



# Libertarian Party

# NEWS



## The Liberty Wall

Chicago's first presidential wall is also America's largest Libertarian ad. The Liberty Wall is located at a busy Chicago intersection and carries the Libertarian message in colorful red, white, and blue. LP member R. Douglas Wichman developed the idea for the Liberty Wall and followed the project through to the finished sign.

## Marrou to Run in 2 More Primaries

The Marrou/Lord Campaign has announced that it will take part in two more primaries in the next three months.

According to Andre Marrou, 1992 LP presidential candidate, while 21 states hold presidential primaries, "the two larger parties will only allow us to be in seven." Participation in four of the states is either cost prohibitive or simply not practical. However, the LP did actively campaign in New Hampshire and will make a showing in the other two states—Nebraska, and California—this year.

"I view both of these primaries, as I did New Hampshire's, strictly as publicity getting, party building devices," Marrou said.

In California the LP has an opportunity to make a strong showing and grab some additional publicity. However, only voters who are registered as Libertarian by May 3 will be allowed to cast ballots in the June 2 primary.

Marrou hopes that a concerted effort will be made prior to May 3 to register as many new voters as possible or to convince voters already registered with another party to switch to the LP.

"In any case, we can't get any more votes than there are registered Libertarians in California," he said.

Both Marrou and Nancy Lord, the LP's vice presidential candidate, will be actively campaigning in both of these states prior to the primaries.

"Hopefully May 12 will be a good day, because only one other state, according to my notice, has a primary that day, and that's West Virginia," Marrou said.

"There are six states that have primaries on June 2, but California will be the big one," Marrou said.

Final results from New Hampshire showed that Marrou received 3,219 Libertarian votes, as well as 99 Republican and 67 Democratic write-in votes.

## Bushwhacking at Dixville Notch: The Inside Story of an LP Victory

By Jim McClarin

Dozens of well-heeled sensation seekers mingled with equipment-laden news teams to witness the quadrennial first-in-the-nation vote at tiny Dixville Notch, NH, in the beginning moments of Feb. 18, primary election day.

All 31 voters had just cast their ballots, and the results were being counted and recounted. Soon they would be posted on the large plywood tally-board for the benefit of local, national, and international news camera crews.

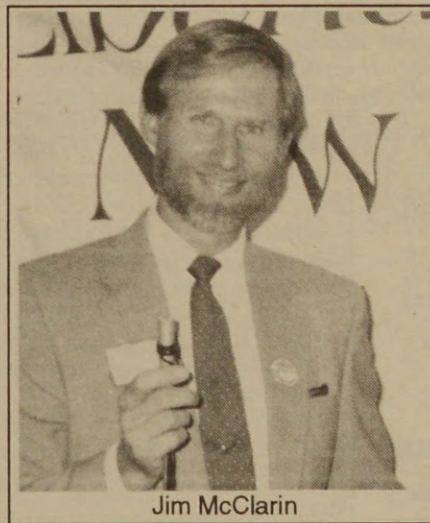
Also awaiting the results were representatives of Bob Kerry, Paul Tsongas, Pat Buchanan, the draft Mario Cuomo effort, and even the draft Jack Kemp campaign. Just one of the 63 candidates on the primary ballot was present, Libertarian Andre Marrou.

When the results were posted, the Kerry, Cuomo, and Kemp representatives had not a single vote to their credit. Paul Tsongas got two. Pat Buchanan had only three, as did Bill Clinton, and write-in

Ralph Nader. George Bush won convincingly over challenger Buchanan with nine votes. But the collective gasp occurred when 11 votes were recorded for Andre Marrou—10 on the Libertarian ballot and one write-in on the Republican ballot.

My personal reaction was to begin laughing. I'll call it my victory laugh. I hurriedly jotted down the vote and bolted from the room, beating reporters from the Associated Press and London Times down the steps to the lobby where I phoned the news to Marrou's New Hampshire and national headquarters. The phone at the New Hampshire office was answered by 1972 Libertarian vice-presidential nominee Tonie Nathan, who came to help in the final 10 days of the campaign. "What?" she squealed, "Oh, that's great, just great! I'll get a news release out right away!"

In the hotel lobby every phone was manned (or womanned) as reporters gushed the story: a political unknown, Andre Marrou, had just beaten the president and everyone else to sweep Dixville Notch. The Kerry backers looked sour and sullen. The Kemp backer was for some reason profusely congratulatory. The Cuomo people, who had good-humoredly insisted on posing with Marrou for photos beforehand, were markedly subdued. Buchanan's team had been quick to express their agreement with Marrou "except for the stand on abortion" before the vote, but they, too, were notably quiescent



Jim McClarin

in the aftermath.

Andre Marrou was swamped with phone calls, including one from his running mate Dr. Nancy Lord to congratulate him. It was a short night for Marrou and his fiancée, Norma Segal, in their \$284-a-night room at The Balsams Grand Resort Hotel in Dixville Notch. Just a few hours after the last call at night came the first of many morning radio shows to talk to the stranger who had beaten George Bush in Dixville Notch.

On NBC's "Today Show" the ever-jovial

continued on page 10

## Things to Come

By Perry Willis  
Marrou/Lord Campaign  
Chief of Staff

Following is a brief summary of the Marrou/Lord Campaign plans for the next few months.

### STEP ONE: Ballot Access

We can't stress this enough—50-state ballot status is a minimum requirement if we want to campaign for media attention. Without it our claim that we are an up-and-coming major party will sound hollow in the ears of many journalists. It isn't fair, but it is a fact.

Libertarians continue to support their presidential campaign in significant numbers, but with the New Hampshire primary behind us, many seem to feel that the urgency is gone. In fact, it is greater than ever. A recent trend toward smaller donations must be reversed if the Marrou/Lord Campaign is to meet its \$15,000-a-month commitment to ballot drives, and maintain a visible campaign.

This situation was expected and planned for. It should be only temporary, but Libertarians everywhere will have to re-dedicate themselves to insure that the money is there to do this crucial job.

### STEP TWO: Proving the Theory of the Level Playing Field

Our victory in Dixville Notch was significant in three ways:

continued on page 11



# Fraud for Freedom? No Thanks!

It's probably been around since we started running candidates as Libertarians.

It starts innocently enough. It usually remains more or less under control. But when it gets out of control, it manifests itself as what one long-time Libertarian bluntly described as the "Fraud for Freedom Syndrome."

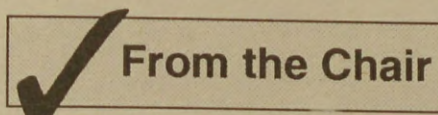
How does the Fraud for Freedom Syndrome play out? How does it affect our movement? Here are a few examples:

- A congressional candidate worries that being a "Libertarian" rather than a "Democrat" or a "Republican" will hurt his chances to rack up an impressive vote total. He knows he can't win this time around, but wants as many votes as possible for his efforts. He puts together a brochure that says "Jones for Congress". He talks about issues from a Libertarian perspective, but if the word "Libertarian" is even used on his literature, it is in tiny type along the inside fold. He gets votes for his name recognition and because he has reached some people with his libertarian message.

Unfortunately, very few people learn that Jones' ideas are part of a coherent political philosophy called libertarianism, and that, next election, they can find candidates that share Jones' views just by looking for the word "Libertarian" on the ballot. Jones may have had a short-term impact on his own race (maybe he was even the "margin of difference") but he made very little longer-term impact, got very little name recognition for the Libertarian Party.

- A Libertarian candidate for local office badly wants to get elected. He is a long-time member in good standing of the community. He has contacts, charisma, money backing him up. Deep down inside he believes that libertarian ideas are right. But they are hard to talk about. They sound radical, unfamiliar, unworkable. And maybe his less-libertarian supporters tell him, "You are too idealistic. Tone down your message. Get practical." And he falls for it.

So he points out in his literature that he is an active member of the Libertarian Party of Podunk (even though the local race is a non-partisan one), but he mas-sages his message to the point where it is



## From the Chair

Mary Gingell, LP National Chair

no longer libertarian. He talks about changing the local tax structure to make it more equitable, instead of cutting taxes. He talks about modifying architecture standards instead of eliminating land use regulation.

He may or may not win. But by claiming to be a Libertarian, and then pushing un-libertarian ideas, he has permanently confused people in his community about what libertarianism is.

I could go on and on with specific examples, which range from avoiding Libertarian positions on "tough" issues by not talking about them at all, to trying to get our ideas accepted "through the back door" by working within an older party, to flat-out lying about what we stand for in the hopes that by saying "what the voters want to hear", a candidate can get elected more easily and then bring liberty to his constituents (whether they want it or not) by his actions once elected.

These are all variations on the "fraud for freedom" theme. The belief that it's easier and more productive to avoid, be vague, or lie about Libertarian ideas than to confront the "tough issues" honestly and intelligently and educate the voter about how, in the words of Don Ernsberger, "Liberty works, and Liberty is right."

It's easy to see how a candidate might fall into this trap. In this 30-second-sound-bite world, it isn't easy to explain, for example, how we don't necessarily favor prostitution, gambling, or drug use but do not feel these activities should be illegal. Maybe it is easier to avoid the issue altogether, or waffle when asked directly about it by a reporter.

Easier, but more effective at getting Libertarians elected? More effective at achieving a free society? I think not. I think the "fraud for freedom" approach hurts our efforts by confusing the voter about what Libertarians believe, or making our candidate look just like any other sell-out, change-with-the-wind politician.

But the big question is CAN WE WIN IN ELECTORAL POLITICS ANY OTHER

"The unique quality about Libertarian politics is that we back up our political efforts with a consistent, reasoned philosophy."

WAY? CAN WE STAY TRUE TO LIBERTARIAN PRINCIPLES, EDUCATE THE VOTERS, AND EARN THEIR VOTES?

Absolutely. And Andre Marrou and his staff have just proved it for us. Andre won in Dixville Notch. (See article on page 1.) And he didn't do it by pretending to be like all the other politicians. He didn't do it by waffling on tough issues. He didn't change his libertarian positions into any sort of mush that might be more palatable to some voters.

He also didn't accomplish this in sound bites. The voters of Dixville Notch have been on a two and one-half year odyssey, courtesy of Jim McClarin, being exposed to Libertarian ideas and learning about Libertarian solutions to society's problems. And through this learning process, 11 of those 31 voters decided that it wasn't "too weird" to vote Libertarian, that our ideas weren't too "radical", that we were different from other politicians, different and better.

Then Andre went to Dixville Notch, told the voters there what it means to be a Libertarian, told them what we stand for, told them what he would do as a Libertarian president. They liked what they had learned and what they heard. And they voted for Andre Marrou.

But it wasn't just Andre that won in Dixville Notch. Libertarianism won in Dixville Notch. Through the efforts of Andre, Nancy Lord, Jim McClarin, and the rest of the Marrou/Lord staff and volunteer team, libertarianism won and the Fraud for Freedom Syndrome was discredited.

Thank you, Andre. Thank you, Jim. Thank you, voters of Dixville Notch.

I recently received a letter of resignation from the LP from a former state-level activist. Luckily we get very few such let-

ters, but I'd like to share an excerpt from that letter with you:

"Although I enjoy libertarianism philosophically, I cannot accept it politically, primarily because it is not pragmatic... For a while I confused philosophy with politics."

I respectfully must differ with his conclusion. I fear the gentleman writing this letter was not confused before, but he is confused now. The unique quality about Libertarian politics is that we back up our political efforts with a consistent, reasoned philosophy. And not only are our ideas consistent, reasoned, and right, our ideas are pragmatic, they are appealing, they will work, and they can be understood and accepted by the voters.

This year, let's all join Andre and Nancy in proudly presenting our libertarian political philosophy to the voters. Let's get rid of the Fraud for Freedom Syndrome once and for all, and let's give our ideas a real chance to win.

**Don't Blame Me . . . I'm From Dixville Notch!** Declare your independence from politics-as-usual with this high-quality vinyl bumper sticker. Send \$3.50 (s&h incl.) to: Hairy Bird Graphics, P.O. Box 332, Sterling, VA 22170. Allow 4-6 weeks delivery. Others available, send SASE for free list.

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## Libertarian Party NEWS

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

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# The Amateur Activist

By Tomas Estrada-Palma

What can a Libertarian true-believer do to advance the prospects for a libertarian society? Most libertarian folks simply ignore the statism all around them and lead a libertarian lifestyle. For me, this is not good enough.

The sheer magnitude of the statism, fraud, incompetence, ignorance, thirst for power, and other deviant political behavior found here in Washington, DC (where I live) is greater than any libertarian's worst nightmare. How can I sit around and complain to my close circle of libertarian friends and still maintain my sanity?

My mother raised me to believe that the squeaky wheel gets the grease. Even so, my activist activities, at least at first, were a therapeutic measure to blow off steam about the things which I could not change. The Washington Post might print an article enshrining some form of statism—but they were going to get a letter from me even if they wouldn't print it. To my surprise, they printed a letter I sent them about their support for the drug war.

When I was elected as the chairman of the Maryland LP, I started signing all my letters as such. During those two years I sent out an average of two letters per day commenting on the positions taken by many newspapers. I've now had scores of letters printed including all the big media outlets.

You don't have to write 14 letters a week to have an impact. However, just sitting there will not bring about a freer society fast either.

Fortunately, there are many other things you can do to let them know there is a libertarian in the house.

1. Take those offers for free magazines and send them in. After the free trial period is up send the bill in with a note attached saying, "Sorry, your magazine is not libertarian enough for my tastes." I know 30 or 40 publishing houses personally have been rejected by me for unlibertarian journalistic behavior.

2. Listen to talk radio shows. Most callers who call in to talk radio are unprincipled twits with nothing to say. When a radio show comes on with a libertarian subject I start dialing. It's easy to get through here in DC, so I know it can't be that bad where you are. I've gotten through maybe 25 or 30 times and aired my libertarian positions. Many times I identified myself as chair of the Maryland LP. Usually, after my call, the ensuing callers all agree with my position. Even if you are not a very good talker, you could call and keep it simple. For a show on taxation say, "Good day. Wouldn't it be better not to tax the poor in the first place?" Then hang up.

3. Send the statist the fax. I love sending newspapers, television, and radio sta-

tions faxes on my positions. It's free, it's fun, and you feel just great afterwards. When I sent several faxes to Roll Call (Congress's weekly newspaper) which stated that "Congress is an evil empire," and "seize federal land to pay off the S&L's," they called and interviewed me. The next week there was an article in Roll Call about me and my "gorilla faxes." It said that I believed Congress was populated by "scoundrels, liars, and thieves." With only 10 minutes of my time, a little imagination, and no money, I let every congressman and senator know I felt they were scum—in their own paper.

4. Telephone television stations to congratulate them for proper libertarian behavior and condemn them for the opposite. Believe me, they count that sort of thing and they keep track of it.

5. Write and telephone sponsors of news programs that do not provide fair coverage of our candidates. Threaten to boycott their product if they continue to sponsor undemocratic programming. In these tight recession times, everybody needs every sale they can get.

6. Organize a protest if you really get the activist fever. However, if only a few activists are willing to participate, it is better to piggy-back your protest with some other related event. For example: Tom Mathers and I protested at the University of Maryland when the governor held a drug summit there with 500 police and government officials from around the area. There were scores of television cameras and radio crews, but no story—well, except for the two bold guys who were brave enough to stand up to all of them that day with another position. That night, Tom and I were on the news, not the governor. We were in the morning paper, too. Since that time, the governor has decided not to hold any more drug summits.

7. Call your congressman [202-225-3121] or your senator [202-224-3121] just to rattle their chain. When I call, they cringe and snap to attention.

8. Try to produce a show on your local cable television network. It's free in most places, it's fun, you get to spread libertarian ideas over the idiot box, and you could even develop a hit show.

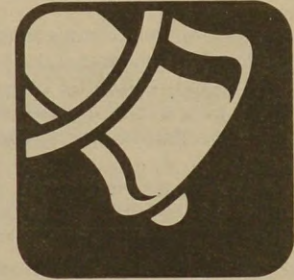
9. Go to political events and ask real questions of the speaker. When eight or 10 libertarians were at a talk given by William Bennett, we made him look stupid. Before long he ran from the room in fear because we were there to nail him down on all of the issues.

10. Just talk to another individual. My ears are always alert for a fellow individual's complaint about a social evil. I love to point out how the state has caused their misery. This is an opportunity that presents itself every day to all of us. How many times have you remained silent when you knew the answer to another's troubles?

Most important, try to do something each day. When I lay down at night I can rest easy in the fact that I did my duty to spread the word about liberty. When everyone else does this we will all be free. Why wait any longer to become an activist?

If you have any ideas on how to become a better activist, please write them down and send them to the NEWS. If your idea is good—I know I'll steal it.

## Drug Summit Response



While President George Bush was holding his "Drug Summit" in San Antonio, TX, in late February, a group of Libertarians and other activists held their own drug summit in town, and managed to grab some of the media attention away from the official meeting.

The protestors, including the Coalition for Hemp Awareness, the Marrou/Lord Campaign, NORML, and others, issued "The San Antonio Declaration," a statement which said in part: "When in the course of human events, a government makes war on its own citizens and perverts science and medicine in order to perpetuate a fraudulent and counterproductive social policy, a decent respect for the opinions of all humanity demands that those responsible be called to account before the world."

At a speech in San Antonio, LP presidential candidate Andre Marrou declared that "Libertarians want to see all Americans healthy and free of drug dependence. But we must recognize that criminal penalties for the sale, transportation, possession, and use of drugs have not solved and cannot solve the problem."

Marrou also said, "The Libertarian Party does not advocate the use of drugs. The Libertarian approach recognizes that the drug problem is wors-

ened by the use of criminal law to attempt to halt drug use. However foolish people may be, they should have the right and the responsibility to determine for themselves what to put in their own bodies. The law should reflect that."

The Libertarian Party's executive committee endorsed the declaration.

LP activist Bob Waldrop, one of the coordinators of the event, said that among the purposes of the declaration were: "to briefly summarize each of the major problems with prohibition; to raise the consciousness of the 'intelligentsia' that prohibition is causing more trouble than it is worth; and to open doors in minority and inner city communities to a basic Libertarian message."

To get more information or a copy of the declaration, call Bob Waldrop at 801-468-6207, or write P.O. Box 526175, Salt Lake City, UT 84106.

## Ballot Status Update

States where petitioning is going on or could be going on:

	Required (valid)	Collected (raw)	Est. to go (raw)	Deadline
FL	60312	18000	68000	Jul 15
PA	37000	0	45000	Aug 1
OK	35132	10000	42000	Jul 15
MO	20860	2000	29000	Aug 3
CT	14620	1000	20000	Aug 14
VA	13920	0	20000	Aug 21
MA	10000	1000	14000	Jul 28
WV	6534	0	9500	Aug 1
OH	5000	200	7000	Aug 20
CO	5000	1500	5700	Aug 4
KY	5000	5000	2200	Aug 27
IA	1000	0	1400	Aug 14
AK	2035	3750	1300	Aug 24
NC	43601	68200	1300	Jul 9
NJ	800	0	1200	Jul 27
IN	29909	48000	400	Jul 15
TN	275	0	400	Aug 20
			268400	

Other states where petitioning will be needed:

		Must wait for:	
IL	25000	May 5	35000
ND	4000	Jun 6	5700
RI	1000	Jun 8	1400
MN	2000	Jul 7	2800
DC	2600	Jul 12	3700
NY	20000	Jul 21	28000
WA	200	Jul 25	250
			76850

Grand total raw signatures needed:

345250

Figures as of March 14, 1992

**Tax Protest Day**  
**April 15**

### ATTENTION VOLUNTEERS

**THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY NEEDS YOUR HELP!** Do you have experience in working with the news media, producing brochures, or writing/placing op-ed articles? Are you willing to volunteer your time and effort in exchange for psychic rewards and some expense reimbursement? If the answer is YES, please send your resume to: LIBERTARIAN PARTY, 1528 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, Washington, DC 20003, Attn: Education Area Manager.



# LP Candidate Endorsed by Comic

By Bob Waldrop

The Libertarian Party of Utah's media coordinator Debby Morgan was listening to popular comic Tommy Chong (of Cheech and Chong fame) plug a local appearance at a comedy club on a Salt Lake City radio program.

Impressed by Chong's libertarian remarks, Morgan called the show and asked point-blank if Chong had ever heard of the Libertarian Party.

"That's my party," Chong responded. A

"That's my party," Chong responded.

naturalized U.S. citizen, Chong is registered to vote as a Libertarian in California.

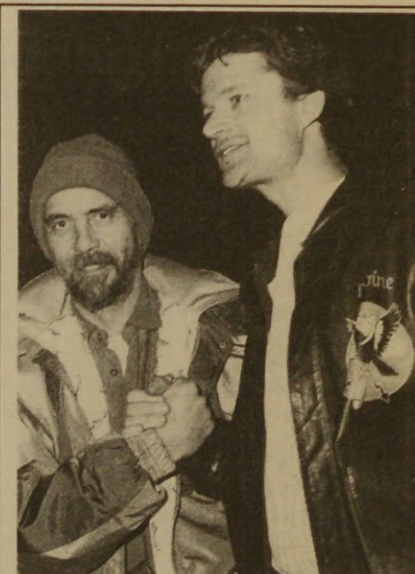
Pushing her advantage, Morgan arranged a "photo opportunity" that evening for Chong and the LP-Utah's U.S. Senate candidate Maury Modine. Modine is the brother of film star Matthew Modine,

known for such films as "Memphis Belle," "Birdie," and "Married to the Mob."

The local NBC affiliate interviewed Modine and Chong and broadcast a story about the event on their evening news.

During the interview, Chong appeared knowledgeable about libertarian ideas. When asked if Chong was endorsing Modine, Chong replied, "If he wants it, he's got it."

For more information, write the Vote Maury Modine Committee, P.O. Box 903, West Jordan, UT 84084.



NEWS Photo by Steve Midgley ©1991

Comic actor Tommy Chong (left) with LP candidate Maury Modine.

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### Liberty

March 1992 Vol. 5, No. 4 \$4.00

### JFK

The Once and Future Controversy

Pat Buchanan:  
The Great Right Hope?

by C. A. Arthur

Albert J. Nock: Libertarian Prophet?

by Stephen Cox

The Murder of My City

by Kin-ming Liu

Who Really Wrote  
"Little House on the Prairie"

by William Holtz

P.C. or B.S.?

by Meredith McGhan

Acid Rain and the Corrosion of Science

by Edward Krug

"The boisterous sea of liberty is never without a wave." — Jefferson

### Inside Ayn Rand's Inner Circle

In an exclusive interview, Barbara Branden speaks frankly about life with Ayn Rand and Nathaniel Branden (Rand's lover and Barbara's husband). She reveals for the first time intimate details of life inside Rand's circle. The fascinating topics include the weird psychological manipulations within the group, the expulsion of members in kangaroo courts, the glaring errors in Nathaniel Branden's memoir about his affair, and Rand's fight in a posh Manhattan restaurant with Alan Greenspan, now chairman of the Federal Reserve System.

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### In the current Liberty:

• In an exclusive interview and a thorough appraisal, we look inside the Great Right Hope, Pat Buchanan; is

there a libertarian bone in his body? Is there anything of substance behind his right hook and sucker punches? (And what of Andre Marrou?)

• John Baden presents an environmental impact statement on the U.S. Forest Service, and Randal O'Toole goes over its books. The bottom line is not trees, but pork.

• Edward Krug rips the masks off those scientists who have sold their souls to the environmental movement.

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An insider's account of the Libertarian Party's first political success of the 1992 Presidential campaign — Marrou's shocking win at Dixville Notch!

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# Why isn't everybody a libertarian?

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

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

## Is Something Wrong With Your Libertarian Ideas?

You be the judge.

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

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

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

Or this issue of *LP News*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

couldn't take 'Yes' for an answer.

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

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

## Do You Lose Friends And Alienate People?

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

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

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

That is the road to permanent failure.

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

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

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

## The Art Of Political Persuasion.

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

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

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

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

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

*Macho Flash* were published by Reason.

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

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

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

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

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

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

> Leveraging Liberty With Language: the semantics of libertarian persuasion.

> Intellectual Judo: gently win people over without arguing.

> And many more easy, enjoyable and effective ways to make libertarian ideas irresistible.

## Does It Really Work?

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

*Andre Marrou*, 1992 Libertarian Party presidential nominee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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**Michael Emerling**

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## Hamburger Runs in CO

Keith Hamburger, El Paso County (CO) LP chair, announced that he is seeking election to Congress from Colorado's 2nd District. Hamburger is a veteran of the 1990 congressional race and former LP state chair.

Commenting on the campaign Hamburger stated, "I will be emphasizing free market approaches, in contrast to the failed big government Republican and Democratic Party approaches, to the drug war, free trade, and national health care. I'll also focus on the need to eliminate the income tax and fully protect the individual's right to keep and bear arms."

On the Second Amendment, Hamburger stated that Samuel Adams expressed its importance most clearly when he said the "Constitution shall never be construed to authorize Congress to prevent the people of the United States who are peaceable citizens from keeping their own arms."

Hamburger graduated from the University of Southern Colorado with a B.S. in physics. He has been a resident of Colorado Springs for eight and one-half years and is employed in computer retailing.

For more information, write *Elect Hamburger to Congress*, P.O. Box 1341, Colorado Springs, CO 80901, or call 719-475-3049.

## Boddie, Campus Groups Active

### California

The **Richard Boddie for U.S. Senate Campaign** has instituted the "BANG (Boddie Action Networking Group) Project." The Boddie Campaign is hoping to get individuals to distribute Boddie brochures and contribution envelopes to family, friends, neighbors, business associates, and strangers who are fed up with the Democrats and Republicans. If you want to get more information, call 1-800-6-BODDIE.

### Colorado

The newest campus group in the state is the UCCS Campus Libertarians. Organizer **Eric Beteille** writes: "Here at the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, I have seen a fair amount of interest in the LP and the principles for which it stands. When I read in the December Libertarian Party NEWS that the LP has a goal of 100 campus groups, I decided that starting a group right here would be the best way for me to help the LP." If you can help, call Eric at 719-593-3469.

### Georgia

A group of Georgia Tech students recently formed a "College Libertarians" club. Two of the student coordinators include **Chris Elliott** and **Elliott Stroud**. The first meeting was attended by over 25 students, most of whom already considered themselves libertarians. **Carole Ann**

### From the States

Activities noted in newsletters and news releases

**Rand**, the 1990 Georgia LP gubernatorial candidate, spoke at the meeting. For information on this group, call 404-872-1802.

### Mississippi

**Joseph Knight**, the LP's national field organizer, recently spent time in the state and helped organize several new college libertarian clubs.

**Matt Harris**, **Clay Waters**, and **John Creel, Jr.** were the organizing committee at the University of Southern Mississippi in Hattiesburg. At Phillips Junior College in Jackson, **Sean Mooer**, **Scott Brister**, and **Tim McKean** helped form another libertarian club.

Knight reported that he was extremely impressed with the group at Mississippi State University at Starkville. "It is hard to describe how impressed I am with this group. I have looked into the face of the LP's future and what I saw made me optimistic, confident, and happy!" Knight stated. The officers of this student group include **Matt Petre**, **Danna Samsil**, and **Chad Brown**.

### Missouri

Libertarian **Ben Collier** of Maryville, an economics professor at Northwest Missouri State University, appears every other Thursday as an editorial commentator on

the St. Joseph TV channel 2 news program.

### New Jersey

Thanks in large part to the lobbying efforts of the **Somerset-Middlesex Area Libertarians** and NJ-NORML, two state bills that would have significantly broadened the state's power to confiscate private property as well as allow prosecutors to confiscate property connected with an indictable crime—even if that crime was later downgraded to a disorderly persons offense—died unceremoniously before they could be acted upon.

### Pennsylvania

**Irv Homer**, radio personality at WWDB-FM in Philadelphia, has been mentioning the **Marrou/Lord Campaign** and giving out the LP number on his radio show. In about two weeks, over 250 calls came in to the state party requesting information, including calls from Delaware and New Jersey.

### Utah

The state party has chosen the slogan "We Value Your Liberty!" to symbolize their 1992 campaigns.

### Washington

The state LP filed suit against the Secretary of State to remove some of the advantages Republicans and Democrats have over other parties, including the fact that the Secretary invites only the old parties to fill vacant ballot positions after the candidate filing deadline.

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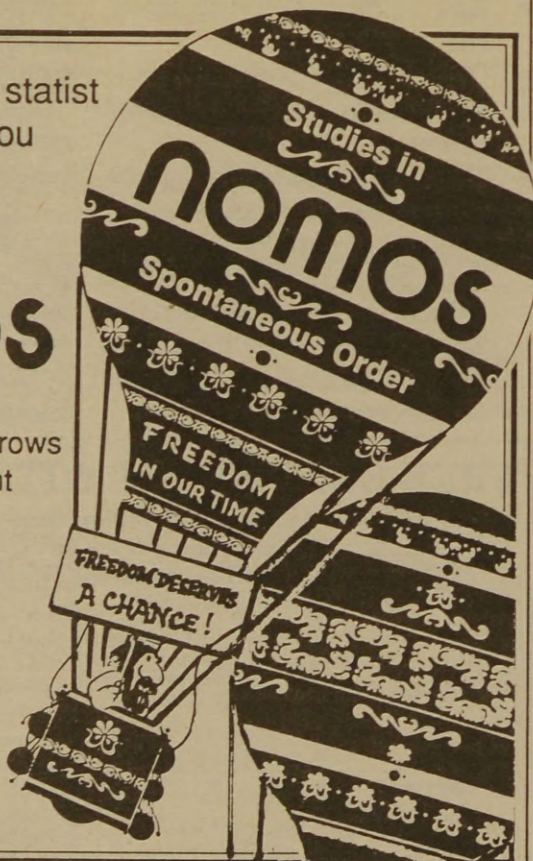
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## Petitioners Wanted



The Libertarian Party is recruiting petitioners for full-time work **NOW**.

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Compensation is based on production, and good petitioners can earn up to \$750 per week.

Call or write **NOW**:

Bill Redpath  
Libertarian National Committee  
1528 Pennsylvania Ave., SE  
Washington, DC 20003  
202-543-1988



The article below was originally published by Reason, Reprinted at author's expense for advertising purposes.

# The Late, Great Libertarian Macho Flash

by Michael Emerling ©1978

It was a large and expensive home. The architecture radiated impeccable taste. Seated around the dining table were five people: three moderates, a conservative and a libertarian. The conservative was a multi-millionaire — and a generous political contributor. After dinner she turned to the libertarian and said, "Our hosts tell me you're a libertarian. Maybe I'm a little naive, but I don't know what that word means. Could you tell me about your beliefs?"

"Sure. I can explain them in a sentence: 'Fuck the State!' Libertarians want to get rid of as much government as they can."

The woman was stunned. She dropped the subject and guided the conversation into other areas. In her mind, two things were associated with 'libertarian': bad manners and gutter language.

In the early 1960's, a student asked a spokesman for Objectivism what would happen to the poor in a free society. The spokesman answered, "If you want to help them, you will not be stopped."

What did the student conclude? That Objectivists are indifferent to human need, callous toward the unfortunate, and without solutions to the misery of poverty.

In the early 1970's, on the University of Arizona campus, libertarians set up an information table each week. Armed with the latest books, magazines and position papers, these libertarians tried to bring their views to the attention of other students. One day a student stopped at the table and asked, "What do you think of Social Security? What kind of help would the elderly get in your free society?"

The student behind the table was an old hand; he had heard the question many times. He responded, "The government has no right to force people to pay Social Security taxes. Taxation is theft. Government has no right to steal from one group of citizens to benefit another. If people don't save money for old age, they have no right to coerce it from those who are working. We should abolish Social Security."

The questioner was shocked. "You want to dump social Security and abolish taxes? Sure! Maybe we can do without government, too! You don't give a damn about old people. All you care about is your own stinking money!"

This last story is a little painful — I was the libertarian behind the table.

These are three examples of *The Libertarian Macho Flash*. Most people are familiar with 'flashing' — sexual exhibitionism. The common scenario is this: A middle-aged, average-looking man approaches a small group of women or children. He is wearing a raincoat, false trouser legs and shoes. The man whips open his raincoat to exhibit his naked body. His viewers are shocked, and he leaves before they recover.

*The Libertarian Macho Flash* has much in common with sexual exhibitionism. A common-looking person exposes his political beliefs in a shocking way. Invariably, he disgusts people or at least shakes them up. The offensive way or exhibits whichever views are most likely to offend the audience.

Are some libertarian positions offensive? Not to libertarians. But supporters of other viewpoints may be offended. It depends on the audience. What would enrapture a feminist might offend an educational choice supporter. A liberal might be shocked by a statement that would make a conservative's heart soar. To determine what would flash an audience, a speaker must know who he's talking to and what they believe. He must understand their loves and hates, their hopes and fears. Flashing is emphasizing one's views in terms of what they hate and fear.

There can be many motives for flashing. The flasher is a show-stopper, a real attention-getter. If someone desperately wants to be noticed, flashing

gets instant results.

*The Libertarian Macho Flash* is also a great timesaver. After all, persuasion involves time and effort. By flashing, the speaker bypasses a long and demanding conversation.

Then there are people who live in fear of rejection. Seeing themselves through the eyes of others, they are psychologically dependent, and the possibility of rejection is frightening. How do they handle this? By doing something to get it out of the way as soon as possible. By engineering rejection.

The real macho flasher, by shocking his listeners, convinces himself that his ideas are virile, potent — even intimidating. The audience obviously lacks his intellectual courage and insight. He grasps truth and goodness. He is good, noble and wise — clearly a superior person. The listeners? They are stupid, worthless and possibly evil. Why waste time on such inferiors?

Some libertarians flash to convince themselves that they are doing something for freedom. They mistake flamboyance for effectiveness, heat for light.

Still others flash to persuade themselves that nothing can be done for freedom. If people are shocked by libertarianism, then effort is futile. So why try? This is a beautiful example of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

*The Late, Great Libertarian Macho Flash* has its defenders, of course. They appeal to "honesty", the Lenny Bruce argument, the Ayn Rand argument or the claim that it works. Each of these falls flat.

The argument from "honesty" goes as follows: It's dishonest to avoid subjects simply because they offend or shock people. As libertarians, we must put moral principles before political consequences. We must fearlessly proclaim our views and let the chips fall where they may.

This won't do. First, if a person implies support for a belief that he doesn't hold, he is deceiving others. But silence need not mean consent. Second, the purpose of a discussion or speech should determine what one talks about. Suppose an atheist ran for public office. Would a refusal to discuss religion be dishonest? Not necessarily. A speaker isn't obliged to answer every question put to him — only the relevant ones warrant a response. What determines relevance? The nature of the office, the qualifications for holding it, and what the candidate will try to do if elected. Third, discussing irrelevant issues is misleading. It diverts attention from the real issues and suggests that the irrelevant subjects do matter. This is dishonest.

The Lenny Bruce argument zeros in on the psychological impact of the macho flash. Lenny Bruce believed that frequent use of offensive and shocking words would reduce and ultimately extinguish their ability to evoke strong emotional reactions. If, for example "hell" and "damn" were used often enough, they would lose their power to trigger emotions.

Although true in the long run, this is irrelevant. Twenty years of effort that made America indifferent to libertarian views — rather than violently opposed — would be no victory. It's like running a business deep in the red for 20 years to finally break even. What is the purpose of presenting libertarian ideas: to desensitize listeners to mere words and phrases, or to win agreement on substance? Flashing rarely produces agreement.

Are there any lingering doubts about this argument? Then consider the death of Lenny Bruce. The heroin overdose was incidental — he was hounded to death by those he flashed.

Ayn Rand devised a far more ingenious defense of the libertarian macho flash. Rand was asked why she used "selfishness" to denote a virtuous quality when it antagonized so many people to who it meant something quite different. The introduction to *The Virtue of Selfishness* contains her answer.

Stated in general terms, it is clear that Rand's attempted justification of her terminology applies to every instance of the macho flash.

Rand contended that the popular uses of a given term are no valid index of its correct meaning. A term must not include a built-in moral evaluation, she countered. If a person uses a term in an unconventional manner, perhaps the fault lies with the conventions rather than the speaker. In the name of man and morality, some terms must be saved from conventional abuses. The "exact and purest meaning" of a word should not be surrendered "to man's enemies, nor to the unthinking misconceptions, distortions, prejudices and fears of the ignorant and irrational."

But consider. The meanings of words aren't engraved in stone — they change and evolve. If people don't adapt to changing meanings, they risk being misunderstood. Would Rand care to describe her political views as "liberal" simply because the term would have correctly described them a century ago? No? Then the point is conceded.

Ayn Rand was a virtuoso flasher. Ponder a few of her colorful phrases: "the virtue of selfishness", "capitalism: the unknown ideal", "America's persecuted minority: Big Business", "give a silent 'Thank You' to the nearest, grimmest, sootiest smokestacks you can find", "the evil of self-sacrifice", and "a parasite, moocher or looter."

These phrases are guaranteed to stun the average person. Consider *The Virtue of Selfishness*. If Rand had been interested only in communicating certain ideas, she would have called her book "A Morality of Rational Self-Interest," "The Case For Ethical Egoism," or something equally restrained. But she intended to shock, attract attention and create controversy. As an author, she could afford to be attacked, but not ignored. Neither apathy nor enemies, however, make for libertarian success.

Contrary to Rand, many terms do carry built-in moral judgments. "Treason", "greed", "slander", "stinginess", "kindness", "generosity" and "blasphemy" are but a few examples.

There are, of course, many foolish conventions. But those who regularly flaunt them will pay a price. Far better to use a convention to further one's views!

There are any number of ways to present a viewpoint. The choice of words and phrases can dramatically influence whether a position seems beautiful or hideous. A rose by any other name may smell as sweet, but a florist using offensive, ugly names for flowers will soon be out of business. Language can serve libertarian goals or oppose them.

A final alleged advantage of *The Late Great Libertarian Macho Flash* is this: some people think it's an effective way to persuade others.

This may be true in a limited number of cases. *Defending the Undefendable* — a textbook case of flashing — may "wake the reader from his dogmatic slumbers" or act like "Drano for clogged minds." But would it be the best introduction to libertarianism? Not a chance!

Flashing should be tested against other methods of marketing libertarianism to the general public. How often does it work? Under which circumstances? *What kind of people does flashing attract?* This is crucial. If the macho flash attracts people who will be an embarrassment to the libertarian movement — people who alienate and antagonize, who are crude and ill-mannered — then it ought to be dropped. A political belief is often judged by those who hold it.

And what about the people it repels? Will they have open minds in the future, or are they now opponents?

One final point. Some libertarians use the macho flash as a litmus test for potential converts. If the listener is alienated by a controversial view, he isn't worth having. Or so these people would have us believe.

This ignores a basic fact of human psychol-

ogy: changing one's viewpoint usually takes time. Views that many libertarians take for granted today may have seemed ridiculous, insane or evil in the not-too-distant past. It took many years for even Ayn Rand, Murray Rothbard, John Hospers, Robert Nozick and Karl Hess to become full-blown libertarians. Thought, study, discussion, persuasion and time were necessary. And these people are very intelligent. So why does the macho flasher expect so much more from a chance listener?

Those who use the *Libertarian Macho Flash* usually discredit libertarianism. People tend to judge a body of beliefs on the basis of a few statements. If a Libertarian candidate presents ideas that are virulently offensive to an audience, the audience will assume that his other views are equally obnoxious. In social psychology, this is known as the "halo effect."

Flashing makes enemies. It creates active opponents to liberty. Freedom has enough natural enemies — people who thrive on statism. Why create more through lack of tact?

A viewpoint may be accepted or rejected because of the speaker who presents it. If he is perceived as callous, against all decency, inhumane and disgusting, then he couldn't possibly be in favor of anything worthwhile. This is a logical fallacy. It is also a psychological fact and not to be ignored.

I have personally field tested *The Late, Great Libertarian Macho Flash*. It is not simply unproductive; it is counter-productive. It makes future attempts at persuasion far more difficult. Liberty is the casualty.

What can libertarians do to avoid flashing? Space forbids a lengthy reply, but I have a few suggestions.

Know who you are talking to and what they believe. Find out their emotional bellines and stay above them.

Before speaking, ask: What are you trying to accomplish? How do you plan to do it? Will your plan promote your goals? Why or why not? Do not stand in the way of your own success.

If you flash because you enjoy the exhilaration, find other ways of getting kicks. When you do, you will be more emotionally satisfied and politically effective.

Become politically effective. This will eliminate the desire to prove that nothing can be done.

Devote your energies to finding more effective ways to bring others to the libertarian philosophy. There are too few persuasive libertarians, and becoming one is a far nobler ambition than seeing how many hearts and minds you can close.

The Libertarian Party has matured a great deal in the last few years. Bright, attractive people are the norm. It is time for our communication methods to come up to date. One step in that direction would be to discard *The Late, Great Libertarian Macho Flash*.

-End-

Michael Emerling created and produced *The Essence of Political Persuasion*, a 3 Hour Audio Tape Learning Program. He has ghost written 6 books, 1 Doctoral Dissertation and 300 speeches for business people. He was the Organizer & Fundraiser of the '88 Marrou VP Campaign, PROJECT 51-'92, and Marrou For President Campaign. In February 1987 and Fall 1991, Michael Emerling personally fundraised \$519,344 for these projects. (Source: F.E.C.)

More from  
Michael Emerling  
See ad on Page 5



# Libertarian Party 1991 Annual Report

(unaudited)

## BALANCE SHEET

as of December 31

(figures in thousands - may not add exactly due to rounding)

	1990	1991
<b>Assets:</b>		
Cash	11	64
Receivables	1	3
Depreciated Assets	3	4
	--	--
Total Assets	15	71
<b>Current Liabilities</b>	5	11
<b>Net Worth</b>	10	59

## INCOME AND EXPENSES

Jan. 1, 1991 - Dec. 31, 1991

(figures in thousands - may not add exactly due to rounding)

<b>Development Area Revenues</b>		
Fundraising		
In-House Direct Mail	142	
Telephone Fundraising	119	
Liberty Pledge Program	73	
Other Fundraising	30	
Total Fundraising	364	
Membership		
Prospecting Mail	28	
Inquiries	32	
Renewals thru National	90	
Dues Via Affiliates	31	
Total Membership	181	
Material Sales	23	
Other Development Revenues	7	
Total Development Revenues	575	
Less Development Costs	237	
<b>Net Development Revenues</b>		338
<b>Education Area Expenses</b>		
LP News	70	
Media Relations	8	
Other	14	
Total Education Expenses	92	
Less Education Revenues	3	
<b>Net Education Expenses</b>		89
<b>Political Action/Organizing Area Expenses</b>		
Ballot Access	58	
Local/Campus Organizing	18	
Campaign Organizing	2	
<b>Total Political Action/Organizing Expenses</b>		78
<b>Administration Area Expenses</b>		
Office	82	
Legal	2	
Convention-Related	5	
National Committee and Executive Committee	9	
Depreciation	4	
Other	23	
Total Administration Expenses	125	
Less Administration Revenues	3	
<b>Net Administration Expenses</b>		122
<b>Revenues Less Expenses</b>		50

## HIGHLIGHTS FROM 1991

### AFFILIATE PARTY SERVICES:

Spring and fall editions of the LP Directory were compiled and distributed to activists around the country. The Expert Talent Bank was incorporated into the fall edition.

Eleven issues of *APC NEWS* were published and mailed to LP activists.

Electronic distribution of 800-number inquiry data to affiliate parties was begun, with more than 20 states participating by the end of the year; testing of electronic distribution of national database updates was begun with selected state parties.

### BALLOT ACCESS:

We began 1991 with ballot status in 15 states (CA, DE, GA, HI, ID, MI, MS, NV, NH, NM, OR, SC, TX, UT, WI). Two additional states (AR and LA) do not require petitioning to place the presidential ticket on the ballot.

During 1991 ballot status was obtained, or sufficient signatures to obtain ballot status were collected, in 9 additional states (AL, AZ, KS, ME, MD, MT, SD, VT, WY).

Initial signature collection in two states (IN, NC) was completed in 1991; however, due to unexpectedly low validity rates we had to collect several thousand additional signatures in each of these states in 1992.

### BILL OF RIGHTS:

The Bill of Rights served as a theme for many LP activities during the year, with literature warning that "The Bill of Rights is Under Attack" distributed at Bill of Rights exhibits and fair booths around the country. A conference commemorating the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights was held in Washington, DC on December 14-15.

### CANDIDATE DEVELOPMENT:

Over 50 potential candidates attended an all-day candidate training workshop at the National convention in Chicago. The workshop was videotaped for future candidate training.

### CASH:

A \$64,000 cash balance was built up in the last few months of 1991 in preparation for large ballot drive expenses in 1992.

### CONVENTIONS:

374 delegates and 129 alternates attended *Liberty Triumphant*, our 1991 presidential nominating convention, held in Chicago over Labor Day weekend. Andre Marrou and Nancy Lord were chosen as the LP's presidential and vice presidential candidates. C-SPAN covered much of the convention, rebroadcasting certain segments several times. This coverage resulted in thousands of inquiries to our 800 number. New officers and National Committee members were elected to serve during the 1991-1993 term.

The Libertarian National Committee approved the 1993 national convention contract with Bob Waldrop of Morning Glory Productions, Salt Lake City, Utah.

### ELECTED OFFICIALS:

New Hampshire State Representative Calvin Warburton left the Republican party and joined the LP on July 16th, 1991. He was joined by fellow representative Finlay Rothhaus on December 12th. Numerous other LP members were elected or appointed to public office.

### FIELD ORGANIZING:

We began a full-time field organizing program in late July. Field organizer Joseph Knight began in Maine, working fair booths to gather prospect names and organizing those counties which did not have an active LP organization.

Knight also began organizing campuses while in Maine. This developed into a joint project of the national LP and the Marrou/Lord campaign to establish campus Libertarian groups, as well as re-invigorating local LP groups. Work was done in Oklahoma, West Virginia, New Mexico, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

Organizing plans for 1992 were developed for 15 states (FL,

NC, TN, MS, TX, KS, MO, AR, AL, OK, LA, GA, NE, SD, ND).

### INQUIRIES:

During 1991, 16,198 information packets were sent to people who asked for information about the Libertarian Party through our 800 number, our 900 number, and the mail, or were referred by our members and state and local groups.

### INTERNAL EDUCATION:

An internal education column became a regular feature of the *LP News*, providing background material to members on such topics as freedom of speech, crime, the "homeless crisis", and taxation.

### LIBERTY PLEDGE PROGRAM:

As of December 31, 1991, 761 Liberty Pledgers were pledging a total of approximately \$12,500 per month, of which approximately 80% is actually received in any given month.

Twelve issues of *Liberty Pledge News* were published.

### LITERATURE DEVELOPMENT:

A new edition of *Liberty Today* and a completely new, three-color introductory brochure were produced.

### LP NEWS:

Twelve issues of *LP News* were published in 1991; the size was increased from 8 to 12 pages in March. In December we renewed our contract with Solstice Inc. to edit and produce the *LP News* for another year.

A program to use the *LP News* to promote awareness of the LP among news media and others who provide political information to the public by allowing affiliate parties to inexpensively purchase subscriptions for them was begun.

### MEMBERSHIP:

Paid membership peaked at 9,730 during 1991. As of December 31, 1991, total recorded membership (all those who have signed the "non-initiation of force" certification) was 20,501; paid membership was 9,191.

### 900 NUMBER:

A new telephone service, available by calling 1-900-LIBERTY, was set up to provide information about LP membership, projects, and campaigns, and about pending legislation of interest to Libertarians.

### OFFICE:

We experienced no turnover in our permanent staff during 1991. In addition to our three full-time employees, we made use of three interns during various times of the year.

Over 40 volunteers worked in the national office. Many of these came in on a regular basis to prepare mailings, handle routine correspondence, and work on various other clerical tasks.

The remodeling of our leased headquarters building which was begun in 1990 was completed in January 1991. We sublet out the first floor of the building in order to reduce overhead expenses.

### PROSPECT MAILINGS:

During 1991, approximately 34,000 letters were sent to names from libertarian-related mailing lists rented by the LP.

### REORGANIZATION:

At its December 1991 meeting, the National Committee approved a revamped organizational structure designed by Chair Mary Gingell to improve management of national LP activities. Under this new structure, Gingell appointed the following Area Managers to head up major activity centers during 1992:

Development	Sharon Ayres
Education	Joe Dehn
Political Action/Organizing	Steve Dasbach
Administration	Mary Gingell







# The Inside Story of the Dixville Notch Victory

continued from page 1

Willard Scott said Marrou's platform sounded good to him. Marrou's campaign scheduler Me-Me King was jubilantly logging a tally of front page coverage in daily newspapers. The radio waves were full of the news from Dixville Notch. Strangely, ABC's "Good Morning America," which had promised to air a segment on Marrou the day before the primary—but didn't—seemed to be avoiding the story.

Across the country Libertarians waited at their radios and televisions for word on the vote at Dixville Notch. Some local party meetings in California were set for Monday night, Feb. 17, specifically to catch the first news from Dixville Notch. (The Marrou campaign was anticipating a good showing. An outright win was not expected.)

"Years from now Libertarians are going to ask each other, 'What were you doing at 9:20 p.m. Pacific Standard Time on Feb. 17, 1992?'" said national Libertarian Party chair Mary Gingell. It was at that moment that the first word of the Dixville Notch vote came over the airwaves, and set normally staid Libertarians into manic whooping and shouting.

Dixville Notch was a stunning victory for Andre Marrou and the Libertarian Party, but it was also an aberration; Marrou would only take about 1 percent of the statewide vote in the New Hampshire presidential primary—a typical uninspiring Libertarian result. Never mind that he was opposed by 62 other candidates for the primary. Forget the fact that those who requested Libertarian ballots at the polls were frequently harassed, delayed, or outright refused by pigheaded polling officials. Overlook the fact that to many, switching to Libertarian requires the same emotional resolve as switching from Catholicism to Judaism, or vice-versa, and by requesting a Libertarian ballot they would automatically be making that switch. It still must be said that 1 percent is nothing to crow about.

How, then, did Marrou manage to win the most newsworthy election precinct in the entire state? This article provides the answer, for I was a key player in the victory at Dixville Notch.

In October 1988, and again in November of that year, I made the long trip from my home in central New Hampshire to the northern tip of the state to lobby for votes in Dixville Notch for then-Libertarian presidential nominee Ron Paul. My trips were unsuccessful. Not even the lone resident who voted for Ed Clark in 1980 could spare a vote in 1988. A vastly more involved effort would obviously be required to win a few votes there in 1992.

It was in the fall of 1989 that I took the first step toward success in Dixville Notch. I purchased subscriptions to the libertarian-leaning Reason magazine for each family in Dixville Notch. I followed this up with a letter wishing them happy reading for the next year, and I included a Laissez Faire Books catalogue in the mailing for their perusal. Let them read Reason for a year, then we'll give them some more partisan reading material, I said to myself.

However, it was not until July 1991 that I got back to my project in Dixville Notch. I bought each family a subscription to Libertarian Lines, the excellent newsletter of the state party in New Hampshire. The first issue they received featured state Rep. Calvin Warburton's switch from Republican to Libertarian. Soon the residents of Dixville Notch began to read

about Andre Marrou and Nancy Lord in their monthly mail.

After several visits to the state by Andre Marrou following the Chicago nominating convention, I was appointed coordinator for the New Hampshire primary campaign, and opened an office in what had been an electrical supply store in Nashua. I was soon joined by Bob Stevenson who drove out from California to become a full-time volunteer for the duration of the campaign.

Nancy Lord was the first member of our national ticket to visit Dixville Notch. By custom, candidates are given a wine and cheese reception in The Balsams Grand Resort Hotel, and voters are excused from work to meet the candidates whenever possible.

"I couldn't get a feel for how I was received up there," Lord said upon returning from her visit. "I don't know how much good I did."

A week or so after Lord's visit, however, Bob and I were delighted to find a large feature on Dixville Notch in the "New Hampshire Weekly" section of the Sunday Boston Globe. The reporter had spoken with eight voters, and five of them said they were considering voting for Marrou. One couple said they had been particularly impressed with Nancy Lord.

Bolstered by the Boston Globe story, Marrou himself made the trek to Dixville Notch, spending the night in the luxurious accommodations of the Grand Hotel, and appointing Michael Pearson of Dixville Notch as his "town manager" at a breakfast meeting the next morning. Pearson had been a political science major at the University of New Hampshire, and had somehow survived the experience with a strong pro-freedom orientation. He was young, bright, capable, and an avid follower of political news. He was consulted frequently by Bob and me, by Andre Marrou, and by Marrou's chief of staff in Las Vegas, Perry Willis.

Upon Marrou's return from Dixville Notch we assembled a modified media kit to send to the voters there, with a handwritten cover letter from Marrou. Among the contents was a big front page story with a color photo about Marrou from the Nashua Telegraph. We bought 300 copies of that issue to use as fund-raising premiums.

The next shipment to Notch voters were tapes of Marrou's appearance on David Brudnoy's radio talk show on WBZ of Boston, and extra copies of the tabloid election supplement from the Manchester Union-Leader which featured responses from the major candidates to a series of questions. The supplement's cover consisted of a color cartoon of the nine major candidates, including Marrou, horsing around on a ski slope. There was also a nice profile on Marrou inside. These were sent to Michael Pearson for his judicious use.

On Feb. 6, Marrou spoke by special invitation to the 400-member New Hampshire House of Representatives. The LP's state Rep. Calvin Warburton was to thank for the arrangements. Only Marrou, Bush, Buchanan, Harkin, and Clinton were accorded this honor leading up to the primary. We hired a professional video firm to tape the speech. As I drove him to the State House to deliver his speech, Marrou was deftly splicing his own speech into one faxed to him at the last minute by Perry Willis, using his briefcase on his lap as a desk, a roll of transparent tape, and the scissors on his Swiss Army knife. Still, it

“What vital lesson did we learn in Dixville Notch? It had to be this: Given enough exposure to Libertarian ideas, even voters as self-conscious about voting as those in Dixville Notch will be ready and willing to cast a Libertarian vote.”

proved to be a spectacular performance, punctuated by laughter and applause, and just the sort of thing I felt we could use to sway another vote or two in Dixville Notch. Perry Willis agreed with me, and videotapes of the speech were shipped from Las Vegas by overnight delivery to Notch voters.

The 31 first-in-the-nation voters were to receive three more pitches from the Marrou campaign, and one from David Agans, a New Hampshire Libertarian who wrote letters to each voter he had gotten to know in Dixville Notch in his numerous visits to design, install, and service a computer system for The Balsams Hotel.

In early December I had asked noted Libertarian radio talk show host Gene Burns of Boston's WRKO (and now WOR of New York City as well) to do a 10-20 minute audio tape to the voters of Dixville Notch. He agreed, and we finally got a master tape from him in the week before the primary. I ran off 21 copies, with a cover letter to each voter or voter couple.

Meanwhile Perry Willis had composed a stirring letter portraying the effect of 15 voters in Dixville Notch voting for Marrou as the second "shot heard 'round the world." It was signed by both Marrou and Lord.

The tapes and signed letters were finally ready to go late Friday afternoon. I would overnight them to Michael Pearson, I thought. However, I discovered that Federal Express had no Saturday delivery to Dixville Notch. I would have to deliver them there myself!

Marrou was scheduled to arrive at The Balsams Sunday evening, but I felt I couldn't wait until then to deliver the tapes and letters. Those people needed to be given a chance to listen to the Gene Burns tape at their convenience. Burns had been a frequent visitor to The Balsams Hotel, and advertised it on his Boston radio show. He had taped his Sunday culinary show, "Dining Around with Gene Burns," at The Balsams once or twice, and a growing percentage of patrons were avid Gene Burns fans. His campaign plug could possibly bring in several more votes for Marrou.

I took off for Dixville Notch at 7 a.m. from Nashua with a supply of campaign signs to mount along the two routes into (but not very close to) Dixville Notch. I wanted the media who would be driving up for the Monday night vote to see lots of Marrou signs. I also wanted any Dixville Notch voters who "went to town" to see some Marrou signs. Yet I did not want to encroach on the pristine roadsides near the tiny mountain resort town. The town consists of the hotel, a balloon factory, a ski slope, and private dwellings.

I delivered the tapes and letters to Michael Pearson in time to have them picked up with the Saturday mail delivery, and headed back toward the opposite end of the state, leaving a trail of campaign signs behind me.

Most of us in the campaign were very nervous about the final assault. We thought it might be too much for the voters to have the candidate and his fiancée spend two nights in Dixville Notch as the residents were preparing to cast their secret ballots. What if we lost three or four votes?

Marrou gritted his teeth and dug in his heels. "I know I'm right about this! You cannot woo the voters too much! It's impossible," he insisted. I drove him up to Dixville Notch fearing the worst, hoping for the best.

From his room phone Marrou proceeded to contact as many of the voters as he could, beginning with those Michael Pearson had indicated would most likely vote Libertarian, asking for their support. Some Marrou met in person. He took a break in the afternoon to view the ski slope dressed in Levis, boots, and a sweater.

Later he dressed for dinner, removing his suit coat afterwards to watch some of the Winter Olympics with Segal and other guests at the single TV set in the four-star hotel.

The media began arriving. I handed out as many media kits as possible. Little did the reporters realize that in their grasp was important background material for what would soon become the lead news story for the next 20 hours.

The head of the CBS crew handed the packet back to me. "I really don't have time for this," he said. "Okay, but look for me after the vote if you see a story in it," I replied. I like to picture him frantically trying to locate me after I disappeared to phone in the results and prepare a news release.

Going into the vote we were counting on six, possibly seven votes—enough to beat Buchanan I figured, but not Bush. Outright victory was a sweet surprise!

What vital lesson did we learn in Dixville Notch?

It had to be this: Given enough exposure to Libertarian ideas, even voters as self-conscious about voting as those in Dixville Notch will be ready and willing to cast a Libertarian vote. Enough exposure can overcome years of conditioning by the Democrats and Republicans, and that is exactly what we need to do to build a society based on the ideas of liberty.

Another important factor in Dixville Notch was our use of people already known and liked by the residents, namely David Agans and Gene Burns. Having familiar people endorse our effort made us seem less like rebellious outsiders and more like decent friends, concerned about the course set by "those people in government."

Those 11 votes in Dixville Notch probably cost us \$200-\$300 apiece in campaign expenses. But they propelled Andre Marrou and the Libertarian Party into the national and international limelight for a few precious hours, and all the media should be more receptive and attentive now because of it.



# The Third Rail: Social Security

By George L. O'Brien  
Internal Education Director

The issue of Social Security reform has long been considered the "third rail" of politics—as on the electrified subway: "Touch it and you die."

Indeed, there may be no more popular element within the entire welfare state. Nevertheless, the Social Security system is a fraud. Within the next 20 years, the system will have to be radically modified or replaced.

The American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) is considered one of the country's most powerful lobbying groups. Leading a huge constituency (which always votes), AARP and its allies of millions of members has defeated every attempt to reform Social Security.

There can be little questioning the popularity of the Social Security system. It is the only part of the welfare system which promises benefits to nearly every person in the country. It is seen to relieve adult children of the responsibility to support their elderly parents and it helps one of the most sympathetic segments of the poor.

There is only one slight problem: the system is a fraud. In theory, Social Security is a form of "insurance." In practice, it is a kind of "ponzi scheme" which uses the same methodology as an illegal chain letter. Soon the chain will have to be broken.

How did this happen?

The actual origin of Social Security was not American at all. It was created by the Prussian/German leader Otto von Bismark in 1883. Bismark was looking for a way to gain the support of working people. These people were unhappy with the high taxes needed to support the military and the high prices created by the industrial cartels.

Bismark was looking for a way to convince people they were going to get something from the state, without actually having to deliver. He asked an actuary how old people could be expected to live. The answer was 65 years. Bismark set the age of eligibility for his social security program at 65, knowing full well that most of the people would be dead before they received a dime. In spite of this, the system was wildly popular.

During the 1930s there was agitation for a similar program in the U.S. The Social Security program was passed in 1935 (in time for the elections of the following year).

In spite of the claims that Social Security was an old age insurance program, it never actually worked that way. From the beginning, Social Security paid out benefits from cash flow. As money was paid into the system, most of it was immediately paid out to beneficiaries. As new taxpayers retired, they would be paid from the money taken from younger taxpayers.

There have been several problems with this system. First, people began to live longer. Whereas in 1883 most people died by the age of 65, by the late 20th century people were living an average of a decade longer. This meant a huge increase in potential beneficiaries.

This was paralleled by a decline in the birth rate which would drop the number of workers to retirees from 15:1 in the 1930s to nearly 3:1 in the 1980s. Bad as that was, it is only the tip of the iceberg. Once the "baby boom" generation (born 1946-1964) starts retiring, the ratio will be much worse. Estimates are that there will be only two

“Unfortunately, when we examine the Social Security fund, all we find are a bunch of IOU's from the Treasury.”

workers for every retiree by the year 2025. Social Security taxes will have to exceed 22 percent by that point.

It is clear that the Social Security system of the early 21st century will not be able to pay for the benefits out of cash flow. For the system to have a fund that can continue paying benefits even close to the current level (not to mention continuing Medicare, Survivor's Benefits, etc.), it is necessary to greatly increase the Social Security "fund." The 1983 reform is supposed to create a fund of \$10 trillion by the year 2030.

Unfortunately, when we examine the Social Security fund, all we find are a bunch of IOU's from the Treasury. Since the only thing the Social Security system can invest in is federal government securities, future retirees are simply another group of creditors of the bankrupt federal government.

None of the money taken from Social Security goes to increase the productive capacity of this country. All of it goes to make current deficits look smaller. But the interest on these bonds must be paid for by the taxpayers.

Is there an alternative? The answer may come from a very surprising place: Chile.

Ten years ago Chile had an even worse problem than the U.S. Yet according to Rita Koslka in her article "A Better Way To Do It," published in the Oct. 28, 1991, *Forbes* magazine:

"Replacing the old system, then Minister of Labor Jose Pinera put in a plan that requires each of the country's 4.8 million workers to put 10 percent of his pretax salary into a private pension fund of his own choosing; there are no employer contributions. There are 13 plans to choose from, and workers can switch their funds among managers to get the best returns and services at the lowest cost.

"In Chile, at age 65 for a man (60 for a woman) the worker takes the accumulated savings and either buys an annuity or organizes an individual payout schedule. He can retire earlier if he has enough money in his pension fund. To protect worker's savings, most of the funds are invested in securities automatically indexed for inflation."

The program in Chile is not completely libertarian. It requires that people save and ensures that each worker will receive at least 23 percent of his/her salary from the fund. However, it gives the individual considerable discretion on how this money is to be used.

The original specifications called for a real return of about 5.5 percent. A retiree with 40 years in the fund would get 70

percent of the average of the last five years of salary. With a rate of 6.5 percent there would be a 100 percent payout.

It turns out that the average rate of return has been in the neighborhood of 13 percent which has induced many workers to contribute far more than their required amounts. This has not only made it possible for people to retire in comfort, but has provided funds for a major economic expansion. There has been a major stock market boom (helped by the new funds and the new free market policies) and these private funds now constitute one-third of Chile's gross national product.

The program has been so successful that delegations from Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, and Poland have visited Chile to study how this approach can be used in their countries. According to John Williamson of Boston College, "One of the big benefits of Chile's system is it keeps the money out of the hands of the government."

The U.S. by contrast treats Social Security funds little differently from taxes, and

Congress frequently dips into the U.S. Social Security fund to cover its deficits.

The Chilean social security system "is based on very simple and reasonable principles: that people care about their money, that they will work harder if they see the benefit to themselves, and that putting it in private hands is more efficient than with the government," according to Augusto Iglesias, chief economist for the Chilean pension fund Habitat.

The Chilean program goes beyond replacing social security with a private system. It also eliminates the domination by corporate pension funds since workers control their own funds.

Chilean Minister of Labor Jose Pinera summed it up by saying, "It is a common sense system and is more easily understood by the average Chilean mother than by social security experts."

At some point people are going to realize the impossibility of saving the current U.S. Social Security system. Perhaps then people will look at a system which actually works.

## Marrou/Lord Campaign Update

*continued from page 1*

1) There was tremendous built-in media coverage. We probably surpassed, in one day, the combined total coverage of all previous Libertarian presidential campaigns.

2) We demonstrated that, if the "playing field" is level, we can beat the candidates of the older parties. There was nothing the Republicans and Democrats could do in Dixville Notch that we couldn't match.

3) The independents were solid for Marrou. These voters could have voted in the Democratic or Republican primaries, but they didn't. Independent voters are the largest voting block in America. This has great significance for the November election.

The most important factor here is the "level playing field." If we could prove this theory to the media they would have no excuse for not covering us. Alas, one victory in a town of only 31 voters is not compelling evidence. But what if we did it again?

The Libertarian presidential ticket just

qualified for the ballot in Nebraska. We are in the primary there and it is open—truly open, as compared to the New Hampshire primary where voters had to re-register at the polls.

Our plan is to pick a town of about 300 people within the broadcast range of Omaha, and to campaign very heavily in that town, just as we did in Dixville Notch. One victory can be passed off as a fluke. Two can't.

### STEP THREE: Breaking the Media Blackout

With 50-state ballot status and another small-town victory under our belt, we can go to work on the media—phone calls, letters, petitions. We will prepare a presentation to be sent to all major media around the time that the old parties are having their conventions. We can make a strong case that we are newsworthy, and back it up with an effective grass roots lobbying effort.

But the first step is 50-state ballot status. There won't be any step two or three without step one.

## Marrou/Lord Campaign

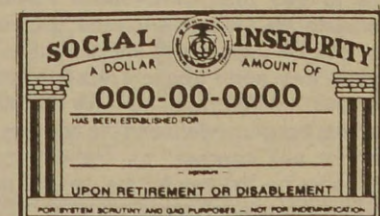
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Las Vegas, NV 89112-0417  
702-434-6362

### ATTENTION VOLUNTEERS

**THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY NEEDS YOUR HELP!** Do you have experience in legal/regulatory work, accounting/budgeting/auditing, or personnel management? Are you willing to volunteer your time and effort in exchange for psychic rewards and some expense reimbursement? If the answer is YES, please send your resume to: LIBERTARIAN PARTY, 1528 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, Washington, DC 20003, Attn: Administration Area Manager.

**ABORTION CHOICE:**  
in Harmony or in Conflict with the Rest of the Libertarian Party Platform?  
For this new LFL flyer, send SASE to:  
Libertarians for Life  
13424 Hathaway Drive, #18  
Wheaton, MD 20906, 301/460-4141  
Doris Gordon, National Coordinator

**Social  
Insecurity  
Cards**  
Available Again...



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Libertarian Party of Wis  
PO Box 20815  
Greenfield, WI 53220



# Letters: Definitions, Objectivism, LP/GOP

## Definition

In response to the chair's column (February NEWS), here is how I explain what the LP stands for in four words: "Socially liberal, fiscally conservative."

Remember the KISS principle. It works.

**Richard Boddie**  
Huntington Beach, CA

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Mary Gingell's call for being able to answer the question "What is Libertarianism?" encouraged me to share my 30-second libertarian definition.

"Libertarians believe that every individual has a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We believe in that maxim from the medical community, 'First, do no harm.' And we believe in the golden rule, 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.' Our positions on the issues are derived from these premises. Not only do we apply these beliefs in a political sense, we practice them in our daily lives."

**David Aitken**  
Denver, CO

## Objectivism

As a man who holds Objectivism to be the most rational, all-encompassing philosophy ever developed, I was very disturbed by the misrepresentations of it in the letter from Christopher C. Faille (February NEWS). Allow me to dispel some of the misconceptions. Objectivism holds that any voluntary action could be interpreted as selfish, not just any action. Certainly, the action of paying one's taxes is not selfish as it is an action forced upon individuals.

It is not the case that every possible action is a good thing as Mr. Faille alleges. Objectivism defines the ethics to be applied to all actions according to their effect on the rights of individuals affected by the actions. Objectivism certainly does not uphold any morality in the murders committed by the "Son of Sam" as Mr. Faille would like us to believe. There is no question that these specific actions were evil since they were clear violations of the victims' right to life and involved the use of non-retaliatory force which both Objectivism and general libertarian ethics reject.

Mr. Faille has attempted to turn the whole Objectivist philosophy on itself by divorcing a single ethical principle from the whole of Objectivism. He has manufactured a vacuum in the philosophy where none exists. I fear that he sees a vacuum only because he has a void in his understanding of Objectivism.

**Douglas W. Morrison**  
Miamisburg, OH

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From a psychologist's point of view, I have to say that Christopher Faille's comments on Objectivism were spot on. Most people understand selfishness in a negative way, and we cannot redefine it into a positive. Furthermore, not only do I find that most people understand the concept of "rational self-interest" as "rationalized selfishness," a "hooray for me and the hell with everybody else" approach to life. I find that that is how many Objectivists I have met actually practice it. Some of them even claim to be exemplary of what people in a pure Libertarian society would be like. (And they can't understand why they are still alone and single.)

Let us not confuse the public by identifying ourselves with these selfish pigs trying to



*Letters from members and readers*

rationalize their insensitivity to their fellow man and their own hearts. What we need is a concept based upon a "balance of self and others' interests."

**Patricia L. Collette, Ph. D.**  
Sherman Oaks, CA

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Christopher Faille evidently thinks that Objectivism holds that the best choice is "the decision which gives its maker satisfaction, at least at the moment when it is made." A philosophy which offered such a standard would indeed be vacuous; but this is not the Objectivist standard. Indeed, such a standard would constitute "whim-worship," which Ayn Rand denounced vehemently . . .

Readers should recognize that short pieces in a newspaper (or this letter, for that matter) cannot present a philosophy in any detail. Readers who want to understand what the philosophy is really about should look at Ayn Rand's works or Leonard Peikoff's "Objectivism."

**Gary McGath**  
Penacook, NH

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Christopher Faille should brush up on his Objectivism. . .

He equates simple motivation (i.e., 'acting for a reason') with 'acting in rational self interest.' They are very different. Even a basic reading of Rand's ideas, however, would have been sufficient to make this clear. Faille could thus have avoided his erroneous characterization of one of the most brilliant philosophies of the 20th century.

**Gregory Monte**  
Union City, NJ

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Contrary to Mr. Faille's proposition that Objectivism is excess baggage and should be discarded, it was Ayn Rand's philosophy of Objectivism that first clearly identified and rationally supported the proposition that, opposition to the initiation of force, was the political principle needed to cut the Gordian knot of statism. That principle is the essential defining characteristic of Libertarian Party members (remember the pledge?). The essential political principle of Objectivism is exactly the same as the essential principle of the Libertarian Party.

Without Objectivism there most likely would not be a Libertarian Party. As one of the founders of the Libertarian Party of Minnesota in 1972, I point out that it was a group of Objectivists who both founded and in the main, led and still lead the Minnesota party. In talking with many Libertarians from other states I have often heard the same story. I know this is not true of all state parties, but for libertarians to deny Objectivism would be like one's body denying its head.

Helping new members and fellow travelers learn this is part of the internal educational process that should continue. When letters like Mr. Faille's are received it is an opportunity to help the writer, but I don't think such letters should be printed in our national party paper, thereby misinforming by impression, other new libertarians.

**Richard Kleinow**  
North Oaks, MN

## Libertarian/Republican

Recently I defected from the Libertarian Party to support the Buchanan for President campaign. Now I am even more aware of how the existing parties serve to crush the democratic process within their own power structures.

There is only one way to provide an alternative to the "one party government" in Washington, DC and on the state level. I urge all fellow libertarians that remain within the "other" party to come back to the one party of principle—the Libertarian Party. There is power in numbers.

**Steve Zettle**  
Myerstown, PA

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I could not disagree more with Karl Hess and Joseph Knight (February NEWS) criticizing the growing liberty movement within the Republican Party. This kind of elitism is what has driven so many of our best minds out of the LP to join groups like the Republican Liberty Caucus. As a member of both, I see no reason why libertarians should not plant the seeds of liberty as widely as possible, even in less than perfect growing conditions . . .

Karl Hess can fantasize all he wants about how students will save us in the future revolution, but the country is in real trouble today, and by the time the LP becomes a serious political force, democratic action may no longer be an option . . . The liberty movement simply cannot wait for the LP to come of age, even though it probably will eventually. Besides, since the LP's primaries are something of an oxymoron (happening as they do after the convention), there is no reason a "good libertarian" cannot support the most libertarian candidates in the Republican primaries and in the general election.

**Chris Struble**  
Houston, TX

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Let me make it clear that I do not argue that libertarians should *en masse* leave the LP and switch to the Republican Party (RP). While I'm vice chairman of the Republican Liberty Caucus, I remain an officer of the Maryland LP. As stated in a recent issue of our newsletter, we, in the RLC, believe the LP has played, and continues to play an important role in American politics.

When formed in 1971, the role of the LP was primarily "educational"; i.e., to challenge the assumptions of the political mainstream and, ultimately, to effect a fundamental realignment of the American political spectrum. Today, while the situation is fluid, the LP appears to be transitioning to a true minor party. That is, 1) a party that has the membership base, financial support, and cadres of leaders necessary for sustained political activity, and, 2) a party that has voter support to influence selected races; e.g., Governor of Texas.

From this point, there are two positive scenarios: In scenario (A) the LP emerges as a major party, either as a third major party, or by supplanting one of the two incumbent major parties. The chance of this must be viewed as remote since the last time this happened in the U.S. was when the RP supplanted the Whig Party on the eve of the Civil War.

More realistic is scenario (B). In this scenario at least one of the incumbent major

parties co-opts the LP. This has happened recurrently in American political history.

Scenario (B) requires both libertarians in the RP and in a distinct LP. Those in the RP would try to move the RP in the libertarian direction . . . and those in the LP will insure that if the RP doesn't move far enough in the libertarian direction that the RP will suffer at the polls . . .

In these precipitous times, there is little purpose to arguing that others, who have adopted methods in the cause of Liberty other than those we have chosen, are foolish if not outrightly evil.

**Clifford F. Thies**  
Baltimore, MD

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There seems to be an idea among some Libertarians that the Libertarian Party is what the Republican Party would be, if the Republicans hadn't veered off course, and that if we could just get some good "libertarian-Republicans" elected, we could save the country. One could just as easily say that of the original Republican Party (now known as the Democratic Party), when one considers that it was organized by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.

The whole approach, however, is a little like the tail trying to wag the dog: there is a little libertarianism left in both old parties, but it gets easily shouted down by the statists who dominate those organizations . . .

Over the 19 years I have been a member of the Libertarian Party, I have encountered or been told about Republican candidates and office holders who were described to me as "100 percent libertarian." I've been told a capital "L" libertarian couldn't win. In every single case, by deceit, or because of the pressures of their Republican Party association, these individuals have betrayed libertarian principles, if indeed they ever possessed them.

Libertarians need to get off the thing of thinking of themselves as the first cousins of the Republicans, and recognize that we are really and truly "liberals," and that we have as much reason and right to appeal to Democrats as we do to Republicans, since we are, after all, the true party of Jefferson. Perhaps when we really do this, we will cease being tempted to ride to liberty on the coattails of the Republican Party.

**John Vernon**  
Van Nuys, CA

## New Name

To change the name of the LP does not mean that we change our principle or beliefs. My suggestion would be the American Liberty Party. It would undercut many who claim liberty, but have no intention to live up to it. Anyone belonging to this party would still be a libertarian.

**Erich H. Schmidt**  
Fort Washington, MD

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Over the last few months a number of readers have written in suggesting that the name of the Libertarian Party be changed to the Conservative Party or the Liberty Party.

That would be a terrible idea . . . Aside from the fact that there is (I believe) already a Conservative Party, the term "conservative" suggests agreement with the agenda of mainstream American conservatism: communitarian traditionalism, the drug war, military interventionism, censorship,

*continued on page 13*



# Letters: Party Name, Pledge, and Much More

continued from page 12

protectionism for big business, anti-abortion, and intolerance of civil liberties and personal freedoms. Libertarians are anti-statist radicals, not conservatives.

As for "Liberty Party," the problem with words like "liberty" or "freedom" is that they are used so vaguely and appropriated so indiscriminately by various groups of every political stripe that by themselves they suggest no particular position.

The term "libertarian," by contrast, denotes a single, reasonably well-defined and consistent political philosophy, so that people can count on its referring to more or less the same values and positions whenever the term is used. . .

As for the problem of name recognition, the solution is not to pick a generic name for ourselves, but to make a household word of the name we've already got—as we are indeed beginning to do!

**Roderick T. Long**  
Bowling Green, OH

## The Pledge

I firmly believe that we should do away with the "non-initiation of force" pledge for two reasons.

First, it doesn't make sense to single out just one philosophy of the LP and have members sign their name to it. If you want to have people sign their name to something,

why not have them sign off on all the LP philosophies? To me, both scenarios are ridiculous.

Secondly, I can tell you that many people have chosen not to join the LP because of the pledge. Not because they disagree with what the pledge says, but because they don't see why it's necessary to have a pledge.

Since the LP believes in democracy, I suggest the issue be put to a vote of all LP members.

**Scott Pegues**  
Concord, CA

## Dave Barry

Dave Barry in the NEWS? I find it beyond belief. While Mr. Barry's writing is funny in a cute and sarcastic way, I fail to perceive any possible connection to Libertarian ideas. Furthermore, I can read Mr. Barry's commentary anywhere—even in my local Sunday newspaper.

Surely there are people out there with something intelligent to say and the ability to communicate. I have no objection if you desire to run some political cartoons, I enjoy them immensely, but when it comes to reading, I read for one reason and that is to think and the harder the reading and the more challenging the thinking the better.

I am reconsidering my membership. I hope you will reconsider your decision.

**Robert L. Henrickson**  
East Nassau, NY

◆ ◆ + ◆ ◆

Saddam Hussein's country was murdered because he and his people had the courage to take back what rightfully belonged to them for over 2,700 years, (and still does by all fair standards). When any "humorist" pokes fun at people who have the courage to take back what rightfully belongs to them, then that person is encouraging and promoting the war that killed thousands of heroes who, much like us libertarians, were seeking to take back what was fundamentally and rightfully theirs. Dave Barry is not a Libertarian and more importantly, doesn't support Libertarian causes by calling a man a homicidal bully who was merely taking back his own property. Dave Barry calls Saddam a murderer and an international cancer, but Saddam did not murder 1/100 the number of decent people that George Bush did.

I will not ally myself with a newspaper or humorist who encourages and promotes an unjust murdering foreign war.

**Brian Lerohl**  
Fairview, SD

## Stay LP

Well, I guess this clinches it. Watching TV the other night, I saw a "Libertarian Republican" sign right next to a "Buchanan for President" sign. For those who believe in free trade and immigration, it was enough to make your stomach churn. Compromise is one thing, but wholesale sell out is another. Working for libertarianism within the Republican Party may be the right thing for some, but there isn't enough Maalox in the world for me to be able to say, "I support Pat Buchanan."

Thank you for the LP and Andre Marrou.

**Kelly Houghton**  
Gig Harbor, WA

## Malpractice

While George O'Brien makes many relevant points in his article (March NEWS) "The Tangled Mess of the Medical System," he misses the mark in his comments about malpractice insurance. O'Brien says, "Part of the problem is due to the fact that lawyers can often intimidate insurance companies into settling because the risk of a loss is so high and the cost of litigation is so high even

if the insurance company wins."

Where in the world did O'Brien come up with this idea? All malpractice insurance policies are written so that the insurance company cannot pay a malpractice claim without the permission of the name insured. This is done to protect the reputation of the insured (doctor or other professional covered by the policy). If the company could settle out of court without the name insured's approval, a professional could suffer a blow to his or her reputation that may not be justified. To avoid this the policy is written so that the company cannot settle without the permission of the name insured.

In effect, the insurance company is obligated to defend the reputation of the person insured by going to court even if the claimant is willing to settle out of court. This unique feature of malpractice insurance policies may indeed raise the cost of premiums, but it is essential if the reputation of a professional is to be protected. The insured pays for this feature and undoubtedly passes it on to his or her customers.

However, insurance companies should not be accused of settling claims when out-of-court settlements cannot be made without the approval of the name insured.

Let's not make the insurance industry the scapegoat on this issue too!

**Helen I. Slavens**  
Madison, WI

## Improbable

Sometimes people will take the media's word for anything, no matter how improbable.

Consider the report that U.S. bulldozers can outrun a healthy man who has a headstart of up to one-quarter mile in a distance less than the length of a football field. Since trench soldiers rarely have leg wounds, this would be possible only if the soldier had a head wound and was blind or unconscious.

Bulldozers therefore buried only those who were dead or too seriously injured to move. About 999 out of 1,000 were dead.

Now if you want the worst cruel incident of the Gulf War, it is the attacks with poison gas on Kurds, mostly women or children.

Reports from the biased-media need confirmation.

**John T. Harllee**  
Florence, SC

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## Buchanan Watch

Some libertarians have expressed an interest in Pat Buchanan's GOP campaign. Here are a few quotes which might open your eyes to his political positions.

### Voluntary Social Security?

Buchanan: "The Social Security system is not going to be touched or changed by anybody." Quoted in the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 20, 1992.

### Capitalism Is Brutal Force

Buchanan: "Some of my friends in the conservative movement are thoroughly cerebral. They don't address the issues of the heart. They say free trade, that's it. These are our people who are losing their homes, losing their jobs, losing their way of life. Unbridled capitalism—if you will, free trade theory—can be a very, very brutal force. It's a nice thing to sit in a think tank and say it's all for the best. But in the short term let them come to New Hampshire." Thomas B. Edsall, "Buchanan Aims to Unify Factions," Washington Post, Feb. 17, 1992, page A20.

### In Your Heart, You Know He Doesn't Like Ludwig von Mises

Buchanan goes to unemployment lines where he meets people he describes as "basically Democrats... sort of conservatives of the heart. They don't get their conservatism by reading some tract by a dead Austrian economist." Thomas B. Edsall, "Buchanan Aims to Unify Factions," Washington Post, Feb. 17, 1992.

### Bye-Bye Bill of Rights, Welcome to the Drug-Free Police State of the Future

Buchanan: "If we truly believed our rhetoric about a 'war on drugs,' we could win in 60 days: Suspend civil liberties, declare a state of siege, impose martial law, authorize police to capture drug dealers, haul them before military tribunals, to be executed at dawn if convicted. No appeals. If they resist arrest, shoot them as enemy soldiers trying to escape. Buyers who cooperated with police would be sent to POW camps for the 60-day duration, as would drug runners and small dealers who provided evidence on higher-ups, until every narcotics kingpin had been put to death as a war criminal for poisoning America's children and sabotaging our society." Patrick Buchanan, "Is the Drug War Winnable?" Washington Times, Sept. 11, 1989, p. D4.

### Beltway Bureaucrats to Set Business Salaries?

"[Buchanan] supported limiting CEO salaries." Harold Meyerson, "Swan Tsong, New Hampshire Spells Disaster for Democrats," San Jose Metro, Feb. 20, 1992, p. 10.

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# Barry Offers Economic Package

By Dave Barry

Today, as a leading presidential contender, I am pleased to present my Economic Package.

I realize I'm late. The other 53 leading contenders turned in their Economic Packages weeks ago. But I have an excuse: The dog ate my Economic Package.

No, really, my excuse is that I've been busy trying to notify the government that I'm running for president. I thought this would be a simple procedure. I mean, look at the other contenders. These people are not all nuclear physicists. Some of them aren't even vertebrate life forms.

(We'll pause here while Duke supporters look up "vertebrate.")

Anyway, I called the Federal Election Commission in Washington, DC, and told the person who answered the phone that I was running for president. I figured she'd just make a note of this, then assign some Secret Service agents to follow me around, beat up people who cut me off in traffic, maybe do some work on my yard, etc.

Instead, she mailed me some forms, which demanded to know the name of the committee that handles my campaign contributions and the bank where these are deposited. I frankly had not thought that a committee was necessary, since my contributions consist of about \$30 in small bills and coins from various nations including (this is true) Bolivia. These funds are currently deposited in the box for the Nerf Ping Pong set that I maintain in my office in case of emergency.

So in an effort to satisfy the FEC forms, I tried to open a bank account, but the bank—and you wonder why our banking system is in trouble—refused to take the money. The bank person said I couldn't have an account because I didn't have a Federal Identification Number. (For the record, neither did Abraham Lincoln.) The irony here is that I'm located in Miami, where banks have a tradition of accepting huge cash deposits delivered in trucks that say "ACME COCAINE DEALERSHIP." But God forbid they should take money from a declared presidential candidate.

So I applied for a federal identification number, which you get from the Internal Revenue Service by filling out Form SS-4. Here's an actual quotation from the instructions:

"6. With respect to which there are reasonable arrangements designed to ensure that (a) residual interests are not held by disqualified organizations (as defined in section 860E(e)(5)), and (b) information necessary for the application of

## Quote of the Month

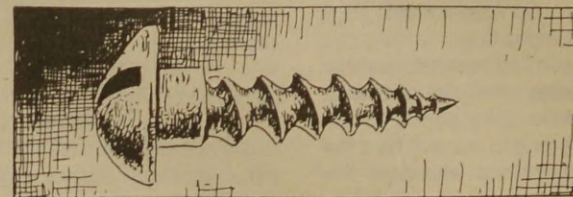
Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles as recently quoted in the Jacksonville Business Journal in a pitch to business people for new taxes and fees to support his five-year, \$1.38 billion "investment budget":

**"I'm sticking the gun straight up in your face and telling you I've gotta have it."**

Submitted by LP member David Bragg  
If you would like to submit a Quote of the Month, send it to LP NEWS, Box 780, Winchester, VA 22601.

## Today's Political Quiz!

### CAN YOU NAME THIS OBJECT?



HINT: It's something various prominent Democrats do with women, and the Bush administration is doing to the American public.

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section 805E(e) will be made available."

The instructions also say: "If you have... suggestions for making this form more simple, we would be happy to hear from you." My suggestion is, "Shoot the extra-terrestrial being who wrote these instructions in the head, if it has one." Of course I wouldn't tell the IRS that, because I'd probably be selected for the Special Audit, which involves fire ants.

My point is that the other candidates' packages, and they're all designed to appeal to middle-class Americans, technically defined as "Americans who own VCRs but cannot program them." Most of the packages involve "tax breaks," which is when the government, amid great fanfare, generously decides not to take quite so much of your income. In other words, these candidates are trying to buy your votes with your own money.

Well, as Abraham Lincoln once said: "If you're going to take a bribe, hold out for top dollar." Which is why I'm proud to present:

### MY ECONOMIC PACKAGE

1. Every middle-class American will receive \$10,000 cash from the government.
2. Make that \$20,000.

3. Sometimes, without warning, U.S. Air Force bombers will fly over randomly chosen middle-class communities and drop bales of money.

4. I see no reason why the IRS has to know about any of this.

Also I would create jobs. As president, I'd gather up the top U.S. auto executives, and I'd depart for Japan as the head of a Special Trade Mission. Midway across the Pacific, these executives would be given parachutes and life rafts, and be shoved out of the plane, thereby freeing up millions of dollars in salary money that the auto companies could use to hire people to make better cars.

Then I'd continue on to Japan, where, in tough, high-level talks with Japanese officials, I'd demand that they make VCRs that a normal human could program. Then I'd attend a formal dinner where I'd suddenly fall under the table and barf, but the members of my official entourage would just leave me there because they'd be used to it.

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### Libertarian National Committee

1528 Pennsylvania Ave., SE  
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## Upcoming Events

### March 28, 1992:

Delaware LP Convention, Dover; 302-678-8950. Nancy Lord to speak.

### March 28, 1992:

Oklahoma LP Convention, Harrison House Hotel, Guthrie; 918-749-4809. Speakers include Nancy Lord.

### April 3-5, 1992:

Illinois LP Convention, O'Hare Plaza Hotel, Chicago; 708-475-0391. Andre Marrou, Nancy Lord, Aaron Zelman, and Eric Banfield to speak.

### April 4, 1992:

Indiana LP Convention, Adam's Mark Hotel, Indianapolis; 317-583-2658. Speakers include Nancy Lord and Carole Ann Rand.

### April 10-12, 1992:

Michigan LP Convention, Courtyard Marriott, Ann Arbor; 313-475-9792 or 313-481-1289. Speakers include Andre Marrou, David Friedman, Richard Ebeling, Laurence Reed, and Jarret Wollstein.

### April 11, 1992 (tentative):

New Mexico LP Convention; 505-984-0949.

### April 11-12, 1992:

LP NatCom meeting, Ann Arbor, MI; 202-543-1988.

### April 15, 1992:

Tax Protest Day.

### April 24-26, 1992:

Colorado LP Convention, Ft. Collins; 303-484-8184.

### May 1-3, 1992:

New York LP Convention; 212-477-2515.

### May 2-3, 1992:

South Carolina LP Convention, Ocean Dunes-Sand Dunes Resort Hotel, Myrtle Beach; for reservations at nearby hotels call 803-449-3331, 449-7431, or 449-5281; for information write David Morris, P.O. Box 2297, West Columbia, SC 29171. Speakers include Nancy Lord.

### May 2, 1992:

Wisconsin LP Convention, Brookfield; 414-963-6477.

### May 15-16, 1992:

Arizona LP Convention, Hyatt Regency Hotel, Phoenix; 602-930-1268. Speakers include Nancy Lord, Joseph Sobran, and Robert Poole.

### May 17, 1992:

Maine LP Convention, Augusta; 207-353-9711.

### May 23, 1992:

Hawaii LP Convention, Honolulu; 808-536-0790. Speakers include Nancy Lord.

### May 29-31, 1992:

Florida LP Convention; 407-290-2467.

### June 5-7, 1992:

South Dakota LP Convention, Rapid City; 605-342-4242. Speakers include Nancy Lord.

### June 5-7, 1992:

Ohio LP Convention, Toledo; 419-353-1813.

### June 13, 1992:

Texas LP Convention; 817-536-4131.

### June 20-21, 1992:

Tennessee LP Convention, Wyndham Garden Hotel, Nashville; 615-758-5906. Speakers include Nancy Lord and Jacob Hornberger.

### June 27-28, 1992:

Washington State LP Convention, Seattle; 206-759-1838.

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# INSIDE THIS ISSUE

Marrou in Two  
More Primaries  
Page 1

1991 LP  
Annual Report  
Page 8

LP  
History  
Page 9