leaving the country's ports. Meanwhile, Bush started assembling (more precisely, buying at taxpayer expense) a coalition at the United Nations to give the American actions a multinational look

The sending of troops to a potential war zone and the blockade of another country, which is an act of war under international law, were undertaken by the president without the authorization of Congress. That the U.S. Constitution says only Congress can declare war was of no conse-

In early November, after the election, Bush made another unilateral move: he announced he would double the deployment to give himself an "offensive option. He also began pressuring members of the UN Security Council to approve a resolution authorizing the use of military force to get Iraq out of Kuwait. Again, no congressional permission was sought. In fact, administration spokesmen, such as Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, specifically said they did not need Congress's authorization. When congressional leaders spoke of the need for a public debate, the administration discouraged it. The president would favor a debate, it was said, if it was quick. undivisive, and in the end favorable to his position. Otherwise, forget it. In press conferences, Bush boasted that he had consulted with Congress more than any president had ever done in a military matter. But the Constitution does not command the president to consult with the Congress. It says he may not go to war without a declaration from Congress. All the consultation in the world is irrelevant.

Finally, just before the Security Council's Jan. 15 deadline for the use of force, the House and Senate debated Bush's

request for a resolution allowing him to use "all means necessary" to remove Iraq from Kuwait. This was hardly what the framers of the Constitution envisioned when they granted war powers to the Congress. How could we expect an open and uninhibited debate AFTER the president had already taken the country to the brink of war by interdicting ships, committing troops, and issuing an ultimatum? Instead of a debate over whether to go to war, it turned out to be a debate between two forms of warfare: blockade and bombing. In the Senate only Republican Mark Hatfield denounced war against Iraq in principle and voted against both

If for no other reason, libertarians should oppose this war because it is an unconstiwas powerless to harm the American economy. Even in the worst scenario, including an Iraqi conquest of the Saudi and United Arab Emirates oil fields, Saddam's power to control the price of oil would cost us no more than one half of one percent of U.S. GNP, about 17 cents a gallon, much less than Operation Desert Storm is costing. (There is talk of a war tax. As Thomas Paine wrote, taxes are not raised to carry on wars; wars are raised to carry on taxes.) It was Bush's blockade and war threat that forced up the price of OPEC in July. According to defense analyst Earl Ravenal, the military resources devoted to protecting Middle East oil adds a minimum (and invisible) \$180 to the price of a barrel of Middle East oil. Oil is

oil higher that what Saddam sought from

But for the first time, a president hasn't even felt it necessary to cook up a provocation. He initiated a war from a standing start because that is what he wanted to do.

tutional exercise by the president. The division of powers was written into the Constitution because of libertarian concerns about unchecked state action. Presidents, of course, have gotten us into wars without congressional consent before. But for the first time, a president hasn't even felt it necessary to cook up a provocation. He initiated a war from a standing start because that is what he wanted to do.

Suspicious Plethora of Rationalizations

This is not to say that President Bush has not offered reasons for fighting Iraq. He has offered a suspicious plethora of reasons: aggression against an innocent state, oil and American prosperity, stability in the Middle East, a future nuclear threat, protecting American citizens taken hostage, and others. They were clearly fig

For example, Saddam Hussein had taken no hostages until American troops began arriving in Saudi Arabia and the blockade was put in place. Besides, he released them before Christmas.

Regarding oil, free-market economist David Henderson has shown that Saddam

largely useless to Saddam Hussein unless he sells it, and there is a clear limit on how high he can force up the price before oil consumers make permanent adjustments to lower their demand. Advocates of the free market should have no trouble understanding this.

As for defending Kuwait from aggression, this should strike libertarians as strange. Should we go to war to put a feudal monarchy, which Bush calls the "legitimate government of Kuwait," back on its throne? His pronouncements have the ring of Orwell's "1984." We are protecting freedom in the Persian Gulf, he says. We are fighting to free Kuwait. When was it ever free? Secretary of State James Baker told the troops in the desert that Americans are at home wherever their principles

As syndicated columnist Joseph Sobran wrote, none of Saddam Hussein's aggressions against the Iraqis offended George Bush. What offended him was the attack on another GOVERNMENT. Libertarians should not condone Saddam's invasion of Kuwait, regardless of the merits of Iraq's historical or current grievances. But the libertarian objection to state intervention against another state is not that the state system and its current boundaries are sacrosanct. It is, rather, that when states venture beyond their jurisdictions, they accumulate intolerable power and clash with other states, inevitably killing innocents in the ensuing eruptions. Thus, we must oppose American intervention even when there is a prior intervention.

Nothing undermines international law like hypocrisy. Bush's vow to resist aggression and usher in a New World Order looks hollow considering that several of the coalition members are themselves guilty of aggression against others: for example, the Soviet Union, China, Turkey, Syria, Israel (not a formal member, but an advocate of war). And let us not forget the American interventions in Grenada and Panama. Bush's insistence that the Security Council resolutions be obeyed also is risible in light of the hundred or so resolutions against Israel's continuing (and U.S.-supported) occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and southern Lebanon, with its attendant violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention regarding the treatment of civilians in occupied territories. What has the United States done to enforce those resolutions?

What about the future nuclear threat from Saddam Hussein? He certainly seemed to be pursing a nuclear-development program. But the United States knew about this long ago, when he was a trusted ally being supported in his war against Iran (more on this). Bush didn't begin talking about this until Thanksgiving, after a New York Times poll showed that this was the one justification a majority of Americans found reasonable for countering Iraq. Bush's argument suggests its own replies: Why haven't other countries' nuclear weapons justified war? If deterrence worked in those cases, why not with Saddam? Bush has other problems on this score. In January, the United States promoted an international conference in Paris regarding chemical weapons. The Arab countries all attended and suggested that it be broadened to include nuclear weapons. Their reason was obvious: Israel has had nuclear weapons since the 1960s and is known to possess 100-200 warheads. The Bush administration opposed the Arab suggestion, and the conference accomplished nothing. In April, Saddam called for ridding the Middle East of all weapons

continued on page 8



Director's Mailbox

Why We Must Take a Stand

By Nick Dunbar LP National Director

I have received many inquiries into the LP's position on the war with Iraq. Several have objected to Connie Willis' article in the February LPNEWS, "A Mother Pleads for Her Son's Life," calling it "isolationist." I've since reread the article and I don't see anything resembling isolationism in it.

Most of the inquiries agreed that we shouldn't have sent troops in the first place, that we shouldn't have supported Saddam Hussein with subsidized grain, etc., for the past several years . . . but now that fighting has started, they say, we must support our troops. The LP has always supported the troops, and we continue to support the troops. What we do not support is the foreign policy that created this Iraqi monster. I fail to understand how a bad idea becomes a good idea now that it has escalated. I fail to understand how the Republican position of arming and supporting foreign dictators with billions in U.S. taxpayer dollars can be interpreted as "supporting the troops."

We armed and supported the Shah of Iran. When that turned sour, we sent aid to Hussein of Iraq. Now that that has turned sour, our response is to arm, support, and defend with American blood the royal families of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia,

with Syria as one of our unsavory allies. When will it end?

Our track record has been similar in other parts of the world—sending aid to Nicaragua, Panama, the Philippines, even the U.S.S.R. Supporting dictators has never and will never be in the best interest of a free people. Why does it continue?

Is the goal of our war against the Iraqis to defend a free people and remove a tyrant? I fear not. I fear that the goal is to set up an even bigger tyrant, with George Bush leading a "New World Order." A new world order that, at this point, looks as bloody and tyrannical as any of the old "world only bigger. It certainly is not about defending America.

To quote briefly from Connie Willis' article, "I am not a Pacifist. My son is not My son is ready to defend his country. He placed his life in trust to that end, but the trust was broken.

There are many good reasons to despise, and perhaps even to fight Saddam Hussein. But there is no good reason to support this war while it is part of our government's continued pursuit of a self-defeating foreign

The Libertarian Party calls for an immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Persian Gulf. It is not a position taken lightly. It is not a position taken in disregard of the consequences. It is part of our overall policy calling for an end to the

subsidy of foreign dictators.

Most agree that our long-term goals are good, but then assert that now is not the time. I ask: when? When is a good time to stop supporting dictators? I can only answer that now is the time.

"We must finish what we started," they say. Yet, I can see no reason to carry a bad idea through to a conclusion.

We can never finish making the world safe and free while we continue to build up the strength of tyrants, creating new enemies as fast as we can knock down the old

While an immediate withdrawal may seem to imply some short-term setbacks, if it is part of a fundamental change in U.S. foreign policy, the long-term effects will be beneficial to the entire world. It is not necessary to continually fight foreign wars. It is not even necessary to impose economic blockades. The one thing that is absolutely necessary is to withdraw our support, to stop the subsidies.

Hussein's Baath movement, so-called "Arab Socialism," will fall the same way the socialist governments of Eastern Europe are falling: from the economic and moral bankruptcy of socialism.

Voluntary boycotts and the educational efforts of voluntary organizations will help speed the decline of socialism. The current policies of the welfare-warfare state only serve to perpetuate the suffering.



1-900-4-LIBERTY

That's the number you can call if you wish to hear the Libertarian Party's recorded message stating opposition to the U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf. If the caller leaves his or her name and address, the same message will be delivered, in the caller's name, to their congressman. The LP will also send each caller who requests one a "Bring U.S. Troops Home" bumpersticker.

The call costs only \$2 per minute, and national director Nick Dunbar said each call should take only about three minutes to complete. The telephone number will be in operation as

Richman: Why Libertarians Should Oppose the War

of mass destruction. Israel gave him the cold shoulder. He renewed this call during the tense months between August and January. The Bush policy, stripped of its moralism, comes down to a defense of Israel's nuclear monopoly.

The Real Reason

So why did George Bush go to war? Oil company profits? That is part of the story, but only one part. Since World War II the U.S. policy elite has made it a priority to keep the Middle East under the control of friendly forces. Iran and Israel were to be the major gendarmeries keeping order in the region. The policy blew up in 1979 when the Shah was driven from power by Islamic fundamentalists. After Iraq invaded Iran in 1980, following mutual provocation, the Reagan administration became a backer of Saddam Hussein. providing intelligence on Iranian troop movements and billions of dollars in loan guarantees and food credits, some of which were used to acquire military trucks. (We taxpayers are currently paying off \$2 billion in defaulted Iraqi loans.) The U.S. government also encouraged the Europeans to lend Saddam money to fuel his war machine. American foreign aid to Iraq continued almost up to the time of the invasion of Kuwait. When the Iran-Iraq war ended in 1988, Saddam had a formidable army and chemical weapons, but also big debts to Kuwait and other countries. One thing he didn't have was money in New York or British banks or strings to Standard Oil and other big American oil interests, unlike Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. So when Saddam annexed Kuwait, he presented a financial threat to members of the

American policy elite. (Another "1984" touch: friend becomes foe in the blink of an eye in what Charles Beard called the perpetual war for perpetual peace.)

But the big reason motivating George Bush relates to the end of the Cold War. With one superpower having faded away, there was a danger, so the administration believed, that people here and abroad would not see the need for the remaining superpower. The Middle East crisis gives Bush a chance to show that the United States is alive and well and ready to project its power far from its shores. As General Colin Powell reportedly said before the invasion of Panama: "We have to put a shingle outside our door saying, 'Superpower Lives Here,' no matter what the Soviets do, even if they evacuate Eastern Europe." That is what the president means when he says Kuwait is the first test in the post cold-war era. But the New World Order is nothing new; rather, it is what American planners have wanted since World War II: an activist foreign policy uninhibited by the Soviet Union. The goal is nothing less than Pax Americana, an order formulated and imposed on the world by Washington. Bush put it bluntly in a recent speech: "When we win, and we will, we will have taught a dangerous dictator, and any tyrant tempted to follow in his footsteps, that the U.S. has a new credibility, and that what we say

goes."
We should not overlook other benefits the policy elite derives from the war: the staunching of the congressional attack on the military budget, the combat testing of weapon systems developed in the 1980s, and the stationing of a permanent garrison in the Persian Gulf.

In all the talk about precision bombing,

the careful application of force, and other such Kissingerian fantasies, one must remember that war, in Randolph Bourne's metaphor, is a wild elephant. Once released, it is impossible to control. By relaxing political-social inhibitions, war sets in motion consequences, foreseeable and unforeseeable, that most people will regret. In the case of the Middle East, some of the consequences are not hard to foresee. U.S. policy since 1947, which supported, among other things, the aggression against the Palestinians and the despotic shah, has earned the United States the deep resentment of most Arabs and Iranians. No wonder there is broad sympathy with Saddam Hussein; it is not that the people like him, but they admire him for standing up to the intrusive United States. The war against Iraq will renew and intensify the resentment. Politically, the ruin of Iraq will boost Iran and Syria as powers in the region. How long will it be before the United States is urged to act against one of them? Meanwhile, the United States will have bolstered Israel's military superiority with new infusions of aid, generating more resentment.

War will not end the turmoil of the Middle East. The festering problems that beckon all demagogues (the Palestinian refugees, the occupied territories) will remain unsolved. Somewhere in Baghdad today a terror-stricken young Iraqi is vowing to get even with the United States. In time his terror will turn to a seething hatred. The future reason for American intervention will have been born.

There is nothing in this war for the American people. But, as Bourne so succinctly put it, war is the health of the state. When it is all over, we will find that the

U.S. government will have been well served. If casualties are kept to an "acceptable" level, the policy elite will regard their global agenda as vindicated, setting the stage for future interventions. There are renewed calls for an energy policy, which means more government regimentation of our economic activities. The budget deficit will be greatly enlarged, and politicians will use that to push for new and higher taxes. The cause of domestic reform (slashing taxes, spending, and regulation) will be dead. James Madison wrote that "of all enemies to public liberty, war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded, because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debts and taxes; and armies, and debts, and taxes are the known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few." No, there is nothing in it for us.

Finally, there will be the uncalculated costs, the death, the maining, the shattered lives of Americans and Iraqis. Thousands of tons of bombs are falling on Iraq and Kuwait, the equivalent of a Hiroshima bomb each day. The government-controlled news coverage has greatly sanitized the conflict, but we know that war is never clean and neat. We must await the after-

math to get the truth.

But we can be sure of one thing Karl Hess taught us 20 years ago: War is an aspect of big government and that "whenever you put your faith in big government for ANY reason, sooner or later you wind up as an apologist for mass

Sheldon L. Richman is on the executive committee of the Committee to Avert a Mideast Holocaust.

Liberty Triumphant: Aug. 28 - Sept.1, 1991 Chicago Names and Places

As compiled by Sue Walton Liberty Triumphant **Executive Director**

Chicago is really a very inexpensive place to visit; most of our major attractions are free at least one day a week.

The Loop-Chicago's Downtown Areathe area within the elevated train tracks.

LaSalle Street-The Financial District-Home to City Hall, the Board of Trade and the Chicago Mercantile Exchange where NatCom Rep Steve Givot can sometimes be seen working. Home to all of Chicago's major banks.

The El—Chicago's subway system, part of the CTA (Chicago Transit Authority) which also has buses. At rush hour, most buses and el cars are more likely "cattle cars" than comfort. You can get from either O'Hare or Midway to our hotel via the CTA for only \$1.25.

Magnificent Mile/Boule Mich - North Michigan Avenue—the location of most of Chicago's best hotels and shops.

Lake Shore Drive-LSD—a conservative rabbi once told me "that most Jews live on LSD" - I looked at him rather strangely until he clarified "Lake Shore Drive"; runs along the lake from 67th Street to Hollywood. The subject of a popular '60s song,

Often used by many residents as a race course when the cops do not have their radar out. Be sure to see it at twilight; it turns the city alive.

River North-Chicago's newest playground - home of zillions of celebrity restaurants - Ditka's, Hat Dance, Harry Caray's to name a few, plus Chicago's own microbrewery pubs. Located both to the east and west of our hotel. Even the locals hang out here!

Rush Street-conventioneer's playground-bars and restaurants, at our hotel's

Dupage (County)—Chicago's western suburbs, home to Illinois's own version of Silicon Valley; home to McDonald's and lots of Libertarians.

The North Shore—Chicago's Northern Suburbs which border Lake Michigan. The first suburb north is Evanston, home to

Northwestern University.

Hyde Park—Home of the University of

Chicago economist David Friedman. Free Power-Watching—To quote the Chicago Tribune (1/27/89), "At City Hall, 121 North LaSalle Street, Chicago City Council meeting are free, open to the public and often as entertaining as professional theater productions. Call 312-744-6800 to find the date and time of the next

scheduled meeting; keep in mind that City Council meetings rarely start on time. Sound familiar?

Comiskey Park-major league baseball's newest ballpark. Home of the Chicago White Sox who will be playing at home during our convention.

Wrigleyville-home to the Chicago Cubs. One of baseball's oldest ballparks. Liberty Triumphant has learned that the Cubs will be in town early in the week (Monday/Tuesday) of our convention, but will be on the road during the major portion of our convention.

Old Town-home of the Second City Players and lots of lakefront liberals.

New Town—developed after Old Town; ust to the north of it, home to most of Chicago's gay bars.

Oak Street Beach—one of Chicago's major public beaches, about a 10-minute bus ride or 15-minute walk from our hotel.

Best Mode of Transportation-Along Michigan Avenue and in the Loop: Walking followed by the bus or el; so bring your walking shoes!

ATTRACTIONS

Lincoln Park Zoo-Lake Shore Drive and Fullerton - One of the world's most visited zoos - Always Free - a great place to see the "real animals" play.

The Art Institute—Michigan at Adams Admission by donation. Best known for its Impressionist collection, it has much

Field Museum of Natural History-Lake Shore Drive at Roosevelt - \$2, but Thursday's admission is free. Come see our mummies!

Museum of Science and Industry-57th Street and Lake Shore Drive - The inspiration to Disneyworld. See our coal mine, our German sub, and our space exhibits, omnimax theater - state of the art surround vision and sound.

Terra Museum of American Art—664 North Michigan Avenue - Features American Folk art; Free the first Sunday of every month (in our case 9/1). The elevator is big enough to host a NatCom

Shedd Aquarium-1200 South Lake Shore Drive - Free on Thursdays. See our new whales and Oceanarium!

RADIO STATIONS

WLS-AM (890)—be sure and listen to LP member Rona Wade's show and to small "l" Stacy Taylor (remember him San

AND THERE IS MORE — ALL CON-VENTION REGISTRANTS WILL RE-CEIVE THEIR OWN COPY OF THE CHI-CAGO OFFICIAL VISITORS GUIDE FOR SUMMER when it becomes available.

Watch this space next month for more information on our roommate bureau, exhibits, credit policies. Or call 708-475-0391 (fax: 708-475-3776).

Boddie

ronment). Our broad policy of peace and non-intervention will be focused on major issues and trouble spots through the world.

Our theme will continue to be - get the U.S. government out of all other nations, out of the Middle East, out of NATO, out of the U.N. (and out of the "New World Or-

America's national defense should defend - not offend! It should be based on a policy of security only - to protect Americans in America, not to police the world.

Fourth, Education.

Since the government schools were es tablished to socialize, in the mid 19th century, the government has proceeded to indoctrinate instead of educate. Thus, we see a nation whose citizens turn to government for almost everything. It will be our goal to show how government schools have failed our children, and that the privatization of education may allow America to compete in the international marketplace in the future.

Fifth, Government Waste.

The Grace Commission documented the waste, and the Citizens Against Government Waste has revived the concern nationwide. The Boddie Campaign will be allied with this and several other groups whose objective is to reduce the size of all governments and government agencies.

I am aware that there is an underlying issue in America that is not considered by many. It pervades all others - racism, or better, racialism, which has resulted from many government policies of the past 30 years. I believe we must expose the government "solutions" of welfare, unemployment "insurance," social security, and affirmative action (American apartheid), and show the harm that has been done to millions. The problems of racism will never

be resolved by the policy of racialism.

Finally, we believe it is absolutely crucial to our future survival as a political party to impress on as many people as humanly possible: 1) that we are the party of principle, but also; 2) that we are the party of human compassion; 3) that we are the party of "good intentions" (see or hear: the outstanding presentation by Dr. Peter Breggin, "Communicating with Liberals," available on audio cassette from the Advocates for Self Government); 4) that we are America's third largest party, and; 5) that we are the only political party in America that is working in a consistent and principled way for everyone's liberty, on all issues, every day (all the time).

And remember:

If you always do what you always did, you'll always get what you always got . and no one cares how much you know, until they know how much you care

For more information, contact the Boddie for President Nomination Committee, 8855 Atlanta Avenue, #301, Huntington Beach, CA 92646; 714-968-3973 or fax: 714-960-

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-Benjamin Franklin (back)
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Libertarian Party 1528 Pennsylvania Ave, SE Washington, DC 20003

Letters: The Matching Funds Controversy

Matching Funds

Taking federal money for campaigning or any other reason is not a "betrayal of our principles," as some Libertarians claim. The principles that seem to me to pertain in this case are: 1) the rule of law; 2) the sanctioning of the matching funds law and; 3) equality under the law.

1) If Libertarians believe that order is best preserved by a government of laws, they will accept the rule of law as guidance for reasonable behavior. However, all individuals have the right to disobey certain laws and accept, or fight, the consequences of such civil disobedience

Many of us suffer under unfair and unjust laws; others benefit from laws designed for the "public good." As long as any of us accept the suffering, we are also entitled to accept any benefits available. Each of us may unilaterally choose not to accept such benefits, but we should not chastise those of a different mind.

2) Of course, no candidate is compelled to take matching funds, but if Marrou does not, he places himself at a disadvantage. If Marrou accepts matching funds, he must, at the same time, denounce the concept of tax supported campaign funds—pointing out that he does not approve of the legislation and would work to revoke it.

3) If one accepts the rule of law as a worthwhile principle for organizing civilized societies, one should expect equal treatment under all such laws. If law (even common law) does not apply equally to all, or gives uneven benefits to some and uneven

LP Protests

of the excellent skills of member and signmaker Robert Leet. It is not uncommon for as many as half of the LP's well-identified signs to be carried by people who are not known to be party members

In Washington state, the state LP has joined the Seattle Coalition for Peace in the Middle East. Although local Democrats have endorsed the Coalition, the LP is the only political party in the 40-plus member organization.

Speaking at a recentrally, Scott Semans, the Washington state LP public relations chair, emphasized the state party's opposition to both the American military presence in the Persian Gulf and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The Iraqi bombings of Israel and recent Soviet crackdowns in the Baltic Republics were condemned as well.

"President Bush was wrong in sending troops to Saudi Arabia in August, and it is even more important to oppose that policy now that he has attacked Iraq," Semans

Many other Libertarians across the country are joining coalitions in con-demning the U.S. interventionist policy, and in so doing are creating significant outreach opportunities for the party.

Flier Available

Those Libertarians who are active in anti-war demonstrations are urged to contact LP national HQ for a flier which publicizes the new "900" telephone number. Members are encouraged to copy and pass out these fliers at demonstrations.

penalties to others, it is hard to define such laws as being "just." Marrou is entitled to equal treatment under the law. His morality shouldn't be used against him, which would be the case if he refused the funds he is entitled to by law simply because he recognizes that the law is immoral in the first

Tonie Nathan Eugene, OR

+ <> + <>

Having searched in vain through the Dec. 1990, NEWS for a letter critical of Marrou's intention to accept matching funds, I feel compelled to make my oppostion to such a plan known

Only, I don't even know what to say. I cannot find the words to express the depth of my disappointment in a leader within "the party of principle" who is willing to give in to such blatant pragmatism. In my heart I know it is wrong, and I hope that there are party members with better minds than mine who will be able to persuade Marrou to back off his funding position. There must be philosophically consistent reasons with which to demonstrate that the end does not justify the means.

Am I "alone again"?

Elke M. Mikaelian Albuquerque, NM *******

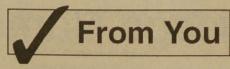
Ten years ago, when I was a starving graduate student, my mother urged me to apply for food stamps. Her arguments were ostensively quite reasonable: I was eligible, many other students did so, and, as a taxpayer, she preferred that her tax money be used by me than by some other individual. I refused, citing libertarian principles

Somehow, I never expected to hear the same ideas expounded by the Libertarian Party. Mr. Marrou wants the LP to accept taxpayers' money, on the same theory

Preliminary Delegate Allocations for '91 LP **National Convention**

AK	8	MT	3
AL	6	NC	7
AR	3	ND	1
AZ	11	NE	2
CA	116	NH	10
CO.	14	NJ	15
CT	8	NM	6
DC	2	NV	6
DE	2	NY	23
FL	19	OH	14
GA	8	OK	3
HI	4	OR	11
IA	4	PA	24
ID	3	RI	2
IL	21	SC	6
IN	7	SD	1
KS	8	TN	5
KY	3	TX	31
LA	4	UT	6
MA	16	VA	14
MD	10	VT	2
ME	5	WA	15
MI	17	WI	8
MN	10	WV	1
MO	7	WY	2
MS	2		

Total delegates to be elected by states is 536. This does not include "exofficio" delegates. This is a preliminary report and subject to change. An official report will be sent to state chairs.



Letters from members and readers

expounded above: everyone else does it. and after all, it is "our" money that will be

Mr. Boddie's idea is much more reasonable: Take the money, and then burn it, as a dramatic method of returning the money to the taxpayers. We would receive value from the money-publicity-without the taint of having stolen it from the taxpayers.

Although I will support Mr. Marrou if he is nominated, the moral stance of the LP will be eroded by accepting tax money on such a flimsy pretense.

Moshe Yudkowsky Chicago, IL

While I have great respect for Dick Boddie, I found his arguments against LP candidates accepting federal matching funds to be both illogical and inconsistent with libertarian

Over the years, I have been coerced into paying over \$500,000 of my money to the federal government. I believe that stolen property never becomes the rightful property of the thief. The passage of time does not diminish my right to restitution from the federal

I have sent Andre Marrou a letter authorizing him to act as my agent to retrieve as much of my past federal taxes as he could in the form of matching funds. I indicated that whatever funds he retrieved, he could keep as my gift to him. How can it be unprincipled for me to give my property to anyone?

Dick Boddie's contention that the "alleged 'stolen property' has merged (a legal concept) and is not identifiable for reclaiming" is also inconsistent with libertarian principles. What libertarian believes that the existence of a law necessarily makes any action either right or wrong? If libertarians believed this, they would, of necessity, be compelled to accept all statutory aggression on individuals as rightful!

Furthermore, if the legal concept of "merged" funds were accepted by libertarians, it would be unprincipled for a libertarian to ever claim an income tax refund. Most surely by the time your 1040 is filed, your tax dollars have already been spent and are no longer "identifiable for reclaiming.

While it may be unprincipled to apply for federal matching funds per se, it is absolutely consistent for a candidate to retrieve such funds to the extent that they have formally been given to the candidate as a gift from the person from whom they were taken.

Steven I. Givot Barrington Hills, IL

Andre Marrou's "moral case for matching funds" makes me sick. Using his rationale, why don't we all get our money back by getting government grants and going on various entitlement programs? Then we'll really be teaching the government a lesson

Chip Hallock

As a recent convert to libertarianism, I don't understand why so much time is spent debating the ethics of accepting federal matching funds. Practicality often outweighs principle. If we're eligible for matching funds, then by all means we should accept them.

After all, don't we all believe that income taxes are immoral? Which one of us isn't going to fill out his 1040 form on April 15 because of principle? Sad to say, but we must play the game with the rules that are in

We Libertarians need to be realistic people with strong principles as opposed to being principally unrealistic. We cannot compete in the media market if we do not avail ourselves of all legal funds.

Accept the matching funds. Let's concentrate on winning first. We can't change anything if we can't compete

Brian R. Mallary Richmond, VA

NRA
The National Rifle Association will be holding elections to its board of directors shortly... the NRA has been far less effective than it used to be in supporting our Second Amendment rights. The slate of candidates [lead by T.J. Johnston and Neal Knox] are concerned with returning the NRA to a pro-Second Amendment supporting foundation.

Michael McKibbin San Diego, CA

Bill of Rights

mittee is also currently contacting other groups that recognize the importance of the Bill of Rights, encouraging them to join with the LP as co-sponsors of the year-long

The Libertarian Party project will provide local LP groups with an opportunity to cut across traditional right-left lines by calling for public allegiance to EACH AND EVERY ONE of the 10 Bill of Rights amendments. Free speech and private gun ownership . . . jury trial and protection against privacy intrusions . . . decentralized government and protections against warrantless searches . . . all are part of the effort. The celebration will allow libertarians to strike out at the War on Drugs as well. Local Libertarian Party groups can gain positive public acceptance by championing the document which will be receiving national attention this year.

ALL LIBERTARIANS AND LOCAL
LIBERTARIAN GROUPS SHOULD

PLAN NOW TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THIS PROJECT.

The Bill of Rights Kit

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HQ Office Hours Monday-Friday, 9:30 am-6:00 pm

Libertarian Party NEWS Randy Langhenry

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Upcoming Events

March 9, 1991:

New Jersey LP Convention, Howard Johnson New Brunswick Hotel (Formerly Days Hotel), New Brunswick; 908-572-1614.

March 22-24, 1991:

Colorado LP Convention, Evergreen Conference Center, Evergreen; contact Mary Margaret Glennie, 303-484-8184. March 30, 1991:

Idaho LP Convention; 208-754-4393 or 208-887-1272

April 7, 1991:

Illinois LP Convention, Best Western Midway Motor Lodge, Elk Grove Village; 708-299-7564.

April 6-7, 1991:

Oregon LP Convention, Sweetbrier Inn, 7125 SW Nyberg Rd., Tualatin.

Spring, 1991:

Rhode Island LP Convention; 401-333-6303.

Arizona LP Convention; 602-248-8425

April 12-14, 1991:

Michigan LP Convention; 1-800-343-1364

April 13, 1991:

New Mexico LP Convention, The Inn, Farmington; 505-326-6320.

April 13, 1991:

Virginia LP Convention; contact LPVA P.O. Box 28263, Richmond, VA 23228.

April 20, 1991:

Indiana LP Convention; 317-463-6601.

April 26-28, 1991:

Ohio LP Convention, Radisson Hotel, Columbus; 614-236-0537.

April 27, 1991:

LP Campaign '91 Southeastern Regional Candidate Forum, Conference on Personal Freedom in the '90s, and Georgia LP Convention; Colony Square Hotel, Atlanta; 404-320-1991 or 404-449-8791

April 27-28, 1991:

National Committee Meeting, Colony Square Hotel, Atlanta, GA; 404-957-6825. To receive agenda materials, call 202-543-1988.

May 3-5, 1991:

Pennsylvania LP Convention, Best Western Hotel (exit 16 PA Tunrpike), Carlisle; 215-674-2239.

May 3-4, 1991:

To add your LP state convention or other LP event of national

interest to this calendar, provide information to Gary Johnson

2001 Parker Lane, #134, Austin, TX 78741-3849; 512-441-6378.

Wisconsin LP Convention, Quality Inn South, Madison; 414-375-0068.

Kansas LP Convention, Ramada Broadview Hotel, Wichita; 316-942-9832.

May 18, 1991: Washington State LP Convention; 206-329-5669

May 18, 1991:

Washington State LP Convention, Puget Sound Region; 206-752-1189.

May 18, 1991:

Maine LP Convention, Atrium Motel, Brunswick; 207-874-6992.

May, 1991:

Connecticut LP Convention; 203-257-

Alaska LP Convention; 907-479-4250.

June 1-2, 1991:

Texas LP Convention, Wyndham Greenspoint Hotel, Houston; 713-772-

June 1-2, 1991:

Florida LP Convention; contact Jim Culberson at 407-727-0801.

June 21-23, 1991:

Women in Libertarianism Conference, University Park Holiday Inn, Ft. Collins. CO; for information send SASE to Mary Margaret Glennie, 1317 Lakewood Dr., Ft. Collins, CO 80521; 303-484-8184.

August 28-September 1, 1991:

"Liberty Triumphant," LP Presidential Nominating Convention, Chicago Marriott, Chicago; 708-475-0391

Libertarian National Committee

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