

# Libertarian Party

# NEWS

March 1993 Vol. 8, No. 3

## Platform/pledge debate leads to new group

Amidst the controversy surrounding proposals to redefine the Libertarian Party, a group has formed to support the party's current platform and membership pledge. The group call themselves "PLEDGE," standing for "Principled Libertarians Endorsing Diversity, Growth, and Effectiveness."

Formation of the group was announced Feb. 12, at the California state convention during a debate about the controversy. The announcement was made by Steve Alexander, the group's founder and president.

According to Alexander, "the pledge and platform are important institutions that make us what we are." PLEDGE members say they strongly support growth of the LP, but that it must be growth based on principle.

PLEDGE members immediately began recruiting additional members and soliciting contributions for their campaign. When asked what kind of campaign PLEDGE planned on conducting between now and the Salt Lake City convention, Alexander responded, "You'll see."

Alexander was a member of the Libertarian National Committee (LNC) until he resigned last December in protest of the LNC's vote to endorse certain goals. Current LNC members Thea McLean, Joe Dehn, Don Ernsberger, Mary Gingell, Gary Johnson, and George O'Brien have agreed to join the PLEDGE campaign.

Other state and national LP leaders who have already joined PLEDGE are Karen Allard, past chair of the LP of Washington state; Sharon Ayres, national LP Development Area Manager; David Bergland, 1984 presidential candidate; Bill Evers, past Northern vice chair of the LP of California; and Tonie Nathan, 1972 vice-presidential candidate.

**Membership statement  
debate on page 11**

# Andy Borsa

## NH legislator finds house eye-opening

By Liz Smith

**"A**nyone who thinks that the State House is a political place is correct!" said newly elected New Hampshire State Rep. Andy Borsa (L-Pelham). "The orientation was interesting—the thing that struck me the most was how political the process really is, even in New Hampshire, where legislators aren't paid."

Borsa, after six weeks of sporadic introduction to life as a New Hampshire legislator, said the process has already been an education. "It's going to be a real experience for Libertarians because we're going to have to work within the system," he said. "In order to get things done, we're going to have to make friends, and be willing to make some compromises—although I want to avoid the ones that conflict with basic principles."

Borsa, 48, is an electronics consultant, and has lived in New Hampshire for 23 years. He has been married more than 24 years to his wife Margaret Rita Borsa, and

has three children, ages 14 to 21.

Besides his Libertarian political activity, Borsa describes himself as an "avid skier," and lists downhill skiing as a favorite family activity. He also spent many years as a volunteer for "Marriage Encounter," a Catholic marriage-enrichment group.

His first introduction to Libertarianism came about three years ago, when he was listening to Gene Burns on Boston's WRKO radio. "I've been a liberal, I've been a conservative—none of which seemed to fit me," said Borsa. "When I listened to Gene, I said, 'Gee, that guy makes sense!'"

Before too long, Borsa decided he should get active in the Libertarian Party. "One day I woke up and I started worrying about see **Borsa** on page 5

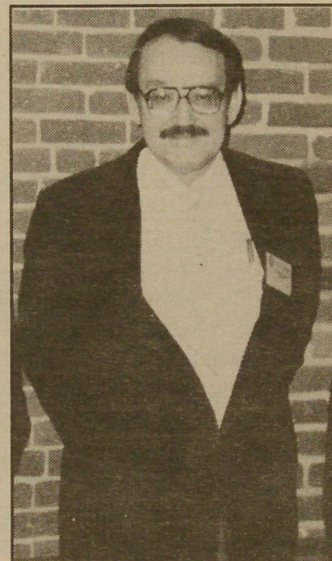


Photo by Jim McClarin

**NEW LEGISLATOR - Andy Borsa is a new Libertarian member of the New Hampshire state house.**

# Oh, hill! Not again!

## Study shows few libertarian friends on the Hill

By Don Ernsberger

**T**he new Libertarian ratings of the U.S. Congress have now been published, and the results show that only a handful of U.S. Congressman have maintained a libertarian rating for the second session of the 102nd Congress.

In the U.S. Senate, only three senators managed to obtain a rating of higher than 50 percent on combined scales of economic freedom and personal rights legislative votes.

Sen. Hank Brown (R-CO) rated 100 percent on economic issues and 60 percent on personal rights votes, for an average score of 80 percent. Sen. Warren Rudman (R-NH) rated 50 percent on economic and 77 percent on personal rights, for an average score of 64 percent. Sen. Steve Symms (R-ID) rated 80 percent on economic and 40 percent on personal rights, for an average of 60 percent.

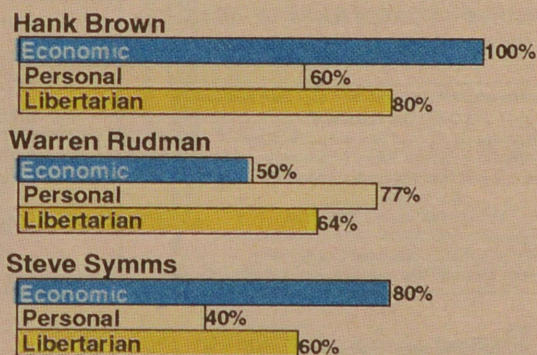
Ironically, two of these senators did not return to the 103rd Congress this year—only Sen. Brown remains in the U.S. Senate.

In the U.S. House, a group of about 12 house members have been viewed over the past several sessions as being "libertarian leaning." Of these, only five rated higher than 50 percent on both economics and personal issues. These included Rep. Phil Crane (R-IL), Rep. Dana Rohrbacher (R-CA), Rep. Dick Zimmer (R-NJ), Rep. Bob Stump (R-AZ), and Rep. Mel Hancock (R-MO).

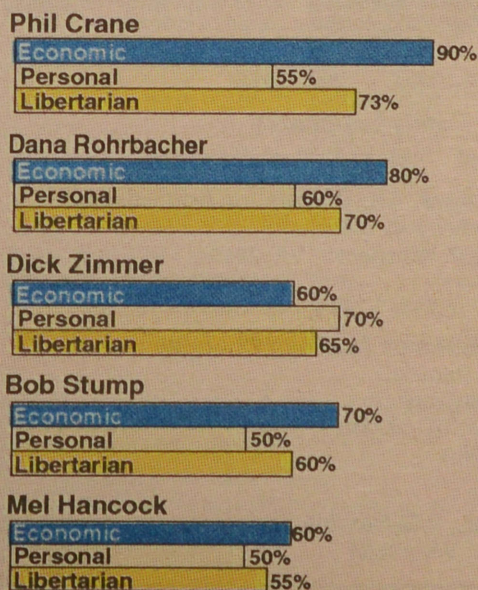
All other members of the U.S. Senate and U.S. House rated authoritarian scores on the 20 key libertarian votes of the 102nd Congress, second session. Dropouts from previous years included Rep. Joel Hefley (R-CO), F. Jones Sensenbrenner (R-WI), and Rep. Ron Marlenee (R-MT).

## Libertarian ratings

### U.S. Senate



### U.S. House



see **Ratings** on page 14



# Stay active

## Libertarians have to start now if we want more victories in '94

In the immediate aftermath of a national election, Democrats and Republicans are already looking toward the next contest.

This year, the losers are regrouping, trying to plan for '94 or '96 or '98, trying to figure out the right combination of issues and what stand they will take on those issues that will attract enough of a constituency to win that next election. The winners are taking every opportunity to cement their temporary popularity and to attract additional supporters, by wielding the power of government to benefit various special interest groups.

After past elections, Libertarians, on the other hand, worn out from trying to make a dent in the two-party monopoly with too few dollars and too few active volunteers, have had varying reactions. Some have "burned out," dropping out of active involvement for several years, or possibly forever. Others have hurried to place the blame for any disappointing results on a particular candidate, or a campaign manager, or some aspect of our organizational structure.

And still others have recognized the enormity of our task, and looked to the bright side, pointing out the successes we did achieve, and the progress we have made toward electing Libertarians and implementing a real change in public policy toward more freedom.

Very few of us, however, keep working at the same pre-election pace. Very few of



### From the Chair

**Mary Gingell**  
National Chair

us have already started planning for 1994. Or '96. Or '98. And we need to start doing just that if we want to compete with the "big boys." There is no room for taking a year off.

It's tough. I know. With job, kids, home life, non-political activities, just making ends meet is difficult. Finding enough time and money for all these things is a real challenge, and 1994 seems so far away.

But we have to start now to win in '94.

I am writing this column from the Libertarian Party of California's 1993 convention in Sunnyvale, California. California is my home state, the state where I first became active in the LP. So besides being here as a speaker to talk about the national party, I also feel as though I have come home to my LP roots, and there's nothing better to rekindle my spirits and recharge my batteries.

I have had the chance to renew old acquaintances, people I have worked with over the years on Libertarian projects at the local, state, and national levels. Some of these people "burned out" in earlier years, and are now back and ready to get to work

advancing the cause of liberty. It is so good to see them all, to share their renewed sense of commitment and enthusiasm, to find out what they plan to work on in the LP in upcoming months.

I'm having a chance to meet new Libertarians, to witness their fresh ideas about making the party a success, to see them interact with "old-timers," to watch them grow as they become proficient in parliamentary procedure, and learn how to address the other delegates and participate in debate on by-laws and platform issues.

We're talking about issues at this convention, and we're talking about political action. Education, the environment, asset forfeiture, foreign policy, the national debt: these are just a few of the issues being discussed both formally and informally around the convention this weekend. Getting elected to local office, and what you do when you get there; taking legal action to defend against the injustice against us that comes from within the government system; initiatives and referenda on a variety of issues: this is just a sampling of the nuts-and-bolts political action that delegates to this convention are being exposed to.

It's invigorating to gather together with my Libertarian friends each year, to come back to my roots, to get recharged for the next round of battle. And none too soon, because the battles of future elections are starting right now, and Libertarians have to be in the middle of them if we are going to

“

Finding enough time and money for all these things is a real challenge, and 1994 seems so far away.

”

make an impact.

The California convention is the first major state LP convention of the new year. So for those of you who are living in California, I urge you to plan to attend our national convention in Salt Lake City this summer, and to decide now that next year you will come meet with us at the California convention, and be part of this rejuvenation.

But for the rest of you, I urge you to make plans right now to attend your upcoming state convention. Make the time to keep Libertarian activities in your life, even during the off-election year. Find the other people in your state that you can work with to help ensure Libertarian victories.

However you define these victories: electing local Libertarians to office, getting lots of media coverage for our positions, winning a pro-freedom initiative, or collecting a large list of interested people whom you can then work to recruit into Libertarian activities, start right now to make sure our next victories happen as soon as possible.

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Doris Gordon, National Coordinator

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In mid-January, the Missouri Court of Appeals reversed a decision that barred two LP candidates from running in the 1992 election.

In a 7-4 ruling, the court reversed an October decision by a three-judge panel that kept Libertarians Laura Coker-Garcia, candidate for Boone Co. sheriff, and Anthony Garcia, candidate for Boone Co. assessor, off the ballot.

The Missouri Secretary of State had ruled the LP candidates could not be placed on the ballot because the LP did not obtain enough signatures in Boone County to run local candidates. The party had gathered sufficient signatures on petitions that included the Boone County candidates' names at the state level, however.

A number of other LP candidates were also kept off the ballot in the last election, but the LP challenged only two instances. The same action by the state also took place in 1988, and the state LP now feels "vindicated," according to local activist Ken Bush.

Coker-Garcia was happy about the ruling, but disappointed that it came so late. "I can't believe they ruled against us the first time" she said.

The court ruled that requiring a new party to get signatures for statewide qualification plus additional signatures at the county and local levels would "lead to an unwarranted burden on a new party."

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January 1, 1993

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# 1993 LP national convention news

Morning Glory Productions (MGP), host for the 1993 LP national convention, is sponsoring a drawing each month (Feb.-Aug.) to give away a free night's hotel room at the Salt Lake Marriott Hotel (single or double). Everyone who has purchased a convention package from MGP will be entered in each drawing. Seven nights (total) will be awarded, one each month. The earlier you register, the more chances you have to win.

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

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and Doris Gordon (Libertarians for Life).  
◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

The 1993 LP national convention will be held Sept. 2-5 in Salt Lake City, UT. For more information or to register, write MGP, P.O. Box 526175, Salt Lake City, UT 84152.

## SONG OF THE FLAG ★

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# Borsa

continued from page 1

my kids' future; our country's future. If more of us woke up, we could make this country a so much better place, instead of letting the government do it all for us! I believe that we all have a purpose on earth. We all have a path, and we have to find that path," he said.

Borsa's path led him to run for state representative, and he is not shy about admitting that he was elected to one of the three available seats in his district with the help of a write-in Republican nomination. However, he also beat out a majority of Democratic candidates running for the same position.

The Libertarian delegation is already in

business and accomplishing things, said Borsa. His three fellow members have already filed legislation, and he is preparing to co-sponsor other bills, including a controversial reform of the state's property-forfeiture law, a law which currently gives police the power to strip citizens of their possessions—even if they are not found guilty of any crime.

"I'd like to put some sanity into property forfeiture laws," he said. "A similar bill was previously vetoed by [NH] Gov. Gregg. But this time around, Gov. Merrill is on record as saying that these laws are unfair. We hope the governor supports a clause

saying you have to be convicted first, and to have the money go into the state's general fund, which removes the incentive to abuse the process."

"Hopefully, it'll be passed by the new governor," Borsa continued. "Also, my understanding is that Congress will change federal law. I think that's a welcome sign that Congress is going to re-look at this. They wrote a law that was begging to be abused."

Borsa plays the role of the outsider, saying his engineering background is one that does not lend itself to politics as usual. "My experience is that of a logical approach

to solving problems. My area of expertise has nothing to do with politics—but I'm really interested in a lot of laws we have to live with," he said.

Borsa said a rational approach will help the law-making process, but it is too early to tell what real effect Libertarians can have in Concord.

"There's not a heck of a lot I can tell you [yet]," he said. "I'm going to try to bring logic to how we assess law."

*This article appeared in the January issue of Libertarian Lines, the newsletter of the LPNH, P.O. Box 669, Windham, NH 03087.*

## LP offers internships

Would you like to take a semester off, help the Libertarian Party, learn, and earn? The Libertarian Party frequently offers internships to Libertarian students. It may be possible to earn college credit for an LP internship. (It is up to each intern to make arrangements with their school for the appropriate credit.)

### National headquarters internship

Headquarters interns will work with the national director at LP headquarters in Washington, DC. They will learn about the workings of a membership-political organization from the inside by assisting with various projects and the routine operation of the HQ office. Headquarters interns will receive a small stipend and the LP will assist in making housing arrangements in DC.

### Campus organizing internship

Campus organizing interns will study advance material before training with an experienced field organizer. After field training, they will visit dozens of colleges and universities to collect names of prospects, give workshops and outreach seminars, generate campus publicity, and organize new College Libertarian Clubs. Campus organizing interns will stay with local Libertarian hosts and will receive a small stipend and reimbursement for travel expenses.

Applicants must have a dependable vehicle capable of carrying literature, a campus survey unit, and other materials.

APPLICATION DEADLINE FOR FALL-93 SEMESTER CAMPUS ORGANIZING INTERNSHIP IS JUNE 14!

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Applications and inquiries should be directed to:

National HQ Internships:  
Stuart Reges, National Director  
1528 Pennsylvania Ave. SE  
Washington, DC 20003 / 202-543-1988

Campus Organizing Internships:

Steve Dasbach  
Organizing Area Manager  
4523 Morning Wind Place  
Fort Wayne, IN 46804 / 219-432-7145  
or  
Joseph Knight  
Field Organizer  
Box 698  
Flora Vista, NM 87415  
202-547-6786

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Kalamazoo Gazette

**Mary Ruwart has written what may be the most important book of this decade.**

**—Joseph Terrano, Visions Magazine**

*The author combines libertarianism with Western and Eastern spirituality....examines health care, the rain forests, prisons, unemployment...she challenges the reader to see those things outside of custom, in spiritual clarity. —Paul Whitfield, South Bend Tribune*

*...a practical application of Aquarian Age wisdom to the origins of our societal problems. —Willis Harman, coauthor of PATHS TO PEACE; President of the Institute of Noetic Sciences*

*HEALING OUR WORLD discusses reasonable, peaceful alternatives to our current system..." —Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw, authors of LIFE EXTENSION: A PRACTICAL APPROACH*

*...it is within our power to restore both individual and societal health by the simple mental change first popularized by Mahatma Gandhi and now detailed for us by Dr. Ruwart —Jonathan Wright, M.D., author of BOOK OF NUTRITIONAL THERAPY, GUIDE TO HEALING WITH NUTRITION, etc.*

*...it should be required reading for every high school and college student. —Harry Palmer, author of CREATIVISM and the AVATAR COURSE*

*A great message! —Wayne Dyer, author of YOUR ERRONEOUS ZONES, REAL MAGIC, THE SKY'S THE LIMIT, GIFTS FROM EYKIS, YOU'LL SEE IT WHEN YOU BELIEVE IT, etc.*

*...a major dimension of this book is its linkage between our spiritual perspective and our economic well-being. —Nobel Peace Prize nominees Frances Kendall and Leon Louw*

*...Dr. Mary Ruwart is well on her way to becoming the Ayn Rand of the '90s. —Andre Marrou, 1992 Libertarian Presidential nominee*

*Through its win-win approach, HEALING OUR WORLD bridges the gap between conservatives and liberals, Christians and New Agers, special interests and the common good... —Ron Paul, former U.S. Congressman (TX) and 1988 Libertarian Presidential nominee*

*...the emphasis is on presenting libertarianism as a practical philosophy that is compassionate, humane, and compatible with the highest spiritual values. —Carol Ann Rand, President of the Advocates for Self-Government*

\*\*\*\*\*

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# Campus Libertarian groups stay active

"The College Libertarians play far to large a role at this University" ... complains second-year student Justin Brookman in a recent issue of the *University Journal* at the University of Virginia.

Jim Lark III, long-time campus activist and adviser to the University of Virginia Students for Individual Liberty and University Libertarians, eagerly responded to my plea for information and clippings on their activities. These students are actively getting the Libertarian message into their campus publications by having activities such as the presidential mock debates in October, and inviting speakers like Larry Pratt of the Gun Owners of America, Ted Galen Carpenter and Doug Bandow of the Cato Institute, and Nancy Lord, 1992 LP vice-presidential candidate.

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Mike Jones, club president, and the Arizona State University Libertarian members coordinated their efforts with the county LP in campaigning for the local Libertarians in 1992. They gave some people a chance to take a look at the LP for the very first time when they regularly distributed literature and surveyed students using the survey table.

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Despite the demanding and difficult curriculum, Club President Steve Mims and Stanford University Club members were able to organize speakers in the fall semester. Dick Boddie and June Genis drew a crowd of 80 with coverage in the *Stanford*



## Campus Notes

Marti Stoner  
Editor

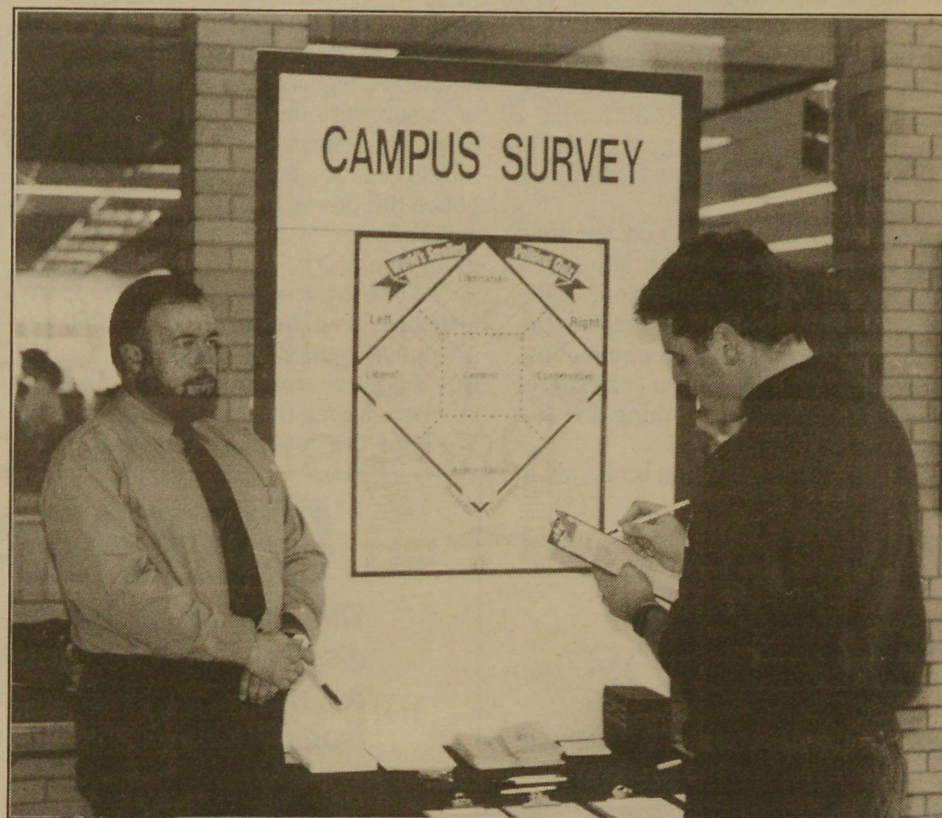
Daily and full-page coverage in the *Stanford Review*. Putting an ad in the Libertarian Party NEWS helped raise money for a mass mailing. In the fall they conducted the survey table, and in only one day they collected 50 names. In addition to all this, they manage to publish a quarterly newsletter.

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Ball State University Libertarians made the front page of the *Ball State Daily News* when they staged a protest because the LP presidential candidate, Andre Marrou, was not included in the presidential debates. BSU Libertarians were busy last semester helping their local campaigns with posters and flyers. In January 1993, they co-sponsored a party for choice to celebrate the 20th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*.

Purdue University Libertarians hold weekly meetings and have published a campus flyer on the function of the club and how and why students can get involved. Scott Kohlhaas, Indiana State College coordinator, keeps mailing me information on the various campuses. Thanks Scott!

Local party members Al Anders and Larry Lyles are doing a Political Homeless Survey at Butler University to activate students into Libertarian awareness. Organizing at Indiana University, Bloomington, is in process to prepare for Joseph Knight's



NEWS Photo by Marcia Roewe

**COLLEGE TOUR - LP Field Coordinator Joseph Knight, left, conducts the campus survey in Missouri last fall. Knight uses the survey to identify libertarian students, and then assists the students in establishing college libertarian groups.**

tour in the spring.

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In early February, the Campus Libertarians at the University of Utah helped out at a homeless shelter in downtown Salt Lake City. This is part of an effort to form a "Libertarian Volunteer Corps," which will do volunteer work throughout the community. The group is preparing a T-shirt that members can wear to volunteer events to increase awareness of libertarian ideas, as well as lend more team spirit to the group.

According to Rich Thomson, one of the volunteers, "we provided them with a good number of bodies so that the usual workers

had time to relax and just supervise instead of running around doing all the work. I felt this to be a rewarding experience, not difficult work at all, and enjoyable. The homeless people were polite and appreciative!"

The group will be participating in more volunteer activities each month. For more information, call Dave Leonard at 967-9771.

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To volunteer or to provide material for this column, please write Marti Stoner, P.O. Box 13135, Las Vegas, NV 89112; or call her at 702-438-5912.

## THE G.N.P. RESERVE PLAN

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This plan offers a method of perpetually balancing the budget, and yet still allow for deficit spending in times of emergency.

*Imagine balancing the budget and raising revenue without taxation.*

## Drug war destructive failure, study shows

Ten years after President Reagan launched the nation's "War on Drugs," Steven Wisotsky examines its pernicious effects in a study from the Cato Institute.

The war has gutted the Bill of Rights, invaded our privacy, ravaged our inner cities with narcoterrorism, corrupted law enforcement officials and the judiciary, compromised judicial independence through mandatory minimum sentences, and overcrowded prisons with non-violent first offenders while allowing murderers, rapists, and robbers to get out early. Yet it has not succeeded in stanching the flow of illegal drugs, which are more available than ever.

Since the war began, Congress has increased the budget for drug law enforcement tenfold, to \$12.5 billion in 1991. Today, the war is being waged domestically and internationally, with civilian and military forces alike.

Yet for all that, according to Wisotsky, the most striking accomplishments of the war are city streets ruled by drug gangs,

where innocent victims die every day; a prison population double what it was a decade ago; and "a society of suspects"—all of us—whose constitutional protections have been substantially eroded.

Those results were predictable, Wisotsky argues, from the very economic theory the Reagan administration relied on for its domestic policy. That theory shows that a war on drugs will drive up the price of drugs, creating financial incentives—especially for inner-city youth—to enter the drug business. Thus, in a perverse way, the War on Drugs has encouraged the very explosion in crime in our inner cities that it was intended to eliminate—while perpetuating itself.

"A Society of Suspects: The War on Drugs and Civil Liberties" is number 180 in the *Policy Analysis* series published by the Cato Institute, an independent public policy research institute, 224 Second St. SE, Washington, DC 20003.



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# Join Us!

## PRINCIPLED LIBERTARIANS ENDORSING DIVERSITY, GROWTH & EFFECTIVENESS

A message from Steven Alexander,  
former member of the Libertarian National Committee:

*There are two dangerous proposals facing us at the national convention. One would have us abandon our membership pledge; the other would have us dump the platform as we know it. I resigned from the Libertarian National Committee to protest these proposals, but I have not given up the fight. I'm asking you to join PLEDGE to save our platform and our membership pledge.*

YES, I WANT TO HELP SAVE OUR PLEDGE AND PLATFORM.

- ☐ I HAVE ENCLOSED \$25 TO HELP.  
☐ I WILL BE AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.



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# Returns

## Additional results from 1992 campaigns for LP candidates

The following November election results are in from South Carolina and Missouri. One particular result to note is Mike Palma's 48.5 percent in his race for Richland County Council in South Carolina. In Missouri, all of the LP statewide candidates held the balance of power between Republicans and Democrats, except in the state treasurer's race where Janet Lewis received 140,000 votes.

### South Carolina

U.S. Senate			
Mark Johnson	22,962	1.9%	3-way
U.S. House			
Geb Sommer	20,816	12.3%	2-way
U.S. House			
Jo Jorgensen	4,286	2.2%	3-way
State Senate			
Rick Watson	3,928	23.3%	2-way
State Senate			
Richard Kinsey	3,412	15%	2-way
State Senate			
Bill Brooks	485	3.3%	3-way
State House			
David Morris	695	5.7%	3-way
State House			
Yvonne Parkhill-Moore	1,063	12.2%	2-way
State House			
Julian Griffith	878	11.2%	2-way
State House			
Tim Moultrie	1,128	12.1%	2-way
Lexington Co. Register of Mesne Conveyance			
Phyllis Wicker	7,890	13.4%	2-way
Lexington Co. Council			
David Cisco	240	4.1%	3-way
Lexington Co. Council			
Steve Browy	742	13.5%	2-way
Richland Co. Sheriff			
Dennis Welborn	3,062	3.1%	3-way

Richland Co. Council			
Mike Palma	4,431	48.5%	2-way

### Missouri

State Lt. Governor			
Frank Nugent	60,320	2.5%	
State Treasurer			
Janet Lewis	140,968	6.1%	
Secretary of State			
Eric Harris	59,353	2.5%	
State Attorney Gen.			
Mitchell Moore	92,576	3.9%	
U.S. House, District 2			
Jim Higgins	6,119	1.9%	
U.S. House, District 3			
Robert Stockhausen	7,828	2.9%	
U.S. House, District 5			
Grant Stauffer	4,629	1.8%	
State Senate, District 3			
Steve Schaper	8,429	14%	
State Senate, District 15			
Richard Simonson	2,654	3%	
State House, District 38			
Mike Hurley	1,408	12%	
State House, District 39			
Jacques Tucker	2,040	14%	
State House, District 50			
Greg Terry	1,768	12.9%	

State House, District 59			
David Carr	1,047	14%	
State House, District 65			
Glenn Carlson	401	2.5%	
State House, District 68			
Jim Morrison	658	4%	
State House, District 80			
Dean Hodge	616	4%	
State House, District 82			
LaDonna Higgins	354	2%	
State House, District 83			
Mark Kaufmann	447	2.5%	
State House, District 88			
Paul Hein, Jr.	1,706	11%	
State House, District 93			
Robert Schmedake	343	2%	
State House, District 134			
J. Mark Oglesby	456	3%	
State House, District 136			
Phillip Horras	573	4%	
State House, District 138			
Greta Buzzard	442	3%	
State House, District 140			
Thomas Edelman	392	2%	
State House, District 142			
Conetta Taylor	407	3%	
Jefferson Co. Sheriff			
David Holden	1,293	5%	

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# FIJA

## Questionnaire shows support for informed juries

Prior to this year's election, a national jury-system reform organization asked 4,254 candidates for state legislative seats in 20 states, "If elected, will you lend your support to our effort to inform all Americans about their right, as jurors, to judge both law and fact?"

According to the Fully Informed Jury Association (FIJA), which recently released the results of its survey, 20 percent of the candidates responded, 87 percent of whom said "yes." Less than 4 percent of those who responded said "no," and the remaining 9 percent asked for more information and/or an opportunity to discuss the question with a FIJA representative before taking a position. Of those candidates answering yes, 30 percent were Democrats, 44.5 percent Republicans, 16.5 percent Libertarians, and 9 percent other.

"We're very pleased with the results," said FIJA Board of Directors Chairman Larry Dodge, who compiled data gathered by state coordinators. "This shows even more support for our goal on the part of lawmakers than we expected, and also shows that it's not a partisan issue."

That goal, according to Dodge, is to end, by way of education, a "century of silence" on the part of American courts regarding the right of jurors to refuse to apply the law in the case before them if they do not believe doing so will produce justice.

Judicial silence on the issue dates to 1895, when the U.S. Supreme Court decided, in *Sparf and Hansen v. U.S.*, that failure of trial judges to tell jurors about this right was not sufficient reason for a mistrial or an appeal, because jurors should already know their rights and responsibilities.

FIJA, a non-profit educational organization based in Montana, with 46 state affiliate groups, holds that silence on the matter has long since given way to "disinformation": Nowadays, the group points out, judges typically tell trial jurors that they "must" find a defendant guilty if the evidence supports a conviction, no matter what they think of the law or its application. Today, no one remembers, and many don't even believe what the Supreme Court felt everyone "should have known" at the turn of the century.

The result, FIJA argues, has been unconscionable numbers of unjust convictions—so many that America now leads the world in percent of population behind bars. Even worse, they say, silence and disinformation on the right of jurors to evaluate the law has destroyed an important means of citizen control of government.

"This nation's founders regarded trial by 'fully informed' trial juries not only as the surest safeguard of individual liberty, but as a way for the governed to say 'no' to bad law," Dodge said. "Once the people lose that ability, the government becomes the master, instead of the servant, of the people. It's encouraging to find so many legislators in favor of reminding jurors that using their own consciences can improve the prospects for justice—and democracy—by jury."

Nearly all state FIJA candidate questionnaire coordinators have reported that bills to require that jurors be "fully informed" will be proposed in their legislatures during 1993.

For more information, write FIJA, P.O. Box 59, Helmsville, MT 59843.



# Why isn't everybody a libertarian?

Why aren't people breaking down doors to join the Libertarian Party?

When you explain libertarian ideas, why aren't people dropping to their knees and protesting, "All my life, with open arms, I've waited for you and your message. How do I join? When's the next meeting? Is there a limit to how much money I can give?"

## Is Something Wrong With Your Libertarian Ideas?

You be the judge.

Re-examine the political and economic ideas of Rand and Von Mises, Friedman and Rothbard, Hazlitt and Hayek, Bastiat and Heinlein, Jefferson and Paine.

Browse through the catalogues of Laissez Faire Books, Freedom's Forum and Liberty Tree.

Scan the policy reports of the Cato Institute, Heartland Institute and Reason Foundation.

Leaf through *Reason*, *Liberty*, *Freedom Network News*, and *The Pragmatist*.

Or this issue of *LP News*.

Need more proof? Compare your libertarian ideas to the statist ideas you read in the newspapers and magazines. To those you see on television. Liberal and conservative, socialist and fascist, totalitarian and populist.

Not even close, is it? Liberty wins hands down.

**"You Libertarians have a 24 carat gold idea—freedom—and you can't even give it away. Ever ask yourself why?"**  
*Congressman Sam Steiger, 1976*

In 1976, I was the Arizona Libertarian Party's candidate for the congressional seat held by Morris Udall.

I lectured people who weren't interested. I debated when I should have discussed. I talked when I should have listened. I talked down to everyone.

If there was an offensive, shocking way of presenting a libertarian position—I used it.

Every so often, people would try to agree, but I didn't notice. I

couldn't take 'Yes' for an answer.

My campaign taught me how to lose friends and alienate people.

Finally, it sunk in. My problem wasn't other people. It was the man in the mirror. Me.

## Do You Lose Friends And Alienate People?

Some libertarians have a more-rational-than-thou attitude. Or smarter-than-thou. Or more-principled-than-thou. Or more-ethical-than-thou.

Are your 'discussions' really lectures? Do you try to convince by beating the other person into submission? Do you behave like a tormentor, not a mentor?

And when you fail to persuade, do you blame the listener? The other person isn't rational enough, or intelligent enough, or good enough? It's always their fault?

That is the road to permanent failure.

Failure is feedback. It's telling you to do something different.

The people you don't convince are showing you what does not work. Are you paying attention?

The marketplace of ideas works just like the free market. Consumer response is a teacher. Are you learning?

## The Art Of Political Persuasion.

I felt stupid and embarrassed by my campaign in 1976. But I was determined to salvage something from my experience. I wanted to learn the art of political persuasion.

I began to read. It's now over 1,000 books on psychology, epistemology, semantics, salesmanship, cybernetics, self-help, hypnosis, communication and creativity.

I interviewed specialists in communications and persuasion. I asked questions and took notes.

I applied the scientific method to everything I learned. I tested every approach, technique and format. I observed and listened.

I began to write up my results. *How To Get Converts Left & Right* and *The Late, Great Libertarian*

*Macho Flash* were published by Reason.

I followed these with more articles: *The Militant Mentality*, *The Myth Of Mushrooms In The Night*, *Leveraging Liberty With Language* and *Intellectual Judo*.

The libertarian audience wanted more, so I launched a seminar. *The Art Of Political Persuasion Marathon Weekend Workshop* has been offered all over the United States and Canada.

Then, I tested my teachings in the field. I was the organizer and fund-raiser for the 1988 Marrou VP Campaign, Project 51-'92 ballot effort and the 1992 Marrou For President Campaign. Between Fall 1987 and Fall 1991 I raised more than \$500,000 for these projects. \$519,344 to be exact (source: FEC).

Now, after 12 years of study, testing and results, I have produced a three hour audio tape learning program: *The Essence of Political Persuasion*.

## What You'll Learn In Only Three Hours.

- > How to influence with integrity.
- > Open the door with rapport.
- > From confrontation to conversation.
- > The power of metaphors, parables and teaching tales.
- > Political Cross-Dressing: how to get converts from the liberal left and the conservative right.
- > The Late, Great Libertarian Macho Flash: abuses and uses of intellectual shock tactics.

- > Leveraging Liberty With Language: the semantics of libertarian persuasion.
- > Intellectual Judo: gently win people over without arguing.
- > And many more easy, enjoyable and effective ways to make libertarian ideas irresistible.

## Does It Really Work?

"*The Essence of Political Persuasion* is bold, imaginative and brilliant. It is the most innovative and effective program of its kind."

*Andre Marrou*, 1992 Libertarian Party presidential nominee.

"I've personally listened to Michael Emerling's political persuasion tapes several times. This program is great. It's a necessity, not a luxury, for all libertarians."

*Jim Lewis*, 1984 Libertarian Party VP nominee and 1992 Marrou For President Campaign Manager.

"Michael Emerling's political persuasion tapes are superb. I have listened to them many times. I continue to be impressed by the power and sophistication of his techniques."

*Vince Miller*, President of International Society For Individual Liberty (I.S.I.L.).

"I have a set of these political persuasion tapes. I had to learn it before I could teach it. Thank you very much, Michael Emerling."

*Marshall Fritz*, founder of Advocates For Self-Government

## FREE BONUS TAPE WITH THIS OFFER

- ☐ Yes! Send me *The Essence Of Political Persuasion* Audio Tape Program for only \$29.95 and the free bonus tape—an added \$10.00 value—Emerling's *The Missing Factor In The Libertarian Equation: Self-Responsibility*.

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# Notebook

## Libertarian ideas on free trade, education, and affirmative action

Cliches and uninformed statements are easy to dismiss as senseless prescriptions from political outcasts and fringe ideologues. Libertarian advocates—be they candidates, state officers, speakers, pamphlet writers, or other spokespersons—may gain credibility for Libertarian ideas by presenting facts and quoting expert opinion that bolster LP positions. This column will provide the ammunition you can use to confound the skeptics and impress those searching for answers by citing mainstream publications and recognized opinion leaders (for and against individual liberty).

If you want to see this feature continue, send in your submissions, with a clipping to verify the statement and the source, for inclusion in future issues. Mail to Dave Walter, c/o NEWS, P.O. Box 780, Winchester, VA 22604.

### Issue: World free trade and free enterprise

"The freedom to invest, consume, and trade, coupled with respect for private property and contracts, forms the basis of all civilized economic development and the economic philosophy upon which the U.S. was founded. That is why, over the past few years, so many countries on so many continents have adopted this philosophy and tried to put it into practice."

Mario Vargas Llosa, Peruvian writer and visiting professor at Harvard University, *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 8, 1993.

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Some Clinton advisers keep trying to push the idea that trade shouldn't be free and must be managed. The "unintended consequences" of managed trade are clear from a recent report by Forbes magazine's Howard Banks: "A case many in the electronics industry believe to be urgently in need of attention concerns the latest active matrix flat screen displays for use in portable computers. Even though none of these flat screens have ever been made in the U.S., a 63 percent anti-dumping duty is imposed on these screens. Because there is no U.S. duty on complete systems, IBM, Compaq, and Apple have all moved production—and therefore jobs—of machines using these displays outside the U.S. Is that what the interventionists intended?"

*Forbes*, Dec. 21, 1992.

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"In Africa, the state reserves for itself the right to intervene, plan, and restructure almost every conceivable aspect of Africa's economy and society. Socialism may be lead but statism lives in Africa. State hegemony in the economy has now become the bane of Africa's development, suffocating and devouring its productive base."

George B. N. Ayittey, a Ghanaian author of "Africa Betrayed" and associate professor of economics at American University, *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 9, 1992.

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"Suddenly, Israel's volatile economy is riding high. Part of the credit goes to the five-month-old, Labor-dominated government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Ironi-



### Activist Notebook

Dave Walter  
Editor

cally, for years, the Labor Party symbolized heavy regulation, big unions, and the welfare state. But now, Labor leaders are pushing business-oriented programs, including corporate tax cuts and stepped-up privatization."

*Business Week*, Dec. 14, 1992.

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"The good news is that we are improving the competitive position of the economy. Private industry is getting a radical improvement of its position by cuts in taxation and by the fact that inflation is now virtually out of the system. There is no way in which Sweden can survive as a rich and prosperous nation if we are not competitive in the new Europe. And we have lost a lot of our competitiveness during the '70s and '80s because of our political mistakes."

Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt, *Business Week*, Nov. 2, 1992.

### Issue: Government education

President Clinton wants to ladle out more taxpayers' money as "loans" to "deserving" college students. And how do they show their appreciation? "Sources familiar with the [Education] Department's bureaucratic skills—or lack of them—point out that it still has not complied with 1986 legislation requiring the establishment of a database to track student loans. Since the law was passed, loan program defaults have cost the taxpayers \$15 billion."

Charles Fenyvesi, *U.S. News and World Report*, Dec. 14, 1992.

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Forgetting, for a moment, the problem of default, one has to ask if the existence of federal loans for education hasn't tempted too many under-qualified students to go to college. While the higher education bureaucracy finds it in their self-interest to lower admission standards and urge more and more subsidies to students, it is in the interest of taxpaying Americans to question the need for so many college trained/educated people. *Business Week's* Gene Koretz cites a recent study by Labor Department economist Kristina Shelley: "Labor's Shelley calculates that the supply of new workers with a college degree will also continue to exceed demand. If current job and educational trends continue, she estimates that 30 percent of college graduates entering the work force from 1990 to 2005 will work in jobs that don't require a college degree." If a youngster truly desires a college education, then he and his parents can find the resources or the scholarships; but we need to stop subsidizing the over-education, under-employment, and dashed expectations of American youth.

*Business Week*, Nov. 9, 1992.

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"Teachers more than anybody else know

what's really going on in the public schools, which is why, I think, they are so likely to send their children to non-public schools. According to an article printed in the *Wall Street Journal* in 1986, 46 percent of the teachers in Chicago sent their children to private schools, compared to 23 percent of parents who were not public school teachers. The same pattern has turned up in studies of other cities since then. For a city like Philadelphia, where public schools are overcrowded and where parochial schools have extra capacity, a voucher system that would allow the situation to even out seems to make sense for teachers—and everyone else." This welcome exposure of the hypocrisy of teachers who attack choice is the opinion of David R. Boldt, editorial page editor of the relentlessly liberal *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

David R. Boldt, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Nov. 22, 1992.

### Issue: Affirmative action

Here's how one prominent black "leader" puts it: "Affirmative action to offset 375 years of negative action is morally, economically, and politically justified. There is no difference of opinion here among the traditional leaders, the middle class, or the masses on the need for such economic development."

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, president, National Rainbow Coalition Inc., from letter in *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 1992.

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And here's how the editor of a business publication sees it: "The modern science of victimology marches on, leveling everything and everyone in its path. Behind it all are the pernicious ideas of the 'level playing field' and 'equality of opportunity.' These phrases, robbed from geometry and mathematics, should have nothing to do with social organization. They mandate a radical egalitarianism that makes us all 'equal' slaves to government dictate. For how can the bright have equal opportunity with the stupid, the energetic with the lazy, or the strong-willed with the weak-willed?"

Justin Raimondo, editor, *Pacific Business Review*, from article in *Free Market*, Jan. 1993.

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According to an article by Paul Klebnikov in *Forbes*, "There are growing signs that the American black community no longer believes what its leader and white liberals preach." Klebnikov quotes Robert Woodson, Sr., a black sociologist and president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise: "There's been a massive destruction of the social and moral infrastructure of black society. Slick academic social planners have imposed their will on the black community. The community was essentially raped. It's the worst case of being hurt by the helping hand I can think of."

He quotes Roy Innis, head of the Congress of Racial Equality: "The Civil Rights Revolution in the 1950s and 1960s was a victory, and we won. But many black political leaders today are not aware of their victory. Racism is still regarded as the only

evil. The new battlefield, however, is not against evils external to our community . . . but against evils internal to it: black-on-black crime, drugs, lack of discipline, poverty of values."

He cites the efforts of the Greater Christ Temple Church of Meridian, MS, which has established a program to get its 200 members off welfare. The pastor, Bishop Luke Edwards, says, "Our people could be just as successful as any other race, but our leaders have allowed us to be entrapped by government handouts." Through a self-sufficiency program established in 1977, (which included a food co-op, purchase of a supermarket, and farming) the church today, according to *Forbes*, "owns 4,000 acres of farmland, eight tractors, 1,000 head of cattle, two meat-processing plants, and three restaurants. While 96 percent of the congregation were on welfare or food stamps in 1977, today no one is."

As further evidence of cracks in the black ranks, Klebnikov quotes Elizabeth Wright, publisher of the New York-based black newsletter *Issues & Views*: "Although the black political elite and old institutions like the NAACP give lip service to self-help . . . an NAACP has nothing to gain from blacks' developing a strong capitalist class. Their whole source of power is a dependent race of people."

Paul Klebnikov, "Showing Big Daddy the Door," *Forbes*, Nov. 9, 1992.

### Issue: The voters' mood

As the voters left the polls on Election Day, a joint exit poll was conducted by ABC, CBS, CNN, and NBC. Despite the hoopla for "change" and the national media's fervent hope that more and more government was in the offing, the poll's results should give pause. According to Gary Langer, senior polling analyst for ABC News: "Most voters' instincts remain anti-government. Seventy-four percent called themselves dissatisfied with the way the government works, or even angry about it. Only 36 percent said they want government to provide more services at the cost of higher taxes. The majority, 55 percent, want government to do less and cost less."

Gary Langer's op-ed column in *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 16, 1992.

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While voters may have it clear in their minds what they expect from government, they apparently have little idea whom to turn to get it. A survey of 600 voters by Michael Morgan of the University of Massachusetts "found that 86 percent knew President Bush had a dog named Millie, but fewer than 15 percent realized both Bush and Clinton supported a death penalty. . . only 23 percent correctly selected defense" as the biggest share of the budget. Morgan says, "This study paints a picture of an electorate that knows little about the candidates and even less about the issues. Most voters have absolutely no idea how their tax dollars are spent." Maybe the Libertarian Party's candidates need to borrow the Perotian tactic of graphs and tables, and cut-through-the-BS.

Stephen Wildstrom, *Business Week*, Nov. 2, 1992.



# Eliminate or Retain?

The debate now focuses on the membership statement

## Eliminate

Open our membership

By NANCY LORD

Change is always controversial. But, without change, there can be no growth.

Perhaps no idea for reforming the Libertarian Party has been the subject of as much debate as the proposal for eliminating the use of the "oath" as a prerequisite for membership. As one of those who participated in the Atlanta meeting that gave rise to this proposal, I would like to provide a constructive framework for that debate, focusing on exactly what is—and what is not—being proposed, and the reasons behind the proposal.

The proposal itself is remarkably simple. Currently our bylaws state that the only people who can be members of the Libertarian Party are those "who have certified in writing that they oppose the initiation of force to achieve political or social goals." Our proposal would drop this requirement for membership. It's as simple as that.

There are several reasons for taking this step:

1) The oath unduly restricts who may become a member, preventing many libertarians from joining the party. With the Democratic Party committed to tax-and-spend economic policies, and the Republican Party trapped by a bizarre right-wing social agenda, there are millions of Americans seeking a fiscally conservative, socially tolerant alternative. The Libertarian Party should be a natural home for these voters. Political movements that are successful are those that attract a broad base of support from people who share considerable agreement on most issues.

As written, our oath can be—and often is—interpreted in a way that would prohibit membership by a minarchist, who accepts any form of taxes or fees for any purpose. For example, many libertarians believe that a small amount of government (national defense, police, courts) is necessary to protect individual rights. If they aren't already convinced that this can be financed without ANY taxation, then they cannot, in good conscience, sign the oath. In fact, Adam Smith, Ludwig von Mises, and Thomas Jefferson would not be able to join the Libertarian Party. Do we really want to reject people like this?

Instead of erecting artificial and unnecessary barriers to membership, we should welcome all Americans who sincerely want more freedom.

2) The oath is ambiguous and difficult to understand. The exact meaning of "initiation of force" has been the subject of endless debate in Libertarian circles. If Libertarians cannot agree on the meaning of the oath, how can we expect outsiders to do so?

As I campaigned last year, potential members would frequently ask such questions as: Is it the initiation of force to resist the government? To what extent can one defend one's self and one's property? Is a threat aggression? Unfortunately, the LP does not have the luxury of having someone personally explain the meaning of the oath to every potential member.

Indeed, for many potential members, their only contact with the LP is calling an 800-number and receiving an info-pac. There is no opportunity to explain the oath and answer questions.

3) Some libertarians reject signing any oath. There are many individuals who believe in libertarian principles, but who are unwilling to sign any oath—for religious or other reasons. Some defenders of the status quo will undoubtedly argue that it is not really an "oath"—merely a "pledge," "certification," etc. But, it doesn't matter what you call it, some libertarians are simply unwilling to take this step. Do we really want to

see Lord on page 12

## The statement

Whether you call it an oath, a pledge, a certification, or a statement of intent, the current wording as it appears on the membership coupon in the NEWS reads:

**"I hereby certify that I do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political or social goals."**

## The bylaws

The party bylaws state:

**"Members of the Party shall be those persons who have certified in writing that they oppose the initiation of force to achieve political or social goals."**

## The real story

To get the real story on where the membership statement came from, and why, the NEWS went to the source, LP founder David Nolan. You might be surprised at the statement's history.

Nolan said that probably only "one person in a 100" knows the true story, although he has described its origin before at meetings and conventions.

Nolan said that there seems to be a belief that the membership statement somehow separates the "true libertarian" from the "unwashed," and that the statement has some "great mystical significance."

"Actually it doesn't," Nolan said.

"To be perfectly honest, those words came out of my typewriter," Nolan said, and were stuck on the bottom of the LP's original application forms. This action took place in the early days of the party, even before the LP had any national committees or had held a national convention, Nolan said.

"They were put on there because at that time, and we're talking the 1971-1972 era, there was a lot of concern about government witch hunts. We had the Nixon enemies list. The investigations and harassments of some anti-war activists in the late

see Nolan on page 13

## Your opinion

By calling 1-900-4-LIBERTY, you can voice your opinion on the oath issue. The cost is \$1.95 per minute, billed to your phone. You should be prepared to give your name, membership ID number, and your "yes" or "no" vote when you call. You will also have an opportunity to leave a short comment, which may be chosen to be printed in a future NEWS. Names and ID numbers will be used only to check the integrity of the system and will be destroyed immediately after tabulation of the votes. It is the policy of the LP that these names will not be made available to any individuals or organizations either inside or outside the party.

Results will be reported in the May NEWS.

This month's question is:

**Should the Libertarian Party eliminate the membership statement requirement?**

## Retain

Remain true to principles

By STEVE ALEXANDER

Article 6: Membership

*1. Members of the Party shall be those persons who have certified in writing that they oppose the initiation of force to achieve political or social goals.*

Every year thousands of Americans rise above "anything to win" politics as usual and sign such a statement. In a political culture where principles are fluid and integrity unknown, why do they do it? Amidst the opportunism and conformity of the political arena, why do they do something principled and different?

Why? First, they already believe in it and practice it. Signing it just means saying what they think. Second, they seek honest fellowship. They want to join the only group of people in which everyone has agreed to this statement.

Our objection to modern government is that it initiates force. It takes people's property by force. It forces people to follow regulations in business and private life, even if none of the people in a given situation want that regulation. Often the purpose of this force is to pursue political or social goals like income equality, moral conformity, etc. These goals may be good or bad, but initiating force is always wrong.

We also wish to make clear that the Libertarian Party will not initiate force. Some Americans don't understand their own political system. They think there should be only two political parties, and anything else is subversive, dangerous, and un-American. We wish to reassure them.

Why do a few libertarians hesitate over our statement?

**Ideology**

*I think it's O.K. to initiate force.*

These people really wouldn't be happy in the Libertarian Party. They should save themselves (and us) the money and frustration.

*If the government cannot initiate force, then it cannot collect taxes, which may mean it cannot exist. I believe we'll always need some government, though it should be as small as possible.*

Libertarians believe any given tax is wrong. They believe some small tax is unavoidable for some time to come, but that's quite different from advocating taxes.

**Fighting Crime**

*If a criminal attacks me, I have the right to fight back.*

The membership statement has nothing to do with that situation. Self-defense is not the initiation of force; it is a response to force.

*If a criminal threatens me but doesn't attack me, I have the right to fight back.*

The threat of force by a criminal is the initiation of force; self-defense is in response to that force, it is not the initiation of force.

*If a crime against me doesn't involve violence, I still have the right to use force to stop it.*

Force is not just violence to people, it includes acts against their property.

*If a criminal is attacking someone else, I have the right to help that person.*

The criminal initiated force, though directed at someone else. Defending the victim is not initiation of force.

**Individualism**

*I don't have to follow your rules.*

see Alexander on page 12



# Lord

continued from page 11

keep them out of the party?

4) People come to the Libertarian Party for a variety of reasons. Support for political parties is based on political positions and issues, not metaphysics.

The Non-Initiation of Force Principle is a wonderful thing. But, people may become Libertarians for many other reasons. Some join because of their religious convictions. Some are Objectivists. Others come because of pragmatic reasons (i.e., Freedom Works!). Are we prepared to say that these people are wrong? The Libertarian Party is not a religion. We should not require that members accept any particular dogma as long as they understand our goals.

Now, let me briefly mention what this proposal is not.

It is not a repudiation of the contents of the oath or the philosophy of the Libertarian Party. No proponent of the Atlanta reforms has ever suggested that the LP abandon or repudiate its philosophy. That philosophy is best reflected in our Statement of Principles, which was specifically reaffirmed in Atlanta.

I spent 14 months campaigning across this country because I believe in that phi-

losophy. The Libertarian Party is—and must remain—the party of principle. Those of us seeking reform do not want to change this. All we are seeking is an elimination of unnecessary barriers to membership in our party.

Our proposal does not preclude the use of the oath for national committee members or the national presidential ticket. Nor does it prevent state parties from requiring the oath for state officers or convention delegates. For that matter, state parties would be free to continue using the oath as a condition of state party membership. We have taken no position on any of these issues. Our proposal would eliminate the oath only as a prerequisite for national party membership.

Our proposal would not make the LP more vulnerable to takeover by non-libertarians. Both theory and practice show that such fears are unfounded. First, the oath does nothing to protect against takeover by unscrupulous individuals who “lie.” Individual party members can violate the oath—and have done so in the past. The oath is essentially an “honor system.” And, honor systems work only with honorable men and women.

Finally, our proposal would not lead people to join the LP without knowing what we stand for. A potential member will find out what we stand for as a result of the totality of the materials he is sent. This will count for far more than one line on a membership form.

For 20 years, the Libertarian Party has insisted on playing the game by its own rules. We have come to a baseball game with a football. Pitching that football may have made us feel good, but we keep losing the game. Freedom in this country is slipping further and further away. Our motto once was “Freedom in our lifetime.” If we ever hope to see that, we must expand the membership of our party. We must welcome all those who reject the anti-liberty programs of the Democrats and Republicans. We must take our place in the game with the other parties, and play by the rules of the game we have chosen to join.

Eliminating the oath is not a magic bullet. But, it is one small—but necessary—step on the road to liberty.

*Nancy Lord was the 1992 Libertarian nominee for vice president. She is chairman of the Committee for a Libertarian Majority.*

## Your Comments

If you would like to offer your comments on the debate over the membership statement, you can write the NEWS and express your opinion. Please keep your comments short and to the point, as we have already received many letters.

You can also call The Liberty Hotline, 1-900-4-LIBERTY, and both vote on this month's question and leave a short comment.

The debate will continue in next month's NEWS, so call or write soon.

# Alexander

continued from page 11

*What right do you have to force me to sign? My position is none of your business.*

Anyone can avoid following the rule by not joining. We won't force them to sign, but they can't force us to admit them. The political position of its prospective members is the business of a political party.

We admire individualism, but we are individuals too. We have the right, as individuals, to choose the people with whom we associate. We accept all whose personal creed includes the non-initiation of force. If we had to accept their membership on their unilateral terms, then they would be forcing us.

### Semantics

Many of the people who object to the statement have problems with definitions of words like “initiation” and “force.” When they state their positions in their own words, it matches our statement, but they think our phrasing is different from their meanings.

Some people refer to the membership statement as an oath, or sarcastically as a “sacred oath.” Look at the bylaw. It is merely a requirement that a prospective member inform us of his or her viewpoint on coercion, and that we use that information in evaluating the membership application.

The bylaws don't specify the wording of the membership statement. If there is a better way to say the same thing, we can adopt it without changing the bylaws.

Initiate means to begin or set going. It is not a response to a previous act. When the Los Angeles police broke up a bowling club where the members bet on their games, the police were the first people in that situation to use force.

Force is coercion; to harm someone

physically or non-physically, to compel someone unwillingly; to violate or intervene in people's right to live their lives as they choose. The LAPD may have been very polite to the betting bowlers. They may have not laid hands on the bowlers. But they interfered with the bowlers' voluntary activity.

### Pragmatics

*The Republicans and Democrats don't require a statement, why do you?*

Suggesting that we be like the Republicans and Democrats misses the point of the Libertarian Party. We are not just another group of politicians competing for the power to initiate force. We are a group of citizens who want to stop the initiation of force. Different goals may require different practices. Anyway, Republicans and Democrats don't have members in the same sense we do. They care only about vote totals.

*If you want more members, why do you put up obstacles to joining?*

The last thing we want is for the Libertarian Party to fill up with people who accept the initiation of force. That might seem unlikely, but some libertarians think they can take over the Republican Party, and Pat Robertson's religious right actually did so in some states.

The Libertarian Party of California allows people to be associate (non-voting) members without signing the statement. In 1991, the LP of California doubled its membership, from 2,000 to 3,900. Only 8% of that 3,900 did not sign the statement. The membership statement has not stopped LP growth in California or many other states.

The national Libertarian Party has had a steady 24 percent per year growth for three

of the past four years. The only exception, 1991, can be explained by the rise in membership dues from \$15 to \$25. That price increase was made to fuel the party's political activities, and we knew, from the law of supply and demand, that membership numbers would have a temporary drop.

*The statement doesn't keep out liars, and it doesn't stop members from doing bad things.*

No bylaw is self-enforcing, and no bylaw can guarantee that undefined “bad things” won't happen. That responsibility lies with all of us, and the bylaws justify our enforcement. Without bylaws, the undefined “bad things” are merely matters of subjective, unenforceable opinion and taste.

The membership statement defines us as individuals and defines our voluntary association. It gives the LP a sense of identity. It sets forth an all-important standard that LP members expect to see met by fellow members. It is binding on the consciences of those who sign it—and for almost everyone, it works. If almost everyone in the party believes in the non-initiation of force, we can survive the few who secretly do not.

*If we change the definition of membership to include non-signers, we could impress people by referring to registered libertarians as members.*

Why not impress people by referring to registered libertarians as Libertarians? Don't wait for someone to ask how many dues paying, card carrying, statement signing Libertarians there are. Tell them there are over 100,000 Libertarians in the 18 states for which we have registration figures.

We Libertarians must remain true to ourselves and our principles. What's the point of winning? Isn't it to restore liberty to American society and to the lives of the American people? We can stay principled and still win. It's already begun. Only a party of principle whose members pledge themselves not to initiate force against others can honestly and confidently go before the American people with the Libertarian message.

*Steve Alexander is a former Libertarian National Committee member. He is the founder of PLEDGE.*

## NatCom to make convention committee appointments

The Libertarian National Committee will be making appointments to the 1993 convention committees at its April meeting. Members of the Bylaws and Rules, Platform, and Credentials committees will be selected.

Members interested in being considered for these positions should write to

National Secretary Joe Dehn, P.O. Box 621015, Littleton, CO 80162, e-mail: “jwd3@dehnbase.fido-net.org”. Please indicate which committee you are interested in and include a resume or other information (up to two pages total) that you think will help LNC members understand your qualifications.



# Affiliate activities

## NH legislators sponsor bills to curtail government growth

### Arizona

The first state LP benefit concert has been slated for March 14, at The Source dance club in Phoenix. The show will feature six local bands, including Lemon Krayola and 2000 Flushes. Voter registration and current petitions will be available at the concert. For more information, contact **Arizona State University Libertarians** at 602-266-6100, ext. 1776.

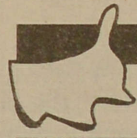
### California

The San Francisco LP has elected new officers for 1993. Those elected included **George L. O'Brien**, chair; **Jerry Pico**, vice chair; **Jim Elwood**, treasurer; and **Mark Valverde**, secretary.

### Florida

The state party has filed a ballot access lawsuit against the secretary of state. **Mike Fender**, chair of the state ballot access legal committee said, "The Florida Constitution has chapters specifically designed to guarantee easy access to the ballot. The Tallahassee legislature is in obvious violation of our own Constitution. We expect the Supreme Court of Florida to recognize this and grant us significant ballot access relief."

According to state party spokesman **Edward Reasor**, "incumbent politicians have rigged the rules in their favor so



### National pulse

#### News from the states

heavily that the LP of Florida must garner over 4 million signatures to fill the ballot in 1994. Additionally, the rules are so inconsistent that the number of signatures swells to 6.5 million by some estimates—actually requiring more signatures than the number of registered voters."

### Kansas

**Allen L. Tiffany** was recently named the campus coordinator for the state party. His goals include creating a Libertarian organization at every college campus in the state, helping existing organizations, and serving as a liaison between the state party and the campus groups.

### Maryland

**Gerald Schneider**, a Libertarian activist who has been writing a regular "libertarian oriented" newspaper column for 10 years, is now a paid columnist for the *Silver Spring Record*, a weekly newspaper that is 85 percent owned by *The Washington Post*. Imagine, a regular weekly libertarian column in a Post-owned newspaper!



NEWS Photo by Jeff Chase

**PROTESTING PROTESTORS** - Massachusetts Libertarians gathered to protest both NOW and Operation Rescue at a demonstration in Brookline. The Libertarian slogan was, "Keep your hands off my body and my money!" Participants included, from left to right, **Dean Cook**, **Geoff Weil**, **Alan Turniasky**, **Bill Hees**, **Howard Price**, **Lee Nason**, and **Galit Dukach**.

### New Hampshire

The state's four new Libertarian legislators have sponsored or co-sponsored a dozen bills for the current legislative session. The bills include a constitutional amendment to give voters the right to repeal laws, a bill to ease restrictions on home schooling, and a bill to curb property forfeiture law abuses. Other bills deal with the issues of term limits and the Fully Informed Jury Act.

### Texas

**Christian Struble**, a graduate student in Texas, has started a new publication called "The Texas Freedom Observer." Struble hopes to make it a "watchdog" publication, reporting on intrusive government policies and current issues of interest to students." Struble also hopes the publication will keep Libertarian students from different campuses in touch with each other, as well as the state LP.

## Nolan

continued from page 11

1960s were still fresh in some people's minds," Nolan said.

The statement was added simply to protect the party "against accusations of being wild-eyed crazy anarchists who were going to blow up the Capitol building and do terrible things," Nolan explained. "It was there specifically to identify us as a peaceful, non-violent, non-revolutionary organi-

zation."

"It didn't have anybody's approval, I just did it," Nolan said.

After the party became more organized, but still in the early 1970s, a requirement that members certify that they agreed with the party's platform was instituted. But this brought up the concern that some members might not agree with 100 percent of the platform, and therefore feel like they couldn't sign the certification. As an alternative, the non-initiation of force pledge was approved as a condition of membership.

"It has variously been called a pledge or an oath, it isn't really either, it's simply a statement of intent," Nolan said.

Over the years the statement has gone from being simply something that seemed like a good idea to protect the party against possible harassment "to something that people are now taking as an affirmation of faith," he said.

And what does Nolan, the author of the original statement feel about the current debate?

"It is worthy of debate because it does touch on the whole non-initiation of force principle. Whether it ought to be in its present form, whether it ought to be a requirement for becoming a national member, I don't know. That's something we ought to discuss. But I'm not 100 percent convinced that getting rid of it or changing it would be a death-blow to the party," Nolan said.

## Russian advance for ISIL

International Society for Individual Liberty (ISIL) Rep. William Milonoff of St. Petersburg, Russia, has, with the help of a grant from ISIL, translated and printed 10,000 copies of ISIL Director Ken Schoolland's delightful libertarian children's book, "The Adventures of Jonathan Gullible," into Russian.

A top economic adviser to Boris Yeltsin in Moscow has been very impressed by the book and is promoting it on Russian television, radio, and in the print media.

The government also plans to publish an additional 200,000 copies of the

book (which explains basic free market economics) for nationwide distribution.

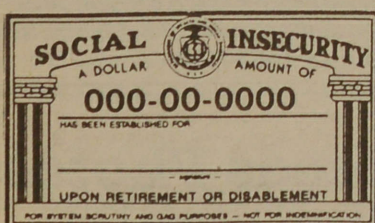
Milonoff has also been asked by the Charity Islamic Foundation if it can translate the book into Tatar for the Islamic community.

Milonoff and Schoolland will both be attending ISIL's world conference this year in Tallinn, Estonia (July 25-31). This event will bring together libertarians from Central and Eastern Europe and the world to debate reforms.

For more info on ISIL and/or the conference, write ISIL, 1800 Market St., San Francisco, CA 94102.

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see page 4



## Two Libertarian election challenges rejected

Two Libertarian Party candidates who challenged returns from the November election have had their appeals turned down.

In Nevada, Tamara Clark, candidate for state senate, argued that she, and not her opponent, should have been declared the winner in the election.

Clark had claimed massive voter fraud and was given a "hearing" in the state legislature in January. A three-member panel of state senators refused to look at the boxes of evidence Clark brought to the hearing. As one newspaper headline described the event, "Bored senate panel has no use for challenger's evidence." One senator simply stated that he was "too tired" to look at the evidence.

The senators did, however, recommend that there should be a grand jury investigation into vote fraud in Las Vegas.

In related to this action, the Nevada secretary of state introduced a bill to reduce ballot access requirements from 3 percent to 1 percent. The bill also gives all parties that were on the ballot in 1992, including the LP, guaranteed ballot status in 1994.

In Texas, Brenda Anderson challenged the results in her contest for Denton County commissioner. She had received 44 percent of the vote in the fall election, but she had what she believed to be strong evidence that she had actually defeated her opponent.

Anderson brought civil action in Denton County charging voter fraud. The court ruled against her challenge in late January.



NEWS Photo by Randal Morgan

**BRENDA ANDERSON - LP candidate's election challenge was rejected.**

## Voter registration bill passes House; access implications

By RICHARD WINGER

On Feb. 4, the U.S. House of Representatives passed H.R. 2, the bill to force the states to make it easier for people to register to vote. The vote was 259-160. The bill is almost certain to pass the Senate and to be signed by President Clinton.

States that permit voters to register on election day, or that don't require voter registration at all, will not be affected. Other states would be required to do the following:

1. Provide combined forms in motor vehicle offices that would permit someone to obtain a driver's license and register to vote, all on the same application.
2. Require that all other government offices that serve the public provide voter registration forms.
3. Require that states provide a postcard registration form, so that it would no longer be necessary for people to visit a government office in order to register.

The bill pertains only to federal elections, so states that do not want to provide such procedures for state and local elections would need to keep separate registration rolls for federal versus other elections.

States would be free to design their own postcard registration forms, although the Federal Election Commission is also authorized to design a form that the states could copy if they choose.

### Implications for ballot access

Assuming H.R. 2 passes, it would go into effect before the 1996 election. The number of registered voters would increase sharply (currently only about 70 percent of all potential voters are registered).

Petition validity would be much higher than it has been in the past. The rule of thumb has been that petitioners need to gather one and one-half times the number of signatures required by law, because so many signers are not registered to vote, or they aren't registered at their current address.

On the other hand, the number of signatures required will increase sharply in the states in which the number of signatures is determined by the number of registered voters. For new political party procedures, these states are Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Louisiana, Maryland, Oregon, and Virginia. For independent candidates, they are California, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.

Another impact the bill will have is that it will be easier to pass the proposed federal ballot access bill. No longer will the 259 members of Congress who voted for the voter registration bill be able to argue that Congress should have no role in mandating election procedures.

Constitutional authority for both bills is contained in Article I of the original U.S. Constitution, which says that states may write election rules for Congress, but that Congress itself is free to supplant or alter them.

*Richard Winger is the editor of Ballot Access News. This article is reprinted from the Feb. 8 issue. A one-year subscription is only \$7. For information, write Ballot Access News, Box 470296, San Francisco, CA 94147.*

## Ratings

continued from page 1

Libertarian Party activists who want an accurate picture of the voting records of those who pretend to represent them in Congress can now use the new Libertarian voting index. This index uses 10 key votes on bills concerning economic freedom and 10 key votes on bills concerning personal liberty to create an index of libertarian voting patterns for every senator and every representative.

The issues covered in the area of economics included unemployment compensation, budget cuts, the S&L bailout, Social Security expansion, free trade, railroad strike intervention, budget balancing, cable TV regulation, and the family medical leave act. In the area of personal liberty, the issues included controls on "900" telephone line calls, quotas in higher education, public campaign financing, handgun registration, abortions in U.S. military hospitals, elimination of the Selective Service, school choice, and Fourth Amendment rights.

It is in the area of personal rights that the voting records of those generally associated with being "libertarian leaning" congressman is most perplexing. For example, an examination of the voting patterns of the five highest rated U.S. House members, Crane, Rohrbacher, Zimmer, Stump, and Hancock, finds interesting patterns of cleavage from normal libertarian positions.

All five, for example, voted in favor of reducing the power of the Fourth Amendment against warrantless search and seizure. When the issue of abortion comes forward, only Zimmer takes a policy of pro-choice on both U.S. military hospital abortions and fetal research, yet Zimmer voted to control 900 telephone lines and for public financing of federal elections. On the other hand, only Stump and Hancock fought censorship on the 900 telephone line issue.

The two congressmen, Zimmer and Rep. Frank Riggs,

that are often referred to as "Libertarians on the Hill" by Libertarian-Republican activists, voted last session against libertarian positions on gun ownership, Fourth Amendment rights, cable regulation, unemployment compensation expansion, and the railroad strike intervention bill. If we factor out the issue of abortion and consider the view of fetal rights as within the libertarian quadrant, then Crane, Rohrbacher, Stump, and Hancock move more solidly into the libertarian realm.

This year's ratings also uphold the observations that have been made in the past three years about the weakness of the traditional left-right analysis of economic and personal issues. Many libertarians are fond of saying that liberals are good on civil liberties and weak on economic freedoms, while conservatives are good on economics issues but weak on personal rights.

The fact is that for the past three years liberals, and liberal Democrats in particular, have ranked below 50 percent on average on personal rights votes, as well as averaging between 20-30 percent on economic freedom votes. Republicans range between 40-60 percent on economics and between 20-40 percent on personal rights.

The key to this is that personal rights, such as gun ownership and seat belt/motorcycle helmet laws, are not thought of as personal rights issues either by the liberal political community or by the media in general.

The 1992 Libertarian Rating of the U.S. Congress is published in a 24-page booklet that includes a full review of each bill selected for the rating. The booklet also includes a roster of the new 103rd Congress and highlights new members who may be interesting to watch from a libertarian perspective.

The booklet is available for \$10 from Don Ernsberger, 865 Meadowood Lane, Warminster, PA 18974.

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The NEWS is looking for good, clear, black and white or color photos. Please send photos with a brief, but complete, description of the activity and the name of the photographer to the NEWS, P.O. Box 780, Winchester, VA 22604.



# Outreach

## New organization proposed to target business community

By Dave Walter

I believe there is a glaring gap in efforts by the Libertarian Party, and the libertarian community in general, to reach out to opinion makers and persons with influence. I'm referring to the haphazard (at best) way we libertarians attempt to expose our ideas to business persons and entrepreneurs.

There are millions of business executives in America, hundreds of thousands of entrepreneurs struggling to build businesses in the face of government regulation and taxation, and tens of millions of people whose livelihood and standard of living is based on the continued profitability of these employers. Yet libertarian influence is weak and unorganized; libertarian business persons have to glean arguments from the Freeman, Free Market, Liberty, Reason, and various think tank publications and try, as individuals, to affect the views of their peers.

Any libertarian involved as an executive or business owner knows that the official voices of the business community could use a good dose of libertarian medicine. The Business Roundtable wants more "partnering" with government (i.e., more room at the trough). Other groups, such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Chamber of Commerce, try to fight government intervention by half-way measures, slippery-slope compromises, and toothless utilitarian arguments.

## Draheim in senate race

Rick Draheim of Rockwall, TX, is running for the U.S. Senate seat vacated by Lloyd Bentsen. He has been endorsed by the Texas LP executive committee.

Draheim accomplished the best-ever finish in a 3-way Texas-wide race, winning over 7 percent of the vote in his bid for state railroad commissioner in November. He will be the only candidate petitioning to get on the ballot, rather than paying a filing fee.

The May 1 race is a free-for-all with at least three Democrats and three Republicans also running. The top two finishers will meet in a run-off, assuming no one gets a majority at first.

"We think Rick will do respectably in votes, but the real goals of the campaign are party building. In the last election we doubled the number of local organizations we had. We want to use this election to help solidify these groups and to get new groups going in areas where we only have contacts now," said Bruce Baechler, campaign manager.

For more information, write Draheim for Senate, c/o LP of Texas, P.O. Box 49854, Austin, Texas 78765, or call 512-467-1776.

With a change of administration in Washington, most business groups will go into opposition to many Democratic proposals while hoping President Clinton really is a moderate. If he is, then the temptation will exist for business to "go along" because they fear the worse consequences of left-liberals being given a free hand.

The time is ripe for an organization of libertarian business executives and entrepreneurs to infuse principled opposition to government intervention, welfare for corporate America, and sell-out compromising of the capitalist free enterprise system.

If you are a libertarian business executive or owner of a business, and agree that

it is time to explore the formation of a national libertarian business organization, please write to me at 1505 Cotswald Court, West Chester, PA 19382.

*Dave Walter is a former Libertarian Party national chair and editor of the "Libertarian Activist Notebook" feature in the NEWS.*

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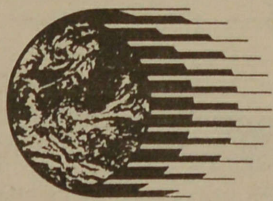
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# Failed!

## Dave says the Clinton administration is already a failure

Allow me to be the first professional news commentator to point out that the Clinton administration has failed. Look at the evidence. Bill Clinton has been President for over two weeks now, and:

The national debt is still enormous.

The world is still rife with oppression, famine, and genocide.

George Steinbrenner is still at large.

The time has come to ask: What went wrong? How could failure have come so quickly to Bill Clinton, who started out with so much promise, so many ideas, such a large volume of hair? As is so often true with great historical issues, we will not truly know the answer until we read the next sentence.

The answer is, Clinton wore himself out selecting his Cabinet. Previous presidents didn't waste a lot of energy on this task. They appointed Cabinet members pretty much at random from a small pool of wealthy golf-playing respected establishment white males, replacing them as they became indicted. (Ronald Reagan had to wait for the "World Almanac" to be published to find out who was in his Cabinet.)

It didn't MATTER who the appointees



On the light side

Dave Barry  
Columnist

were, because under our constitutional system of government, most Cabinet members have no actual duties other than to pose for their official oil portraits. The only Cabinet members with responsibilities beyond that are:

The Secretary of State, who is required to fly to the Middle East every three weeks to deliver a historic peace initiative, to be placed with all the others in a huge, climate-controlled Peace Initiative Storage Facility;

The Secretary of the Treasury, who signs all the money;

The Surgeon General, who treats the blisters on the Secretary of the Treasury's hand.

I bet you can't name one newsworthy thing that a Cabinet member has done since Gerald "R" Ford's Secretary of Agriculture and Rocket Science, Earl Butz, de-

cided that it would be a good idea to tell a bad ethnic joke to a reporter. Sure, sometimes in the news you see Photo Opportunities of the president sitting with his full Cabinet around a big table, everybody frowning and looking important, but you never hear what actually goes ON in these meetings:

PRESIDENT: OK, so we want, let's see . . . 14 jelly doughnuts and nine powdered sugar, am I right?

CABINET MEMBER: And a prune Danish.

PRESIDENT: Who the hell are you?

CABINET MEMBER: I'm the Secretary of Vegetable and Mineral Affairs.

PRESIDENT (suspiciously): Let's see your Cabinet membership card. (He examines the card.) You bonehead! This expired in 1978! You were in the CARTER Cabinet.

CABINET MEMBER: Whoops!

(General laughter.)

Then along came Bill Clinton, who owed his election to the approximately 17,000 special-interest groups we like to call "the Democratic Party." Clinton could not merely select traditional random white males. Instead, he spent what seemed like

the better part of 1992 in a grueling effort to select a Cabinet that, as he put it, "looks like America," by which he meant, "looks like one of those comically artificial TV commercials so determined to exhibit one member of every major minority group that they practically make the actors wear large signs with labels like 'ORIENTAL.'" Clinton was obsessed with getting the right mixture, to the point where it seemed to be more important than anything else:

CLINTON: I am pleased to announce that I am appointing, to the critical Cabinet post of Secretary of Fisheries and Hatcheries, a person who is not only a person of gender, but is also a learning-disabled diabetic Norwegian-American Southern person of partly Aleutian descent.

REPORTERS: What is this person's name?

CLINTON: I have no idea.

So he was clearly exhausted by the Cabinet-selection process, and that was just the beginning. He also had to find appointees of the correct ethnic genders for the thousands of other key positions in the many crucial agencies that make up the vast, ever-mutating, multitentacled, money-sucking blob we like to call "the federal government," including the Christopher Columbus Commission, the Marine Mammal Commission, and, of course, the Inter-American Tuna Commission (these are real federal agencies). This was a MASSIVE job. Imagine trying to determine the gender of a tuna. No wonder that, after all this appointing, Clinton has no energy left to be the actual president. I'm getting tired just THINKING about it. Wake me up when it's 1996.

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## Outrage of the month

Three New Jersey townships—Upper Pittsgrove, Alloway, and Quinton—have recently contracted to have elevator inspectors, reports the February Reader's Digest. There's only one problem: there are no elevators in any of the three municipalities.

Last June, the NJ Department of Community Affairs ordered all of the state's 567 towns to provide for elevator inspection service. A spokesman said the state cannot make exceptions to the rules—even for municipalities without elevators. "Otherwise," the spokesman said, "the Uniform Construction Code would no longer be uniform."

## Sign of the times



Not So Slow Death - Sign spotted in Leavenworth, KS, advertising property for sale. Submitted by Allen L. Tiffany of Lawrence, KS.



Keep up with the latest LP news!



# Call The Liberty Hotline!

## 1-900-4-LIBERTY

Option #1: Membership Survey

(caller will be asked name, membership ID #, and vote; caller can also leave a short comment; see question on page 9)

Option #2: LP Election Results

Option #3: LP Project Report

Option #4: Legislative Hotline

Option #5: Contribution Line

(enables caller to contribute \$25 through phone bill; caller will be asked employer and occupation)

\$1.95 per minute billed to your rotary or tone phone

## Quote of the Month

This month's quote comes from H.L. Mencken, who wrote in 1919:

"The ideal government of all reflective men, from Aristotle onward, is one which lets the individual alone—one which barely escapes being no government at all."

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# Platform debate

## Readers comment on the proposed platform revisions

Can the official platform be divided into two documents?

(1) A relatively short, simple, and topical campaign document, entitled the Platform; with specific problem-and-solution in areas of immediate, common, everyday concern such as crime, weapons, drugs, health care, taxes.

(2) A much more comprehensive document entitled Long-Range Goals; with additional discussion of the above areas, plus others now in the platform but felt with less urgency by typical voters (postal reform), or (dare I say it) whose solutions are perceived with less clarity and consensus by the Party itself (defense and immigration).

**Robert Wilfred Franson**  
San Diego

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

Why not have a third choice for the debate, the best of both worlds. Let us condense the current platform and use it as half of the new platform as Part II: Goals. This half should stay very consistent, rarely changing. Then, Part I: Objectives, should consist of short-term planks on four or six of the most pressing problems in the nation. The first part should be revised every two years.

**Michael Gathers**  
Golden, CO

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

I support revision of the platform on a regular basis. Surely a political party founded on the principles of individual liberty and individual responsibility must entrust the same liberty and responsibility to its current and future members.

**Chip Deckard**  
Blountville, TN

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

Any doubts I had about registering and voting Libertarian were removed after reading the platform in your Feb. 1993 edition. I like it. I like it.

**Peter A. Holman**  
San Juan Capistrano, CA

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

The platform has no reason to exist other than the spurious idea to imitate the "mainstream guys," which is the biggest mistake we make!

Our strength is the difference between us and them! That should be the focus of all our efforts to reach the populace.

All the printed platform does is give our opponents some place to hang their charge that we're off-the-chart and should be ignored. Every single-issue clod can point to a particular plank that offends him. Get rid of it!

**Harvey J. Gould**  
Glenview, IL

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

I think the Statement of Principles is the most important part of the platform. In all my activist dealing, I've talked with many who have had misgivings about various specific planks, but I've never talked with anyone who had problems with the Principles. As far as I'm concerned, we can radically modify the entire rest of the platform with regard to specific issues. But the Statement of Principles must stay! That is what makes the document a libertarian one.

**Todd Greene**  
Grand Rapids, MI



### Staying in touch

#### Letters to the editor

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

Throw it out!

The '92 platform is so long and specific that it excludes 99.9 percent of the people and makes hypocrites out of the rest of us.

Let's replace it with the Libertarian Objective, taken from the '92 platform preamble which states, "We seek a world of liberty; a world in which all individuals are sovereign over their own lives, and no one is forced to sacrifice his or her values for the benefit of others."

Now, let's figure out how to get from here to there.

**K.C. Blair**  
Solebury, PA

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

Why not keep and continue to revise the original platform, calling it the "long term goals of the Libertarian Party." This way no one, especially new members, will lose sight of where we intend to head. The new platform will be the immediate short term goals of the LP to help people who think concretely to understand how Libertarian ideas will work.

**Ty Price**  
Jacksonville, FL

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

At least 10 percent of Americans are

libertarians. They are skeptical of big government across the board. They are sympathetic to at least some proposals for privatization, decriminalization, and strategic disengagement.

Yet the vast majority of libertarians are not welcome in the LP. The oath limits membership to radicals: those who advocate ending all initiation of force by government. And the implications of that commitment are spelled out in the 1992 platform: the radical libertarian utopia. (Absolutely no taxes, privatization of all roads, etc.) How many Americans favor that? Is it 1 percent or less?

It's time for the LP to become a political home for all libertarians. Replace the platform! It should appeal to all libertarians, rather than "exhilarate" radical libertarians only.

**Bill Woolsey**  
Charleston, SC

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

I enjoyed the "Retain or Revise" debate over the Libertarian platform that appeared in the February NEWS. I admit I sided with Bill Evers. I believe a detailed platform is essential to pursuing the long range goals of the party. I did appreciate the points Steve Dasbach presented, although I thought some of the issues he brought up actually supported Evers' position. In any case, a big thank you to both writers.

**Gus Calabrese**  
Denver, CO

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

The current platform should be retained

as the "General Platform." A "Current Issues Platform" should also be adopted which is consistent with both the proposed changes and the long-term goals of the general platform. Both platforms should retain the Statement of Principles.

We Libertarians should give up the "one platform system."

**Keith Constantine**  
Newtown, PA

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

I am impressed with the platform. It appears well thought out, consistent with what I believe in. In fact, some of the platform that was presented opened my eyes even further. I dare say, if we go about changing the platform to please special interest groups, are we really different than the Republicrats and Democans? Are we then to be held hostage, disregard our political souls to appease the special interest? Then why bother? No, I think the debate is good to reaffirm our beliefs, but what is called our platform is our foundation. Just like the Constitution, it is a timeless document of what we are, and what we represent.

**John J. Babiarz**  
Southington, CT

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

The platform of the LP is the main thing which attracts me to the LP. It comes closer by far than any other document to expressing my views on political issues. The proposed changes would destroy the platform and amount to an abandonment

see **Platform debate** on page 18

## A historical perspective?

By DEAN AHMAD

*If the document that has come into my hands is authentic, then the self-styled moderates calling to scrap the LP membership statement and platform have some illustrious intellectual ancestors:*

Date: July 5, 1776  
From: Steve Rogers  
To: Thomas Jefferson

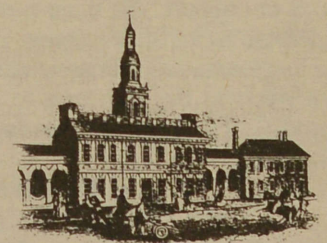
Dear Tom:

I met with a few of the boys and they showed me this "Declaration of Independence" thing you've been passing around. Now you know, we in Atlanta are just as concerned about the state of affairs in the colonies as you are, and we definitely agree that we need a revolution. But stop and think for a minute, Tom. How can we win a revolution if we can't get people to support us. Don't get us wrong, I'm a 100% patriot, but there are other people who are 60-70% patriots and we won't get their support if the press has a document like yours to confront us with.

We are only asking you to make two changes. First, dump the oath: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain

unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." How many signatures have you gotten on your "Declaration," Tom? Fifty? Sixty? There are hundreds of thousands who would join us but who don't agree with that stupid oath. There are thousands who oppose King George who don't think that all men are created equal. And why mention Life as a right? You want to keep the pro-abortion people out of the revolution? And what's with this "pursuit of happiness" stuff? We are already being accused of being hedonists and libertines! Look, I know what you mean but the public doesn't. Why even have such a statement if you have to explain it to everybody.

The other thing you've got to dump is the platform. That list of grievances against the Crown just goes on and on! And there's controversial stuff in there. Who's going to take us seriously if we oppose the standing army? There are many people who think the army is too big and would favor reducing it, but to call for its complete removal makes us look like flakes. And that purple prose! "... works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & Perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages?" You're saying King George is worse than Attila the Hun, and you expect us to be taken seriously? Get real, Tom. You wouldn't have even gotten thirty signa-



INDEPENDENCE HALL (STATE HOUSE)  
PHILADELPHIA, 1774

tures if you hadn't scratched out that ridiculous passage criticizing the slave trade. Now all we're asking is that the whole list of grievances be removed and replaced with no more than five issues that we can get some support for: say cut the tea tax in half, stuff like that. Things people can rally behind.

If you purists insist on demanding that our revolution be identified with phrases like "all men are created equal" (including the Negroes? Is that what you're saying Tom?) and with platform planks like abolishing the standing army, then this revolution is doomed. Fortunately, history will remember neither ideologues like you nor clowns like Sam Adams (dressing up like an Indian! no wonder we're not taken seriously), but the sensible moderates in the Continental Congress, men like Robert Soggs and Brady Falloon who are committed to the repeal of this Declaration which poses such an obstacle to our success.



# Platform debate

continued from page 17

of principle. To trash the platform and abolish the oath would be tantamount to embezzling all the effort and money I have given to the LP over the years.

**Jim Spriggs**  
Gaithersburg, MD

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

A major difference which advantageously distinguishes this party is repudiation of multitudinous expedient government actions based on narrow considerations in favor of knowledge based solutions that work long term as well as short term. Our platform reflects this differentiation. The proposal to adopt a brief platform with a time perspective of 2-4 years flies in the face of libertarian philosophy. I suggest its advocates have forgotten or never understood the clarion call of Robert Ringer in "Restoring the American Dream" or the historical consequences (all bad) of short term political perspective or narrow consideration of issues as demonstrated in Henry Hazlett's "Economics in One Lesson."

I advocate that anyone swayed by the rhetoric re-read the two books cited above before casting a vote on this egregious proposal.

**Lee D. Hustead**  
Norristown, PA

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

I joined the LP in 1992 and sent away for the LP platform shortly thereafter. I became horrified as I read it, not because I disagreed with what it said, but because I began to think of the amount of ammunition it would provide a political opponent in a debate.

The current platform is more than a liability. It is a guarantee. It is a guarantee that we will never accomplish our purpose, stated in the first line of the platform preamble as, to "seek a world of liberty." If we wish to move toward that goal we must do so a step at a time. We must change the platform.

One word of caution. We must never alter the LP Statement of Principles. We must never forget what we ultimately stand for. . . . We need to be both true to its principles and a viable alternative in today's political arena.

**J. Beth Moscarelli**  
Montgomery, AL

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

I agree that the LP must change, and that some attention to the platform may be in order. But it is my regular observation that Libertarians would rather grasp at any "magic bullet" idea, involving the mere stroke of a pen (change the party name, water down the platform, etc.) than undertake to lay the foundations of success in the same way as any effective organization must.

We can't succeed because we're unwilling to learn how to organize!

I say there are millions of Americans who would be receptive to the LP, anti-Lunar Treaty plank and all. But we'll never recruit them if we continue to ignore the fundamentals of good organizing!

**Jim McClarin**  
Nashua, NH

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

The platform goes on and on about specifics and becomes mired in minutia. Every specific will be opposed by some. Why not stick to the central point of it all, cut the federal government off at the knees.

Keep it simple.

**James L. Robson**  
Sanibel Island, FL

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

I applaud those individuals leading the drive to moderate the LP platform. As Mary Gingell stated, there will be individuals who feel that changing the platform represents shame at having in writing what the party stands for. However, there are many more of us who yearn for more libertarian government in this country but who are hesitant to support a party that ascribes to some of the more anarchical planks in the platform, such as abolition of child labor laws and the FBI. Further, there are many of us who yearn to eventually see developments such as abolition of the federal income tax and an end to drug prohibition, but because we feel our country is not ready to take such drastic steps, strongly support interim measures such as lower taxes and legalization of marijuana.

**Andrew B. Spark**  
Tampa, FL

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

The call for moderation within the party is an important step towards success. Libertarians need to accept that the party platform as it now stands presents a libertarian vision for our country, but it does not detail policy initiatives that can be enacted within a period of several years or with the necessary help of politicians from the other parties.

Reshaping the platform (but not changing its principles), presenting viable policy initiatives, and redefining the party's media image will ensure further appeal and future success.

**Ward Bond**  
Honolulu, HI

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

As we complete the transition to a major party in the next few years, we should recast the style and tone of our platform to make it more relevant to today and to the fears and concerns of disaffected voters who will soon join us in droves. We should give it a soul.

**Chris Struble**  
Houston, TX

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

I have always been fearful of watering down our positions too much, but I am less and less fearful as time goes on. There are a couple of good reasons why I am less fearful . . .

The longer one is a member of the LP, the more hard-core one tends to become in what one really believes because of experience and scholarship. This is true of almost every libertarian I have ever met. For these reasons it is a very good reason to reach out at this time to everyone within the libertarian quadrant . . .

**Francis Hanisch**  
La Vista, NE

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

The strategic mission of the LP always has been to advance the cause of liberty by means of the political process. But it does not need to win elections in order to succeed at that.

The notion of revamping the party so as to appeal to those who score anywhere in the libertarian sector of the "world's smallest political quiz" is foolhardy. I've worked enough county fairs to know that even "inside-the-beltway" Republicans are as likely to find their place near the top of the political map as they are to find it in the

areas labeled "conservative" or "centrist."

Our mission is not to induce such people to join our party by offering a Chinese menu of policy options from a grab bag of Libertarian positions on the issues. Instead, we must use tools like the aforementioned quiz to introduce those who score 60, 70, or 80 percent to the coherency of the Libertarian philosophy.

It is a confusion of ends and means to talk of substituting a mere shorthand device for gauging political opinion for a political platform.

**Bruce Earnheart**  
Arlington, VA

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

I was appalled to read that the national committee has voted in favor of changing our party's image from the "Party of Principle" into an imitation of the Democrats.

Lord Acton said that power corrupts, but I always thought that Libertarians were somehow immune to this phenomenon; obviously, I was wrong. It has taken the election of merely four state legislators all in one year to corrupt a majority of our national committee. Heaven help us when we elect a state senator!

I fear that the more success we achieve, the greater the tendency will be to become more like our enemies. When the day comes that we finally elect a president, will he or she turn out to be a "Liberdemonstrator?"

**Henry E. Haller, III**  
Pittsburgh, PA

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

I am one of the (yep!) 100,000 new Libertarian prospects who is presently a registered Republican. I have read the 1992 Libertarian platform for the third time and am in agreement with Steve Dasbach. The entire litany of Libertarian ideas need not be expressed in the party platform . . .

The party platform should identify and discuss the issues of the day . . . This idea that the party platform must dictate the position of the candidate flies in the face of the Libertarian principle of freedom. It is interesting that the individuals that are beholden to this central committee approach are also spewing forth out of the other side of their mouth laissez faire, laissez faire, etc.

Scrap the old platform, and Libertar-

ians might even become a formidable political force in America. This one of the 100,000 will be watching closely.

**Daniel J. Keane**  
Miamisburg, OH

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

The LP needs the pledge, the platform, and the program. The platform should clearly define our long-term goals. The platform should paint a picture of life in a Libertarian society. The program should define our short-term goals and strategies.

The national committee's proposed changes transform the platform into a program. As we create new strategies each year, I fear we will lose sight of our long-term goals. I fear we will become immersed in the issues of the day, losing sight of our vision for tomorrow.

**Doug Leard**  
Blue Bell, PA

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

One of the purposes of the platform is to win minds and hearts; I feel that the platform as it stands has very little chance to do this for the following reasons:

In many places the tone is confrontational and many inflammatory words are used.

The platform advocates wholesale elimination of regulatory agencies and repeal of entire classes of laws. In an ideal society this might be possible but it seems to me that we need 'collective' action against cheats and charlatans rather than depending on the individual to defend himself.

Amidst many sound proposals are some that are not so well thought out: unrestricted immigration; no restrictions on children drinking alcohol, taking cocaine, or working in a machine shop; abolishing all taxes; elimination of government-minted money; freedom to practice any profession without training or licensing.

Sounds like complete chaos to me.

I joined the party because I thought it stood for less government—not no government. How about a complete re-do of this platform to make it correlate better with the ideas of the millions of us who are dissatisfied with the present political system?

**Arch Wakefield**  
Tega Cay, SC

## Announced candidates

The following Libertarian Party members have already announced their candidacy for future elections:

Ron Emery/Grafton, WI/April 1993  
Trustee, Grafton Village

Jeffrey D. Frieberg/Oregon, WI/April 1993  
State Senate, District 27

Craig Lemons/West Bend, WI/April 1993  
West Bend School Board Member

Kevin Scheunemann/West Bend, WI/  
April 1993  
City Alderman

John Streicher/West Allis, WI/April 1993  
State Senate, District 5

Jerry Daniels/Providence, RI/Nov. 1993  
Board Member, Providence School Board

Scott Derby/Vineland, NJ/Nov. 1993  
State House, District 1

Joe Ponczek/Dorchester, NJ/Nov. 1993  
State House, District 2

Jeff Hill/Austin, TX/Nov. 1994  
U.S. House, District 10

Wayne Leach/Waterville, ME/Nov. 1994  
State House, District 86

Paul E. Gagnon/Franconia, VA/Nov. 1995  
Councilman, Fairfax Co. Council,  
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## Upcoming Events

### March 14, 1993:

LP of Los Angeles Co. "Sunday Triple Header"—brunch; Dr. Mary Ruwart, guest speaker; and party strategy conference; Windrose on the Water, 110 Marina Dr., Long Beach, CA; 310-312-4515.

### March 18-19, 1993:

Cato Institute's 11th Annual Monetary Conference, The Charlton, Washington, DC; for information call 202-546-0200.

### March 26-28, 1993:

"The Rebirth of Liberty," East Coast Libertarian Conference in conjunction with Pennsylvania LP Convention, The Comfort Suites, 120 W. Third St., Bethlehem, PA; speakers include Marshall Fritz, Peter Ferrera, Murray Sabin, John Fund, and more; for information call 717-629-5629.

### April 17, 1993:

Indiana LP Convention, Holiday Inn Airport, Indianapolis; for information call 317-583-2658, 317-463-6601, or 317-923-9395.

### April 23-25, 1993:

Colorado LP Convention, Crestone; for information call 303-484-8194.

### April 24-25, 1993:

Libertarian National Committee meeting, Somerville, MA; for information call Clay Conrad at 508-922-9251.

### May 14-16, 1993:

Oregon LP Convention, Portland; for information call 503-620-8945.

### May 22, 1993:

New York State LP Convention, White Plains; for information call 212-219-2702.

### Sept. 2-5, 1993:

Libertarian Party National Convention, Salt Lake City, UT; for more information write: MGP, P.O. Box 526175, Salt Lake City, UT 84152.

Let us know early about your upcoming event,  
and we will announce it in the NEWS.

## Libertarian Party National Convention

Salt Lake City, UT  
September 2-5, 1993

For information write:

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Salt Lake City, UT 84152

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