



Libertarian Party

NEWS

Volume 1, Number 7

Liberty Enlightening the World

November/December 1986

Ron Paul in 1988 Group Formed

Ron Paul, former U.S. congressman from Texas and a nationally-known advocate of sound money policies, has been put into the running for the Libertarian Party's nomination for President of the United States.

Now operating from offices in California and Texas, an official Ron Paul for President organization is seeking support for the nomination.

Support for the candidacy has been expressed by three past Libertarian Party presidential and vice presidential candidates—Ed Clark, Jim Lewis, and David Bergland—as well as by Earl Ravenal, unsuccessful candidate for the nomination in 1983.

Although Paul himself has not formally announced his intention to seek the nomination, he has met with Libertarian Party groups on both coasts where he has received assurances of widespread support and financing.

The committee seeking the nomination on his behalf is being directed by a long-time Paul associate and friend, Burt Blumert.

Paul, a four-term Republican congressman from the 22nd District of Texas, now practices medicine in Lake Jackson, near Houston. While in Congress he was widely regarded as the most libertarian member of the House. Currently, in addition to practicing medicine, Paul directs the Foundation for Rational Economics and Education, and edits a political newsletter as well as a newsletter devoted to hard-money economics.

An extensive interview with Ron Paul appears on page 5.

The Ron Paul organization may be phoned at 415-348-8215.

Officially named Ron Paul for a Free America, the group's mailing address is Box 580387, Houston, TX 77258.

Libertarianism In Europe

By Jim Turney and Kerry Welsh

"VEM AR JOHN GALT?"

You had to rub your eyes and pinch yourself to believe it. There were young Swedes, raised in the heart of socialism, wearing buttons with the rallying cry (translated) from Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged*.

It seemed about as plausible as a U.S. ambassador quoting Bastiat and Hayek; or a free market libertarian summer school in southern France; or a vice prime minister of Belgium, a close runner-up to Sweden as the world's socialist showcase, winning the libertarian of the year award.

Pinch yourself again—it's all true.

While America is in the battle against the scourge of *Playboy* and crack, Europe is a

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LP Message Widely Spread During '86 Election

Libertarians lost almost all of their battles in the 1986 elections—but many remained encouraged that they came through it in good enough shape eventually to win the war for a freer society.

With no significant wins reported—and even with the loss of Andre Marrou's bid to retain his seat in the Alaska legislature—Libertarian Party vote totals across the country were relatively strong in the face of record low voter turnouts. There were reports of better-than-usual media attention. Most state parties seemed determined to learn from their losses, get back to the basic demands of enlisting new members, and persisting in the day-to-day chore of getting their messages to more and more people.

The presence of a substantial number of candidates—more than 200 according to state reports received by the Libertarian Party

NEWS—meant that Libertarian messages were heard widely. In terms of vote percentages received by Libertarian Party candidates at state and local levels, shares of 3 percent or better seemed quite common. (Libertarian presidential races have brought in about 1 percent, or less, of votes cast.)

Highlights came in California where Ray Cullen, running for State Treasurer, received a half-million votes and where Richard Winger, running for Secretary of State, received perhaps the first major daily newspaper endorsement for a Libertarian candidate when the *Oakland Tribune* urged voters to support him.

A dozen states polled enough votes to retain ballot status without having to face another grueling exercise in canvassing.

Details of the LP's results in the 1986 elections begin on page 8 of this issue.



Nobel Prize in Economics Again Awarded to Libertarian Scholar

By Jennifer Roback

The 1986 Nobel Prize in Economic Science was awarded to James M. Buchanan of George Mason University for his work in public choice theory. The long-deserved recognition of both Buchanan and the field of public choice is of great importance to the libertarian movement, and only in part because Buchanan is a self-proclaimed libertarian. Responding to a reporter's attempt to pigeon-hole him as a conservative, Professor Buchanan said, "I do not consider myself a conservative in any sense of the word. I consider myself a libertarian."

With Buchanan's Nobel, all three major free market schools of thought have been recognized by the Nobel committee. Friedrich Hayek, representing the Austrian school, was recognized in 1974. Milton Friedman took the prize for the Chicago school in 1976. James Buchanan represents the Virginia school of political economy. Studying the free market is becoming respectable, and that is a major step toward the free market becoming politically feasible. The free market is coming of age, and with it, of course, so is the libertarian movement.

The Virginia school is best known for its attack on the assumptions of conventional public finance, as it was practiced by economists in the 1950s and 1960s. According to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences:

For a long time, traditional economics lacked an independent theory of political decision-making. Modern welfare theory often relied on the premise that public authorities could apply relatively mechanical methods to correct different types of so-called market failure. Stabilization policy theory—regardless of whether it was

Keynesian or monetarist—appeared to assume that political authorities endeavored to achieve certain macroeconomic or socioeconomic goals regarding employment, inflation, or growth rates. Buchanan and others in the public choice school have not accepted this simplified view of political life. Instead, they have sought explanations for political behavior that resemble those used to analyze behavior in markets.

The basic insight that politicians are self-interested may seem ho-hum to a libertarian. But Buchanan and the Virginia school applied this insight systematically to everything from the level of public debt, to the behavior of bureaucrats, to the workings of congressional committees.

This line of inquiry leads to the rather dismal conclusion that no one can be trusted to govern, and that "government failure" will be the rule, rather than the exception. If Buchanan had gone no further than this, he would have undone some serious errors of 20th Century economics, but he would not have had a particularly unique contribution. After all, the self-interested politician is a well-known character in the history of ideas, with Machiavelli as his chief defender. But Buchanan does not give in to cynical despair as many people who share his political realism do. Nor does he simply assume away the problem as so many modern economists have done. Instead, Buchanan confronts government failure head on.

Although he describes himself as a philosophical anarchist, Buchanan does not believe that literal anarchism is workable. So he has devoted himself to studying the institutional

structure of government with an eye toward limiting its power. This field of study has been called variously "contractarianism" or "constitutional economics." The basic idea is to set up the "rules of the game" of governing so that the internal incentives of the governors lead the game to be self-limiting.

For instance, in *The Power to Tax*, Buchanan postulates with co-author Geoffrey Brennan that the government will set tax rates so as to maximize tax revenue. This hypothesis suggests a fundamental question which is far too seldom asked: What taxing powers would citizens/taxpayers like the government to have? Notice that this question marries the concerns of traditional public finance economists (i.e., how do taxes actually work?) with the concerns of traditional political philosophers (i.e., what powers should government have?). This combination of modern economics with classical

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14th FoFCon Showed Practical Direction

The 14th annual Future of Freedom Conference, held this year in Culver City, CA, revealed some of the strengths and the problems of the libertarian movement—with the strengths far outweighing the problems.

A major strength revealed by the conference program is a practical and wide-ranging view that contrasts with the largely theoretical emphasis of some past conferences. There was, at this conference, for instance, an entire section of workshops devoted to the problems of, and the possibilities of, cooperation between libertarian businesses and manufacturers. From one such workshop came the suggestion that successful libertarian businesspeople consider the formation of a special venture capital fund to support libertarians with new, good ideas. Robert B. Glassco, a California and Texas manufacturer, volunteered to take the lead in promoting this idea.

Another evidence of rising respect for libertarian activists in commercial fields came with the award of the conference's "achievement"

award to long-time libertarian investment counselor and entrepreneur, John A. Pugsley.

Well attended, and lively for every moment of its three days, the Future of Freedom Conference was organized this year by Dagny Sharon whose Dagny Enterprises has previously organized the several Dagny's Gulch Reunions and is now publishing the *Free Market Yellow Pages*.

Highlighting a perhaps never to be resolved libertarian tension, there was a major debate at the conference, on the subject of foreign policy interventionism, between White House speechwriter Dana Rohrabacher and the Libertarian Party's 1984 presidential candidate, David Bergland. Rohrabacher's presentation was a clear and expected defense of Reagan interventionist foreign policy while Bergland confined himself mainly to an exposition of basic libertarian principles with a concluding defense of the non-interventionist position they support. In the thoroughly libertarian audience there seemed to be no clear-cut preference for

either position, but, rather, a polite hearing for both sides. Later, however, a fiercely partisan, passionately anti-communist journalist, Jack Wheeler, claiming to have designed much of the current Reagan doctrine of intervention and speaking on behalf of its extension to even greater support of anti-communist forces in Africa, Central American, and Afghanistan, drew a standing ovation. In contrast to the cool and very low-key nature of the debate, the Wheeler speech reception might have been a tribute as much to the fire and enthusiasm of his delivery as to the militancy of his position.

Panels of libertarians and patriots, persons representing groups that have been seen as concentrating more on opposition to government taxation and regulation than on specific promotion of individual freedom, revealed a strong and spirited growth among the patriots of recognition of individual rights even in such long-taboo matters as drug use and sexual freedoms. There were only minor disagreements. One was in regard to what types of legal

defense work best in tax matters with patriot speakers favoring such tactics as pro se (self) representation and appeals to jury nullification, and libertarians favoring more traditional defenses using professional legal counsel. If there have been distances between libertarians and patriots in the past they seem to have diminished to virtually nothing—and certainly nothing unbridgeable—at this conference.

By far the liveliest session of the conference was "an evening with" Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw, the famed, best-selling libertarian authors of *Life Extension*. Along with nutritional advice, the pair, who serve as technical advisors to sci-fi and high-tech movie and television shows, spoke of the many, very low cost weapons which could be supplied to, for instance, Afghan freedom fighters, thus, at least, reducing the cost of interventionism. That they could also be supplied by private individuals certainly suggested a new way in which technology might make national political interventionism obsolete.

Nobel Prize

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political theory is very typical of the way Buchanan's mind works.

The problem posed by *The Power to Tax* is typical in its underlying premises as well. It is assumed that government exists because people want it for a few limited purposes. It is also assumed that these very same people know perfectly well that their government will do whatever it can to grow beyond those limits. It is assumed that people would like to do whatever they can to keep the genie of government inside its constitutional bottle. Finally and most importantly, it is assumed that the wishes of individual citizens are the appropriate criteria for judging the legitimacy of a government.

Methodological individualism is the hallmark of James Buchanan's thought and the unifying theme in his work. The individual should be the starting point for any economic analysis. The subjective preferences of individuals should be the basis for evaluating policies. Aggregate statistics are inherently misleading. Consent is the measure of moral legitimacy, and unanimous consent is the most morally desirable rule for collective decision-making. These are all positions Buchanan has championed during his long and productive career.

And these are certainly positions that libertarians share. The fact that a man who begins with such premises has been awarded the Nobel Prize certainly lightens the burden of explaining individualism to non-libertarians. And just in case there is any doubt about

Buchanan's importance to the free society, consider this: The interventionists of the world have come crawling out of the woodwork to attack him. Hobart Rowen, Colman McCarthy, Michael Kinsley, and others of their ilk have written nasty (and I mean nasty) columns about Jim. They don't actually attack his work. They try to belittle his contributions ("Politicians are self-interested; what else is new?") or denigrate the Nobel selection process ("The free market is becoming popular in Sweden, so they gave Buchanan the prize.").

Among the cheaper shots made by these left-wing ideologues is that Buchanan is unworthy of the Nobel because he is a right-wing ideologue. They do not understand the difference between an inquiring mind which is committed to a few deeply-held values and a closed mind which is committed to a list of conclusions; that is, they do not understand the difference between a scholar and an ideologue. James Buchanan is a scholar. And we libertarians can learn a great deal from him in this regard, because libertarianism is best understood as a set of fundamental values, rather than a list of policy conclusions.

We sometimes forget this in our zeal to explain the details of our platform to people. I can recall, for example, how much I loved being on the platform committee in 1979 and again in 1981. I felt very strongly that the platform represented the essence of libertarianism. And so it does, in comparison with petition drives and three-color brochures. That is, in comparison with the other things political parties do, the platform is the most important

expression of the party's underlying philosophy.

But in comparison with the overall task of creating a free society, the platform with its list of policy conclusions is not very important at all. Our real objective is to create a cultural climate in which individual liberty is valued. Then people will be naturally persuaded that our platform is a good idea, and our policy conclusions will take care of themselves.

Most of us are certainly aware of the difference between a conclusion and the philosophy which underlies it, because we have occasionally tried to form coalitions with non-libertarians on specific issues. These coalitions often look like a good idea, and they do serve a purpose. But often, participating in the coalition is frustrating and unsatisfying because all we have in common with the other group is the policy conclusion. If the non-libertarians are basically good-hearted people, the coalition can be fun and we can learn something about the way other people think and why. All too often, however, we end up aligned with people with whom we are embarrassed to be associated. (My own worst nightmare is opposing comparable worth with a woman-hating conservative as a debate "partner.") These experiences remind us that the reasons for a conclusion are sometimes more important than the conclusion itself.

This very same insight applies to our dealings with each other as well. We libertarians share a few basic values. We value individual autonomy. We believe that an individual's own evaluation of his options and his life should be respected. We are suspicious of powerful institutions,

especially government. We think that consent is the measure of moral legitimacy in any group decision. However, many differences of opinion are possible within this framework of shared values, as our many doctrinal disputes illustrate. It is a mistake to write someone off as a deviationist or a non-libertarian, simply because they do not share some particular conclusion. The underlying libertarian values are much more important. After all, even a free society will have unanswered questions, urgent problems, and differences of opinion.

What does this have to do with James Buchanan and his Nobel Prize? Simply this: Jim is a libertarian and a scholar. He shares our basic values and has made it the business of his life to show the implications of those values in economics and politics. However, he does not agree with every plank in the Party platform, and most libertarians would probably find something in Buchanan's work with which they disagree. But any libertarian who dismisses Buchanan and his work for these reasons would be shooting himself in the foot.

Jim's success as a scholar is largely attributable to his willingness to listen to other people. Because he listens, he learns. Intellectual arrogance is deadly in a scholar, because it inhibits learning, and Jim is one of the most modest people I've ever known. George Mason is an exciting place for a libertarian in that all three free market schools are represented here. Because of Jim's intellectual leadership, the differences among us become opportunities to learn, rather than invitations for divisiveness. The libertarian movement would be well served if it followed this example.

Jennifer Roback is an assistant professor of economics at George Mason University and a research associate at its Center for the Study of Public Choice. She was formerly on the faculty of Yale University. She has been a local Libertarian Party activist in Rochester, New York; Santa Clara, California; Chicago, Illinois; and New Haven, Connecticut. She represented New York state on the National Platform Committee in 1979 and was an at-large delegate to the Platform Committee in 1981.

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LP NEWS Policy Objection Raised; Hess/Lysander Resignation Requested

Two serious objections to the current editorial policies, and editorship, of the Libertarian Party NEWS have been received recently. One is from Prof. Murray Rothbard, one of the nation's most respected economic philosophers. The other is from the NatCom publications review committee chaired by and convened at the behest of Bill Evers.

Prof. Rothbard's position, which combines two separate letters on the subject, is printed without comment since it represents his own considered opinion and should be considered on its own. The editor's positions already have been made known in the pages of this paper. To help assure that Prof. Rothbard's comments not be distracted, there will be no editorial of any kind by Karl Hess in this issue.

The report from the review committee is printed as received but is followed by several comments since obvious matters of fact or interpretation are involved.

The issue of editorship will be on the agenda of the National Committee meeting scheduled for almost exactly the time of the printing of this issue.

The next issue of the Libertarian Party NEWS, therefore, should reflect the decision taken there as to how and by whom the paper should be edited.

Both the Evers and Rothbard comments focus on the same major objections: that the current paper has covered statements or actions by persons and organizations who are opposed to the Libertarian Party and that it has covered a significant number of matters that could be called "movement" matters rather than strictly Party matters.

Here are the details of the objections.

Rothbard to Hess: Resign

At first, when you engaged in lengthy philosophical disquisitions on whether or not one, or you, should be a Party member or editor, I thought it was just a matter of getting your feet wet in the new job and in a new Party. But now, after a number of issues, and after your "What's News?" editorial, it is clear that it was all part of a definite strategy and outlook on your part, and that you are strongly committed to what amounts to a startling new strategy for the Party and for the Party newspaper.

I am forced to say that I think your guiding strategy is a disaster for the Party. Contrary to your position, to be opposed to continuing publication of anti-Party material, pleas to liquidate the Party, large-scale coverage of non-Party libertarian activities, and lengthy debates about trivia does not require believing in a "cadre party." It simply requires believing in a Party, period. No party, indeed no organization whatsoever, can be built by this sort of organizational newspaper.

Thus, can you imagine an Elks Club newsletter devoting its space to philosophical musings by the editor whether or not one should join the Elks, quit it and join the Knights of Pythias, or quit all organizations and go fishing? Or to repeated articles attacking the Elks and praising alternatives to staying in the organization? This is madness.

The LP NEWS is the organ of the Libertarian Party. It has an indispensable function to perform: to build the Party. Its news items, its coverage of the Party, is the center around which the Party should be sustained, nurtured, and expanded. Your strategy does not help build the Party; it can only weaken or help destroy it. It is a strategy that is properly called "liquidationist."

I believe that your strategy reflects a sincere, long-standing bias on your part against organizations and what it takes to build organizations. There is nothing wrong with what you regard as an "individualist" like yourself joining the Party. On the contrary, I think that your decision is a marvelous step. The problem is

your leaping into a position of controlling the vital LP NEWS, since a convinced anti-organizationalist in charge of the organization's newspaper can only prove catastrophic for the Party.

Your strategy does not help build the Party; it can only weaken or help destroy it. It is a strategy that is properly called "liquidationist."

There is another vital moral point in all this. And that is that LP NEWS, of course, is not founded and funded by Karl Hess to express his interesting views on the Party and the movement. It is an organ financed by, and hence representing, every LP member. Have you considered the morality of using funds contributed by LP members to promote views tearing down that very organization? Furthermore, and here is another crucial point, the burden of the LP NEWS on LP finances is becoming increasingly great. Consider that, historically, LP NEWS spending has amounted to between six and eight percent of LP revenue, peaking during the 1984 presidential campaign at 11 percent, but that now, in an off-year and during a grave financial crisis for the Party, LP NEWS is spending approximately 20 percent of revenue!

Considering all these vital points: principled, moral, and financial, and considering also your deep commitment to your point of view, I urge you and Lysander, Inc. to resign as editor of the LP NEWS, so that we can return to an inexpensive newspaper committed to building the Party. I realize that this return to sound policy may prove difficult, since it looks as though the Party chairman who appointed you has other liquidationist goals as well, as note the move toward destroying national headquarters by dissolving and "contracting out" its functions, or to move it near his own residence at his own whim.

So far, the Party members have heard only one side of the debate, yours, so the votes are hardly in yet. I would be happy to have you

All of your predecessors have done a fine job on Party-building lines, and it can easily be done again, as soon as Lysander-obstructionism is out of the way.

publish my letter in LP NEWS, as that would be the initial rallying-ground for the other side in the debate. The liquidationist nature of your strategy and course of action must be pointed out, widely and repeatedly, to the Party officials and members, and after that, let the "votes" be taken. Also, you must realize that for a few issues you enjoyed everyone's good will, including my own, and everyone was happy that a distinguished writer and libertarian such as yourself took on this task. It is only recently that the euphoria has evaporated, and reality has begun to impinge starkly on the Party membership. I know that among the Party leaders I talked to, everyone welcomed my views with great enthusiasm. Certainly, this shows that we seem to be talking to different groups of LP people, but nevertheless it also demonstrates that opposition to Hessian liquidationism is strong and growing.

True to your anti-organizational bias, you seem to dismiss what you admit to be growing opposition on the NatCom as of little moment. Yet, the way the LP is set up, the NatCom is responsible for national party affairs, and is the ultimate decision-maker between conventions.

After a year in office, the Turneyite honeymoon is rapidly coming to an end and none too soon. Under Turney's stewardship LP revenue

has plummeted to the lowest levels since 1979, while the LP is consequently running a deficit for the first time in a non-presidential election year. Some of us believe that his liquidationism against the national headquarters is a ploy to reconstitute it and move it to Washington, D.C., or Virginia, a move which he has tried twice, and unsuccessfully, to push through. Since the bulk of LP membership is in the West, this maneuver is bound to fail and be unpopular in the Party. It is too bad you have gotten yourself involved, perhaps unwittingly, in a factional maneuver to try to return national HQ to the East...

Who should replace you? We have had no difficulty in finding good editors in the past, and I see no reason why there should be difficulty in the future. Mike Holmes would be great if he would take it—which is very doubtful. Other previous editors I can think of who would do an excellent job are Bill Evers and Kathleen Richman. There is no shortage of writing or editing talent in the LP. The problem is the basic strategic outlook of what an LP NEWS is supposed to be: building the Party or destructive of the Party. All of your predecessors have done a fine job on Party-building lines, and it can easily be done again, as soon as Lysander-obstructionism is out of the way.

Evers to Hess: Inappropriate Stories

The following items are inappropriate in terms of the LP's Bylaws and LNC policy. They all have the same objectionable feature in common. They promote organizations antagonistic to the LP's existence as an organization.

- "Third Party Politics Reconsidered: Open Letter to the Movement," Sept.-Oct., p. 7. Advertisement written by Justin Raimondo advocating that the Libertarian Party liquidate itself as a party and become a caucus within the GOP.

- "What's News?" by Karl Hess, Sept.-Oct., p. 9. Article by the editor setting forth his editorial policy. LP NEWS is to be a *movement* newspaper rather than a *party* newspaper. Advertising space and letters columns are to be available to those who wish to abolish the LP. A special section might be devoted to personality spats, accusations, misdeeds, and in-fighting. The problem here lies not in Hess's open statement of his views, but in the fact that his editorial practices are contrary to the LP's Bylaws and LNC policy.

- "The Agorist Institute," Sept.-Oct., p. 3. Organizational profile promoting Sam Konkin's Agorist Institute. Opening paragraph high-

lights the institute's anti-LP, anti-political stance. Editor's note implies that additional anti-LP groups will be profiled in the future.

- "Green Party Politics and Libertarianism," by Carol Moore, Spring 1986, p. 17. Article in special LP recruitment issue promoting the Green Party.

Comments from Karl Hess on Evers Critique

None of the stories cited "promoted" organizations antagonistic to the LP.

Item one refers to an advertisement paid for at full commercial rates.

Item two flatly distorts the editorial in question by saying that the editor plans a movement rather than a Party paper. The editorial did say that the editor regards the Party as part of the movement and not vice versa. It also said that the paper, even in its coverage of non-Party or movement matters, did so while "always relating those interests to Libertarian Party activities." There is another flat misapprehension since, in discussing personality spats, accusations, etc., the editor's opposition to such coverage was clear to most other readers. It is not a misapprehension, however, to state that the current editor believes in open access to paid advertising space and to the letters column, excepting only legally contentious items.

The third item refers to a *description* of an anti-Party group, not an advocacy of it, despite the fact that both Prof. Murray Rothbard and Karl Hess have participated in its affairs. The editor feels that it is important for Libertarian Party members, whose strength of character is felt to be sufficient to resist seduction, to know about *all* libertarian groups and not only those whose views are certified as agreeable by a special tribunal.

The fourth item suggested the possibilities of coalition building with the Green movement people on issues where the LP and they agree and on the opening of discussions where they do not agree. To say that it was to promote the Green movement is to go rather far to avoid the fact that it was meant to broaden the Libertarian Party, not weaken it or strengthen someone else.

Overall, if these condemned articles are a major portion of the committee's objections, and perhaps also of Prof. Rothbard's objections, it should be noted that they occupy, in total, approximately two pages of space out of the 105 pages published under the current editorship this year.

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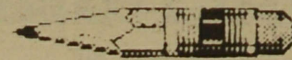
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Letters to the Editor



LROC Response

I just completed reading "Third Party Politics Reconsidered: Open Letter to the Movement." I must admit that while I was reading the article my emotions became charged and changed with each paragraph. However, one question remained unanswered within the article itself. Just what "movement" were the authors attempting to address? The opening paragraph offers a little history of the Libertarian Party and a definition of what they hope will become a neo-Republican political platform. Good Luck!

Eventually, I got the idea that the authors were addressing me, a Libertarian, and that their editorial efforts were being spent in an attempt to persuade individuals like myself to form a "bloc" within the Republican Party. How many times have I heard from friends and family that "if you would run on the Republican ticket you could probably win that race." Having been defeated before and looking at a possible defeat again in the upcoming general election, the content of the "movement" advertisement almost looked tempting.

I then decided to reread the article and specifically concentrate on the reasons these gentlemen thought it necessary to convince me to join them:

Article: The existing struggle within the Republican Party will allow Libertarian ideas to be seriously considered and implemented.

Fact: Libertarian rhetoric is currently proposed by many Republican officeholders because the Libertarian Party is getting the message out on the streets and people are responding. This is due to the existence of the Libertarian Party itself, not because a few defectors have joined the Republican ranks.

Article: Libertarian Party membership represents less than 100 individuals in 32 states.

Fact: Libertarian Party membership in the State of Nevada has increased 20 percent since the last election. Regardless, if the authors' figures are correct, and they may be, every Libertarian in the country could join the GOP and I doubt that 100 individuals per state would have any affect on Republican politics whatsoever.

There are many more ironies within the advertisement. I quote, "Third party politics amounts to sitting on the sidelines." How about Andre Marrou and Big Water, Utah? I can only say "thank you" to the authors for being so complete in their efforts to convert me into a "mainstreamer." The very arguments they used to tempt me are the same ones that persuaded me to remain Libertarian. We are gaining ground.

I am sorry to see such talented individuals become impatient and disillusioned with the

movement, but I don't think we're talking about the same "movement" anymore. Their leaving the Libertarian Party will be of some loss I'm sure, but other individuals will soon respond to the message and fill whatever void has been created. As for me, I remain Libertarian.

A.W. Western, Jr.
Las Vegas, NV

Freedom of speech is a basic tenet of libertarian philosophy; so too is the freedom of private censure. There are, I'm sure, many who felt you should have exercised your right to censure as regards the "open letter" advertisement in the Sept./Oct. issue. I have personally witnessed the disproportionate wrath visited upon our own because of differing applications of the same principles. I can well imagine that you are under heavy fire by those among us whose faith in liberty is tenuous. It often takes great courage to do what is best, even in the LP.

I have been invited to join the Republican Party several times and I know of others who have been as well. I have seen the wavering of those who are thus tempted and the consequent irresoluteness of their actions. This irresoluteness on the part of team members insidiously infects the rest of the team with doubts about the strength of their base of support.

Facing the issue openly is the best policy. Let us address the question, peruse the answers, decide our minds, take whatever action if any is needed, and put the problem behind us. It is people with the courage that you have shown who keep me working for liberty in the LP rather than the GOP, secure in the knowledge that important issues and arguments will not be suppressed and slowly sap our strength and resolution, but will be dealt with and disposed of, so that we may continue the business of making a life where more options are open to us.

If it is true that the blow that does not kill us makes us stronger, then the authors of the "open letter" have done us a service by delivering a blow that holds no threat of death or even serious injury, but can only serve to strengthen. Further, I believe that their courage should be admired as well, for surely they have burned many bridges behind them.

D. Nick Dunbar
Jacksonville, FL

A recent advertisement by the Libertarian-Republican Organizing Committee suggested abandonment of the Libertarian Party for the Republican. Such a suggestion is but another rendering of the adage "If you can't beat 'em, join 'em." Let me suggest a further application of this adage, one intended to advance rather

than hinder the libertarian cause.

Three years ago, while living in Upstate New York, I learned that the New York State League of Women Voters was beginning a study of the role of "third parties" in the state and would make recommendations to the state legislature regarding ballot status laws. I promptly joined the local LWV chapter and entered into the debate regarding this issue. By a lopsided vote, our local chapter approved a statement calling for easier ballot access for all political parties. Later, the state LWV recommended to the legislature a similar position.

I urge all libertarians to join their local LWV. Local chapters are usually small, and your voice will be heard and play an important role in their decisions. The next time the LWV sponsors a candidates' debate, don't sit back and complain if the Libertarian candidate is overlooked; become a member of your local LWV and make certain that Libertarian candidates are heard. If you can't beat 'em, join 'em!

Eric Jay Del Giacco
South Hill, VA

...If this "LROC" really desires increased influence so much, I'd advise them to form a new party from dissatisfied members of both the Libertarian and Republican Parties. It is sheer nonsense to claim that the Republican Party is "where all the action is." It is obvious to me that the organizers of the LROC like something in particular about the Republican Party—only they're not saying what it is. I believe that those who hear the libertarian call should put their efforts into ballot access drives and changing ballot access laws. In this way, which is the logical way, political freedom would actually precede governmental and legislative freedom as the framers of our Constitution originally intended.

Jeff Kelly
Loveland, CO

I'm glad that you printed the open letter from the Libertarian-Republican Organizing Committee to Libertarian Party members in the Sept./Oct. issue. While Libertarians shouldn't dismiss anyone's non-coercive efforts toward the free society, I can't give the LROC's plan much support.

If Libertarians openly join the GOP as a bloc, we would have to pass one litmus test before being taken seriously: loyalty. Imagine that a fairly well-known libertarian (Ed Clark, Ron Paul, Karl Hess?) decided to enter the GOP primaries as a presidential candidate. This would certainly be an excellent opportunity to educate the electorate about libertarian theory and practice. But two questions immediately come to mind: Would the media

pay attention? Phil Crane calls himself a Jeffersonian liberal; how many people knew that he ran for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976? The media completely ignored him. Unless a libertarian experienced some early success in a state caucus or primary, he would be out of the media's eye long before convention time.

This leads to the second question: What will the Libertarian Republicans do at the nominating convention? Can you see Ed Clark and George Bush smiling on the podium, arm in arm, at the "show of unity" following Bush's nomination? This type of action will not only be expected, but *demand*ed, if a Libertarian-Republican coalition were to be taken seriously by GOP power brokers. If LROC members pulled on the GOP what the Crane faction did to the LP in 1983, then the LROC would die quickly and painfully.

Another point should be made. The Dick Randolph campaign for governor in Alaska should serve as an example. For Republicans to take Randolph seriously, he not only had to denounce the LP, he also had to repudiate libertarian philosophy. His campaign literature crowded about his conservatism. And he is quoted as saying, "I don't agree with everything Libertarians believe, and I never have." Would the LROC's experience be any different?

Should we forget the Republicans and Democrats altogether? Of course not. Libertarians have achieved advisory positions in the offices of many senators, representatives, governors, even in the White House. Cato and Reason Foundation are influencing policy as well. There are excellent opportunities for Libertarians to work for candidates, or to be candidates at the local and state level. For those people who need an election day fix, Bobby Yates Emory and I have tossed around the idea of forming the "Jeffersonian Democrats" here in North Carolina.

The LROC's basic position seems to be that major electoral victories are the only way to bring about a free society. I disagree; in fact, I think that electoral success on the national level is the *least* likely way to get there. I don't believe for a minute that a group of hard-core libertarians, openly trying to influence one of the major parties, will experience any success without pledging loyalty to whoever's on the top of the ticket. That's the way power politics work. Avoiding these power plays was one of the reasons the LP was formed in the first place.

Rick Henderson
Publisher, *The Deregulator*
Raleigh, NC

Libertarian Party NEWS

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NEWS/PHOTOS/LETTERS
Libertarian Party NEWS
P.O. Box 173
Kearneysville, WV 25430
304-263-7526
703-662-3691

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PUBLISHER
Lysander, Inc.
P.O. Box 173
Kearneysville, WV 25430
304-263-7526

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Ron Paul Speaks Out on Taxes, Money, 1988 Campaign Themes, and Much More

With Ron Paul now prominently mentioned as a candidate for the Libertarian Party's nomination for President of the United States (see page 1), Libertarian Party NEWS Associate Editor Bill Evers conducted the following interview with the former Texas Congressman.

Q: What do you think about the recent federal tax reform? Also what do you think about the tax-rebel movement?

A: The so-called tax reform is a fraud designed to raise corporate and other indirect taxes now and make it easier to raise them in the future. This is a massive tax increase for the first two years—but the politicians assured us—it was to be “revenue neutral” over five years. Now, however, as Dan Rostenkowski and Bob Dole have hinted, they plan to raise rates. With the smashing of the tax shelters, as Rostenkowski and Walter Heller have gleefully pointed out, a small rate increase will bring in big bucks. The “tax reformers” are, of course, really advocates of big government, out to finance ever-increasing government control over our personal and economic lives.

Since the evil day the income-tax amendment was adopted, we have had a major tax bill on average every 18 months. This time it will be no different. I never thought anything could make me nostalgic for the tax code we've suffered under, but by comparison this monstrosity does. We must concentrate on lowering taxes, and this bill has shifted that focus, as it was designed to.

As to the tax-rebel movement, I am very sympathetic with it, obviously. These are by-and-large working-class people seeking to get out from under IRS oppression, and to keep the fruits of their labors. I do not advocate breaking the law while we can still change it democratically, of course. And I worry about how prudent some of the practices advocated are.

For example, we can't trust the courts to protect us from the IRS; they laugh at the Constitution. Nor do the feds intend taxes to be “voluntary.” The IRS gestapo is well armed, and too many tax rebels end up in prison. But imprudent tactics or not, these tax rebels are our allies against tax tyranny, and we should always remember it.

Q: What are you proposing in the way of monetary reform and why? What interests stand in the way of your reform?

A: I urge a 100 percent reserve, gold-coin standard and the abolition of the Federal Reserve—the inflation and bank-welfare machine that causes the business cycle. I also advocate repealing all laws, such as the unconstitutional legal tender laws, that block voluntary arrangements in money.

As to who stands in the way, it is the government itself, the banks, and many Establishment business interests, all of which benefit from inflation at the expense of the rest of us. The politicians benefit from inflation because they can finance the welfare-warfare state by monetizing the deficit.

If I had to think of the worst area of the economy for the feds to control, it would be money. For money is half of every economic transaction, and is, in a sense, the very lifeblood of the economy. Fiat money and central banking—both of which are unconstitutional—poison that lifeblood and the tragic results are inflations, recessions, depressions, unrealistic debt, and thus, immense human suffering. I want money the government and special interests can't control. That money is gold.

Q: What do you think of the Reagan record and the Republican record on trade issues? And what interests are benefiting

from the new protectionism?

A: I support 100 percent free trade, and the elimination of all the federal corporate welfare programs that hinder it.

In trade, as in so many other areas, Reagan and the Republicans talk one way and act in another. Every time I hear a great pro-free trade talk from the president—who likes to use the word “fair” to qualify free trade—I know another quota or tariff is being enacted. Just recently Reagan probably made a secret deal with Iran to prop up the price of oil.

On protectionism—and Republicans have historically been the protectionist party—the Reagan-Republican record is a disaster. They have enacted a host of protectionist measures. We are seeing the beginnings of the breakdown of world trade, and similar events helped deepen and prolong the Great Depression and lead to World War II.

As to what interests benefit, in the short-term it is big business and big labor in certain protected sectors of the economy. And the rest of us pay. In the long run, however, everyone is hurt as we all get poorer.

Q: What are your thoughts on the federal government's battle against drugs?

A: As a physician, I work against drug abuse. As a libertarian, I think adults have the right to consume whatever they want, even if it's as harmful as tobacco, alcohol, caffeine, or fatty foods.

I don't favor government sanctions against drugs, although supplying them to children should be illegal. Current drug laws have only boosted the price and created an immensely wealthy criminal underworld. Further, they have created an artificial incentive for experienced addicts to recruit new addicts to support the experienced addicts' habits—sort of like the Amway or Herbalife network.

Much of the present anti-drug effort is really aimed at financial privacy. The feds want total control of our assets; that's the purpose of the so-called money laundering laws. Another motive is simply empire-building: Bureaucrats value their department's share of our taxes a lot higher than they do the Bill of Rights; Washington politicians want spending programs in their districts. Congressmen especially are hypocritical in their attacks on drugs. I've seen many of them drunk on the House floor.

I would add that clearly the military should be reserved for defense, and not diverted to drug busts.

Of course, I believe the Civil Service ought to be abolished. But in the meantime, we shouldn't have mandatory testing of civilian federal employees, except maybe people like air traffic controllers or those who have agreed to drug-testing as a condition of employment. It's too Big Brotherish.

And so is Governor [Pierre] du Pont's plan to test every teenager in America. He would terrify our underage children with false accusations based on test errors. Du Pont shows no regard for family privacy. He's attacking the Bill of Rights. Only someone with du Pont's wealthy background could blithely propose such an expensive program.

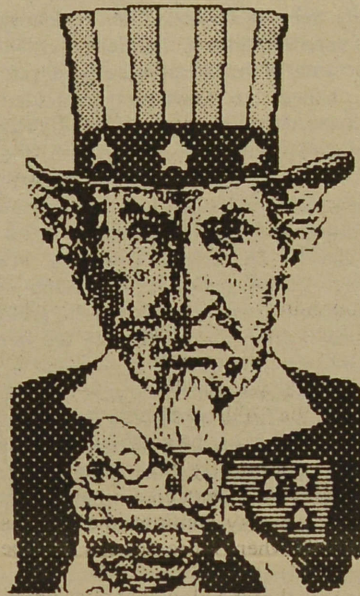
As a physician, I would also advise private companies that the tests can be very misleading and inaccurate. The whole program has created a black-market boom in “clean” urine. But as a libertarian, I wouldn't want the government regulating companies who make testing part of their terms of employment.

Q: What are your overall views on foreign policy?

A: I'm a non-interventionist: no foreign wars, no entangling alliances, no American bases or troops abroad, no foreign aid, no draft, and no draft registration. This is a foreign

policy of strategic independence and neutrality based on strength. It is also the foreign policy of the Founding Fathers.

I was one of the few members of Congress to oppose the Grenada invasion. This was an undeclared and therefore unconstitutional war. Supposedly aimed at communism, the invasion took place at the very time the Administration was urging increased aid to communist and socialist dictators. Congress has been reasserting its constitutional foreign-policy powers in recent years. But its spinelessness at the time of the Grenadan invasion was not a good sign. I also opposed the illegal, CIA-run war in



Nicaragua and aid to the so-called Contras.

Since the administration of Woodrow Wilson, Americans have fought and bled in a vain attempt to police the world and make the world safe for democracy. The bipartisan policy of global meddling sets off crisis after crisis all over the world. Americans die and pay heavy taxes. We expend treasure and lives abroad, but the politicians and bureaucrats neglect the training and equipment of our National Guard at home. We spend billions on interference, and pennies on real defense.

Q: What do you think about space-based missile defense?

A: I support a defense Star Wars system or strategic defense, in principle. When I say this, I'm talking about a population shield and a substitute for existing offensive weapons. I'm not talking, as many people in Congress and the Reagan Administration are, about using ABMs primarily to protect missile silos or as add-ons to existing offensive weapons or as part of NATO.

At the same time, I'm increasingly skeptical about the practical side of the project. Despite Gen. [Daniel] Graham's rosy assurances to me, it doesn't look as if we have the hardware or the software to do the job now. And the cost is not \$15-20 billion as he promised, but \$1 trillion, including international contracts to entice our allies to support us. This is an unimaginable amount of taxpayers' money.

Q: What about abortion and homosexuality?

A: All libertarians oppose federal funding of abortions. This is an essential restriction on spending since so many Americans have strong moral objections to abortion.

As you know, I believe that the laws should protect all viable life. Under the American system of federalism, such protection should come at the state and local level. In a possible presidential campaign, when asked about it, I would summarize my own view, then sum-

marize that of the Libertarian platform, and say that Libertarians disagree on this. We are not here, as in many other areas, a monolith.

On homosexuality: Homosexuals have the same rights as heterosexuals, no more, no less. The government should not harass or discriminate against them, but neither should they have special subsidies or privileges. As far as private companies go, all libertarians believe that only mutually accepted employment contracts are morally right. Homosexuals could boycott companies; companies could boycott homosexuals (or any other group).

Q: What about religion and public schools?

A: This is one of those questions not entirely answerable so long as we have big government. The real answer is to abolish the public schools and allow parents to make their own choices for their children.

But in the meantime, what do we do when government grows so big and takes over so much of society? Some seek to isolate the vast areas of society taken over by government from religious life. This is the view of the modern bureaucratic state. This view comes out in the sneering attitude, which I dislike, of the public school establishment toward religion.

Others, including me, would seek to privatize government-controlled institutions and functions—in effect, to allow society to make inroads on the state—but to do so without establishing a religion. So I think that we must allow religious and nonreligious groups to use public school property outside of class hours. And they should be allowed to lead voluntary prayer and study groups. But I dislike the idea of government employees leading official prayers during regular school hours.

I am also, of course, opposed to the licensing or regulation of private or home schools.

Q: If you were to receive the Libertarian Party nomination, what themes would you stress in your presidential campaign?

A: Sound money, the free market, a non-interventionist foreign policy, our Bill of Rights, and the insanity of big-deficit government. I would also talk about governmental causes of crime, such as drug prohibition.

The Bill of Rights will be a particularly appropriate theme at a time when many constitutional anniversaries are approaching. And it will help distinguish a Libertarian campaign from liberals and conservatives, who seek to restrict, for example, the right to keep and bear arms or the right to financial privacy.

Of course, I can't predict now what specific issues will be on the public agenda in 1988 nor which ones a Libertarian candidate might want to introduce. But I am sure these themes will apply.

In all my campaigns, I found tremendous support for our libertarian ideals: individual liberty; free markets; sound money; a non-interventionist foreign policy; and limits on government power. An effective Libertarian presidential campaign can consolidate our strength—I mean the strength of the Libertarian Party as an organization—educate more Americans about our ideals, and help push policy and debate in the right direction. It would serve a historic purpose, and give the American people a free choice, not an interventionist echo.

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Turney at Europe's Libertarian Hotspots

Continued from page 1

most exciting place for a libertarian to be.

Sometimes it has to get worse before it can get better, the saying goes, and maybe Belgium is the best example. With taxes that are the third highest in the world (behind only Sweden and the Netherlands), it has got better recently. There is a strong "liberal" (or neo-liberal, as Europeans call libertarians) tradition in Belgium in both the Flanders and Walloon sections of the country. The first "free cities" of the middle ages in Europe were in Belgium. Brugge is a beautifully preserved city that still reflects the prosperity created by its free trade past. It also spawned the first stock market and labor union in history—spontaneous order in a free market.

The climactic experience in Europe this year for libertarians was the awarding of the BENELUX Libertarian of the Year Award to Guy Verhofstadt, vice prime minister of Belgium, minister of the budget, and leader of the Flemish "Party for Freedom and Progress." This award was presented in Brussels by Jim Turney, chairman of the American Libertarian Party, on behalf of the BENELUX libertarians. Both Jim Turney and U.S. Ambassador to the Common Market J. William Middendorf, who also spoke before the crowd of libertarians (about 150 for the banquet) reminded them of the libertarian heritage of Europe and Belgium in particular. Turney said Verhofstadt deserved the award for "putting the 'liberal' back into the Flemish Liberals."

Verhofstadt's party was the leading political party at the turn of the century, the time of "classical liberal" dominance in Europe, and is now making a comeback (over 20 percent of the popular vote) and is a partner with the conservative Christian Democrats in the ruling coalition government.

Verhofstadt was a speaker at the 1983 European Libertarian International conference in Brussels and has close ties with the Mises Institute of Ghent, where he is a very popular elected member of parliament. He is so popular that he was able to demand and receive new powers over state spending as minister of the budget. Other ministers who previously spent their budgets with impunity now face a quarterly review and get their department's cash cut off, starting with their personal paychecks. Verhofstadt also has successfully demanded no new taxes or increases and the state's spending is down about 8 percent.

Verhofstadt is the highest ranking government official in the world who is libertarian. It was a great joy to be a part of what was probably the single most significant event for libertarians this year.

But with so much going on, especially in Europe, it is difficult to decide what was most significant.

When the annual convention of Libertarian International met in Stockholm in late August, no one really knew what to expect. After all, LI had intentionally chosen the lion's den of collectivism for its get-together.

Almost 100 libertarians from a dozen countries gathered to make and renew friendships, and to hear such speakers as Parisienne Henri LePage, South Africans Leon Louw and his wife Frances Kendall, Walter Williams, Karl Hess, Gordon Tullock, and Walter Block.

And almost immediately the unexpected happened. Nobody predicted the tremendous amount of interest from the Swedish media. National Swedish television was present, and the major Swedish daily newspapers gave the convention substantial coverage—perhaps better coverage than any U.S. libertarian meeting has ever received.

Media darlings were journalist LePage, whose book *Tomorrow Capitalism* has gained considerable publicity across the continent, and the Louws from Johannesburg. The Louws published a book in May boldly titled *The Solution*, which quickly sold out its first printing and moved to number one on the South African nonfiction best-sellers' list. The 234-page book,

currently available only in South Africa, offers as "the solution" to that country's problems a mixture of classic libertarian non-intervention and the Swiss canton system of government. In recognition of their influential work, the Louws (who incidentally had a hard time getting into Sweden since they are white, and therefore bad, South Africans), were awarded LI's Libertarian(s) of the Year award.

Another highlight of the convention was the arrival of socialist protesters. At the convention site, young Socialists passed out flyers warning of the evil presence of New-Liberals (Swedish for Libertarian), whose goal was, among other things, to outlaw trade unions, and whose membership supposedly included Chilean dictator Pinochet.

Flattered by the protesters' attention, the libertarians launched a surprise attack on the "enemy" by greeting them outside with warm handshakes and broad smiles. Some lively but friendly debates ensued. Then suddenly, and for no apparent reason, their leader called for a hasty retreat of the troops, who never returned.

By chance, the convention coincided with the release of the long-awaited Swedish translation of *Atlas Shrugged*. Armed with "the good book" in their native tongue, the future for Sweden's New Liberals looks bright indeed.

By another happy coincidence, a few days after the LI conference ended, a weekend meeting of the national leadership of the Swedish conservative party's youth group was held. Jim Turney was invited for the weekend to speak on libertarianism. It was a great opportunity to explain to the next generation of Sweden's political leadership the basic principles and motives that separate libertarians from the right and left politicians.

After LI, the libertarian tour of Europe rolled south to Northern Italy for the annual meeting of the prestigious Mont Pellerin Society, an organization of prominent economists, educators, and policy-makers from around the world. The meeting was "taken over" by libertarian ideas and debate, with Boudewyn Bouckaert of Belgium's Mises Institute leading the way.

The significance of this was not lost on Leonard Liggio, Ralph Raico, Henri LePage, and Richard Stroup, who were present at LI, Mont Pellerin, and a free-market summer school the following week at Aix-en-Provence, France.

"Strategie pour un Reduction de l'Etat" (Strategy for the Reduction of the State) was the wonderful title of the six-day summer school designed for university students, scholars, and businesspeople from nearby Marseille and Lyon. It was similar in most respects to CATO's summer seminars.

This was the ninth year the summer school on "nouvelle economie" had been held, sponsored by the School of Law and Political Science of the University at Aix. The free market economist Dr. Jacques Gareilo has organized this perennial event, which has become more explicitly libertarian in recent years. As a result of his work, there is now a school of libertarian professors and students growing in Aix.

Most of the 48 presentations were in French, such as Pierre LeMieux's (Canada) on "The Sovereignty of the Individual" and "Anarcho-Capitalism," many on privatization of all sorts of industries, and some audio-visuals with titles such as "The Liberty of Commerce and Industry." Some presentations were in English (with simultaneous translation), including Tom Palmer's "Moral Foundations of Market Economics." Obviously the French have come on strong. Watch for new names to become important in libertarian circles—Bramouille, Monfort, LeMennicier, de la Portaliere, and Aftalion.

Some of these names are already well known in France where Prime Minister Jacques Chirac has made privatization a ministerial level post. Even the mayor of Aix was anxious to welcome the libertarians to the city in a special

reception he gave for the summer school. All over, French government officials were competing to be the most "liberal."

The month-long libertarian tour of Europe finally rolled to a halt in St. Etienne, a bustling, industrial city near Lyon, for a local government-sponsored conference on privatization. The front page of the local paper for two days had the headline "St. Etienne: The Capitol of Liberalism" with extensive coverage each day.

This conference, perhaps the most important of those mentioned, was attended by top French banking and business leaders, as well as reporters from major French media and the *Wall Street Journal*. Even TASS, the Russian news agency, sent two reporters to cover this capitalist notion called privatization.

Most speakers were experts on privatization, but solid libertarians also were prominent, led by conference organizer Guy Plunier and Henri LePage. Ironically, the communists were in abundance too, but fortunately for only an hour. On the second day a menacing group of about 200 communist labor union members made a noisy entrance during a session. They interrupted to ask irrelevant questions and were finally asked to make the statement they apparently had come to make. It was a complaint about work conditions and pay at their

factory. They were obviously confused about their purpose for being there and left abruptly.

Ambassador Middendorf addressed the St. Etienne conference and best summed up the new economic climate in Europe when he said, "I am heartened to see Europe returning to the fundamentals of its own economic libertarian tradition, derived from such thinkers as Adam Smith, Carl Menger, Friedrich Hayek, Frederick Bastiat, and Ludwig von Mises, whose ideas have revolutionized economic thinking over the past century." Afterwards, the ambassador was asked about his libertarian comment. "Those men are my heroes," said Middendorf. "I think we all have to work to publicize our heroes."

Modern libertarian heroes are needed for Europe and some are coming along. But, unfortunately, American conservatives are getting much of the credit for libertarian ideas. One of the valuable contributions of this tour was to strengthen contacts with the Europeans who look to the U.S. for political leadership.

Turney, national LP chairman, attended these conferences for Liberty Audio and Film Services. Tapes of the proceedings are available. Welsh is on a round-the-world trip contacting libertarians.

Ground Zero

By Terry V. Mitchell
Acting National Director

Greetings from "ground zero"—the business office of the largest Libertarian organization in the world.

Once in a while I am asked, "Just what do you guys do around there?" This is a legitimate question; not many Libertarians have visited the National LP's offices and observed on-site our daily activities. Many members have no direct contact with National other than material orders which, they rightly complain, are sometimes late.

In considering such questions it is interesting to compare the size and financing of the LP's operation with just one operation of the "giant" GOP's:

The GOP's Student Outreach Project has an annual budget of *one million dollars* and a full time staff of 10. This operation concentrates on developing and strengthening Republican student organizations and nothing else.

The National Libertarian Party has a budget *one third* the size of the GOP's "special project" and a full-time staff of only three. This staff of three (with one part-timer) handles it *all*: memberships, general requests for information, specific inquiries, material orders, list orders, record keeping, federally required paperwork, and many other equally important tasks.

Some will immediately point out that the self-funded action committees do their own mailings and record keeping. This is partly true. We merge their contributor lists with the LP's data base, and then with this and other data from the National Committee, we handle the tedious but required-by-law quarterly and semi-annual FEC reporting (a job I would wish only on the creator of the FEC).

Others will note that HQ is not responsible for the production of LP NEWS and this, thankfully, is true. We are, however, responsible for the upkeep of the list LP NEWS labels come from and a number of facets of distribution. We receive approximately 100 address corrections per week, as well as deletions, prospects, new members and new subscriptions. (Don't forget the "Enlighten Others" and "Republicrat" coupons we developed to help underwrite the Autumn special issue—they generated about 1,000 new names for which we created files for label production.)

(By the way, we've already picked up a

number of new members from the latest Outreach Issue.)

It is vital that all this new information be entered into the data base before we print the labels that get LP NEWS from the presses to your hands.

We handle material orders around all these deadlines. If you need materials for some specific activity or meeting, please do us the service of placing your order early. Use a bright marker to note your deadline, and we'll do our best to meet it.

But please realize that we are limited by the information we have; if there's a problem with your order (i.e., no street address when we need to ship UPS) we can't contact you to straighten it out if we don't have your new telephone number. Print your name clearly, and be sure you note your current address. Adding your membership number (it's on your LP NEWS label) really saves time on our end, too.

So, returning to our comparison: Here we are with fewer finances and a small but dedicated staff. Are we holding our own? Yes, we are. We're running a headquarters operation nearly as all-encompassing as the Republican Party's and we put out much better outreach material than the Democratic Party's national office. We know; we get their material.

Are we intimidated by the political machine of the big bad Republicrats? Nah, they ain't seen nothin' yet!

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Georgia LP Honors State Cracked Pots

H.L. Mencken once observed that "one horse laugh is worth 10,000 syllogisms." This is the operating principle behind the Libertarian Party of Georgia's Cracked Pot Awards—satirical awards given annually to state legislators for the very worst bills of the year.

When we started the awards three years ago, we had three primary objectives. First, we wanted to stir up some publicity for libertarian ideas and the Georgia LP—to let people know that our Party was active and had important things to say. This has never been easy in Georgia, where some of the nation's severest ballot laws have made it almost impossible for us to run candidates.

Second, we wanted to draw attention to the great flood of outrageous legislation spewed forth annually by state Republicrats. It would be a valuable public lesson, we thought, to bring together in one place the most horrible and absurd of these bills. If legislators were willing to reveal themselves as jackasses and tyrants, we were more than willing to help them publicize the fact.

Finally, the Cracked Pot Awards simply promised to be great fun—a grand public forum to lambaste and ridicule the morons and despots that infest our state legislature.

There's nothing fancy about the Cracked Pots themselves. They consist of cracked plastic flowerpots (the symbolism is pretty obvious) mounted on a base of black florist's styrofoam. A typewritten strip of paper pinned to the base serves as a nameplate and completes the award. More than one person has observed that the Cracked Pots are downright shabby-looking. But that's the point, of course—they're shabby awards given for very shabby accomplishments.

The Cracked Pots are given in two categories: Worst Proposed Legislation—legislation that fails to pass both the House and Senate—and Worst Passed Legislation, the monstrosities that have passed both houses and lie waiting, ticking like time bombs, for the governor to sign them into law. There are three awards in each category: Gold, Silver, and Bronze Cracked Pots. The flower pots are spray-painted the appropriate color.

Each year we also give some special awards, to commemorate especially heinous achievements. These vary from year to year, but have included a Golden Handcuffs Award for the worst offense against civil liberties, mounted

dunce caps for the dumbest tort reform proposals, and the Jesse James Award—a mounted six-gun and bandana—for the worst offense against state taxpayers.

The awards are presented either at one of the Georgia LP's monthly meetings or at our annual state convention, always within a few weeks after the Assembly's annual session has ended. The timing is important—we want the awards given while the sins and crimes of the legislature are still fresh in the public's mind, and before the governor has signed all the passed bills into law.

As chairman of the Cracked Pot Awards Committee, it's been my duty each year to follow the goings-on of the state legislature—no task for those with weak stomachs or high blood pressure. I do this mostly by following a couple of newspapers and by watching an hour-long summary of the Assembly's actions each night on public television. Another good source of information is the state government itself, which periodically issues a composite listing of all bills and their progress, and provides copies of bills upon request.

I've found it important to track the Assembly on a daily basis, or as near so as possible. Otherwise, I risk quickly falling behind. Georgia politicians can do a lot of damage in a single day.

After narrowing down the year's worst bills into a small handful of potential Cracked Pot winners, I then—with the help of the Georgia LP's Executive Committee—rank them in order. This is no easy job. How, after all, do you weigh and measure varying degrees of legislative badness? I often think we need a scoring system for terrible legislation modeled after those used in sporting events like gymnastics and diving—a system that would give a certain number of points for stupidity, a certain number for destructive potential, for meddlesomeness, and so on, perhaps with bonus points for outrageousness above and beyond the expected. Lacking such a scale, however, I think we've nonetheless done a pretty good job each year of separating the merely bad from the truly horrendous.

Because media attention is one of our prime goals, we send out over 50 press releases around the state announcing the awards presentation, briefly describing the awards and the LP, and inviting the media and the public. After the presentation, press releases announcing the "winners" of the awards are mailed out to

these same media outlets. Of course, we have copies of the press release on hand during the awards presentation to give out to any attending media.

The awards presentation itself is a fun event. Each year I've opened the presentation with a few remarks about the juicier scandals and fiascos of the just-ended session. I like to include anecdotes about the local guardians of our liberties—guys like the Democratic legislator who, when asked his opinion on euthanasia, replied "I think they should have the same rights as youth in America." Or like the Republican hopeful who tried to hire a hypnotist to appear on his television ads to mesmerize the viewers into supporting him. (No, I'm not making these up.)

I then give a quick run-down of some of the worst of the bills that failed to win awards—the Cracked Pot runners-up. By the time this is done, listeners are wondering if the Cracked Pot winners themselves can possibly be any worse. They always are, of course. (See sidebar.)

Finally it's time to present the Cracked Pot Awards themselves. I announce each winner one by one, beginning with the Bronze Cracked Pot for Third Place, Worst Proposed Legislation and climaxing with the Golden Cracked Pot for Worst Passed Legislation of the year. As each winner is revealed I spend a couple of minutes describing the offending bill and giving the alternative libertarian view, peppering these remarks with strong doses of sarcasm and venom. It doesn't take a master satirist for this; often a simple description of the bills sounds like something from a Marx Brothers comedy.

After the presentation is over, the awards are boxed up and mailed to the winning legislators, who no doubt treasure them. A letter on LPGA stationary accompanies each Cracked Pot, telling the unlucky recipient what the award represents and why he or she has received it. The letter also points out that press releases announcing the awards have been sent all across the state.

How successful have the awards been? Far greater than we had ever hoped. In fact, the Cracked Pots have been our most successful media event ever. During the past three years we've received extensive newspaper, radio, and television coverage for the awards across the state, with some outlets doing follow-up stories about politicians in their areas who have received Cracked Pots. ("Senator so-and-so, how does it feel to win an award for the worst pork barrel scheme of the year?") I've also been invited to discuss the awards and the

LP on a few hour-long radio talk shows.

We've even received national attention: The Cracked Pots have been mentioned on PBS's MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour, Ted Turner's Cable News Network, and in the tax revolt tabloid *The Justice Times*.

Media coverage has generally been favorable, even sympathetic. Part of this, I think, is due to the humorous nature of the awards. Also, many reporters know first-hand what the state legislature is like. After our first Cracked Pot presentation, one reporter came up, shook my hand, and said he'd been waiting for years to hear someone tell the truth about the General Assembly.

The Cracked Pots have had other good effects, too. After the first year's awards, two of the politicians we singled out lost closely-contested re-election bids. One veteran observer of state politics (a non-LPer) told me he thought the bad publicity the Cracked Pots generated may well have made the difference in those elections. At the time I thought he might have been exaggerating. However, I recently learned that during this past year's primaries, one of those same candidates devoted fully half of his campaign brochure to defending himself against his Golden Cracked Pot! Apparently his opponent used the Cracked Pot publicity against him during the campaign—over two years after the award was given out. Happily, our award winner lost again.

The Cracked Pots make a very effective educational and outreach tool. Humor, of course, is a powerful way to communicate ideas. Too, the awards tap into the very strong distrust—and even contempt—that so many people feel toward their state legislature. Because they are given for a wide variety of issues in both the personal and economic realms, the Cracked Pots illustrate the consistency of our views and distinguish us clearly from liberals and conservatives. And they show those who don't fully agree with us, but share our view on one or more major issues, that we are potential allies on topics of mutual concern.

I'm particularly happy to note that other states are considering doing Cracked Pots or similar awards. In fact, one state—South Carolina—has already done so. We're delighted to think that our little idea may soon be a source of great discomfort and embarrassment to politicians all across the land!

For our Party, the Cracked Pot Awards have come to be an important annual event: a low-cost, humorous, and fun way to flail state politicians and gain significant media attention for libertarian ideas.

And the Winner Is...

Following are some of the worst of the many bad bills and worse legislators that have received Cracked Pots:

- Rep. Bill Jones received the very first Golden Cracked Pot for his bill making it a crime for major oil companies to open new gas stations in Georgia—a bill that, incredibly, *passed* both the House and Senate! (The governor, thankfully, refused to sign it into law.) In its original form, the bill would have forced major companies to shut down all their *existing* stations in Georgia as well. Why, you ask? Well, you see, Bill Jones owns a string of independent gas stations.

- Sen. Joe Lee Thompson proposed a display law aimed at protecting minors from exposure to "obscenity." It was so all-encompassing that, as one journalist noted, "even a dictionary, displayed in plain sight, could lead to the arrest of the bookseller." If taken literally, the law could have prohibited most modern novels, numerous world classics, and even the Bible from being sold anywhere except adults-only bookstores.

- Rep. David Lucas, angry at his local newspaper, proposed to make it a criminal offense for Georgia newspapers to publish unsigned editorials. The House *passed* the bill overwhelmingly by voice vote. It was later,

thankfully, bottled up in a Senate committee.

- Rep. Rudolph Johnson—whom libertarians quickly dubbed "Rudolph the blue-nosed legislator"—came down from the North Georgia mountains with a bill to ban all liquor advertising in Georgia! Radio, TV, newspapers, billboards—you name it.

- Last year, "tort reform" was the hot issue in the state capital. Among the many bad and ill-conceived proposals, two stood out as particularly horrible; in fact, they were so bad that they tied for Worst Tort Reform Proposal award—a dunce cap mounted on a styrofoam base. Sen. Roy Barnes, gripped by a sort of manic, low-brow populism, called for a mandatory, five-year, one-third rollback in all premiums for liability insurance in the state. Apparently inspired by this, Sen. Ed Barker rose to propose an additional 25 percent reduction in premiums for anyone who made no claims for a year. When another senator sarcastically asked Barker if his proposal were open-ended—if, after four years of no claims, one's premiums would fall to zero dollars per year—Barker thought for a moment, smiled, and said "Why not?" Lest you think these bills are simply isolated examples of lunacy, note that they both *passed* the Senate near-unanimously.

Private Buses Carry Kids for Less

The Heartland Institute, a Chicago policy research center, has released a study that examines the costs of transporting children to and from school.

The study's authors, Robert A. McGuire and T. Norman Van Cott of Ball State University, collected data from 275 Indiana school districts. Forty-nine of the districts contract with private bus companies to transport children to and from school; 82 districts use both private companies and district-owned buses. The remaining 144 districts use only district-owned buses.

The authors compared the costs of transporting school children for the private companies and the district buses. They found that overall, private buses cost 12 percent less to operate than do district buses.

Contracting with private bus companies to transport schoolchildren is common in the Chicago area, but is seen less frequently in other areas and other states. The results of Van Cott's and McGuire's research imply that school districts strapped for funds could save

money by seeking private companies to transport their schoolchildren.

"The use of private companies to provide services usually supplied by the government is not new," said Joseph L. Bast, executive director of The Heartland Institute. "There isn't a 'public' service you can think of that isn't being provided, somewhere, by a private company."

"This study confirms earlier work by The Heartland Institute showing that 'privatization' saves the taxpayers money, and creates new opportunities for entrepreneurship," he added.

A longer version of the study originally appeared in *Public Choice*, a journal of economics published by the Center for the Study of Public Choice at George Mason University.

Copies of the study, titled "Public versus Private Economic Activity: A New Look at School Bus Transportation," are available for \$3.00 each. Contact The Heartland Institute, 55 E. Monroe, Suite 4316, Chicago, IL 60603.

The 1986 Campaign: Lay

Ballot Access

The LP came out of November's general election with presidential ballot status in 12 states. These are states in which the LP need not re-petition for its '88 presidential ticket. The states are Alaska, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, South Carolina, Texas, and Vermont.

Steve Fielder, chair of the LP's Ballot Access Committee, stressed the importance of this year's results, especially in Texas. "George Meeks ran extremely well in Texas, receiving three times the number of votes needed to retain ballot status there. Texas is tough—very difficult to complete at the height of a presidential campaign because of its short, 75-day petitioning period. With Texas out of the way, the LP's presidential ballot drive is off to a fast start," Fielder said.

Fielder attributed the Texas LP's success to several factors: "Honey Lanham deserves a lot of the credit. She inspired the Texas LP to do its drive this year. The LP Ballot Access Fund put up \$15,000, but the Texas LP raised over half the cost of its petitioning effort. When the Texas petition was challenged by an aide to a Democrat state legislator, BAC attorney Jim Linger quickly filed a successful lawsuit. Finally, the candidates themselves ran strong campaigns."

Other key states where the LP retained ballot status were California and Nevada. On the down side, the LP failed to pass muster in Indiana and Utah, despite good campaigns. In both states, ballot status hung on a single statewide race. Hugh Butler missed in Utah against a popular incumbent U.S. senator; and Karen Benson, running for Indiana Secretary of State, missed in a close race against two well-known political names.

According to Fielder, the BAC is already working hard on the '88 campaign. "Our strategy is to be on the ballot in as many states as possible as early as possible," said Fielder. The BAC's goal is to be qualified in at least 24

states before the Seattle convention in September '87. "A demonstrated ability to get on the ballot is essential if the LP hopes to attract quality candidates with national name recognition."

Fielder chaffed at suggestions that the LP Ballot Access Fund is hampering fundraising by LP National Headquarters. The fund, which finances the BAC, is chaired by Dr. Peter Breggin. Dean Ahmad, the LP's National Secretary, has proposed a 25 percent overhead charge on money expended by the LPBAF. Ahmad's proposal is an item on the agenda for the LNC's November meeting in Los Angeles.

"The BAC is a self-funding volunteer operation. Before the BAC began raising its own money, we didn't even rate a line in the LNC's budget." Fielder pointed out that LPBAF mailings target state LP lists. "Our contributors are largely people whom headquarters has never heard of. Simply put, Dean Ahmad wants to tax the BAC for sending in too many new names."

"The fundraising appeal of the LPBAF is that every dollar raised will be earmarked for projects related to ballot access. That's a promise to our contributors I intend to keep. The BAC is prepared to pay National Headquarters its standard fee for the use of its mailing list."

Fielder added, "If Dean Ahmad's 25 percent tax had been in effect this year, the Texas drive would have missed. The real issue here is the failure of the Finance Committee to raise money needed to pay for other LP projects. The BAC has put together a comprehensive long-range plan for its fundraising. The National LP has a host of fundraising tools at hand: membership dues, subscriptions, literature, the Torch Club, the Liberty Pledge program and telephone solicitation. Instead of lurching from one financial crisis to another, the Finance Committee should develop a sound fundraising plan for the National LP."

"Liberty: If it's worth fighting for and worth dying for, it's certainly worth voting for" and "It's time to think in different terms."

Despite a mere two-month campaign and a shoestring budget, Theresa Doyle was able to double the percentage received in the 1982 race for governor (from .6 percent to 1.24 percent) and three statewide candidates, all in two-way races, guaranteed our ballot position in 1988. George Meeks, candidate for State Comptroller, garnered just under 10 percent while both Wiley Rawlins, running for Supreme Court, and Robert Reid, running for State Treasurer, received between 8 and 9 percent.

A complete analysis is being done of Campaign '86 to assure the most powerful and effective campaign possible in 1988, a year that will be free of a burdensome and draining ballot drive.

Thanks go to everyone who helped make the Texas LP the success story it deserves to be. And a very special thanks to everyone who was determined that our 1986 ballot drive succeed.

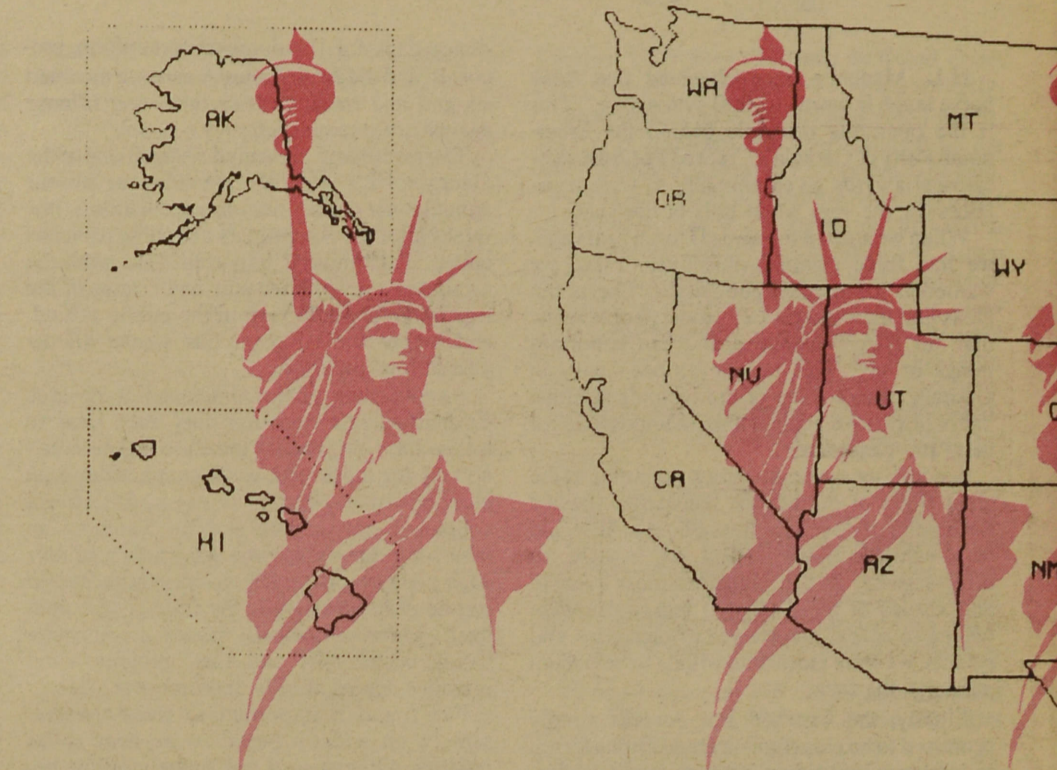
Pilcher is director of the Texas Libertarian Party.

Missouri

By Jay Manifold

The result of the Libertarian efforts in the 1986 midterm elections in Missouri must be classed as "instructive losses," I am afraid. Complete but unofficial returns for the races in which we participated are Jay Manifold, for U.S. Representative, 1.55 percent; Mike Hurley, for State Representative, 4.12 percent; and Philip Rustici, for State Representative, 1.91 percent.

Lessons were learned in two categories: things we did that were not done well, and



things we didn't do at all that should have been done.

Our leafleting was both labor-intensive and inefficient, as it was done by hand rather than by mail, and covered a wide area, rather than only those households containing registered voters—probably less than half the total. I wish to correct these mistakes by purchasing the mailing list of registered voters from the Kansas City Board of Election Commissioners and henceforth mailing material to voters, rather than expending several hundred man-hours hiking around in the rain and wasting 60 percent of our hand-bills in the process.

My campaign staff wasn't really a staff at all—it was a bunch of guys helping me out, and it showed. There was no one whose specific duty it was to arrange speaking arrangements, for example, and as a result I only had half a dozen or so during the entire campaign. I was my own press agent, an inadequate arrangement. Most of our attempts at getting attention foundered from this lack of organization. Next time, our "spearhead" candidate, almost certainly the Congressional candidate, should be endowed with a carefully chosen group of people who at least know what they're supposed to be doing, whether or not they actually know how to do it.

Our greatest unmet need was everybody's least favorite subject, fundraising. My only idea on this so far is to begin raising money for 1988 as soon as possible, through monthly pledges targeted at specific needs; i.e., a mailing fund, an advertising fund, and so on. Ten people times 10 dollars a month times 20 months is \$2,000, which isn't too bad.

Bigger signs, radio ads, and even TV are all desirable, of course, but it's far too early to tell whether any of those things will be really feasible next time. There are some intriguing possibilities. I have two friends who each have their own recording studios, and I have an acceptable radio voice, so the expense of producing radio ads could be almost zero. The rates charged by local stations are something else again. There is an appallingly direct relationship between how many people are likely to hear your ad and how much you will have to pay for it. At the other end of the scale, on independent TV stations after midnight, a 30-second spot costs only \$15, it is rumored. Hmm...

Silver linings: Contacts made in this campaign far exceeded our expectations and greatly mitigate the demoralizing effect of receiving the hardest-earned 2,204 votes in American history. A major part of our leafleting effort was carried out in conjunction with the head of a group opposed to a local school property levy increase (by the way, the voters shot the levy

down again, for the third time this year). I expect he will prove to be a valuable ally in 1988. More surprising, I have learned that a prominent local Democrat, formerly a member of the Jackson County Legislature and now running for Kansas City Council (non-partisan election, March 1987), split a ticket for the first time in his life in order to vote for me, among other things. He has expressed great admiration for my effort. I, for my part, have just sent him some material, including Robert Poole's book *Cutting Back City Hall* and the latest LP NEWS, and will do all I can to cultivate him generally. In six months, there may be a libertarian sitting on the KC Council.

Manifold is secretary of the Missouri Libertarian Party.

Alaska

By Andre Marrou

In the Alaska general elections, all Libertarian candidates, including myself, lost. But the Libertarian Party still lives.

We can't quit now. Achieving a libertarian society is going to take a lot longer, a lot more money, and a lot more effort than anybody anticipated. Whether we like it or not, this is a marathon, not a sprint.

Think how many decades it took for our government to get us into this mess. It's unrealistic to think that we could come out of nowhere and succeed within a few years. We must stay with it for the long haul.

I know that I am.

How did I lose this time? For one thing, I was running for the State House of Representatives against a candidate from the heavily populated northern part of our district. Last time, when I won my seat, I and my opponent both were from the lightly-populated southern part. Nevertheless, I polled about 36 percent of the vote to my opponent's 42 percent and against a campaign that had the full backing of the state Democrat Party which had especially targeted me for defeat and hired considerable outside talent to do it. My opponent also hammered the "pro-drug" and "anti-public-school" planks of the Libertarian platform during the final days of the campaign and, although grossly distorted, the points apparently had a significant effect. Frankly, I really thought that the public was smarter than that. My mistake.

Our gubernatorial candidate, Ed Hoch, was forced to run as a write-in after a former Libertarian candidate, Mary O'Brannon (who has left the state after a highly publicized trial for illegal business dealings) first promised to get off the ballot, then decided not to, and even

Texas

By Dianne Pilcher

After a grueling 75-day ballot drive, the Libertarian Party of Texas achieved ballot status for an entire slate of statewide candidates in addition to many others on the district and local levels.

Our primary goal, in addition to winning, of course, was to get at least 2 percent in the governor's race or at least 5 percent in any other statewide race.

And we did it!

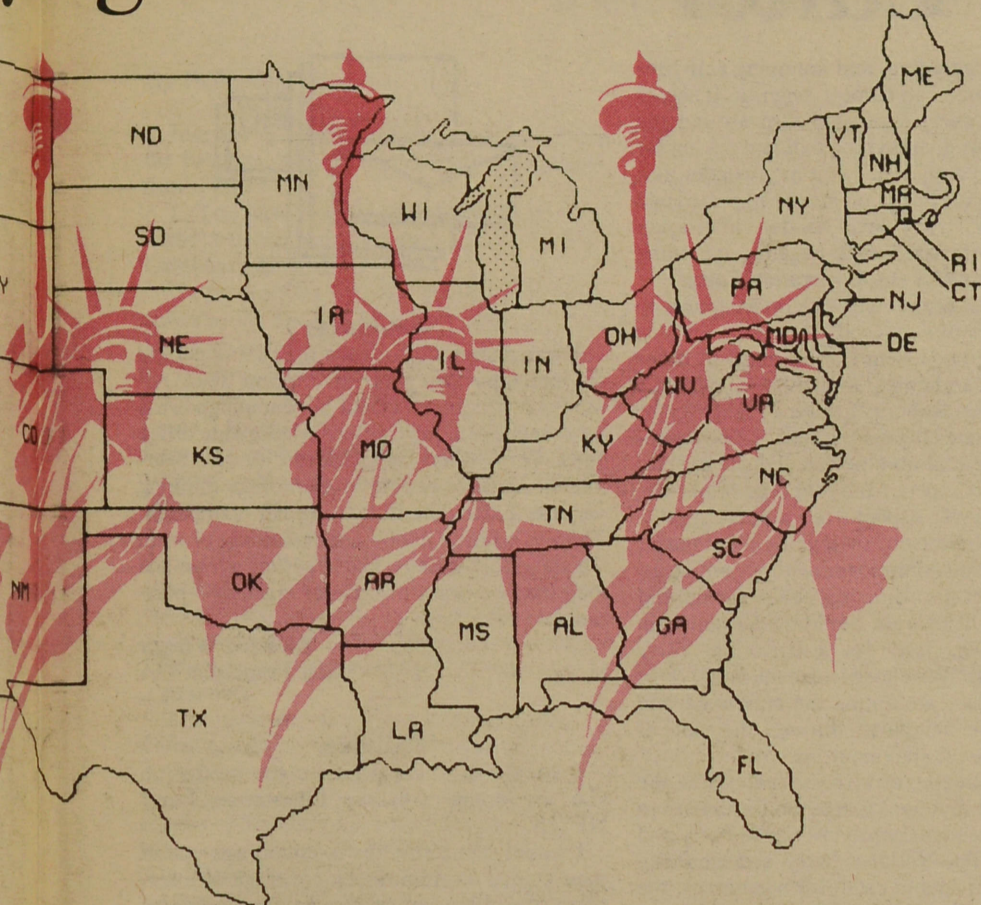
Accomplishing this allows us automatic ballot status in 1988. Also, as always, the goal of our candidates was to spread the libertarian philosophy to the voters of Texas.

While we did not have the sheer number of candidates that ran in 1982, we were able to send three of our top stars around the state on media and speaking engagements. Theresa Doyle, candidate for Governor, Bill Howell, candidate for Lieutenant Governor, and George Meeks, candidate for Comptroller, visited every major population center in the state at least once.

Through what must have seemed like an endless series of 7 a.m. flights and untold miles of highway, Theresa, Bill, and George performed like true professionals. In speaking to those Texas Libertarian Party members involved in previous campaigns, I have been told repeatedly that the quality of media attention this year has risen noticeably. A word of personal thanks to Alex Snead for his superb work as our state media coordinator.

In addition to extensive traveling by our candidates, this year we created two 15-second ads which ran on cable TV during the last week of the campaign. These ads made use of two slogans used throughout the campaign:

Building a Base for the Future



threw her support to the winning Democrat just a few days before the election. Our National Committee representative, Chuck House, running for the U.S. Senate, got nearly 2 percent of the vote. Betty Breck, for U.S. House, got 2.3 percent. Allegra Barnes, running on the confused gubernatorial slate, for Lieutenant Governor, got less than 1 percent. Three newcomers, Jacob Levine, running for the State Senate, and John McArthur and Steven Pidgeon, running for State House seats, got 4.8, 2.6, and 3.5 percent of the votes respectively.

Things that the Alaska and the national LP both must now consider seriously:

My opponent scared some voters with the national platform. Is it too "outspoken"?

Last year, I helped raise money for a national TV campaign. I still think that it's essential. We must present the Party in a more acceptable, palatable fashion without watering down any of our platform.

Should we join one or both of the larger parties to achieve libertarianism through them? In my opinion, this has about as much chance as a snowball in south Texas. It didn't work for former Libertarian Dick Randolph here in Alaska. He lost resoundingly when he switched to the Republican Party. I challenge anybody to show me that this tactic has ever worked anywhere for the Libertarian Party. Entrepreneurs start their new businesses out of desperation in trying to get the establishment to accept their new, better ideas. Is it so very different in politics?

We should be trying to convert Democrats and Republicans to our side, not joining theirs!

We must organize more and better. Some people joined the Libertarian Party because they don't like the organization (which some mistakenly think of as regimentation). But in reaching the public in politics, the more organization the better. Not only do we need national, state, and local Party officers, we also need district coordinators, leaders, and expeditors. Bear in mind that all state legislatures and the Congress are organized along district lines. If we intend to place members in those assemblies, shouldn't we organize similarly?

We could form more alliances with groups who share a part of our philosophy.

We must increase our Party membership. How many voters have you attracted into the Party lately?

Marrou, a state representative in Alaska, had been the LP's highest-ranked elected official.

New Mexico

By Frank Clinard

We had two LP candidates.

Margaret Mathers, candidate for State House of Representatives in District 2, ran against the Republican incumbent in a two-way race. Won? No. Came close? No. Ran a strong race? Yes. She got 12 percent of the vote.

Summary and analysis: This was a modest effort, mostly by Margaret herself (who holds down two jobs) along with some help from a few out-of-District party members. Principal efforts were (1) a booth at the county fair, (2) letters to the editor by the candidate (who is LP chairwoman for that county), (3) newspaper advertisements, and (4) limited distribution of the candidate's brochures. With a stronger effort I'm sure we would have gotten a higher percentage of the vote, but all involved were nevertheless pleased with the result.

Howard Hutchinson, write-in candidate for County Commission in Catron County, ran against one opponent, a Republican. Won? No. Came close? No. Ran a strong race? Yes. Again, our candidate got 12 percent of the vote.

Summary and analysis: The candidate, who is also county chairman, did all of the campaigning himself. However, he was partially supported by contributions from members of the State LP. Howard's principal effort was to mail two letters, describing himself and his stand on the issues, to every registered voter in his sparsely-populated district. There is no doubt that if we had had a place on the ballot our man would have done much better and perhaps even won. As it is, we are proud of Howard's effort and the result.

These percentages are the highest ever obtained by a Libertarian Party candidate in New Mexico.

Clinard is chairman of the Libertarian Party of New Mexico.

Indiana

By Walter Weeks

None of our 21 candidates won, but no one expected them to.

This was an "off year" election. The highest state office up for election was Secretary of State. The importance of this to Libertarians, who have had "automatic" ballot status for the

Round-up

Although the Arizona Libertarian Party was not on the statewide ballot, Party chairwoman Peggy Jenney reports that in Cocino County (Flagstaff) the LP did get on the ballot through a registration drive. The Libertarian candidate for Clerk of the Superior Court drew about 6 percent of the vote.

In Florida, thanks largely to the unremitting efforts of John Wayne Smith, the Libertarian Party was instrumental in defeating a Fort Walton Beach referendum that would have made it impossible to hire a private fire fighting company. Even the mayor, after meeting with Smith, came out against the prohibition.

In Delaware, Eric Rittberg, spending zero dollars on his campaign, and on the basis of one radio interview and one newspaper story, got 3 percent of the vote for the State House of Representatives while Vernon Etzel, state chairman, spending \$150 on his campaign for a similar seat, drew 4.5 percent of the vote.

With candidates running straight across the board for statewide and district races, the L for Libertarian designation firmly established itself in election returns all across Utah, turning dozens of races into three-party rather than two-party contests. Libertarian Mayor (of Big Water) Alex Joseph failed in his bid for a seat on the County Commission, but is gearing up for the next time.

With barely 1,000 registered Libertarian Party members in the entire state, LP candidates in Nevada nonetheless received from 1,200 to 16,000 votes in 12 of the Party's 14 races, showing a significant outreach to non-members. The two races that drew less than 1,000 votes were in small, local contests.

Colorado's candidate for the State House of Representatives, Dave Aitken, spent \$3,000 on his campaign and drew more than 3 percent of the vote against an incumbent Democrat. Earlier, his campaign had impressed the influential *Denver Post* enough for them to predict that he would receive as much as 20 percent of the vote.

Washington came very close to electing its first candidate when Jack Allard, running for

the Pierce County Charter Review Committee (mandated to study and recommend changes in the county constitution) drew 46 percent of the vote. DeAnn Pullar, who received 6 percent of the vote running as a Libertarian Party member for the State House of Representatives in 1982, got 42 percent of the votes for the same seat, running as a Republican.

Pennsylvania's 14th Congressional District saw one old-line party, the Democrats, and four newer parties (Libertarian, Socialist, Populist, Workers League) contending for the U.S. House of Representatives. The Libertarian candidate, with more than 5 percent of the votes, did almost as well as the other three combined.

Irony report from Louisiana state chairman Christopher Albright: "We're still not a 'recognized' political party in this state, except for Presidential elections. The bipartisan monopoly is clearly against letting us in. Yet, when Republicans tried to 'purge' the election rolls in an apparent attempt to keep black Democrats from voting, a high Democrat figure, former New Orleans Mayor Dutch Morial, moaned that he was shocked that a national party would do anything to discourage voter participation. He said that it shows to what depths some people will stoop to win an election. Tell us about it!"

In the belly of the beast, Washington, D.C., Scott Kohlhaas ran for the city council and drew more votes than the last three Libertarian Party presidential candidates put together. Although his one-and-a-half percent of the total was too little to get the Party permanent ballot status, Scott has promised to run to win next time and to take off at least five full weeks before the election to campaign full time.

In New Hampshire, Anthony Harp, who had run previously as a Libertarian, was one of three candidates able to appear in both Democrat and Republican ballot columns in a nine-way race for six House seats in his district. (Primary election write-ins enable the double ticketing in New Hampshire.) After an agonizingly close race among all nine candidates, and even after a recount, Harp was edged out by 43 votes of the 17,500 cast.

last four years, is that future ballot status is tied by law to the vote total for this one office. And the new law requires four times as many votes in 1982 for the automatic ballot status.

Everyone, then, was basically trying to increase the vote total for Karen Benson, the Libertarian for Secretary of State. Karen worked very hard, fought her way into and through several televised debates and forums with the major party candidates. Unfortunately, the Democrats felt that their one major hope to have some influence in this mostly Republican state was to have a well-known name as their candidate, so they picked a man named Bayh, who is the son of a famous political figure in Indiana (Birch). That meant of course that the Republicans needed a similarly well-known name so they selected a man named Bowen, who is the son of a former governor (Otis), now Reagan's choice to head the Department of Health and Welfare. And if this were not enough, the American Party also ran a ticket of two candidates, one of course being for Secretary of State. Karen did a great job with very little financial support, and we thought that she would get the necessary 2 percent of the total vote cast. Preliminary figures say that she did not get the necessary statewide support, although she did in at least one county. There was a major independent swing toward Bayh, who spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on his campaign, and he was the only statewide Democrat who won.

The highest percentage of votes for a Libertarian, statewide, was apparently Jenny DeBaun, who received 1.5 percent statewide in a three-way race for Clerk of the Supreme Court.

The Libertarian ticket also had candidates for all 10 districts for the U.S. House. The largest vote getter in that category was Dr. Barbara Bourland in District 7 in a three-way race against a 20-year Republican incumbent. In spite of an election foul-up in which her name was omitted from the ballot in at least one county, she received about 2 percent of the vote in the district and 4 percent or more in at least one county. Fred Peterson also did quite well in the Indianapolis area in a three-way race against a long-time incumbent. At least one district will require a recount, and it seems likely that the Libertarian vote would have made the difference for whoever loses the recount.

Brad Warren, libertarian running for U.S. Senate, was the prime mover in much of the Party's specific campaign efforts. He faced insurmountable odds in a four-way race against incumbent Dan Quayle's \$2.7 million war chest.

The Libertarians are down, but not yet out. In several precincts, some candidates had over 10 percent of the vote, and since little official data is available at this time, there may be some better local results than that.

At the very least, we will try to convince the legislature that the accuracy of the process is not good enough to determine that minority party candidates failed to get the required percentages for ballot status.

Walter Weeks is state chairman of the Indiana Libertarian Party.

Continued on page 12

Letters to the Editor

LROC Response

I must admit I was amused to read the ad for the so-called "Libertarian-Republican Organizing Committee." As best as I can see, it is a collection of inactive libertarians (noticeably absent from the coalition are the Republicans) urging the rest of us to become active Republicans.

But what bothered me the most about this ad was the fact that they went out and raised the money necessary to publish it. I am bothered because three of four signers, Raimondo, Garis, and Hunter, were the primary "organizers" of the ill-fated "Libertarian Outlook" magazine. These three convinced me and others to put effort behind this publication and then they disappeared into the abyss of inactivity, doing virtually nothing to insure the continuation of the publication. However, several dozen libertarians bought subscriptions and others contributed to the "cause." But Garis, Raimondo, and Hunter simply deserted the publication and are not making any effort to repay the dozens of libertarians who were foolish enough, as was I, to believe their stories about the magazine.

Instead of raising the money to pay these people back, they went out and raised money to finance an ad urging these very same people to become Republicans. They say they aren't deserting principle, but I would have an easier time believing them if they kept their word on "Outlook." They did not keep the publication going, nor did they really try. And when it folded they had an obligation to refund the subscribers. But they have forgotten their debt, like they forgot the magazine, and perhaps, like they will forget their principles.

Originally these "coalitionists" advanced Ed Zschau as their knight on a white horse. Their ad was a little more suspicious of this slippery politician but pleaded with us that "it is not enough to point out the inconsistencies of those who are halfway there." But to say Zschau is halfway there doesn't tell us where "there" is.

And then there was the Dick Randolph campaign for the Republican nomination for governor in Alaska. If anyone in the movement had a chance of pulling off the strategy espoused in this ad, it was Randolph. And his failure reached new heights. Too bad, I had hopes for him and would have reconsidered my position had he won.

And just who are the other Republicans that the coalitionist types want us to support? Rumor has it that the Cato crowd is split between Bob Dole and Pierre DuPont. This is the same DuPont who has just called for mandatory drug testing of all American high school students. I'm just waiting for one of these coalitionists to begin extolling the virtues of Pat Robertson. With a faith-healer as president, we could at least abolish Medicare and that's more than these other candidates have to offer.

Jim Peron
San Francisco, CA

Justin Raimondo's epistle either proves the old saw that yesterday's radical is tomorrow's reactionary; or that the libertarian movement is now secure enough in its ideological identity to begin playing pragmatic politics. Both a libertarian third party and a neo-libertarian faction in the GOP are needed to advance the cause of liberty.

Third parties do function to inject new ideas into the political milieu where they are picked up by intellectuals and mainstream politicians like Ed Zschau. As Jim Peron points out, our ideas are winning the intellectual battle, and the general climate, except for the New Right backlash, has been moving in our direction for the past few years. But you don't have to abandon principles to play pragmatic politics.

National LP Chair Jim Turney correctly points out that we had twice as many local libertarians elected to office in 1986 as in 1981, and that at the local level we are

constantly advancing and are more successful than ever. But none of the libertarians who have gotten elected to local office have done so by preaching ideology. They have ridden in on their names, reputations, discreetly tactical campaigns, and by applying libertarian principles to utilitarian local issues such as taxes and zoning. And once in office they must operate in an environment of compromise with liberals, populists, conservatives, and centrists. Along with Marshall Fritz' fine work, David Bergland's article on how to package our ideology for different personality types is a good start in developing the techniques of appealing to these other ideologies.

Neo-libertarianism is such a technique which can be defined as a non-alienating tactical position which accommodates the mind set and temperament of non-libertarians and moves them in our direction on an issue. For example, I got myself appointed to the county's drug abuse advisory board, but I can't just sloganeer about legalizing drugs and letting the chips fall where they may, because that just causes a "no sale" sign to register in people's eyes. So when I give presentations to the city council, county board of supervisors, or school board, and when I lobby the police chief and district attorney, I must take intermediate positions which explain the economic countereffects of drug laws in raising burglary rates and violence; call for the de facto decriminalization of personal pot growing; and demand an autonomic, rather than prohibitionistic, approach to public school drug education problems.

Jim Turney asks how to explain the low attendance at most 1985 and 1986 state conventions and the fewer active local organizations. If we want to correct that situation we are going to have to teach libertarians how to play the pragmatic game of year-round political lobbying; and how to utilize the neo-libertarian tactical position as the Cato Institute and *Reason* magazine do. Otherwise, the Libertarian Party will become a waste of time and vote for the average person.

Randall Grindle
Lower Lake, CA

Congratulations to you and to Libertarian Party NEWS for printing Mssrs. Costello, et al's "Open Letter to the Movement."

I don't happen to agree with the gentlemen. I hardly see the Republican Party as a hospitable forum for individual liberty. Besides, Republicans are such stuffed shirts. When it's party time, and if there is no LP, I'll be sorely tempted to consort with liberals.

However, I fully support the rights of such misguided individuals to advertise their views in the Libertarian Party NEWS.

They did pay the normal rate, didn't they?

Edward M. Hoskins
Denver, CO

Absolutely. Every penny. In advance.—KH

A paid ad is a paid ad. NatCom wants the LP NEWS to go unsubsidized, so what are you to do but publish paid ads?

Although I feel that the people who paid for that ad are dead wrong, I feel that you should have run their ad. Many other libertarian papers and magazines, including *Reason*, run some non-libertarian oriented ads. I've even seen the *Objectivist* ads from time to time in libertarian publications. So what! They're paid ads!

Steve Peppers
Jacksonville, FL

Party Enterprise

It is not surprising to find that the Libertarian Party is experiencing a financial crisis, as reported in the Sept./Oct. issue of Libertarian Party NEWS.

The major problem with the members of the Libertarian Party is that they do not practice what they are always preaching—free enterprise! Instead, they engage in one of the most

disgusting, degrading, and annoying activities that any human can name—*begging*. It seems that almost every time you turn around the Party is again giving you a call and asking for yet another "donation." Is it any wonder that the number of Party members has dropped considerably? Any level-headed libertarian should be infuriated with begging, including that engaged in by the Libertarian Party.

Begging is completely in contradiction to what the Party is supposed to stand for, and it is the same method of fund raising used by other parties and candidates. I, an atheist, just got a letter from Pat Robertson asking (begging) for \$100 to finance his possible run for the Republican presidential nomination. This is exactly what I would expect from that type of person, but should never expect from a libertarian!

John P. Robertson, the campaign manager for Norma Jean Almodovar, who is running for the lieutenant governorship of California, did what a good libertarian would do. He states, in the Sept./Oct. issue of Libertarian Party NEWS, that: "We chose to use the methods of free enterprise, promoting the candidate and financing the campaign through the sale of explicit political statement posters."

And it is free enterprise that should be the only method that the Libertarian Party uses to raise funds needed for promoting the Party and candidates. The National Party, and the Party in each state, should establish businesses, the profits to be used for the Party, or find some other method of selling something—a good or service—to finance Party activities.

Thomas L. Johnson
Fredericksburg, VA

Matching Funds

It seems to me that we have not kept on the ballot box ball because of our own lack of the ability to predict the future. I believe that the time has come for the USLP to consider using federal campaign matching funds to set up a ballot access system.

These government funds should be put into a bank account to (1) lobby for ballot law changes, (2) run professional ballot drives so LP volunteers won't get burned out because of that thankless task, and (3) initiate lawsuits.

The \$500,000 that the Bergland campaign would have generated in matching funds would have eliminated our current debt load that the various governments have caused with all their law changes. We would have been on the ballot in all 50 states, DC, and Guam, and probably would have gotten 500,000 to 600,000 votes instead of 225,000—because campaign money would have been spent on campaigning instead of on ballot drives. This would have led to higher contributions and probably the ability to run TV ads.

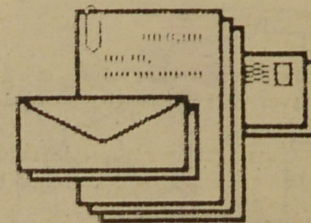
I think it is ridiculous to refuse to accept money that has been stolen from us to help defeat the thieves who stole it. We should stop mucking around trying to convince ourselves that it would be a direct government subsidy to us—if we use it only for knocking down the hurdles that the government places in front of us, it would be no less appropriate than when a landowner accepts a paltry sum from the government to cover any land stolen through eminent domain. Let's stop using false principles such as this. It simply doesn't give us enough publicity to make it worthwhile.

Marc Montoni
Chairman, LP of VA
Richmond, VA

LP NUDES?

The issue featuring Norma Jean Almodovar suggests a great way to increase circulation. Change the name from the Libertarian Party NEWS to the Libertarian Party NUDES and feature a centerfold each month. On the other hand, that might not be very reassuring to those who already have trouble taking us seriously.

Glen F. Miller
Hagerstown, MD



Almodovar

I was distressed to learn that some people are unhappy that you ran Norma Jean Almodovar's pictures. I think her campaign is the most successful for California statewide office since 1978, when Ed Clark ran for governor. We won't have people in California thinking we are LaRouche-ites, with her campaign. There is so little public understanding of what we stand for...at least she is getting across the idea that we don't like moral majority—puritanical laws.

Richard Winger
San Francisco, CA

Children

I would like to congratulate you on the job you are doing with the Libertarian Party NEWS.

I would especially like to encourage you in your stance on minimizing coverage of intra-party squabbles, antics, etc. I always consider that stuff not only BOOOORRRRRINGGGG, but also unworthy of people who have ostensibly renounced the power-trip mentality as a motive for political activity.

In response to Glen Allport's letter on children's rights: While he expresses some noble sentiments, I wonder how he would go about accomplishing his goals without invading the privacy of people's homes and families? While I'm prepared to grant the necessity of intervention in the case of outright abuse, "authoritarianism" could encompass just about anything and leaves a wide scope for interference in people's honest attempts to raise their children properly.

Cecilia L. Forrester
Chicago, IL

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What two things do these people have in common: Dean Ahmad, Peter Breggin, Alicia Clark, Ed Clark, Donald Cochran, Mike Dyer, Frances Eddy, Emmett Elrod, Roger MacBride, Dick Randolph, Howie Rich, Jennifer Roback, Dave Walter, Dagny Warner? Answer: They are all libertarians, and they all have enjoyed reading *A Liberty Primer*, By Alan Burris. To join this group, all you have to do is send \$7.95 + \$1.00 postage (NYers add sales tax) to: Genesee Valley Society for Individual Liberty, Box 10224, Drawer LPN, Rochester, NY 14610

Reagan's War on Privacy

By R.W. Bradford

Just how much privacy have you lost during the first five years of the Reagan Administration?

1. You have lost the right to leave the U.S. without being stopped and searched by U.S. Customs officials.

Under the Tax Reform Act of 1984, sponsored by the Reagan Administration, any U.S. Customs official can stop and search you if (a) he believes you are about to either enter or leave the U.S., and (b) he has "reasonable cause" to believe you are carrying cash or financial instruments of \$10,000 or more without previous declaration to Customs officials.

2. You have lost the right to travel in other countries without first certifying to the government that your taxes are paid up. A little-noticed provision of the 1986 tax reform package requires that passport applicants certify that their taxes are paid in full prior to receiving a passport.

The measure does not specify penalties or enforcement procedures, so for the time being its impact will be marginal. But remember how the requirement that banks report deposits in excess of \$10,000 became law. That requirement was first included in the Bank Secrecy Act of 1974, without penalties or enforcement procedures. Several years later, criminal penalties were quietly added. A few years later, a number of banks, caught unaware, were subjected to huge criminal penalties and public censure by federal authorities.

3. You have lost the right to deposit cash in your bank without being subject to suspicion.

Reagan's Treasury Department has sent posters to all banks to be posted in teller areas showing a small pile of dollar bills with a red circle with a diagonal slash (the international symbol for "forbidden") superimposed over the cash. Clearly, the intent is to encourage all tellers to treat any cash deposits with suspicion.

4. You have lost the right to sell any gold or silver item privately. Regulations require that any dealer who buys an item of gold or silver obtain positive identification from you and immediately report all details of the transaction to the IRS.

The regulations requiring the reports were first published by the IRS in March 1983, under the authority of an obscure provision of the tax increase legislation sponsored by the Administration in 1982. At present many smaller dealers are resisting the reporting

You have lost the right to purchase or sell real estate privately.

regulations, but the IRS promises that by year end it will have published final regulations that will require uniform compliance.

5. You have lost the right to purchase or sell real estate privately.

The 1986 Tax Reform bill requires that whoever closes any real estate transaction must immediately report to the IRS the details of the sale, ostensibly to help the IRS see that taxes on capital gains are paid.

6. You have lost the right to raise children without obtaining for them a taxpayer identification number.

The tax reform bill requires that all taxpayers report on their returns the taxpayer identification number (generally a social security number) of all dependents five or more years old. The ostensible purpose of this measure is to make it more difficult for individuals to claim fraudulent dependents. The effect of the measure is to require all Americans to have an identification number to expedite personal data collection and collation by federal agencies.

7. You have lost the right to make a payment of \$10,000 or more in cash to anyone without immediate reporting of that transaction to the IRS.

Under the 1984 Act, anyone who receives \$10,000 or more in any transaction must (a) obtain positive identification and social security number from the payer, (b) report all details of the transaction to the IRS, including (for example) the items or services purchased and the number of \$100 bills used, (c) send a copy to the IRS, (d) maintain a file copy for IRS inspection, and (e) give a copy to the payee and mail him another copy during the early part of the following year.

8. You have lost the right to make cash transactions of any size without IRS scrutiny.

The legislation requiring IRS reports of cash transactions has a minimum amount of \$10,000. In 1985, the IRS announced that it interprets the \$10,000 sum to be the threshold for reporting one or more related transactions. By doing so, it brought all cash transactions under its scrutiny, since a bank or individual can be prosecuted, fined, and jailed for failing to report a number of "related" transactions that total over \$10,000.

Suppose, for example, that you make a \$2,000 deposit one week, then a month later make a \$3,000 deposit, then three weeks later make a \$2,500 deposit, then six months later deposit another \$3,000. You have deposited a total of \$10,500. Are the deposits related? How can the bank tell? But they are liable to penalty if the transactions are "related" and they fail to get positive identification, your social security number, and other details, and report the transaction to the IRS.

9. You have lost the privacy afforded by the government's inability to handle all the miscellaneous data about you that it gathers.

Under recent legislation, nearly all the reports on your activities that various third parties are required to file must be transmitted to the IRS in a computer readable form, either by modem, data tape, or computer disk. Ap-

You have lost the right to make cash transactions of any size without IRS scrutiny.

parently, the IRS figures that with all the data it will be getting, it will be impossible to make sense of it without integrating it into massive computer data bases. And it does not want to enter the data itself; data entry is time consuming, expensive, and prone to error. Better make the taxpayer do it, so that he can bear the expense and be liable to fines and penalties if he makes any errors.

More Attacks on Privacy Promised

That's the damage to your right to privacy that you have already suffered under the Reagan Administration. But there's more in store. The Reagan Administration has promised

us that there is more to come:

10. Under an Administration-backed bill currently under consideration, anyone accused of currency violations can have his personal property seized without any sort of judicial hearing. Once his property is seized, he can try to sue the government to get it back. I say "try" because in certain related cases in the past, the government has argued that additional seizures of property should be made whenever the accused shows evidence of having additional property; for example, when the accused comes up with enough money to hire an attorney to defend him or to attempt to get his seized assets back.

11. Reagan's IRS has stated that it intends to require that all sales of rare coins, collectibles, or tangible goods, without regard to the size or circumstances of the transaction, be subject to the same reporting requirements to which large cash transactions are now subject.

12. An Administration-supported bill would do away with all state laws guaranteeing the confidentiality of banking records of individuals and corporations.

13. The IRS has proposed regulations (to take effect this year) that require banks to report to them all sales or deposits of cashiers' checks or money orders in the amount of \$3,000 or more, whether or not those cashiers' checks or money orders were purchased with cash.

14. A "study group" headed by Attorney General Edwin Meese has proposed that the Right to Financial Privacy Act of 1978 be amended to allow federal agencies to exchange information from your bank records without notifying you. The 1978 law regulates such exchange of information and requires government agencies to follow specific procedures before examining your private data.

Bill Bradford publishes Analysis and Outlook (\$36/year, P.O. Box 1167, Port Townsend, WA 98368), a monthly analysis of economic news, with special attention paid to news affecting precious metals and other hard money investments. He offers subscriptions at half price (\$18/year) to LP members.

Letters to the Editor

Programmers

Upon first entering the realm of Libertarians I was struck by the high percentage of Libertarians who are computer programmers. Computer programmers have one significant trait in common—they are forced by the nature of their work environment to focus on "What produces desired results?" A program must be correct before it will produce the desired results. In the political arena, "the program" is the political philosophy that determines the rules of the game. Programmers, by virtue of their affiliation with the Libertarian Party, are proclaiming that the Libertarian philosophy is the "program" that will produce desired results.

Richard Putman
Mankato, MN

Egocentric

It may interest you to know that I have been rather disappointed by my contact with Libertarians. They seem to be highly egocentric and "individualistic" to a fault. I do not mean that in the sense that they value the individual; I mean that they seem to be interested in themselves as individuals and not in the least interested in meeting other individuals, let alone listening to them. While on my quest to discover the "true" nature of the Libertarian Party, I decided to attend the state party convention here in my state. What a shock that was!

There were far fewer people there than I

expected to see. The other thing that was surprising was that they seemed to be far more interested in each other than in greeting me. Even their own candidates did not seem to be in the least bit interested in saying a casual hello.

So, it is obvious to me that there will have to be some tool of outreach, if outreach is necessary to the growth of the Libertarian Party. The NEWS could serve, at least in a small way, as an introduction to the Party. There would still be room for the free expression of ideas beyond the basic.

From my limited contact with the Libertarian Party, I would still have to admit that I think that it is the only third party that has possibilities. It seems to me, too, that it lacks vision and direction.

Do not shut people out by devoting valuable space to discussions of ideas that are beyond the interest and grasp of the average person (for example, minarchists and anarchists within the Party). Build a concept. Give voice to a direction. Shape a vision. Inspire people to action. Prove a point. Offer a solution. Be the propaganda arm of the Party. For heaven's sake, it is needed.

Donna Berryman
Crystal, MN

NEWS

For some time, I have not gotten very much for my membership and the dollars it cost to maintain my affiliation. The largest "benefits"

are the solicitations for additional funds received from the party. I have wondered if I should continue to contribute to something with so little return of value.

All of that has changed since Karl Hess' term as Libertarian Party NEWS editor began. I now look forward to the regular delivery of the Libertarian Party NEWS instead of wondering what, if anything, am I getting for my money.

I am even beginning to take an interest in what the party "in's" are doing and where. In fact, I am writing this letter to express my thanks for your efforts to keep the Libertarian Party NEWS in regular publication.

Jay C. Wood
Port Hueneme, CA

Modification

I enjoyed your recent *Viewpoint* on "Factions: Something for Everyone." I agree with your call for tolerance, a virtue that often seems absent in the libertarian arena. However, one point that I believe needs modification is your statement that "Every Libertarian Party member should be grateful for the critical assaults launched against it by other libertarians." Libertarians should neither be "grateful" for nor encourage "critical assaults" that attack an individual's intentions or character or grossly misrepresent their position. This type of degenerate "critical assault" is all too common in the libertarian arena, and reasonable people should not encourage this behavior.

Thoughtful and honest critiques and criticisms rarely generate the factional feuding that has characterized the movement. Rather it is the "below the belt" type that causes ill will and causes reasonable people to shun the libertarian movement.

I hope this note is not considered presumptuous on my part since I'm not a member of the Libertarian Party.

Richard H. Fink, President
Citizens for a Sound Economy
Washington, DC

Sintervention

I believe that many people are living in profound error, that is sin. If they persist in sin then I believe they will be damned to hell. For example, most homosexuals, drug addicts, and prostitutes are sinners. As a libertarian, however, I do not believe the government should pass any laws prohibiting the activities in which these people engage. As a Christian it is my duty to convince the sinner that he needs to repent. It does the sinner little good to be forced not to sin. I do admit that among fundamentalists I am in a small minority favoring no intervention by our government.

Wayne Dymacek
Lexington, VA

Building Party Alliances Inside Fortress

By Pat Wagner

A few years ago, our small business received an unpleasant surprise in the mail. A new computer system had been installed down at the city property tax department, and a yearly tax bill, which was supposed to be about \$25, was figured at \$1200. Pages of arcane instructions were enclosed about how we could contest the bill.

The next day the proverbial mysterious stranger came to the door. He cautiously introduced himself as an accountant with the city and asked if he could be of service to us. I showed him the tax bill and prepared myself for a classic bureaucratic two-step.

To my surprise, he made himself comfortable, and for the next hour or so, gave me a detailed explanation of how to fight the bill, including naming names of the people in City Hall responsible for the foul-up. As he realized he had a sympathetic ear, he became more and more open and eloquent. He himself was a property owner, with some modest rental units scattered around the city. He aspired to start a business and was interested in financial planning. And he recited his own difficulties dealing with city bureaucracies.

I finally discovered his appearance at our door was neither coincidence nor an officially prescribed visit. He had noticed that the computer which issued the bills was acting strangely and had taken it upon himself to walk his assigned territory, door-to-door. He said he was encouraging the businesses to file a class action suit against the city and asked me to notify any accountants I knew about the problem so they could check their clients' bills from the property tax department. He explained that he and five other tax accountants had approached the head of the department to complain about the bizarre readings, but had been dismissed. You have more power than I do in this situation, he apologized, but I can help you win.

Needless to say, I was a bit taken aback by this kind of behavior from a public servant. As

he got up to leave, I asked if he was in danger of losing his job through his actions. I had already decided that I would use my contacts to find him new employment in the private sector. His answer was enlightening.

"I know I could get a job in business any time. In fact, I would prefer running my own business to being a tax accountant with the city. But, I guess I feel I can best serve the taxpayers by staying on the job and keeping an eye on what is going on."

I told him that I was a Libertarian and appreciated his concern. His response was to ask me if I knew any investigative reporters who would be interested in talking to disgruntled city employees about corruption in their departments! I made a phone call on his behalf to a newspaper publisher I knew; a few months later a major story appeared about serious problems in city government, thus ending the honeymoon the local press had been having with our new mayor.

Now, I can hear the grumbling from the balcony. What a copout, you are saying, to defend a man who works in the tax department of the city. He is deluding himself to think he can change the system from the inside while he supports himself off of tax money. I would like to remind those scoffers that similar charges have been leveled at Libertarian politicians for years.

I began to change my attitude about government employees as a group. What if I assumed that there were, hidden within the recesses of the fortress we called "THE STATE", individuals sympathetic to Libertarian principles? What if there were closet Libertarians, afraid to admit to friends that they wanted to work themselves and their co-workers out of a job? What if there were people, who, although not fully convinced of the value of individual freedom in every arena, were nevertheless friendly to many Libertarian causes?

Once my attitude changed, I found myself surrounded by allies in the government.

The public affairs officer who wanted to convince his friends at City Council to institute trade-off legislation—the old Libertarian fantasy of not letting a law on the books unless a certain number were deleted.

The actress who worked for the city cultural affairs commission—she wanted to get all city arts groups off the government dole and was an effective spokesperson for convincing people. Meanwhile, she has built up a nice catering business so she could quit the government herself.

The computer systems analyst who works for the state, meanwhile pouring time and money into Libertarian causes.

The state tax auditor who votes Libertarian every election and aggressively attacks feather-bedding in government offices.

Experience has convinced me that there are strong allies for Libertarian ideals in the halls of government. They include the converted Libertarian who takes the job with the government out of the need to feed children and pay a mortgage; the maverick who is fighting corruption in a department; the crusader who, at least on one special issue, is a Libertarian; the hard worker who loves the positive results of the job but hates the bureaucracy (it has usually never occurred to these people that they might be able to create the same results in the private sector); and the "split-brain" types, who, although a committed Libertarian in their own homes, never think about the implications of their work.

1. Don't confuse the action with the person. If you begin conversations with government employees with self-righteous indignation, rudeness, smugness, pomposity, and hostility, you are probably not going to build any bridges.

2. Respect the humanity of the person. I am an extremely lucky person—good health, good skills, loving friends, a great job, and money in the bank. However, I try not to keep my own prosperity from blocking my vision. Many people have hard lives and difficult paths. The

person who chooses a government job has reasons that are really none of my business, but I have to understand that I might have made a similar choice in their situation. If I am to communicate effectively with them, I must have rapport.

3. Listen and ask questions. I learn a tremendous amount listening to people I disagree with. I also look for clues about what they care about and try to discover points about which we agree before I open my mouth. My interested questions to the tax accountant about his business led to a good story on public corruption. My interest in the man who wanted to change the city ordinances led to three radio shows, where I was able to espouse the causes of personal responsibility and negotiation over legislation to the audiences of 23 radio stations. However, if I had spent the conversation trying to impress these people with my importance and moral superiority because I did not work for the government, I doubt I would have gotten far.

Who knows where your contacts in government might lead? Early warning on particularly nasty legislation, input on budgets, and perhaps, even a chance to influence a decision. Several times we have been contacted by government employees to advise on projects; several times, we have been able to save the taxpayers money and aggravation by being able to convince the employee not to take a certain action. Curiously, most of our government friends know I am a Libertarian and seem to think it will make me more honest and objective when discussing issues with them.

My biggest victory? When a government official calls our office and tells me he wants our input because "a Libertarian perspective is needed." What it usually means is someone wants to privatize a public function or back off from a piece of legislation, but needs information to convince others. To me it means another door opened into the fortress.

Wagner is a partner in the Denver-based Open Network.

Continued from page 9

South Carolina

By John Heaton

Of our seven candidates, vote results ranged from a half percent for our gubernatorial candidate, William Griffin, to more than 5 percent for our candidate for State Superintendent of Education, John Heaton. Candidates for Treasurer (Jan Chapman) and Comptroller General (Drew Amendola) each drew more than 4 percent.

At the outset it was agreed that all candidates would work together, pool monies wherever possible, and create a single South Carolina Libertarian Party brochure. We agreed to use our "issues paper" to build an image of the LP as more concerned with issues than politics as usual.

We regularly had articles printed across the state. The news media knew we were out there working and called us for news. We were very careful to set up events in advance, to present a professional image, and to concentrate on raising issues. Whenever possible, we referred to the "two older parties." We did not attack individuals or parties but concentrated on positive statements about the issues. Toward the end of the campaign, this positive approach, compared to the negative attacks of the other parties, was picked up by the press.

At every sort of event, from town festivals to the state fair, we passed out 1,500 copies of the LP NEWS Spring outreach issue, 10,000 candidate brochures, 5,000 South Carolina party pamphlets, and 1,500 Orpheus outreach pamphlets, as well as doing a mass mailing to 5,000 people who had signed our ballot petitions over the past two years. These people received two mailings within three months of

the election and will be a base when we prospect for new members.

The South Carolina LP already has prepared two new issues pamphlets to be used in the coming year. We intend to let everyone know that we are alive and well—and working for freedom, not political power. We feel that the work done in non-election years is as important, or even more important, than the work done in actually running for office.

One month before the election we decided that we already had won—we had met all our goals for reaching people that we had originally laid out. We began work, right away, on organizing our "after the election" campaigns.

Heaton is chairman of the South Carolina Libertarian Party.

California

California's impressive feat, fielding candidates in districts across the entire state, paid off with the Libertarian Party becoming clearly the most important alternative political party in a state that has had powerful showings in the past by the indigenous Peace and Freedom Party and by the American Independent Party.

At the state level, the Libertarian Party out-pollled Peace and Freedom in five of seven races while edging the AIP in four of the seven statewide races. No new-party candidate came close to Libertarian Ray Cullen's stunning half-million votes for State Treasurer.

In races for the U.S. House of Representatives and for seats in the California State Assembly, Libertarian candidates held their own with all other new-party candidates. No other new party fielded anywhere near the

number of candidates fielded by the Libertarian Party, thus assuring a hearing statewide for Libertarian principles. And in terms of publicity for libertarian issues, as well as her own candidacy, hardly a race in the state could match that of Norma Jean Almodovar whose run for Lieutenant Governor brought her 88,000 votes.

Other statewide races in which LPers drew substantial votes included Richard Winger's try for Secretary of State, drawing 103,000 votes, Carol Newman's for Attorney General, with 126,000 votes, and Carolyn Treynor's for Controller, with 138,000 votes.

In Congressional District contests, George Abrahams got 7.4 percent of the votes in the Los Angeles 24th. In races for the State Senate, Betsy Mill got 15 percent of the votes in the San Diego 38th, Bonnie Hoy got nearly 5 percent in the Alameda 18th, and Don Ellis got more than 12 percent in the Orange/San Diego 74th.

Vermont

By Ed McGuire

We were not able to run high profile, expensive, organized campaigns such as Bill Wicker and Jim Hedbor did in 1984, because no one's careers allowed it this time. But now we have tentative commitments from five people to go all-out for statewide offices in 1988.

Our results are surprising in view of the lack of strong top-of-the-ticket candidates. Two of our candidates (Peter Avory for Attorney General, and Barbara Wicker for Auditor) got 6 percent of the vote apiece, comfortably ahead of the state requirement that a party win

at least 5 percent of the vote in a statewide race to be guaranteed major party status. John Simons, for Lieutenant Governor, got 2 percent; William Murray, for Secretary of State got 3 percent; and Carl Ellis, for Treasurer, got 2 percent. Of our five local candidates for the State House and Senate, Jim Deegan did best with 7-5 percent of the vote.

McGuire is chairman of the Vermont LP.

Connecticut

By Tom Ross

In August of this year the Libertarian Party campaigns that had been arranged earlier in the year didn't seem to be going anywhere. With little time left I decided to put in my name as candidate for State Treasurer. We had secured ballot status for this position during the hard-fought 1982 season and such an opportunity couldn't be lost.

My goals were to maintain that ballot status and convey to as many people as possible the types of things an honest treasurer would do. Unfortunately, I failed the former, but did a pretty good job getting the idea across.

Although the exact results won't be known for a month, it seems my vote percentage was about 0.77 percent, less than the 1 percent needed. I did, however, mail out over 10,000 brochures. We distributed another 13,000 and I had articles published in all the major papers. In the meantime, freedom-loving people from around the state mailed in more than enough money to get the job done. Given the chance, I would gladly do it again.

Ross is chairman of the Connecticut Libertarian Party.

Free Press Association

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

Founded in 1981, the Free Press Association is an international network of reporters, editors, publishers, broadcasters, news photographers, and freelance writers committed to individual rights.

While other professional journalist associations fight to preserve existing First Amendment rights, the Free Press Association fights for "cutting edge" First Amendment issues: privatizing the airwaves to give the broadcast media full First Amendment parity; abolishing the SEC's power to regulate—and censor—financial newsletters; ending the "temporary" media controls and censorship typically imposed by governments during wartime.

The Free Press Association fights consistently for the First Amendment, not as the

privilege of a media elite, but as a basic human right intimately tied to other basic rights to life, liberty, and property. The Free Press Association educates the public as well as other journalists about the vital interlocking relationship between the free media and free markets.

To achieve its goals, the Free Press Association presents innovative arguments for full freedom of communication on national television shows and public forums, and sponsors the Mencken Awards honoring outstanding journalism in defense of individual rights. There are five categories: Best News Story, Best Feature Story, Best Editorial, Best Cartoon, and Best Book. Entry forms are available from FPA headquarters.

To help its members advance professionally and "network" with each other, the Free Press Association also distributes media ID cards to freelancers and publishes a newsletter filled with both job-related tips and thought-provoking analyses of First Amendment issues.

To contact the Free Press Association about its current activities and membership rules, write FPA, Box 15548, Columbus, OH 43215.

CompuServe Developments

Some recent developments have enhanced the libertarian presence on CompuServe, the largest computer information network with over a quarter million users.

After a two-year stint as assistant system operator (sysop) and head of the Other Parties Section on the Political Forum, Pat Fallon was recently offered a post on the Issues Forum. Issues Forum is a popular meeting place for debate on many topics, and it just went over the 100,000 mark in messages from subscribers. That is over 10 times the audience that Political Forum enjoyed.

Georgia Griffith, the Prime Sysop for Issues, offered Fallon the Political Issues Section, even though she is aware that Pat is an avowed libertarian. She also welcomes the files Fallon brings with him from two years on Political Forum. Among the files being transferred to Issues are several of the LP position papers; Pat's interview with Dave Bergland; an "Are You A Libertarian?" test; information on joining libertarian networking efforts worldwide; articles from libertarian publications like "Individual Liberty"; and Cato Institute papers which Cato graciously waived copyright on for

upload to CompuServe. These files form a great browsing library for potential libertarian users of the computer network.

Fallon joins several other section heads on Issues, who, if not libertarian, are consistently pro-individual rights. Gregory Spertus-Swann and William McLaughlin have made Issues Forum a great place for rational individualists to meet and debate. Georgia Griffith, the Prime Sysop, deserves thanks for handing the Political Section to someone other than a Republicrat. Also, individual authors (like Sheldon Richman and Jorge Amador) and the people at Cato and LP National have been very supportive to the libertarian effort on CompuServe.

Some of the most stimulating debate on liberty is going on right now on the emerging computer networks. Many telecommunications are susceptible to libertarian arguments. They are open to new ideas (the very medium they use wasn't there three years ago!), they admire technology and logic, and they share a fear of government censorship and regulation. Join the fray. If you make it online to CompuServe, just type "go issues" at any prompt. An electronic island of liberty beckons.

Jacob Enlisting Anti-draft Volunteers

Paul Jacob has co-founded an anti-draft organization. After serving six months for refusing to register for the draft, Jacob joined with former LP NatCom member Alan Lindsay to launch Volunteers for America.

VFA's outreach program features leaflets, magazine ads, and college newspaper ads which encourage people to call a toll-free number to hear a recorded message about the draft. Of those who have called to listen, more than 300 have left their names and addresses in order to receive additional information.

VFA Chairman Alan Lindsay says a few very dedicated libertarians provided the seed money to get the organization started. VFA is now broadening its base of support and is calling on libertarians across the U.S. to participate in this project.

Paul Jacob said, "I think that not only libertarians, but many liberals and conservatives, are surprised to find an anti-draft organization that is neither leftist nor pacifist. VFA promotes just what the name says—volunteers. VFA has one very narrowly-defined position: The draft is wrong. We welcome those opposed to conscription from all political viewpoints, believing that ultimately

they will see the libertarian sense that the draft is slavery."

VFA plans to publish a news update in the near future under the title "Final Draft." Other projects in the works include expanding the VFA speakers bureau and improving media relations. VFA also plans to install a Draft News Hotline before the year's end. This hotline will feature a recorded message, updated every week with the latest news on the draft issue.

Libertarians who want to participate in VFA should call 1-800-433-1973. Mention that you are a libertarian and that you want to volunteer. As in any such organization, contributions are not only accepted, but strongly encouraged! Send correspondence to: Volunteers for America, P.O. Box 75283, Washington, DC 20013.

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Building a Party Twenty-five Ways

By Representative Andre Marrou
Alaska State Legislature

There are many ways to build the Libertarian Party. Below is a list of 25 of them, in no particular order of importance. I am sure you'll think of other ways. President Thomas Jefferson said, "Liberty is gained by inches," and I agree. All ways of building the Party are important.

Letters to the Editor: Believe it or not, probably more people read letters to the editor in every newspaper than actually read the news. Therefore, if you can get a letter published, you'll be getting a lot of exposure. Caution: Try not to use the word Libertarian, not because it's a bad word, but because it will be understood to be politically partisan, and it will turn some people off. Just speak of individual liberty. Also, do not submit a letter more often than about every two to three weeks to any given newspaper.

House Parties: The conviviality of house parties is unquestioned, and heaven knows we need more conviviality in the Libertarian Party. Therefore, sponsoring such house parties for peer Libertarians is an excellent way to build camaraderie (so to speak) and to demonstrate that being a Libertarian is fun.

Give Money: Like it or not, money is the life-blood of political campaigns. If we intend to elect Libertarians, the money must come from somewhere. The most logical place to start is with us Libertarians. Therefore, the more money you can give to Libertarian campaigns, the better.

Run for Office: Obviously, to elect Libertarians to public office, first we must start with Libertarian candidates. It may be hard to believe, but good, electable Libertarians are difficult to talk into running for office. Perhaps they are afraid of failing. Perhaps they don't want to dirty their hands with actual, honest to goodness, real-life politics. Whatever the reasons, it is difficult to get good electable Libertarians to run. You might, yourself, consider running for office. If so, contact your LP organization, and tell them of your desire to be a candidate. If you do not want to run for public office, I strongly urge you to run for races within the Libertarian Party—whether at the local, state, or national level. A lot of organization is necessary behind the scenes to elect Libertarians.

Volunteer Time: As suggested in the preceding paragraph, much time is necessary in party offices and in campaign headquarters to get Libertarians elected. Start with your own time, and ask your friends, neighbors, and other Libertarians to join you.

Run for Office within the Party: As mentioned above, good officers are always needed within the Libertarian Party. If you have success in your own personal and/or professional life, you will probably make a good officer.

Organize Seminars: Within the Libertarian Party, there is a lot of philosophical debate, but not much debate over actually how to get Libertarians elected to office. You can help by organizing seminars to do this. Such seminars could include guest speakers who have already been elected to office, even if they're not Libertarians.

Organize Information Sessions: These would be public-oriented seminars on just what the Libertarian Party is all about. Marshall Fritz's efforts to organize local chapters of "Advocates for Self-Government" is a start in the right direction. If you like his concept, I strongly urge you to organize them in your area.

Put Ads in the Newspaper: These don't have to be half-page or full-page ads that cost thousands of dollars. To the contrary, they can be \$5.00 ads in the classified section. They might read something like "Do you like liberty? If so, join the Libertarian Party. Send \$10 to Box..."

Buy Radio Ads: Similarly to the news-

paper, you can buy radio advertisements for the Party. In the off-political season, they would have to be bought at the full price, and may range from about \$10.00 per 30-second ad up. During the political season, or about 1 or 2 months before each election, ads are available at a political rate, which is commonly about half that of the normal rate. You could buy ads on your own, and these would not have to be reported to any governmental agency, even if they are in favor of a particular candidate or issue.

Get on Radio Talk Shows as Guest: This says it all. Most people are very much afraid to get on radio talk shows and answer call-in questions from unknown members of the public. You shouldn't be. Once you get over your initial stage fright, there's nothing to it. Most Libertarians are smarter than non-Libertarians, and answering their questions is usually no problem.

Call in to Radio Talk Shows: Especially if the guest is a pro-government statist. These people rarely have to answer piercing questions about their actions in promoting more and more government, and less and less individual liberty. You as a Libertarian can put them on the spot.

Get on TV Talk Shows: Similar to radio above, but harder to arrange. TV talk shows of this nature are usually local, since national shows like Donahue are almost impossible to get on. If there is a local television talk show, approach the producer and see if you can get on. Once again, it will be considerably more difficult than getting on a radio talk show, of

difficult than getting on a radio talk show, of which there are often more than one in town which occur every night.

Buy TV Ads for the Party: This is not as expensive as you might think. It will cost money to get them produced—that is to get them on video tape. This would probably be from a few hundred dollars up, unless you did it yourself. Television ads cost in the neighborhood of \$1.00 per second on up, with a cut in rates during the political season. The advantage of television, obviously, is that it reaches many more people than radio does, and the viewers remember the ad much better than radio listeners or newspaper readers. If you cannot talk to them in person, television is the next best way.

Decorate Floats for Parades: Almost every community in America of any appreciable size has some sort of parade at least once a year. Most of these parades allow floats in them. You as a Libertarian can get a group of other Libertarians together and decorate a float to expound some particular single message of liberty. For example, you might dress a woman or young girl up as the Statue of Liberty and put a simple message on the side of your float, such as "Build Liberty—Fight Government." Alternatively, you might consider a quote from a famous American, such as Thomas Jefferson's idea "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Set Up Information Booths at Fairs: This relates primarily to suburban and rural areas, and especially to farming and ranching areas. An information booth with a petition on the table in front usually attracts a lot of visitors. While they are there, ask them to sign the petition, and hand them some information on the Libertarian Party. If you have a fund-raising activity there, such as selling donuts and coffee, or selling raffle chances on something, then so much the better.

Organize a Petition: This is one of the best ways to get the Libertarian message to the ordinary person on the street and in their homes. First of all, a subject for the petition must be selected which is both popular with the people and expounds a Libertarian concept. Once this is done, a decision must be made as to whether this will be an initiative petition which will actually enact law, and thus must meet certain legal parameters, or whether it will be an advisory petition just to be sent to the

legislature or the governor or whomever. Then, a lot of organization goes into getting people organized to solicit signatures by knocking on doors down the street, by sitting at a table in front of a supermarket, by putting up a booth in a shopping mall, or whatever. If it is an initiative petition to enact law, sometimes hiring people to get signatures is the way to go. Commonly, such signature gatherers are paid about 50¢ for every worthwhile signature from a registered voter. In organizing such a petition campaign, you will automatically be setting up an organization that can be used by the Libertarian Party and/or by Libertarian candidates.

Conduct Raffle to Raise Funds: Alluded to above. If legal within your state, selling raffle tickets is an excellent way to generate funds for the Party, or for a campaign, and also get across to the public that Libertarians are in favor of legalized gambling. If this is your first try at a raffle, you might consider raffling off a canoe or a three-wheel, all-terrain vehicle or a hunting rifle. As you work your way up, you can raffle off a four-wheel drive vehicle, and eventually start raffling off airplanes. If conducted properly, the raffle should have a gross income at least double the cost of the prize or prizes.

Talk, Talk, Talk: It's amazing how many Libertarians talk to other Libertarians but never talk to non-Libertarians. If we did, half of the United States would already be Libertarians. Everytime you get a chance, bring up the Libertarian Party and the libertarian philosophy to your friends, neighbors, relatives, co-workers, and other people with whom you come into contact. You never know who might become a Libertarian. Since the Libertarian philosophy is essentially the philosophy of the Founding Fathers of the U.S.A., and you point this out to people, they should immediately be interested.

Distribute Pamphlets and Brochures: Contact your state organization and the National LP headquarters in Houston to get these pamphlets and brochures. Send them to your acquaintances, perhaps as follow-up to your talks as outlined above. Always be sure to have the name, address, and phone number of the local party somewhere on every pamphlet and brochure.

Organize New Local Party: Too often, Libertarians assume that just because there is a local party in the next city 25 miles away, there does not need to be one at home. This is untrue. People respond to political parties (to some

extent) the same way they do to grocery stores. That is, the more convenient, the better. If it were up to me, there would be at least one local Libertarian Party for about every 10,000 people. This would result in meetings of from 30 to 40 a month, if done properly. In any case, consider seriously organizing a new local party.

Help Other People: This refers primarily to helping candidates run for public office. However, it refers in general to helping your fellow men and women with their activities. In return for your help, they may be amenable to discussing politics with you at some opportune time.

Write Articles: This refers mostly to articles for local, state, or national LP newsletters. Such newsletters are always looking for good, well-written articles. If possible, I suggest that you write non-philosophical articles, because of the large volume of philosophical articles that are already written by Libertarians. A non-philosophical article that somehow touches on the Libertarian Party, especially one that talks about the growth of the Party, would be welcome.

Write Guest Editorials: Such articles are sometimes published by newspaper editors. They are commonly put on the "Op-Ed" page, which is the page opposite the editorial page. The editorial page is normally on the left, usually page 2 or 4 in the newspaper, whereas the Op-Ed page would be either page 3 or 5. Articles of this nature should be well written, devoid of any sort of political namecalling, and interesting to the readers. One or two type-written, single-spaced pages is about the proper length. Calling up the editor ahead of time is always a good idea, but sometimes they will accept them when sent in "blind."

Raise Kids: This is the most enjoyable way to spread the Libertarian philosophy. If you have your own children and raise them as Libertarians, obviously the world will have a net increase of Libertarians. This is not as flippant or far fetched as it sounds. A Libertarian born the same year that the LP was founded would now be 15 years old, or about 3 years away from voting. Think about it.

Well, folks, there are 25 ways of building the Party. Certainly, you should be able to think of many more. We have the right philosophy. Now, it is just a matter of spreading this philosophy so that it can be effected in our government, and we can move toward a Libertarian society. Regardless of who you are, your help is urgently needed.

Open Letter to 1986 LP Candidates

Thank you! You have made a significant contribution to the cause of liberty. Regardless of the office you sought or the level of activity in your campaign, we are all better off because you made a commitment and actually did something to bring a libertarian world closer to reality.

I know a little about what you went through. You studied the issues, prepared yourself to present your pro-freedom views to the public, experienced panic when you had to put yourself on the line in front of a live audience or TV camera, and you did your job. You improved every time. You ought to be proud and pleased with yourself. I am proud of you and so are thousands of other libertarians. You have earned our respect and gratitude. So you made a few mistakes. That's no sin, especially if you learned from them.

Now I want to ask you to do one more thing—something to help yourself in your next campaign and to help the next wave of LP candidates who will follow you. We will all do better in the future if we don't lose the lessons you learned in your campaign. So, please answer the following questions:

1. What objectives did you select for your campaign?
2. What was your plan for achieving your objectives?
3. Which objectives did you achieve and why?
4. Which objectives did you fail to achieve and why?
5. What specific tactics, approaches, or events seemed to work best for you and why do you think they did?
6. What specific tactics, approaches, or events failed to work for you and why do you think that happened?
7. What is the single most important item of advice you can give to future LP candidates?

I plan to compile and analyze all the candidates' responses to these questions and put the information into useable form for LP leaders and activists. So, if you do your part, there is no doubt that LP candidates in 1988 will be much more effective.

Send your answers to me at 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92626. And thanks again for what you did in the 1986 elections.

—David Bergland

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Debate

Constitution: Why?

By Butler D. Shaffer

I recently returned from a conference at which a participant took frenzied issue with me over the question of whether the Constitution is capable of protecting human liberty. I took the position that *no* Constitution can guarantee our freedoms, because it is impossible to create an institution of State power and then limit the exercise of that power in any meaningful way. Liberty is dependent upon a state of mind that continually questions, that maintains "eternal vigilance"; and efforts to institutionalize liberty—such as by drafting "bills of rights," etc.—necessarily reflect a relaxing of that constant state of awareness.

My mind was drawn to this conference as I read an article written by a self-avowed former leftist chastising his former compatriots for their position on America's policy toward Nicaragua. In his view, the Sandinista regime is a vicious and dehumanizing tyranny that justifies Reagan Administration efforts to subvert it. Running throughout this article was an unstated assumption that if, indeed, a leftist regime is to be opposed, a rightist administration suddenly acquires a legitimacy previously denied.

My conference co-participant shared this sentiment. In the view of each man, the political State is a "necessary evil," and one must opt for "the lesser of two evils." In my criticism of the American nation-state, the conferee assumed that I must have been equating lack of freedom in America with that in the Soviet Union. In fact, this was the essence of his criticism of my position. "You're

saying that Americans are as oppressed as are the citizens of Russia or Albania," he kept shouting at me.

If, of course, the political State *is* a "necessary evil," this argument might have some merit. After all, when arrayed against the spectacle of such vicious regimes as Nazi Germany or Stalinist Russia, even the Reagan Administration offers a decidedly free alternative. If one is asked to choose between lung cancer and tuberculosis, most of us would opt for the latter disease, given that cures are more readily available. But this is precisely the intellectual trap that the defenders of Statism set for us, and most of us fail to perceive. To bring my own position into this analogy, let us not allow others to restrict our "choices" to lung cancer and tuberculosis—both admitted diseases—but to opt for a state of *health*.

Of course America is a freer nation than the Soviet Union, Cuba, China, or Albania; *of course* I would rather live in America than any of these other tyrannical regimes; and *of course* I am more likely to prevail in a politically-motivated trial against me in America than in the Soviet Union. What does this obvious fact have to do with our understanding of what it means to be free? *Even if* the United States is the freest society in which to live today, ought that to relieve us of the task of *increasing* our liberties, of discovering how to abandon the political institutions—including our constitutional form of government—that restrict our liberty? Even if we have come further than other nations along the road to a truly free society, ought we to stop along the way and

content ourselves with making favorable comparisons with those whose journeys have taken them along the paths to tyranny and oppression? If we can learn how to live without politics, without nation-states, without wars, without even the slightest restriction upon any of us, ought we to give up such a pursuit simply because others have chosen to remain locked in chains?

One must recognize, I think, that every political system is founded upon the presumed right of some men to forcibly impose their collective will upon those to be ruled. Once one accepts such an arrangement as either desirable or a "necessary evil," there is simply no way to assure that those given such power will restrain themselves in its exercise. If one acknowledges the right of men to assault women—and the concomitant obligation of women to submit thereto—there is no effective limit upon the attacks to which women must be subjected, other than the appetites of their attackers. One cannot acknowledge the right of some men to exercise force upon others without accepting that those enjoying such powers are the only—and the absolute—judges of the scope of that power. To fail to understand that basic fact is to be ignorant of the inherent nature of all political systems, a nature that has been abundantly demonstrated in every period of history and in every nation on earth.

If America is a freer nation than the Soviet Union, it is due to one cause—the relatively freer states of mind and expectations of American people, and *not* because of any words scribbled down on historic parchments. Bear in mind: The Soviet Union has a Constitution as well, and its basic framework—although not the same words—is patterned on the American model. Those who exercise political authority in Washington, or Sacramento, or Frostbite

Falls, would like to be able to exercise as much absolute control over people as do any other tyrants in the world. Adolph Hitler was not an aberration confined to Germany, nor was Joseph Stalin a freak of Slavic history. The men who wrote our own Declaration of Independence were intensely aware of the propensity of all political institutions to tyrannize, and tried their best to warn us thereof. While it is true that, in terms of the *severity* of its rule, the Soviet Union is far more vicious and tyrannical than the American government, in terms of the institutionalized insistence that their will be obeyed, there is *no* distinction between these two nation-states—nor, for that matter, any other regimes.

And so, it is no more meaningful for men and women who would be free to content themselves with making choices between one brand of oppressive authority and another, any more than it was for earlier generations of Europeans to choose between the leftist politics of Stalin and the rightist politics of Hitler, or even of such tamer tyrants as Mussolini versus Franco. To accept such imposed limitations upon one's choices is to abandon one's interest in liberty in favor of embracing the security that comes from meeting the expectations of those we have empowered as authorities over our lives and souls. Freedom means no more than this: understanding that each of us, alone, has the power to either accept or not accept the limitations others would impose upon our choices. Men and women who *do* understand this basic truth do not, I can assure you, busy themselves with measuring the differences between kings and dictators, or senators and commissars.

Shaffer, a long-time, non-party libertarian, teaches law in California.

Constitution: Yes

By Bryan Babcock

By the nature of our ideology, we Libertarians know that a person has certain inalienable rights; namely, the possession of one's own life and property, with freedom of action and speech. Acknowledging these rights as being philosophically good, is it not reasonable that we should also certify the moral value of a social contract which puts forth these rights, and the government which insures their application? Please do not confuse my use of the words "social contract" with Rousseau's excuses for socialism. In this country, we call this contract the Constitution and its Bill of Rights.

It may seem a bit teratogenic to a libertarian, but the good aspect of government *is* its conditional utilization of coercion in retaliation against those individuals or groups in

society which have initiated force in some way against the rights of others. In the international domain, the good aspect of government *is* its organization and deployment of retaliatory force against external aggressors. These forms of retaliation, although "coercion" by definition, should be seen, congruent with the morality of self defense, as good.

I agree that the tragedy of the Central State is that it always seems to become antithetical to its legitimate purpose. In answer to the question of how state officers can be restrained once empowered to arm a group which they pay and command, I must crucially point out that I am not an advocate of taxation. It is the power to tax, and taxation itself, which facilitates the unaccountability of state police power. Still, however, I maintain that the Central State is

legitimate and moral in and of itself. One should not paint an ugly picture of a voluntarily funded government which protects individual rights. A government which taxes is quite different, as it violates these rights. When the degree of violation becomes intolerable, then revolution becomes appropriate and, at least until central authority is restored, there is, by necessity, anarchy.

But if, as indicated by history, the loss of proper function seems to be the eventual end for all governments, why should we recognize central authority at all?

Without a Central State, what you have is a society full of miniature "governments," all having unlimited opportunities to coerce, except when held in check by those other groups or individuals which have enough power to effectively retaliate. I must question any political philosophy which, in a guise of liberty, provides for the maximization of the destructive capacities of those force-initiating agents

in society who fail to be responsible for the inalienable rights consistent with liberty. Have you ever thought about what it would really be like? I cannot credit, without great reservation, any Machiavellian abstractions describing the best society, the most stable society, as one with the highest degree of internal disorderliness and fray. I believe that claims or visions about how men can live in a free society, with their inalienable rights being something unvolitional, like something in nature, unessentially insured by a Central State, are presumptuous (although not as acutely preposterous as the socialist's claim that men can and will, for some mystical reason, live in a selfless harmony of an egalitarian society). While voluntary interaction amongst people is the essence of a civilized nation, the contract of liberty and the government which insures it, is the fabric.

Babcock, a Libertarian Party member, operates Babcock Vineyards in Lompoc, CA.

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