



Libertarian Party

NEWS

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Liberty Enlightening the World

July/August 1987

News Digest

• Hawaii LP has achieved ballot status at least through 1996 thanks to the state's new law covering "third parties." Chairman Blase Harris, at a well-covered press conference, said, "The Big Two is now the Big Three."

• Dave Daniels, announcing as LP candidate for mayor of Denver, received a rave-review endorsement from Tom Gavin, columnist for the very influential *Denver Post*.

• Avery Johnson, engineer, inventor, heir to the Palmolive fortune, and vice chairman of the Milford, NH, Board of Selectmen, is running for the board again in a well-covered Libertarian Party campaign.

• National Taxpayers Union has done their annual summary of how much you'd owe if government spending and indebtedness were evenly divided among 85 million taxpayers. Total is THIRTEEN TRILLION dollars. Here are the items with your "share" in parentheses: Public debt, \$2 trillion (\$24,455); accounts payable, \$235 billion (\$2,772); undelivered orders, \$560 billion (\$6,589); long-term contracts, \$13.5 billion (\$160); loan and credit guarantees, \$662 billion (\$7,791); insurance commitments, \$2.6 trillion (\$31,283); annuity programs, \$6.8 trillion (\$81,082); adjudicated claims, international commitments, and other contingencies, \$73 billion (\$863). Your share: \$154,995. Can you really afford it?

• As this issue went to press, Senate hearings were scheduled on the nomination of Bernard Siegan to the Ninth US Circuit Court of Appeals (the largest and busiest in the country). If confirmed, as most expect, Siegan would bring a decidedly free market view to the court. Siegan, a University of San Diego law professor, has written for many libertarian journals and groups, including the Cato Institute. Those trying to stop the nomination have argued that he is a "radical judicial activist" in his defense of property rights and individual liberty.

• Seattle super deal (and an idea others could copy) from LPer Kerry Ringwald. He offers anyone driving to convention on I-84 a double room in his house, dinner, breakfast for two, open bar, for only \$25 a couple. Money will go to LP campaigning. He's 350 miles from convention. Address: 300 Jefferson Av. #1, La Grande, OR 97850.

Campaign '87: The Nomination

Eight libertarians, so far, are seeking nomination to be a Libertarian Party candidate for national office in 1988.

The most highly publicized, obviously, are the presidential contenders Russell Means and Ron Paul, and Andre Marrou, who is seeking the vice-presidential nomination. Detailed statements of their positions and plans are printed in this issue.

The first to announce, however, was James Libertarian Burns whose plans for the nomination and a subsequent presidential campaign were covered in the May/June 1986 issue of the Libertarian Party NEWS. His presidential plan was to concentrate on three states: Nevada, where he had long been active; Vermont, where he now works; and Alaska. Since then he has not reported any activities to the NEWS.

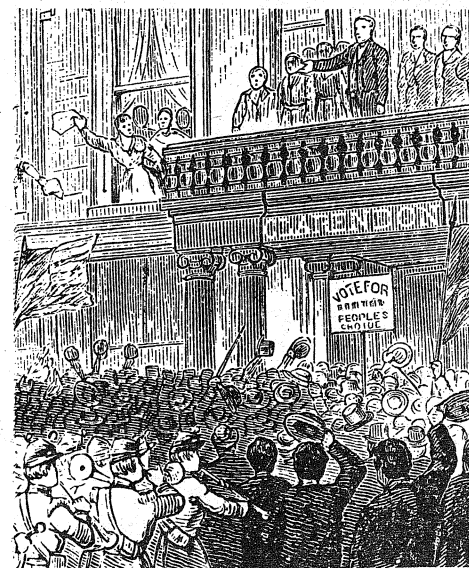
The latest to throw his hat in the ring is the Libertarian Party's 1984 candidate for vice president, Jim Lewis, of Old Saybrook, CT. A statement from him explaining his candidacy is included in this issue.

Just before the Lewis candidacy, an out-

standing California libertarian, Carol Newman, announced her intention to seek the nomination. In a 1986 run for the office of attorney general in California, Newman, an attorney, had polled an impressive 126,000 votes, second only to Carol Treynor's 138,000 votes as the Libertarian Party candidate for controller. Newman has not notified the NEWS of any of her campaign plans or positions but reports of her candidacy have appeared in various other libertarian publications.

Ed Roth, whose statement appears in this issue, is a commercial woodworker and rank-and-file Libertarian Party member from Downer's Grove, IL.

Harry Glenn, although not a member of the national LP, is often identified as a libertarian in the local press of his hometown, St. John, IN, where he has gained local attention as a tax protestor, a country musician, and a one-time Democrat candidate for sheriff of Lake County, IN. He announced for the Libertarian Party presidential nomination also in 1984.



Campaign '87 stories on pages 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 16.

Anderson Victorious in Denver

By Dwight Filley

Doug Anderson won a seat on the Denver Election Commission in the nonpartisan municipal elections held in Denver, Colorado, on May 19. During his low key campaign, for which he spent about \$50, he promised to work toward adding "None of the Above" to each slate of candidates in Denver elections, and to move toward privatizing the election process.

His victory is the first for a Libertarian in Colorado and he is the first Libertarian to be elected in a major American city.

The Denver Election Commission, a board which conducts and regulates elections, was easily the least contested race, and Anderson was surprised by his victory. "The only reason that makes sense is that my name seemed somehow more trustworthy than that of my opponents," he speculated. Under the Denver charter, the two highest vote getters win and serve with the County Clerk, an appointed position, to make up the three-member Commission.

Anderson was second with 28.6 percent of the vote, behind Bob Shannon who won with 30.1 percent. The two other candidates, whose names were Bordas and Leavel, were both incumbents who had been appointed to fill vacancies. Both were long-term political activists with some name recognition among the local political community. In spite of this, they only garnered 22.7 and 18.6 percent respectively.

The Libertarian candidate for Denver Mayor, Dave Daniels, attended over 100 forums, and spent over \$1,500 on literature and radio ads. He finished last in a field of seven.

Both Denver dailies gave Doug Anderson excellent post-election writeups, indicating a willingness to watch favorably as he introduces several libertarian concepts to Denver politics.

The day after the election, Anderson invited many of the leading Denver Libertarian activists to a planning session, and appears to be preparing to draw heavily on local Party resources to help implement his platform.

He wants the "None of the Above" addition to include the provision that if None of the Above wins, that position is automatically abolished. Thus he ran, and won, on the position of possibly abolishing the very office he holds.

Anderson, 30, is a non-drinker, and works as a bartender in a local topless club. A native of Boston, he attended both the University of Massachusetts and New Mexico University. Although he has served on the Board of the Colorado Libertarian Party, he has little previous political experience.

But he is showing an early knack for it. He pointed out to the press that his surprise victory proves how little voters know or care about the Election Commission, a good reason to add "None of the Above" to such ballots.

The position pays about \$8,000 per year, which makes Anderson uncomfortable. He is considering accepting only \$100 per meeting he attends, and donating the remainder to causes such as the Libertarian Party.

LP Now Qualified in 14 States for '88

By Steve Fielder

The LP presidential ticket is qualified to appear on the ballot without further need of petitioning in 14 states: Alaska, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Hawaii, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, South Carolina, Texas, and Vermont. Of those states targeted for completion through spring '87, only Alabama and Arizona remain uncompleted.

In Alabama a ballot drive is now in progress under the supervision of Alabama LP State Chair Frank Monachelli. I intend to nominate the Alabama LP for this year's "Golden Clipboard Award" for its recent contribution to petitioning technology: the helium balloon. A helium tank with a string of imprinted balloons is placed in a public park, festival, or other suitable gathering. Small children literally drag their parents into the grasp of busy volunteer petitioners distributing a free balloon

with every petition signature. All parental resistance collapses in the face of a sea of LP balloons floating above the crowd.

Ballot Access Committee (BAC) petitioner Mark Shepard arrived in Arizona in early December and over a period of three months collected in excess of 10,000 gross signatures of the 17,340 net signatures required. These signatures were entirely funded by the Ballot Access Fund (BAF). The State Chair Perry Willis recently confirmed that the Arizona LP

would complete its own petition drive.

Nonetheless, Arnold & Associates, a professional petitioning firm, will be employed to complete the Arizona drive by LP presidential candidate Ron Paul.

States targeted for the pre-convention period include Idaho, Michigan, Nebraska, and Utah. Ballot drives in additional states targeted for this phase will depend upon the success of the BAF fundraising efforts in the near term.

Continued on page 6

Letters to the Editor

Louw

If Jorge Amador thinks that a better blow could be struck for liberty in the real world of *South Africa 1986* by advocating an instant anarchist utopia then why write a critique of what we are doing instead of a book with his proposed solution, to be offered to a publisher, and to be turned into an historic best seller, with a real prospect of influencing the course of events for the better?

We have taken the view, rightly or wrongly, that a clear distinction is to be drawn between *strategy* and *objective*, which in no way implies that the end justifies the means. The end is liberty, undiluted and uncompromised. The strategy for achieving it seems to be a number of alternative methods working concurrently. This includes a clear, articulate, and intellectually sound presentation of libertarian purism at the same time as other strategies, such as pragmatic activism and working for achievable changes in the right direction, occur. Any factual reduction of coercion is better than none. We want real concrete results now.

I have little time or patience for the apparent obsession of some U.S. libertarians who invest huge amounts of energy, effort, brain power, and money in character assassinations and hatchet jobs of others who do not adopt the same strategy. To my mind the real enemy is not another libertarian but the state. We have, through our efforts in South Africa, increased the freedom, incomes, and the quality of life of a few million people significantly.

My views on strategy are that all (or nearly all) of the hotly debated strategies are correct. No one should be condemned for pursuing the strategies they prefer. They may be mistaken about what constitutes pure liberty, but that is another debate. There are some libertarians with a political temperament. If they feel inspired to advance the cause by participating in establishment politics, it is better if they do so than if they do not. Other libertarians try to write popular books disseminating libertarian ideas. Whether they put the purist anarchist or the minarchist case does not detract from the fact that it is better if they do so than if they do not. Yet others have an academic impulse to write textbooks with a miniscule circulation but potentially immense long-term consequences. Again, whether they are purists or minarchists, it is better if they do so than if they do not. Others go into mainstream journalism and compromise by working for a non-libertarian media. It is better that they do so than that they do not. Others find ways of defying the state; yet others help people get additional passports; some organise an international movement; etc., etc. All of these, it seems to me, do more good than harm and I have no way of knowing which of these strategies has the most impact and whether that impact is of a long, medium, or a

short-term nature. I doubt that Amador knows any better.

What I do think, however, is that the people who contribute the least of all are the ones who condemn others for the strategies they adopt. I am not aware of much progress that has been made towards achieving or popularising liberty as a result of the huge endeavour that has been invested by the greatest libertarian brains in denouncing each other. They are possibly the only libertarians who are actually counter-productive for the movement because (a) they discredit it to outside observers, (b) they discourage well-meaning and highly-motivated kindred spirits, and (c) they divert effort (as in the case of this letter) that might otherwise have been devoted to the cause. Why do they do so when the negative effects of what they do are fairly obvious? Who knows? Maybe it is just fun, an end of itself, a sort of game—like playing chess against a friend. Sparring and jousting as entertainment.

Meanwhile, some of us have passed beyond being distracted by libertarian puppy dogs yapping at our heels. We mean business and want liberty—for ourselves—or, at least, as much as we can realistically expect to achieve.

Leon Louw

Parktown, South Africa

Cantons

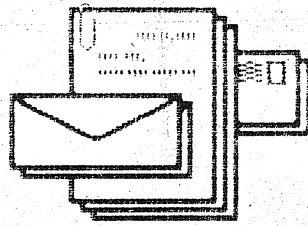
Using the example of the Swiss cantonal system suggested by the book, *The Solution*, makes sense. The rights of private property are protected and the minorities have control. No one knows or cares who is president. The cantonal system is like the tribal system of Africa.

Roger Hosbein
Winnetka, IL

Cantons

The review by George Dance of *South Africa: The Solution*, quoted from the *Bulletin* of the Ontario Libertarian Party, tells us much about the state of liberty in South Africa—and in Canada. Apparently, not even in Canada is it understood what the states achieved two centuries ago.

We learn that what Kendall and Louw propose is to divide the historic four provinces into 100 cantons. Presumably, the reason for so doing is so that those who are now in a minority, and (therefore?) oppressed, will be able to live somewhere where they are not a minority. There are three obvious objections to this approach. Firstly, the places where gold and diamonds are found are somewhat more desirable than others. Secondly, it is capital-D Democracy at its worst to erect a society on a theory (viz. that there is no objection to majority domination) which the majority believe, but cannot prove. Thirdly, if no one of the



existing four provinces can stand against the national government (although Cape Province could secede and be a respectable nation in any continent except Africa and Asia!) how can anything smaller hope to do so?

The tragic feature is that, obtrusively, the situation is precisely that which we faced two centuries ago—the national government claiming to be the equal of its constituents. The Articles of Confederation, having been drafted by the Continental Congress, indeed avowed that the Congress had rights, even as a state; the court of the congress was actually authorized to act as last resort on appeal in disputes between states! (But the states were a republic even when they were not a democracy, whereas in the "Republic" of South Africa the national government appoints the provincial administrators!)

But, as we are all remembering this year, the states recognized that, if (as Article III indeed acknowledged) they were bound to act in the common defense, then Congress could have no right whatsoever; if a state were threatened, Congress was required to make war, and if no state were threatened, Congress had no right to go to war. Thus the states called an UN-constitutional convention, and created a government of law—one which, far from being an equal, they could amend or even end at their pleasure.

That the provinces do not follow our example is the more reprehensible since modern communications technology has made federalism incomparably more practical. There is no longer any reason whatsoever for a union of N states to have n+1 legislatures—the provinces could merely provide that no act shall give authority to the national executive unless passed in the same session by all provincial legislatures.

Brian W. Firth
Inglewood, CA

Infanticide

Regarding Richard Sharvy's letter to the editor [advocating] infanticide [of infants kept alive only by exotic means]...I was under the impression that the basis of libertarianism is that the individual should have the right to control his or her destiny without denying anyone else's rights in the process. Tell me a more blatant way of infringing upon someone else's rights than killing them!...I'd rather have a mentally retarded kid than some brainless Hitler clone, as Mr. Sharvy seems to be. I am not a Christian, nor am I some pansy-ass protectionist, I just think it's pretty arrogant for the "haves" that already made it, to put the

Thanks to libertarian Dan Tisdale of New Haven, Michigan, the editors of the Libertarian Party NEWS now have some copies of Frank Chodorov's *Fugitive Essays* to pass along to our readers. The method we have chosen to distribute the books is to select, by lot, two people who have written letters to the editor, in each issue, and send them copies. This issue's winners of the drawing are Colin and Cecelia Cahoon, and Gerard H. Bye. Tisdale's hope, in donating copies of this book to the NEWS, is to revive interest in it for all libertarians. The book is available regularly for \$4 from Liberty Press, 7440 North Shadeland, Indianapolis, IN 46250. Chodorov, founding editor of *The Freeman* magazine, is a libertarian individualist who wrote, at one time, that "Having fixed in our minds the fact that the State is a number of persons who are up to no good, we should proceed to treat them accordingly." *Fugitive Essays* is a collection selected from his writings over many years.

screws to the "have nots." If the government has to protect anything, it should be protecting the totally helpless against murder.

Scott Snyder
Chicago, IL

Amador

Five sentences at the end of my excerpted review of Leon Louw and Frances Kendall's *South Africa: The Solution* did not make it to print [in the May/June LP NEWS]:

"The authors first argue that the solution is to get the government out. Then they jettison that in favor of virtually limitless government. One wonders why they wrote the first part if they're not going to propose a society based on their economic prescriptions. If these prescriptions persuade, were racism defeated the desired freedom would come and the precise political structure would be irrelevant. But if the case for the market does not persuade, no constitutional system can solve the crisis."

In his rebuttal, Vince Miller errs when he describes as "utopian" efforts to promote a free society. As Murray Rothbard wrote in *For a New Liberty*, libertarianism "may be visionary, but it is not utopian." Theory suggests and practice demonstrates that freedom works better than statism. There is nothing utopian about advocating what works.

Despite lip service to liberty, Louw and Kendall end up advocating no less a statist society than South Africa suffers today. By their own assessment, that is no solution. There's nothing pragmatic about programming failure.

LP NEWS readers are invited to read the whole review and judge for themselves. Just drop me a note at Box 392, Forest Grove PA 18922.

Jorge Amador
Forest Grove, PA

Continued on page 13

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Viewpoint

Punks, Principles, Practicality

By Karl Hess

Libertarian principles often lead to practical problems for political activists.

The most obvious one is the involvement in state-sanctioned activities in order to restore liberties already diminished by the state itself. The argument about that may go on forever. If there is a synthesis to be achieved, it appears that it will be in the performance of libertarian political activists who run for office on principled platforms, emphasizing the material benefits of liberty while pledging never to use state power to initiate force. Such a synthesis will never satisfy those who see any political activity as a sanction of state authority but since it already has galvanized the largest organized libertarian activity, in the Libertarian Party, it is a synthesis which exists de facto if not, to everyone, "de jure."

A less obvious but constantly present problem has to do with "respectability."

I was sharply reminded of this while attending the recent convention of the Libertarian Party of Canada.

The national party there is quite concerned that the Libertarian Party present a very respectable image to the public and not be identified with causes or characters too far from the beaten paths of conventional politics.

This has led to some estrangement from the largest provincial party in the country, the Ontario LP, some of whose members are given to protests and other practices which could be seen as somewhat rowdy or, at least, not in keeping with traditional political propriety. There also are differences in management styles.

It has also led to estrangement from a group of undisciplined, riotously energetic libertarians who stretch liberty to the limit, make a terribly upsetting public impression—but who, in my view, are crucially important to the conscience of and the future of liberty. The group is a bunch of Toronto punks and punk rockers.

They are, also: 1) becoming rich by remodeling, renting, and selling slum properties in the Chinatown section of Toronto, 2) living exactly as they wish in every way (including musically) without harming anyone else or initiating force against anyone else, and 3) providing a demonstrably effective alternative to state authority by serving as volunteer neighborhood anti-crime activists. (Exactly what they do to discourage felons is their own business but the public fact is that the people in the neighborhood actually approve of it and some felons have been impressively discouraged by it!)

Prospering, peaceful, and protective of private property and individuals. If that isn't exemplary libertarian activity, what is it?

However, they are not what you would call fancy dressers. They are not significantly impressed by what other people think they should be doing or how they should look. And they are rarely polite to agents of state authority.

Can the Libertarian Party, in Canada or in the United States, afford to associate with such

people? Some people obviously think not. Lifestyle is an important issue to many libertarians despite a theoretical devotion to laissez faire in other areas.

But isn't another synthesis possible? It is certainly not essential that the Libertarian Party emphasize its most idiosyncratic allies. Nor is it essential that these allies put up with or be part of what they might see as essentially staid and formal LP behavior. But the Party and they should communicate. And, where mutual benefit is to be seen, they should act together.

An example might be, in the Canadian case, coming to the defense of the punks should they be harassed by state authority, making broad points about personal freedom in the process. Standing up for the individual liberties of these particular young people might help broaden the Party's appeal to other young people. Also, the financial strength of the punks should be of interest and could be solicited for support of Party projects. On the other hand, the punks should know that they will inevitably run afoul of state authority in the form of zoning and building codes, if nothing

else. At such time they might welcome the support and advice of people practiced in opposing the bureaucracies or actually holding political office.

The most important point, to me, is that, despite differences in public image and private lives, the punks represent part of the passion of liberty while the Party formalists represent part of its intellectual strength. Both are important. It would be wasteful of our energy and weakening to our cause to rebuff one or the other, rather than working together when we can and separating at least in friendship when we can't.

See you in Seattle in September!
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Say What? Choose Words Carefully

By Gerald Schneider

Words and ideas clearly understood by libertarians may mean something else to the public. So choose what you say to explain libertarianism wisely and ensure correct interpretation.

Some words and ideas I use in my public writing and talking about libertarianism, and the reason for their use, follow. You may have even better ways of saying what I want to say, and I hope you will share it. How else for us to learn from each other and improve our communications? And why else would I risk writing this article?

Referring to the Republican and Democratic Parties as "older" instead of "major" parties, suggested by Hugh Butler of Utah in the July/August 1986 LP NEWS, and adopted as well, I believe, by LP NEWS editor, Karl Hess, is a good idea! It better puts into perspective the relationship of the Republican and Democratic Parties to the Libertarian Party.

Summing up Libertarian Party beliefs through what Gene Berkman of California called the "Libertarian Triad" (January/February 1987 LP NEWS) is close to being a great idea. Unfortunately, while two aspects of the Triad—"personal liberty" and "economic freedom"—hold up well, the third aspect—"international peace"—needs work. It is too ambiguous. "Non-foreign intervention" is better, but it also does not describe our peace ideas completely. Other suggestions?

"Government" beats "public" when you talk about government schools, government libraries, government roads, etc. How else to best ascertain who sponsors these institutions? And how else to protect against propaganda that suggests that privately-sponsored institutions are not open to the public?

I like to put the word "conventional" before the word "politician" when referring to non-Libertarian politicians. This way you distinguish unconventional politicians—Libertarians—from all the others.

"Statist" should precede the term "liberal" when referring to contemporary liberals. We libertarians are more like classical liberals, although libertarian liberals may be more suitable if not an oxymoron. We certainly should drop any association with the term "conservative" (I hate it when people say we are closer to conservatives than to liberals!).

It is important to separate our "personal" from our "political" beliefs when talking about libertarianism. People should understand that we do not endorse or recommend as a party the use of dope, alcohol, or other substances. And

we, as a party, do not encourage prostitution, pornography, etc. We only oppose government restrictions on voluntary involvement in these activities by consenting adults.

As we say in our platform plank on "Freedom and Responsibility": "Members of the Libertarian Party do not necessarily advocate or condone any of the practices our policies would make legal."

Speaking of "dope," be sure to refer to these narcotics as "dope" instead of "drugs." Drugs include alcohol, nicotine, caffeine, aspirin, etc. In this way, we reveal the prejudice of government authorities in their "war against drugs" when they really mean "war against dope." How else to better fix on their hypocrisy (allowing them to continue to smugly drink, smoke, consume regular coffee, swallow drug-store pills, etc.)?

"Victimless crimes" is not as good an expression as "personal vices." Rightly or wrongly, many people see users of dope, as well as prostitutes, gamblers, etc., as victims, and associate their activities with crime. It is easier to say you are opposed to government laws that prohibit personal vices voluntarily engaged in than to argue about whether or not such vices are victimless crimes.

Whenever we talk about the right to do this or that we should add the word "peacefully." "Peacefully" is a short way of saying people should be free to do what they want as long as they do not use force or fraud in doing so. Libertarians can always expand on what they mean by "peacefully" if asked.

Finally, when looking for a quick answer to what is wrong with anything government does (perhaps for a radio or television news interview when only short, pithy answers will be used), you can always fall back on saying that government is inherently "unfair, inefficient, and counterproductive." In fact, you can organize all your positions on political issues under one or more of these three headings. If you think about this categorization, you are likely to come up with at least one thing that is bad about anything government does under each category even if unprepared. Try it!

Let me, in summary, attempt to put all these ideas together for illustration:

The Libertarian Party, unlike the older parties, includes *unconventional* politicians. Libertarians are unconventional because they advocate *personal liberty, economic freedom, and non-foreign intervention* by government. Unlike *statist* liberals, *libertarian* liberals prefer competing private schools, libraries, etc., that offer choices to the public instead of the monopoly constraints of *government* schools, libraries, etc.

Libertarians are politically opposed to government laws against *personal vices*. The Libertarian Party does not endorse use of *dope* or other drugs, but allows people as individuals to legally use these substances if they want to.

Personally, I encourage you to avoid use or abuse of all drugs. But *politically*, I cannot allow government to forcefully prohibit voluntary abuse of drugs by adults. Freedom is freedom, even when I dislike what someone does, as long as it is *peacefully* engaged in.

In any event, government is inherently *unfair, inefficient, and counterproductive*.

Government is unfair because (choose one or more: It takes from some and gives to others; is taxation without representation; favors the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor and middle-class; etc.).

Government is inefficient because (choose one or more: It does not do anything except take money from citizens in the form of taxes and hire others to do the job; wastes money through needless salaries for bureaucrats; costs more than when done privately; etc.).

Government is counterproductive because (choose one or more: It exacerbates problems instead of curing them; promotes stealing over earning; destroys some businesses while favoring others; etc.).

Schneider, a member of the Libertarian Party since 1980, currently edits the party newsletter in Montgomery County, MD. For the past five years he has written the "Libertarian Outlook" column for the bi-weekly Wheaton News.

LI Update

Two important announcements have been made by the libertarian movement's worldwide network, the Libertarian International:

1. The LI "Index on Liberty," a detailed description of and address directory for nearly 1,000 "institutions and publications of interest to promoters of reason and liberty" is now available at \$2.50 (in the U.S.; add \$1.50 for overseas) from LI's World Headquarters, 9308 Farmington Drive, Richmond, VA 23229.

2. There will be a regional meeting of the Libertarian International from October 21-25 in Kalterherberg, Germany. The theme of the meeting will be "Practical Libertarianism,"

covering personal morality, marketing, promoting, and selling libertarianism. Although primarily for Dutch-speaking libertarians, there will be important sections in English to accommodate those expected to attend from Norway, Sweden, the U.K., U.S.A., and Germany. Meantime, the 1988 world conference of the Libertarian International has been set for early August of that year. It will be held in Swaziland, Southeast Africa. Its theme will be "The Impact of Libertarianism in Today's World" and will feature reports on the free market developments which some hold to be a solution to racial conflict in the area.



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An Enlightening Review

By David Boonin

"The New Enlightenment," a six-part British television series due to air on PBS later this year, boasts an impressive array of libertarian and classical liberal thinkers. F.A. Hayek, James Buchanan, Richard Epstein, Milton Friedman, Walter Williams, P.T. Bauer, Anne Wortham, Israel Kirzner, and David Friedman are just some of the prominent figures who appear, and who help to trace and explain the revival of interest in the classical liberal tradition. But though the terms "libertarian" and "classical liberal" are used throughout the series, the movement it details would more accurately be described as "conservative." The series focuses almost exclusively on economic issues, and the potential viewer should approach it with this in mind.

As a treatment of the rise of free-market thinking in the past few decades, "The New Enlightenment" is a consistently informative and occasionally insightful production. Professor Kenneth Minogue, of the London School of Economics, serves as a tolerably engaging host (although he may be replaced as host for the American version), and the series maintains a general tone of impartiality, although it does become a bit heavy-handed at times. When the term "classical liberalism" is first introduced, for example, the camera grandly surveys an elegantly appointed library room at the University of Oxford, while the term "collectivism" is introduced as the screen fills with piles of skulls from the killing fields of Cambodia. As a general introduction to the revival of the free market, both in theory and in practice, though, the series is a solid, if not exciting, success.

If one seeks not merely to acknowledge, but to understand the classical liberal tradition, however, the series suffers two serious flaws. These flaws may well render the series a disappointment to those already well-acquainted with libertarian thought.

The first major problem with "The New Enlightenment" is its utter lack of historical perspective. Although we are told at the beginning of the first episode that the ideas of the New Enlightenment are not new, the series makes no effort to explain where they came from. After making the obligatory references to John Locke, Adam Smith, and David Hume, the series does not even mention a pre-20th Century thinker until the fifth episode. (Socialism, it should be noted, is placed in even less historical context. It is presented as an aberration which was born in the 20th Century; the figure of Karl Marx is not even acknowledged.) This impoverished treatment of liberalism's historical roots robs contemporary free-market thought of much of its power. The crucial role of free markets in the industrial revolution, for example, is ignored. And, as a result, the viewer is left with a decidedly one-dimensional understanding of its present position. A second major problem with the series is that it makes no effort to acknowledge the diversity and disagreement which exists within classical liberal thought. The first episode, for example, devotes a substantial amount of time to F.A. Hayek and the Austrian contribution to economic thought. The second begins with a self-made millionaire who identifies himself as a disciple of the philosophy of Ayn Rand. Yet while Rand and Hayek clearly differ in many important respects, the series treats them as if they were one and the same.

This defect is even more glaringly revealed when, in the fifth episode, the writings of Thomas Jefferson are invoked. The notion of inalienable rights, curiously absent through most of the series, suddenly takes center stage. Yet there is not so much as a suggestion that this issue is one which has deeply divided liberal thought, both in its historic and present form. It is almost as if the producers feared that any signs of disagreement between libertarians would be seen as a sign of weakness. Yet the diverse and dynamic nature of the liberal

tradition has always been one of its greatest sources of strength, and this crucial feature is all but absent in "The New Enlightenment."

Despite these two serious problems, "The New Enlightenment" does have many saving graces. One of the highlights is Sony Chairman Akio Morita, who convincingly dispels the pervasive myth that Japan owes its modern economic strength to extensive government planning. When Morita looks straight into the camera and simply tells us that his company "never got any help" from the government, it is worth a thousand pages culled from Adam Smith.

Other highlights of the series include John

Gray on Hayek, Charles Murray on the welfare state, David Green on socialized medicine, and Walter Williams on discrimination and economic performance. Also of special interest are extensive treatments of the Swiss canton system, the Italian black market, and the effects of deregulation in India. Although the program understandably focuses attention on Great Britain, it does maintain a truly international scope, and this is probably its most noteworthy accomplishment.

"The New Enlightenment" is generally good at what it does, but in the end it does not do all that it really should do. The series is clearly aimed at a general audience, but this cannot

excuse its failure to bring out liberalism's historical roots and its diverse and dynamic nature. Libertarians will probably find much in it that interests them, and the opportunity to see such important figures as Hayek and Buchanan discuss their works may alone make the series worth watching. Still, given the exceptional group of thinkers the series brings together, one can't help feeling that "The New Enlightenment" represents, on the whole, an extraordinary potential that was left largely unrealized.

Boonin, a Resident Fellow at the Institute of Humane Studies this year, will soon begin graduate work in philosophy at the University of Pittsburgh.

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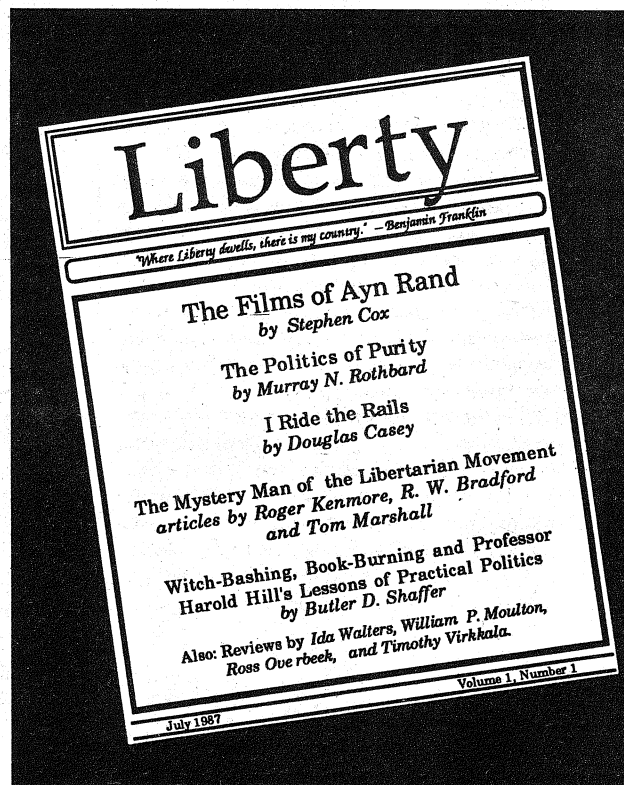
Among the articles scheduled for the first issue of *Liberty*:

- "The Films of Ayn Rand"—It is widely known that Rand spent years as a screenwriter in Hollywood. But aside from *The Fountainhead*, her films are practically unknown. Rand scholar Steven Cox has hunted them all up and written a cogent review of them.

- "The Politics of Purity"—Murray Rothbard takes to task those too "pure" to accept Ron Paul's libertarian credentials.

- "The Mystery Man of the Libertarian Movement"—After founding the pioneer libertarian periodical *Innovator* in 1964, Tom Marshall concluded that our state-saturated society was an unhealthy place to live in and disappeared into the wilderness. We offer a retrospective of his life, a young libertarian's account of a visit to Marshall in his wilderness retreat, and an essay by Marshall himself.

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Director's Column

By Terry V. Mitchell
National Director, LNC

I think it's time to pause and reflect on where we've come from, and where it is that we're going.

We're a curious organization: America's "Third Party" in a "two-party system." Standing virtually alone in the electoral field of battle, we labor to protect our remaining liberties and strive to recover the many freedoms that have been usurped by the state.

(I am an old enough man to remember when, flying commercial airlines as a child with my father, he would simply check his pistol with the pilot upon entering the plane—out of courtesy rather than by law. Now it's illegal in some states to carry a can of mace! The right to keep and bear arms is only one of many rights that have been chipped away mercilessly and tirelessly by the state.)

Aside from us, who will meet the enemies of liberty face to face in their hallowed halls and push them away from our property and out of our private lives? Let's face it, politically we're our own last line of defense.

The Convention in September and the 1988 election are possibly the most crucial yet. Whether we win or lose we're undeniably in the race.

I urge all of you to attend the Convention and to participate in what may well be the most influential and high profile Libertarian Party presidential campaign to date.

Whether you are a candidate or plan to actively support a candidate—before and/or after the nomination—you need to know about some of the new tools at your disposal. The media list now contains over 3000 entries—national, regional, mainstream, special interest/issue; newspapers, radio and television networks—available whole

or in part to national, state and local parties and candidates (in exchange for help with maintenance and updates). With this kind of media outreach I know we can get the word out.

Also of interest to candidates and other activists, in April the national office conducted a survey of National Committee members, state chairs and monthly pledgers; results were published in May's *Liberty Pledge Newsletter*. Ask 500 Libertarians what we should do next and you get a lot of interesting answers—it's worth some study. (Copies available from LP HQ for \$1.00.)

National Headquarters is now offering National Committee Minutes, Director's Reports, Ballot Access Reports, etc. by subscription. Look for the form in this issue.

In the "Research and Development" stage is a proposal for a new LP NEWS Outreach Issue—this one aimed at high school and college students—to actually be used in the classroom to teach and test from. Developed in response to the many requests from teachers the national office received during the '86 election season, it is "intended to give students—new and potential voters—a balanced, dimensional view of libertarian philosophy and the LP, to encourage them to contact the LP, and to register and vote, [and] to engender enthusiasm for its distribution by history, civics, government, sociology, economics, and political science instructors, without 'setting them up' for persecution from parents and administrators."

This is my last column before the Convention and I want to say that I'm very excited—not only about the nomination, but about this chance to meet the membership and watch Libertarians in action, electing their representatives and leaders. I'll see you in Seattle in September!

Dog-Eat-Dog Capitalism

By Walter Block

The citizenry of Vancouver go to sleep each night in blissful ignorance of a recent outbreak of dog-eat-dog capitalism. The local media, usually vigilant in situations of this sort, have failed to blow the whistle. Even the Marxist-oriented mayor and city council—usually on the look-out for just this sort of occurrence—have failed to pass legislation prohibiting it.

This bit of modern day robber baronism would have escaped the present writer, too, were it not for the happy fact that he is the father of two small children, whose favorite restaurant in all the world, because of the large playground therein, is the McDonald's located on Hastings and Cassiar Streets. (They call it the "big McDonald's" because of this playground, and on separate trips to New York City and Los Angeles have requested to be taken there when asked for their choice of restaurants.)

The evil facts, in brief, are these: Several years ago, there was a service station located on the southeast corner of Hastings and Cassiar—adjacent to the world-famous "big McDonald's." This was an obviously excellent location, since the two cross streets are heavily traffic-laden.

But McDonald's, too, was doing a land-office business. So much so, that it brazenly bought out said service station, expanded its parking lot to take over the newly-vacated space, and, to add insult to injury, installed a drive-away take-out facility.

One way to describe this turn of events is in terms of Marxist categories: rapaciousness, exploitation, or dog-eat-dog capitalism. In this view, the big firm, McDonald's, crushed the smaller independent filling station. The despoiler gave not a care for the havoc it created, the lives it ruined, the suicides it caused, yak, yak, yak...

But this description is hard to square with the facts. If the gasoline station owner was so heavily victimized, why, pray tell, did he agree to the sale?

On the contrary, the big, bad McDonald's was guilty of no more than engaging in an

ordinary commercial venture, a "capitalistic act between two consenting parties." Presumably, the buy-out price was set at a level at which the fiendish hamburger-dispensing company more than compensated the service station for the loss of the property in question.

We can look upon this voluntary trade from the macro-economic perspective as well. From this viewpoint, there was a conflict not between McBurger and McGasoline, but among the consumers of these items, and the two firms acted merely as the agents of their respective clients. This perspective allows us to ask: Was the land in question more valuable for consumers in terms of garage space, or as an additional McDonald's parking lot? The patrons of each establishment might be seen as voting with their dollars for their most favoured use. (Some people, of course, "voted" for both, but probably with differing numbers of "ballots.")

The upshot, as we now know, was that the marketplace gave the thumbs up signal—as regards this small plot of land—to the restaurant, not to the transport sector.

But notice how easily, unremarkably, and cheaply this issue was settled. It took minutes, not months. City Council did not have to hold hearings, wasting thousands of person hours. No one had to picket or disrupt. Moreover, the two interested parties are subject to the automatic feedback mechanism of profits and losses. He who errs in anticipating consumer desires loses money. This rewards correct decisions and penalizes poor ones. In contrast, if the result of the political process was to preserve the land for use as a filling station, which, as we have seen, is not in the interests of consumers, there would have been no automatic penalty imposed on the perpetrators of such a decision.

It was, all in all, a triumph for the free enterprise system. This commercial transaction was unheralded and unsung, but it is more important than otherwise because of its relative obscurity.

Block is senior economist at the Fraser Institute, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Ballot Access News

Continued from page 1

Long time activist and Utah LPer Willie Marshall has been asked to coordinate BAC efforts in Idaho. Arrangements are now being made to begin our drive in Idaho in early summer.

Michigan's LP National Committee regional representative, Chad Colopy, is spearheading the Michigan LP's "Signature 88." The volunteer effort in Michigan is well-organized; petitioning began on April 15 and the ballot drive there is targeted for completion in early July.

BAC petitioner Mark Shepard is now in Nebraska and has begun collecting signatures there. That effort has been funded so far by regional representative Karl Wetzel and the Nebraska LP.

In Utah a volunteer effort is already underway toward that state's requirement of 500 net signatures.

It is anticipated that three of these states—Idaho, Michigan, and Nebraska—will require some assistance from the LPBAF. Subject to the availability of BAF funds, additional drives during this period may be expected in one or more of the following states: Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming.

States across the northern Great Plains are particularly important to the BAC's overall strategy this summer. Typically these states are thinly populated and have moderately difficult petitioning requirements. LP presidential candidate Russell Means has offered to assist in organizing petition drives in some of these states, many with a high percentage of Native Americans.

Superficially it appears that the BAC remains on the schedule originally proposed in its report entitled "BAC '88 Campaign Projections." This, however, is not entirely correct. The first watershed identified in that report for a 50-state strategy is North Carolina. It was my opinion then and it remains my opinion now that North Carolina's ballot drive must be begun in late summer of '87 if our goal of full ballot status in '88 is to be realized. At current fundraising levels, I do not now believe that this can be done. Indeed, even fulfillment of our interim goal of 24 states before Seattle will require additional fundraising.

Finally, efforts must continue to recruit a paid employee for the position of ballot access coordinator. This must be a person with sufficient experience in the areas of petitioning and fundraising to assume responsibilities in both areas.

Offer for LP Members Only

Great News! The LP Activist Network News! The Activist will focus on YOU -- the volunteer, the officer, the candidate, the editor, *the activist*, state, local and/or national -- and what you're doing: what works, what doesn't, how long it takes, how much it costs -- who's where doing what and what they need to *keep this movement moving!*

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Chair's Column

By Jim Turney
National Chair, LNC

TO ATTRACT TO OUR MOVEMENT THE TYPE OF INTELLIGENT, ENERGETIC, DEDICATED INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE CAPABLE OF CHANGING SOCIETY.

—National Committee Resolution on the Purpose of the Libertarian Party

The critical objective for the Libertarian Party during the next two years must be growth. The single most effective tool to promote growth is a high profile Presidential campaign. We have a fantastic opportunity in 1988 since neither the Republicans nor

Democrats is likely to nominate candidates who appeal to libertarian-minded voters. For the first time since the LP matured into a national party—1979—we won't be running against Reagan. If we are lucky, there won't even be another John Anderson-style alternative.

But that's not all: We have attracted two people into the LP who can influence thousands to join us—Russell Means and Ron Paul. Whether either one of these men gets our Presidential nomination, we need the help of both men after the Seattle convention to recruit their friends.

It is very important that we remember, while campaigning for our favorite candidate, that these men should leave Seattle

feeling welcome in our political party.

If we are successful, then many members of the Libertarian Party could be in for a rude shock. The reason I say this is because our Party, from the national level to the local level, has not seen significant growth in five years or more—and that has caused "in-grown" leadership.

Just like a beard with an in-grown hair, when we work against ourselves we become infected with internal controversy rather than devoting our energy to outreach and growth.

Are we going to make new people comfortable in our cozy little group of activists?

Next year there are going to be hundreds, and maybe even thousands, of new people wanting to be active in the LP. We will be faced with the challenge of accepting people who are new to libertarian ideas and con-

sequently may not have a fully matured understanding of how to apply libertarian principles to all issues. Will we act as teachers (hopefully in the tradition of Socrates) or as judges and purity police?

Many of these new members will want to take an active role in the affairs of the Party. They will need to be encouraged, rather than discouraged, to rebuild our Party infrastructure in many places where it has eroded. In this process many current "power structures" will be altered.

Let us commit ourselves to the challenge of success. *The first step is to behave in a fair and tolerant manner with our adversaries in the elections in Seattle.* We have tough decisions to make but let's not be tough on each other. We should all walk away from Seattle headed in the same direction—up!

Southern Caucus

By John B. Heaton

At the annual meeting of the Georgia Libertarian Party it was decided to continue a Southern Caucus within the national Libertarian Party. The Caucus originally was formed at the Phoenix Convention of the LP in 1986 and is made up of the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, and Arkansas. At the annual meeting in Atlanta, representatives from North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama agreed to form an ongoing network of LP activists to:

- Establish a "committee of correspondence" among the Southern states to further the goals of the LP in the region and to facilitate communication in the area.
- Establish a coherent LP strategy for common goals such as ballot status and recognition of the various state parties.
- Raise monies on an ongoing basis to help defray the cost associated with being an LP National Committee.
- Set an agenda for holding activist and candidate workshops and set up and arrange a circuit for prominent speakers.
- Hold future meetings in a central area to discuss problems common to the South and share solutions found by the various state parties.

The Caucus agreed to meet again in Seattle and to ask the state parties of Louisiana and Mississippi to join the regional confederation. All persons in attendance felt that the meeting was a success and that the Georgia folks should be congratulated for putting on such a good convention and for hosting the delegates from the various Southern states. It was further agreed that the Caucus will look into chartering a plane from Atlanta to the National Convention to allow more delegates to attend through cheaper air-fare.

Heaton is chair of the South Carolina Libertarian Party.

The Culture of FREEDOM

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



On September 3rd to 6th hundreds of Libertarians will gather in beautiful downtown Seattle for the 1987 Libertarian National Convention. The thinking is growing that this will be the most exciting convention the LP has yet had.

Already two important public figures have announced they would seek the Libertarian nomination for President. They are **Ron Paul**, a former GOP congressman from Texas, and **Russell Means**, the outspoken advocate of Indian sovereignty. Both have abandoned bipartisan politics to join the fight for liberty as Libertarians. The choice of either Means or Paul as LP standard bearer, men with two very different approaches and constituencies, will indicate a clear preference in strategy by Libertarians.

The excitement won't all be on the convention floor however. We have planned a full program of speakers, panels, and social, art, and entertainment events beginning on the 2nd. We are calling it **The Culture of Freedom**. The occasion will be both memorable and historic.

Don't miss out on a chance to enjoy a week of pure liberty, and be a witness to history in the making!

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Includes everything except breakfast functions and cruise.

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Changes

Libertarians who want to propose changes or additions to the Libertarian Party's national platform or to the by-laws of the Party may submit drafts of their proposals to:

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David Bergland
1773 Bahama Place
Costa Mesa, CA 92626

By-Laws Committee
William C. White
1220 Larnell Place
Los Altos, CA 94022

Proposals should be in the form of exact statements, proposing actual language for the changes or additions. Both committees will meet during the Party's national convention in Seattle, September 2-6, 1987.

Fly Continental/Eastern Airlines, official airlines of The Culture of Freedom. For **discount airfares** call Main Street Travel (512) 821-5044. For room reservations call the Seattle Sheraton Hotel and Towers at (206) 621-9000. Mention the Libertarian Convention for **reduced room rates**.

Convention committees will begin meeting on Sept. 1st. Meal functions include four breakfasts, the Presidential Banquet, LP birthday soiree, and Puget Sound Cruise. Exhibits will be open to the public.

Watch for a special convention tabloid with detailed information on scheduling and programming. For more information call (206) 329-5669.

Registration from June 1st to August 1st

<input type="checkbox"/> FULL	@ \$295
<input type="checkbox"/> DELEGATES	@ \$250
<input type="checkbox"/> ECONOMY	@ \$160
<input type="checkbox"/> BASIC	@ \$45
	total

Registration after August 1st.

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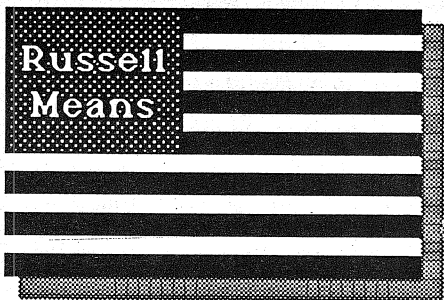
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Campaign '87: Th



Personal Statement

By Russell Means

The year 1988 is the one that will make or break the Libertarian Party. This race is too important to leave to rumormongers and politicians within the Party. I base my candidacy on trust of the integrity and principles of the individual delegates. In June I mailed a challenge to all contenders for the nomination, to meet them in a debate, individually or collectively, anywhere, anytime, on any fair terms. It's natural sense to clear up in front of everyone all the rumors circulating about the candidates. Let's find out who is a real Libertarian, and who is the best candidate to represent the Party in this benchmark year. I believe I am that person. I back it up not only with rhetoric but with action. The debate will settle it.

I decided to run for President mainly because of the Libertarian platform. I don't disagree with any part of it, and I don't have to compromise my values to be a Libertarian or a candidate. I don't have to be a phony politician. My notoriety will help more people learn about Libertarian ideas for a vastly reduced government, whose only role is to protect from force and fraud.

Before my first campaign trip some little children asked me why I wore braids and dressed the way I did. I told them that it's okay to be an Indian, in this society you can still function and be an Indian. Then I got to thinking, that on this campaign when non-Indian children see me, an Indian Indian running for President, that's going to knock down stereotypes and racism—it's immeasurable, the value of that. And so that's another reason why I'm running—for those children.

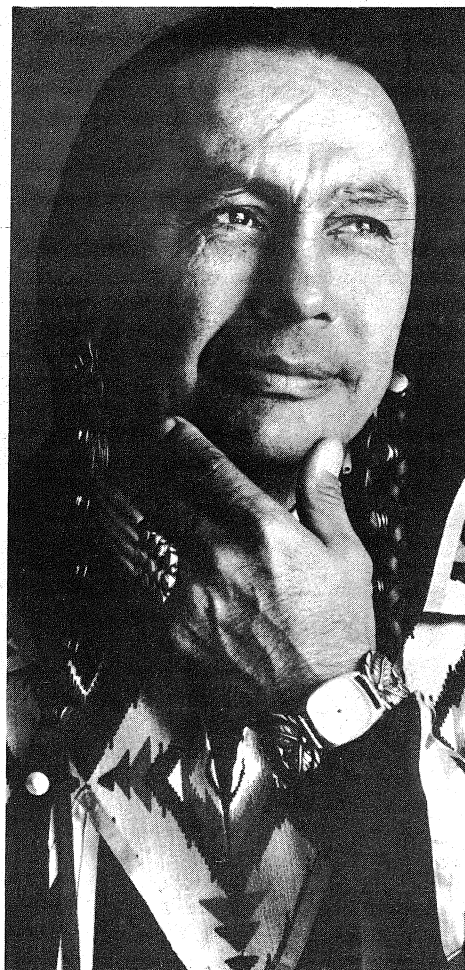
Harsh Questions

LP NEWS: Are you going to be more interested in Indian affairs than Libertarian ideas?

Means: I don't know what that means. I'm an Indian. I'm a Libertarian. It's one and the same. The Libertarian thought and philosophy is virtually the American Indian world view. Libertarians are a group of non-Indians who think Indian.

My experience as an Indian allows me to be a warning voice from the future. I have lived under totalitarianism. Now all America is becoming one big Indian reservation. The government is taking away from all Americans what it has taken away from Indians on the reservation: individual freedom and choice.

I've been trying to throw off the yoke of government interference in our lives since I joined the American Indian Movement. When I read the Libertarian platform, I knew I was a Libertarian and had been one all my life. I may



Russell Means

Endorsements

Russell combines activism with responsibility. He is an ideal candidate for President of the United States for the Libertarian Party!

Russell has name recognition. He is a public figure who has been interviewed and covered by television, radio, newspaper, and magazine reporters because of his activism.

Russell attracts intelligent publicity. What other Libertarian candidate can better gain the public sympathy that will allow for interviews by important media commentators?

Russell will attract minorities to the Libertarian Party. Moreover, Russell will gain us voters who never voted before.

Russell speaks from his heart touching emo-

tions as few Libertarians can do. As David Bergland has noted in his behavioral classification, the Libertarian Party needs to reach out to the millions of non-scientific types for support. Russell can do it! While he uses his head as effectively as anyone else, it is Russell's "heart" that will bring in new voters!

—Gerald Schneider, Maryland

He can do more for the Party than any other candidate available. Other parties will almost certainly have clone candidates. It is hard to imagine anyone who would cause more media attention than Russell Means, or get as many people to listen to our beliefs. His background makes him a potent spokesman for our cause, and gives him both contacts and credibility with many groups that no other Libertarian candidate can reach.

—Charles Manhart, Chair, Florida LP

Russell's presence at conventions has encouraged many former activists to renew their memberships, has generally rekindled interest among party members in serving as delegates to the national convention, and has inspired several who've been talking about working as a caucus within the Republican Party to give the LP another try.

Russell's candidacy is generating membership and interest from circles of people we've never before communicated with. He's a symbol of hope for untold numbers of people of all colors who are fed up with myriad "programs" they realize have been instituted to assuage the guilt of the "haves" while keeping the gates of opportunity closed to the "have nots." One of Russell's most successful appearances to date was at an all-black college in the South, where his presentation of liberty philosophy was answered not only with ovations, but memberships. Similarly, the Philadelphia LP reports it has never received so many calls as followed Russell's appearance on a radio talk show there—mostly from inner-city residents.

And what will America come to when the poor, the non-white, the old, the young, etc., discover the logic of liberty, and demonstrate their understanding with votes?

—Larry Dodge, former Chair, Montana LP

Russell Means has a lot more charisma. He is commanding, photogenic, and reeks of dignity. If our candidate is interesting enough, we won't have to buy media coverage, they will come to us. Means is the most newsworthy candidate we have ever had.

—Harry Reid, Florida

Russell Means will politically awaken many Americans. News media and voters who have ignored our ideas because they mentally link us with ultra-conservatives, right-wing Republicans, or (as happened in Illinois) even Lyndon LaRouche, will realize that Russell Means does not fit their stereotype of Libertarians.

He is a principled Libertarian who is willing to answer questions about his beliefs and, as shown by his overwhelming coverage at state conventions, he is the one potential candidate who can effectively advocate Libertarian ideas to the American media and public.

—Robert Coolidge, Chair, Illinois LP

The ends do justify Means.

—Rich Duenez, California

"Now he's a candidate I could get excited about." This exclamation came from a friend who heard Russell Means had announced for the Libertarian Presidential nomination. She is interested in Libertarian principles, but didn't believe we knew how to get our message across.

Libertarians who have been inactive for quite some time (myself included), active members who are tired of banging their heads against the wall, and friends who have believed that Libertarians are right-wing conservatives in radical's clothing are getting excited about a candidate for the first time in years. Russell Means has the expertise and commitment to appeal to a wide range of voters.

—Jan Prince, past Chair, Colorado LP, and Libertarian campaign manager 1976-82

I like Russell Means as a candidate because he's laid back, down-to-earth, and talks to people easily.

—Tim Griffin, Subscription Manager, Nomos Press, Illinois

Most important is his ability to take the Libertarian message to audiences we haven't been able to reach before. We need to reach people who have been hurt most or destroyed by the system. Russell Means can show them how freedom can help them. He can talk to the Wall Street people and the international community, but he also wants to go into the barrios and ghettos and open up the doors to a new set of people. He is a dynamic speaker, a charismatic presence, and a dramatic person, and he draws people who have not listened to us before.

—Emily Salvette, Secretary, Michigan LP

Continued on page 12

be the only Libertarian who agrees with the whole platform.

I knew I had something to say about Libertarianism, but I wondered if I would have an effect on upper middle class white Americans. Well, I can say I have, thanks to Libertarian ideas. The truth of the Libertarian message transcends these braids. It transcends this pigmentation. That's why this movement and this Party under my candidacy will grow to include all the sacred colors of the human race in this country. That's why under my candidacy in 1988 we're going to grow beyond your wildest fantasies.

I don't go with this two and three percent nonsense I hear around the Libertarian Party. I'm talking about 63 percent who didn't vote last November—that's who I'm going after. What is exciting about this is the non-Libertarians I'm meeting.

We have to fight for freedom. It's well and

good to debate it, but Libertarians have to come out from the closet—from behind the ivory tower. You have to get out there—to all the people, not a special interest group. Our party platform is a whole, and that's what makes it so Indian. It's a whole that has to be implemented—not piece by piece because then we've failed our own party principles. When you talk about one part of the platform to the news media or anybody else you have to talk about the whole because it's a movement and that's what excites me. So that's my message: the entire platform.

Every revolutionary knows it only takes one percent to start a revolution. Well, you've got Indian people that represent one-half of one percent. You've got Libertarians that are one-half of one percent. When you and I met we doubled our number. We're now one percent and the revolution is on. And I don't care what

you think—you're stuck with me for the rest of my life.

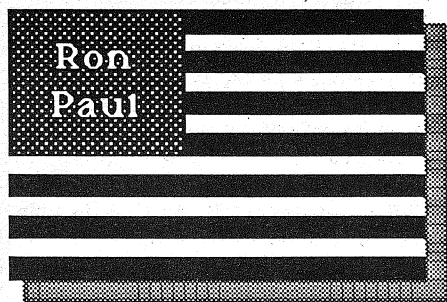
LP NEWS: Why were you convicted of a felony, and does that make you ineligible to run or serve if elected?

Means: I was one of several Indian spectators at a trial in South Dakota who refused to stand when the judge entered the courtroom, to protest his racist rulings against the Indian defendants. The police rushed in wearing full riot gear and launched an unprovoked attack on the Indians present—including one of the defendants, who had to be hospitalized. We were then charged with rioting.

The judge dismissed the charges against the others. In my case we went through over 200 potential jurors without being able to seat an impartial jury, so I waived my right to a jury trial. Unfortunately, the judge was the son of

Continued on page 16

The Battle in Seattle



Personal Statement

By Ron Paul

In November 1988, you and I can strike a blow for liberty that will rattle Washington, D.C., to its rotten foundations. Our Libertarian message can win the support of millions of Americans who are sick and tired of the Republicans.

Not only will we garner votes, however, we will do the more important job of building the Party. The Libertarian Party and its members are the necessary foundation for liberty. We can attract many, many new people to our banner—not by being wishy-washy, and disguising our message, but by boldly holding aloft the flag of freedom.

In previous campaigns I've raised millions of dollars, and if I have the privilege of being your nominee, you will see the best-funded LP campaign ever, with money for ballot drives, national television, giant issues mailings, publications, and grassroots Party building. And after my campaign, the Party will be on the soundest basis ever, without one cent of debt. I have never run up a debt in my other campaigns, and this one will be no different.

Our impact on the 1988 election can be an explosion that will shake the political establishment. And after that, who knows what 1992 will bring? The Republicans went from third party to electing a President in six years. With the coming economic crisis that is stamped "Made in Washington" all over it, the time will indeed be ripe for us.

Libertarianism is the movement of hope. And 1988 is our time. Won't you join me in this crusade? I need your support. With it, I pledge to run a campaign worthy of the Libertarian Party, its members, and its message of freedom.

Harsh Questions

LP NEWS: Could you comment on the abortion issue?

Paul: As a Libertarian, I cannot condone aggression against any human being. I believe that we all, women and men, should have total control over our own bodies. But our offspring, in the womb or not, totally dependent on us or not, are not part of our bodies. They are separate people. I know this as a medical scientist, and as a Libertarian.

This does not mean that I am insensible to the tragedy involved, nor does it mean that I am positive about the best way to handle it legally. I am sure that it is not properly a federal issue under our constitutional system, and therefore would not be an issue in the campaign. If asked about it, I will state the LP platform position, then my own position, and then say that Libertarians disagree on this issue.

I welcome every delegate's support, including those whose deeply held beliefs differ from



Ron Paul

Endorsements

By Murray N. Rothbard

In our presidential nomination so far, the Libertarian Party has in effect been faced with a choice: between outreach without principle, or principle without outreach. Of the two, the latter is infinitely preferable, but the ideal development would be lots of outreach within a matrix of solid and consistent libertarian principle. In the nomination of Ron Paul, the Libertarian Party has a golden and unique opportunity to embrace such a choice.

Ron Paul is a four-term Republican Congressman from the vicinity of Houston, Texas. He first arrived in Congress 10 years ago,

dedicated to the advancement of Austrian economics, free-market principles, and the gold standard. Despite alienating corporate Big Business interests for opposing cherished government subsidies, Ron was able to triumph with increasing margins in a largely Democratic district. In short, he was able to do something that hasn't even been tried, much less accomplished, for decades: gaining the support of the mass of the voters on a platform of consistent opposition to special privilege. Ron Paul was able to corral an increasing majority of the votes in his district for a libertarian "populist" program in opposition to both the conservative and liberal Establishments.

Long-time residence within what the New Left likes to call "the bowels of the beast," i.e., Washington, D.C., can have two effects on people. Generally, it co-opts anyone of libertarian bent, who soon catches Potomac fever and gets fascinated with the daily minuet of power. But on people of strong moral fiber Washington has the opposite effect, deepening and strengthening their libertarian commitment and antipathy to government. And that is precisely what happened to Ron Paul. Every term, his libertarian voting record strengthened and intensified. In his two years out of office, his libertarianism has become increasingly hard-core, leading him to cast off his lifelong membership in the Republican Party to become an LP member, and to run for the LP presidential nomination.

The exciting thing about the Ron Paul campaign is that it will be an outreach effort different from any we have ever experienced. The Paul campaign will be "populist" in the best sense, seeking to mobilize the masses against the Establishment, instead of cozying up to it. Specifically, Ron Paul will attempt to mobilize a coalition of Americans who are exercised over one or more libertarian goals. He will stress the following basic themes, all within a matrix of support for the full LP platform:

(1) Opposition to taxes. Specifically, as "the only fair tax," abolition of the income tax, and the passage of the Liberty Amendment.

(2) Ultra-hard money. Abolition of the Federal Reserve System, and a return, or advance, to the gold coin standard.

(3) Personal liberty. Opposition to the draft, to draft registration, to drug laws, sodomy laws, or...gun control.

(4) Peace. All-out opposition to foreign intervention, which means abolition of foreign aid, and an explicit call "to bring the boys back home."

In reality, this charge criticizes my tone rather than my content. It is aimed at the fact that I stress the American roots of our freedom philosophy. That George Washington outlined a Libertarian foreign policy. That Thomas Jefferson advocated a Libertarian domestic policy. That our roots sink deep into the American soil, and that we—not Ronald Reagan or Mario Cuomo, not Jack Kemp or Joseph Biden—represent the true America. That statism is the aberration, and liberty the norm.

Not only does this happen to be true, it is also the best electoral strategy. In reaching out to the millions of Americans who are instinctive Libertarians, it is important to make them understand that, for example, a non-interventionist foreign policy is the only patriotic and constitutional one and that the warfare state is anti-American.

Ron Paul will push for a resurrection of the Old Right (that's the old-old Right, the pre-*National Review* right), the right-wing of Taft and Bricker and Wherry. The Paul slogan "bring the boys back home" is an explicit hearkening to the great slogan of the anti-interventionist movement for two generations. Ron Paul believes, and I agree, that there are millions of Americans who are instinctive Old Rightists, or libertarian populists, who have been confused and bewildered by decades of Establishment propaganda, and who are there waiting for someone to supply articulation and leadership to resurrect the old cause.

Libertarianism does not *have* to be a small movement, confined to a few thousand, or few hundred thousand, people. In the form variously known as "classical liberals," "American revolutionaries," "Anti-Federalists," "Jeffersonians," "Jacksonians," "Liberals," and "Old Rightists," libertarianism was a mighty mass movement, commanding the allegiance of a large number, often a large majority of the population. There is no reason why in the United States we cannot have once again, in this country with the most intense and longest lasting libertarian tradition in the world, the resurrection of a powerful mass libertarian movement. In recent decades, the mass media and the democratic process have been tools of the State and the power elite, soft-soaping and mobilizing the masses to support and advance State rule. But we can work the process in reverse: employing the media and the democratic process to arouse the public against special privilege and State tyranny.

It should be crystal-clear to all who ponder the problem that, of all the possible presidential candidates, Ron Paul alone has the ability, the breadth of support, the credibility, and the principled commitment, to transform the Libertarian Party into a genuine libertarian movement. We have before us a rare and remarkable opportunity to seize the moment, to leave at long last the era of the small club and the study group and leap into the mainstream of history. All we have to do is to go to Seattle as delegates this Labor Day weekend and go for it, vote for Ron Paul for President.

But before we vote for Ron Paul we have to satisfy ourselves that he is, indeed, a genuine libertarian. As someone who has been a notorious questioner of libertarian *bona fides*, I only say that I have done this searching of soul and of the record, and have concluded, both from written accounts and from years of personal knowledge of Ron Paul, that he is in

Continued on page 11

This charge also represents some people's discomfort with the fact that I do not necessarily approve of everything I would allow. But the opposite position is a trap, philosophically and electorally. I am able to be a more effective champion of personal liberty because I do not, as a physician, approve of hard drug use. But I am able to argue that we should be able to consume anything we want, as adults, and that the government anti-drug crusade is a fraud aimed at financial privacy and autonomy.

Our job as Libertarians is not to shock the middle class. It is to spread the message of freedom. To convince Americans that statism is death. To call for the implementation of the ideals over which the American Revolution was fought.

The American tradition is ours. We reject our history, and doom ourselves to impotence, if we ignore it.

Campaign '87

Jim Lewis

By Jim Lewis

Murray Rothbard has said, "...the Libertarian Party stands poised before the most exciting prospect in its history. On the one hand, we can stay as we have always been: a small club talking to the same people at meeting after meeting, at convention after convention. On the other hand, we can seize the moment, we can grow enormously in numbers, in votes, and in a tremendous impact upon American politics and upon the consciousness of the American people. We have a unique chance to leap into history. Do we have the vision and the courage to go for the brass ring?"

This may indeed be that moment. If it is, it will be for the delegates in Seattle to discover who holds the brass ring.

Doctor, lawyer, indian chief, or none of the above? We have a doctor, who has the ability to raise large quantities of federal reserve notes and mount a well organized, professional campaign. If he is "pure" enough to pass the delegates test at the convention, he could provide us with a very visible campaign. Would this be our unique chance to leap into history?

We also have, if not a chief, a leader of the American Indian Movement. A freedom fighter without question; but a "pure" libertarian? The delegates will decide. If he gets the nod, his campaign could, as his campaign manager suggests, break us out of our relatively closed circuit of intellectual exchange, open new doors and even change our image in beneficial ways. Is he holding the brass ring? Will his campaign propel us into history?

At this point in time, we even have a candidate whose middle name is Libertarian, and, as a long time activist, he is probably more hard core and the "purest" of the three. Is that enough to win your support and is that a brass ring?

I have decided to enter this contest because I



Jim Lewis

believe that I hold the brass ring. Let me describe it for you.

Lysander Spooner, in his *Essay on Trial By Jury*, said, "Discussion can do nothing to prevent the enactment, or procure the repeal of unjust laws, unless it be understood that the discussion is to be followed by resistance. Tyrants care nothing for discussions that are to end only in discussion. Discussions which do not interfere with the enforcement of their laws, are but idle wind to them."

Since 1972, we have presented our ideas. We have a well thought out, consistent, principled platform. The message has either not been heard, not been understood, or simply ignored. We have failed to get the public's attention.

The time, I believe, has come to awaken the American people, "to arouse the indignation of many strong men [and women] at the abuses to which the people's good natured tolerance have allowed to wax in power. Until that spirit of indignation is stirred to action all over our land and the people are ready to fight for the

vindication of their rights, there is little hope for effective reforms. We need the spirit of old Peter Muhlenberg, who, in Revolutionary days, to the astonishment of his congregation, flung aside his surplice, disclosing a Continental uniform, and exclaimed: 'there is a time for all things—a time to preach and a time to pray; but there is also a time to fight, and that time has come!'" (Quoted from Franklin Pierce's book, *Federal Usurpation*.)

Nothing happens, folks, until a Rosa Parks refuses to go to the back of the bus.

The brass ring that I offer is a candidate who has not filed a Form 1040 since 1980; a candidate whose file has been in the Justice Department for consideration since 1985; a candidate who has spent the last seven years studying the United States Constitution and is supremely confident that he can expose the fraud that is our present government.

I would like you to consider a campaign—during this bicentennial celebration which runs to April 1989, the actual bicentennial of Washington's inauguration—where your candidate is the only candidate who understands the Constitution that he will swear or affirm to preserve, protect, and defend.

Before you shy away from such a campaign, consider the fact that, in a recent letter to activists, David Nolan, the sole still active founder of the LP, remarked on the importance of the way/peace issue and the fact that "the Constitution clearly specifies that only Congress shall declare war."

Note that our most recent presidential candidate, David Bergland, in his *Libertarianism In One Lesson*, mentions the Constitution in the first paragraph of his introduction and discusses it at length in Chapter Four.

We must be able to explain why our platform recognizes the right of the individual to challenge the payment of taxes on constitutional grounds; why we support the repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment; why we support the drive for a constitutional amendment requiring the national government to balance its budget; and why we favor a constitutional amendment limiting the presidential role as commander-in-chief to its original meaning—namely, that of head of the armed forces in wartime.

We give lip service to the Constitution, while being as ignorant of it as most Americans.

The strategy for this campaign was also suggested to me by one of the anti-federalist writings. Centinel, in a letter for the People of Pennsylvania, warning of the danger of the proposed Constitution, reminded them of how "that profound but corrupt politician Machiavel advised anyone who would change the constitution of a state, to keep as much as possible to the old forms; for then the people seeing the same officers, the same formalities, courts of justice, and other outward appearances, are insensible of the alteration, and believe themselves in possession of their old government."

During the Constitutional Convention, the ratifying debates, and the early years of our government, the country was divided on the issue of strict versus loose construction of the Constitution. I believe that this should be the year that the Libertarians reopen that debate and mark the return of the strict constructionists.

Before closing, it is important that my enthusiasm for the Constitution should not be misconstrued. I am not a member of the minarchist wing of our Party. I subscribe, without reservation, to the arguments of Lysander Spooner in his *A Constitution of No Authority*. My philosophy is that of Thoreau; that that government is best which governs least, and the one that would govern least is the one that would not govern at all, and the one that mankind will have when they are prepared for it.

I see this as a priceless opportunity to take this instrument, which the government has turned into a symbol with no substance, and use it to our advantage to dismantle the state.

The Libertarian Party platform is a revolutionary document. We desire to have it replace the Constitution. As a revolutionary document, how many of you would sign it, pledging your life, sacred honor, and fortune? I already have, in a bold hand like John Hancock. Is that the brass ring?

Jim Lewis was the Libertarian Party's candidate for vice president in 1984.

Andre Marrou

By Andre Marrou

What's it like campaigning for the Vice-Presidency? I spend a lot of time in airplanes and waiting for airplanes—much more so than when I campaigned for the Alaska Legislature. But I enjoy it, because I can meet and talk with people I'd normally never see.

The campaign is going well. At last, contributions have risen above travel expenses. With a new fundraising letter going out soon, maybe we can start brochures and making lapel pins.

As this is written (late May), I've attended seven state LP conventions—California, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Illinois, New York, Michigan, and Washington. I have several more scheduled, including Colorado/Wyoming/Nebraska (tri-state), Ohio/Indiana/Kentucky (another tri-state), Texas, Missouri, Virginia, and others. Also, we're considering the first non-convention tours—in Texas/New Mexico and in California.

The LP nationally, and in every state, is surging upward. After our nationwide peak in 1980, we fell off and bottomed out—I'd guess in late 1983. But we turned the corner and are now moving up a faster success curve. I predict that we'll do better in 1988 than anyone expects, perhaps garnering several million votes for President/Vice-President. In addition, we might succeed in electing Libertarians to legislatures other than in Alaska. Smaller popula-

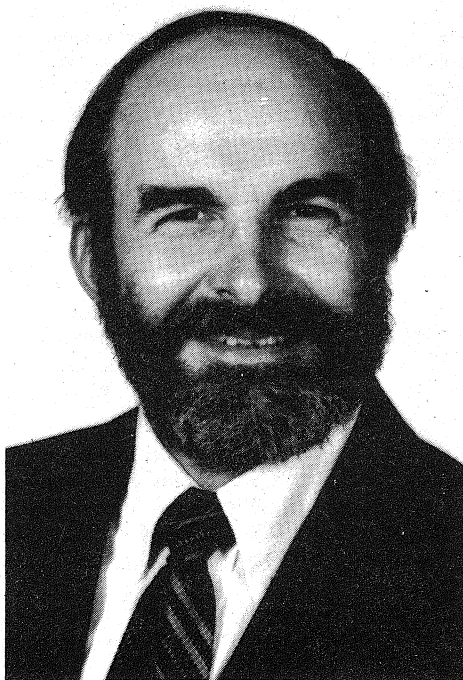
tion states—such as Vermont, Utah, Montana—are possibilities.

To do it, we must unite, working together to advance individual liberty. Believe me, if we don't, governmental power will definitely increase. In fact, that's all the D's and R's in power are seriously interested in, as my legislative experience proved.

And we must stop, or at least minimize, all this constant bickering and debating over how many Libertarians can dance on the head of a tax-collector. Intriguing and delightful though that concept may be, we need to attract non-Libertarians into voting for our candidates, whether or not they join our Party. Alaska has shown it can be done successfully.

In my opinion, the Libertarian philosophy and platform are relatively mature—certainly, in much better shape than the D and R non-platforms. Thus, we needn't lapse into philosophic hair-splitting, which can detract from our efforts to further the cause of liberty. What we *do* need is to communicate our ideas to the great majority of people who have not yet seen the anti-liberty dangers that we perceive.

Some non-Libertarians will, in fact, admit that things could be better—for example, lower taxes. But they aren't upset because the IRS hasn't audited them yet, and their son/daughter is in college, and besides who has time to get involved? Answer: If you wait until the storm troopers march down the street and pound on



Andre Marrou

your door, it's too late.

How do we spread the message? How do we make "individual liberty" popular and "governmental power" a misbegotten concept?

Television, that's how. It's indispensable. As newspapers were the medium of the 19th Century and radio that of the early 20th, so is television the medium of the late 20th Century.

But in addition to that, I intend as VP nominee to visit mid-sized cities and smaller

towns, meeting with Libertarian local parties and with non-Libertarian groups like Chambers of Commerce. I like giving speeches to illustrate the simple common sense of our Founding Fathers' philosophy: "That government is best which governs least."

As you may know, the Vice-President is mentioned in the Constitution long before the President is—in Article I (pertaining to Congress), instead of Article II. The reason? The Constitution requires that "the Vice-President...shall be President of the Senate."

As any ex-legislator knows, this is—or could be—a very powerful position. The presiding officer normally decides who is recognized, what is calendared, and often who is on which committees. Also, the Vice-President votes in the Senate in the case of ties.

But the last several Vice-Presidents have defied this constitutional mandate of duties by ignoring it. In fact, former VP John Nance Garner said that the office is "not worth a bucket of warm spit." Certainly, under Franklin Roosevelt this may have been true, but it need not be.

I am quite sure that every Libertarian in America has the same high hopes that I do for the 1988 national campaign. We want to surge ahead in size and influence, with our presidential and vice-presidential ticket leading the way. And good vote-getting candidates are the key.

Either of the two major contenders would be a find presidential candidate. But think about the unique opportunity we have this year and next. It's an opportunity that adds a big silver

Continued on page 11

Campaign '87

Ron Paul

On the Issues

By Ron Paul

Big Government

Government spending and deficits zoom under Republicans and Democrats. Only we Libertarians can consistently criticize State expansion in all its guises. Attacking Washington megalomania is the essential heart of any Libertarian campaign. Just as Watergate gave us a great opportunity, so will Contragate. People are disgusted at overweening politicians, the omnipotent State, and federal disinformation. The timing could not be better for a hard-core, hard-hitting Libertarian campaign.

The Draft

I fought against the draft and draft registration in Congress, and testified for Paul Jacobs in his heroic fight. Abolition of draft registration and prohibition of slavery has to be a major priority in a Libertarian campaign.

Drugs

Drug prohibition causes vicious crimes, and allows the State to expand under cover of fighting the problem. In fact, the feds think nothing of selling drugs to finance the Contras. I intend to stress this issue, and to go on the offensive about it. If we want to make our big cities liveable for honest people, and to preserve our financial privacy, we must legalize all substances for adults.

Foreign Policy

An old hero of mine, Senator Bob Taft, said the job of the U.S. government was to "protect the lives, the liberty, and the property of the people of the United States. Period." I want to return to the ideas of the Founding Fathers: friendship and trade with all who want them, entangling alliances with none, and U.S. troops and bases only in the United States.

The current emphasis on the Army, the Marine Corps, and the surface Navy should be replaced with emphasis on a better-trained National Guard, plus the Coast Guard, the Air Force, and submarines with strictly retaliatory missile capacity.

Only a non-interventionist foreign policy, combined with strictly defensive armed neutrality, can guarantee an end to the specter of nuclear destruction that faces us all today.

Marrou

Continued from page 10

lining to the LP's political outlook. For the first time ever, we can present to the voters a national LP ticket with at least one former elected official on it.

Consider how important that is. The media often dismisses us because our candidates fail at the ballot box. But no longer. At the very least, the media will have to take notice. And we should pursue every chance we get to prod them into doing their job fairly.

At this juncture in our Party's development, we need a very visible and growth-oriented campaign. I think a strong national ticket, including at least one former officeholder, is the best bet this time around.

Our Libertarian Party is still young, is now attempting something which has been done only once before (in 1860, the Republicans went from third place to first), and has a long way to go in many areas. One thing we need

The Free Market

Following my teachers Ludwig von Mises and Murray N. Rothbard, I advocate total separation of the State from the economy. And present State intervention has brought us to a precarious place indeed. Economic troubles are coming. And only we have the answer—liberty.

Immigration

As in our country's first 150 years, there shouldn't be any immigration policy at all. We should welcome everyone who wants to come here and work. Of course, no welfare should be available to immigrants. But then, it shouldn't be available to citizens either. We Libertarians want free movement of goods, capital, and people. Immigrants—the best, most courageous, and hardest working people of all—are under attack. Only we will defend them, which could have good results with Hispanic voters.

Monetary Reform

As a Republican, I introduced legislation to abolish the Federal Reserve System and establish a gold coin standard. The fight against bank privilege and inflationary paper money mobilized the people in our country's past. I think it can do so again, and that 1988 will be an all-too-appropriate time to talk about it, with the crisis I see coming.

Personal Liberty

I will speak out aggressively against all anti-gay laws, all gun control laws, and all State interventions into peaceful, voluntary activities, which only create artificial "crime" while denying our individual rights.

Taxes and the IRS

Taxation is immoral. As a Republican, I co-sponsored the Liberty Amendment to repeal the income tax and abolish the IRS, and I think that is a good start. The tax Gestapo is at the throat of the American people, and this issue will bring us much broad support. I intend to stress it heavily.

Trade

The government-caused trade wars of the 1930s helped lead to World War II. Today, once again, we are seeing the beginnings of the breakdown of world trade.

I support 100 percent free trade, and the elimination of all the federal corporate welfare programs (protectionism) that hinder it. This is the only pro-consumer position, and I will stress it.

desperately is more local organizations, particularly in the mid-sized communities.

That's my #1 goal—to build Libertarian organizations in communities that have none today. I feel that the celebrity effect, which attaches to any candidate on a national ticket, can be used to attract a nucleus of people into a viable organization. It may take more than one trip in some places, but it can be done.

Frankly, I'm investing part of my life in this effort. My wife Eileen and I have left Alaska for the duration of this campaign—two long years. We are living (and working) in Las Vegas. The cost in personal and family hardship is great, to be truthful.

But look at the rewards: more individual liberty and less governmental power. As President Thomas Jefferson said, "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance."

If we do nothing, our current descent into all-encompassing socialism will accelerate. Speaking as one individual, I find that unacceptable.

I invite all Libertarians and, indeed, all freedom-loving individuals, to join me in this effort. Remember, it can be done. More than that, it must be done.

Endorsements

Continued from page 9

fact a dedicated libertarian, and has been increasingly radicalized over the years until he now stands with us consistently in embrace of our Libertarian platform. It is a measure of Ron Paul's growing and deepening commitment to hard-core libertarian doctrine that he left the Republican Party at just about the time when our notorious "pragmatists" and opportunists were leaving the Libertarian Party to sign up with the Republicans.

There is only one issue on which Ron Paul differs with the platform: the vexed and troubling question of abortion. I am vehemently pro-choice, and always have been. So why do I have no qualms in wholeheartedly endorsing Ron Paul?

There are several reasons. In the first place, Ron Paul does not intend to turn his campaign into a crusade against abortion. He believes that, according to the Constitution, this is a state and local rather than a federal issue. As a result, the only people who have raised the question in the campaign so far are the vociferous pro-choicers, and not Ron Paul himself, who is of course ready and willing to answer the question of his beliefs on abortion if asked.

Secondly, when he is asked, Paul has pursued and will continue to pursue an honorable course. He will say that he differs from the platform on this point, but respects the views of those who differ with him.

But third and most important is the question of principle. For this is one issue, and virtually the only one, on which hard-core committed and consistent libertarians can readily differ. That is *not* true of other issues that may divide us, such as the draft, the Federal Reserve, the income tax, or mass murder in warfare. For it is not absurd to regard the abortion question as the one tragic case where two deeply fundamental rights are in inherent conflict: that is, the right of a fetus to live, and the right of a woman to own her own body. I personally do not see such a clash, and hold that even if there were, even if we can say that a fetus deserves the full rights of a human being, the right of a woman to her own body must be absolute and overriding. But I also hold that it is neither absurd nor evil to take the opposing position.

The Libertarian Party stands poised before the most exciting prospect in its history. On the one hand, we can stay as we have always been: a small club talking to the same people at meeting after meeting, at convention after convention. On the other hand, we can seize the moment, we can grow enormously in numbers, in votes, and in a tremendous impact upon American politics and upon the consciousness of the American people. We have a unique chance to leap into history. Do we have the vision and courage to go for the brass ring?

Dr. Murray N. Rothbard is the author of 26 books and hundreds of articles on liberty. He is S.J. Hall Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and Vice President for Academic Affairs of the Ludwig von Mises Institute.

LP INVIEW

LP Candidates' views are brought into focus through convention speeches captured on VHS tape.

#1 — 2:00 hrs. — LP Voices of New England.
Tom Ross, Introducing the Libertarian Party to the public. Howard Katz, Economist on honest currency. Donald Wood, 2-time candidate for U.S. Congress **\$29.95**

#2 — 1:40 hrs. — '88 Presidential Candidates
Ron Paul, 4-term U.S. Congressman.
Russell Means, Leader of the American Indian Movement **\$34.95**
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Campaign '87

Russell Means

On the Issues

By Means' Campaign Staff

We have it in our power to make the world over again.

—Thomas Paine

Freedom is for everyone.

That is the real issue in this campaign, both for the nomination and in the general election.

We can set the world free in our lifetimes. To do that we must recruit millions of people to the libertarian movement. Fortunately, we have an irresistible weapon in our arsenal. That weapon is hope.

The people in the ghettos, the barrios, and the reservations need and want control over their own lives just as much as suburban WASPs. But the power structure has divided us from each other. Each group has been convinced that the other only wants to exploit them—and that only a powerful government can save them from being plundered. Divide and conquer is an old strategy, used by rulers since the beginning of history to maintain their power.

Well over half the American people don't even vote, not because they support the status quo, but because they see no way of changing things. They struggle to survive from day to day in quiet desperation. They have given up dreaming of a better world and therefore can be safely ignored by the major parties.

There is only one way to lift their eyes from the ground. That is to restore their hope for the future. Only Libertarians can do that because we are the only ones who realize that for anyone to be free, we must all be free. Only we can offer them a vision of *universal* liberty—of a society where every person is free to choose any peaceful and honest lifestyle they desire. Only we can unite all the victims of government power because only we can tell them all, "It's okay to be who you are. You don't have to become like us to be free. We can all live together in peace."

Today the Libertarian Party is at a crossroads. There are three paths we can take.

One path is to "play it safe." We can go on just talking to ourselves—and others just like us. That path will lead to the slow death of the Libertarian Party. Our enthusiasm will go on fading and our membership will continue its rapid decline, because not even the most starry-eyed idealist can long maintain any hope for the future in an organization which is making no real effort to reach out and change the world. As we shrink, as our energies are turned inward upon ourselves instead of outward to growth, there will be more infighting and bickering, driving still more people away. It is despair over those prospects which has caused some to consider the second path.

The second path is to compromise our principles to try to gain more votes. But that is to adopt hopelessness as an official policy. If we run candidates who compromise our principles, we are telling people that we believe freedom is only for some, not for all—that universal liberty doesn't work—and that it might just be *their* freedom we decide to sell out next. The public would then believe that, at a fundamental level, there was no essential difference between the Libertarians and the Democrats and Republicans. Like them, we would be seen as a group whose primary goal was not freedom for everyone, but just getting more votes and power for our own organization. This would make it impossible to mobilize the millions of diverse people needed for real change.

The third path is to reach out with our

principles to everyone. We should be converting and recruiting new libertarians so fast that we don't even have the time for infighting. It is time to take freedom to the people, whoever they are and wherever they live, and let them know that they can *all* have liberty.

This will be the most difficult path of all. It will mean we can't just go on sitting in our living rooms patting ourselves on the back for being right and condemning the rest of the world for being stupid or evil. Those who desire comfort and repose should not even take up this banner. It means a long a desperate struggle, in which we dare not retreat or compromise by settling for freedom just for ourselves. For what is at stake is nothing less than the liberation of the entire planet, or its ultimate collapse into worldwide totalitarianism.

In 1988 we have an opportunity to reach out to everyone as never before, by nominating a Presidential candidate whose very presence on the ticket will demonstrate that the Libertarian Party is for freedom for every individual in America. Russell Means doesn't look, sound, or even dress like the typical white male candidate in a three-piece suit. That is one reason why many people listen to him talking about freedom when they would pay no attention to a traditional candidate. "The medium is the message" and people can see at once that a party that nominates such a person is willing to let everyone be free without having to change their lifestyle first.

Russell Means is also an ideal candidate to take our message of freedom to everyone because he is the best-known person ever to seek the Libertarian nomination. Far more Americans have heard of him than have ever heard of most of this year's Democratic and Republican candidates, let alone the other Libertarians. His fame and his 18 years of media contacts and experience give us a base to build upon that no other Libertarian candidate could reach even *after* an extensive campaign. Our big hurdle with the media has always been getting that first foot in the door; Russell Means has already been *inside*. (And, by the way, that name identification is mostly favorable. Even at the height of the Wounded Knee incident, nationwide polls showed two-to-one support for the Indian cause.)

The need for freedom doesn't stop at the U.S. border, and Russell Means is the best person to carry the libertarian movement abroad as well. He is already a world figure, having taken part in several international conferences on the law of the sea, disarmament, the environment, desertification, and human rights, while founding and leading the International Indian Treaty Council. He has travelled at the invitation of governments and international organizations to Central and South America, Western and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Japan, and Korea. His broad experience and contacts both make him the most credible candidate and give him access to the world media to spread our message further.

To reach everyone, we will have to speak in language that ordinary people understand. Russell Means does that. He speaks in plain English, not in Libertarian jargon. He tells people about freedom in concrete, real-world terms. In fact, a few Libertarians have complained that he doesn't use the "right" words. For instance, he talks about free trade, open borders, ending foreign aid, and bringing home U.S. troops from abroad—but one party member berated his failure to call this a "non-interventionist foreign policy." He tells people that he supports the party platform's Women's Rights plank and explains why the government should never be allowed to interfere in family matters—but someone complained because he doesn't use the magic words "pro-choice." The question is, who are we trying to reach? Is it the

already-converted who can recite such Libertarian phrases, or everybody else who would need to stop and wonder what those terms meant?

To motivate millions we will also need to appeal to their emotions. Russell Means does this by taking firm stands on moral principle. Economic and statistical arguments by themselves can never persuade more than a tiny number. Before the Civil War, a book was written to show how slavery was economically harmful to white Southerners. It converted no one. On the other hand, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appealed to people's emotions and showed slavery as the inhuman crime it was. This book enraged and public and helped cause the founding of the Republican Party, its election victories, and the abolition of slavery.

Like the 19th-century abolitionists, we must never hesitate to denounce modern slavery as *morally wrong* in any form it takes. Our objection to the draft is not that "it is not needed to defend this country," but that it enslaves young men. Our objection to prohibition of abortion is not that "such laws are unenforceable," but that they enslave pregnant women. Our objection to the income tax is not that "it reduces productivity," but that it enslaves all working Americans by seizing the fruits of their labors. Which reasons are more likely to motivate others to join our crusade?

Nothing could be more ineffective than a boring crusade. For a struggle like this we need excitement. Russell Means provides that in

abundance. People who hear him are excited because *he's* excited about finding a party that genuinely believes in freedom for everyone. His enthusiasm is contagious. His campaign is reactivating and reigniting tired and "burned-out" Libertarians and attracting new people to the party, because he restores the hope that we can change the world. He stirs the passion necessary to motivate people to extraordinary efforts. As many of them have said, "You can *feel* freedom in him."

Finally, we must seize and hold the high moral ground by continuing to insist on the whole vision of universal liberty. We cannot be diverted to wasting energy on endless arguments over details of specific issues. That is the kind of defensive strategy by which the classical liberals let freedom slip away in the 19th century. Because we are a party of principle, we can't just push one or a few issues and ignore the others. To mobilize everyone for liberty, we must push for the entire platform simultaneously.

This year is a golden opportunity for reaching out to all with liberty. We must now decide which path to follow. But this is more than just a contest for a nomination.

We are fighting for the soul of the Libertarian Party—and the soul of America—and ultimately of the entire world. The real issue is very simple. Russell Means has made his position clear.

Freedom is for everyone.

Endorsements

Continued from page 8

I support Russell Means because he supports the Libertarian Party platform in its entirety.

—Alexia Gilmore, California

Question LP authority—vote for Russell Means in 1988.

—Bruce Smith, Michigan

I am supporting Russell Means because I have no doubt that he is a thorough Libertarian in heart and mind.

—Lyn D. Tinsley, past Chair, Illinois LP

If the Libertarian Party is to grow and prosper, its message must reach growing numbers of people. Russell Means can reach those who have been hurt most by government tyranny and those who have the most to gain by our policies—blacks, Hispanics, Indians, working class people, the disenfranchised, the disinterested. I am excited about the possibility a Russell Means candidacy brings to the Libertarian Party and I am wholeheartedly supporting Russell Means for President.

—Dave Daniels, Chair, Colorado LP, and Libertarian candidate for Mayor of Denver 1987

Russell will give major media attention to a party that gets little of it. He can make the LP well-known. Very few of the many major party candidates have as much name recognition as Russell Means.

—Donald Hesse, Virginia

In Dallas he gave reporters the strongest, most principled answers I've ever heard from any Libertarian Presidential candidate. Asked about a tax increase, he *began* by saying, "Everyone who really believes in freedom realizes that taxation is the same thing as theft." After his campaign there will be no doubt in anyone's mind about what Libertarians stand for.

—Margaret Werry, Texas LP State Execom

Russell Means brings the spirit of liberty to life.

—Greg Clark, former LP National Secretary, Texas

Russell has risked his life many times and has the courage to stand against all odds when human rights are being threatened—from Wounded Knee to Nicaragua. He is an inspiration to me and has taught me how to deal with life and never give up on myself. If he can do this for me, he can do it for others.

—Pat Setti, Florida LP State Execom

He is our best bet for pulling in new members in Texas.

—Roger Gary, Chair, Texas LP

Russell Means speaks from the heart and reaches out beyond LP parlor groups to people we haven't reached before. He understands freedom because he is from an oppressed background.

—Liz Barthlow, Secretary, Harris County (Houston) LP, Texas

As a respected national figure who has such a strong conviction for Libertarian principle, Russell Means can give the LP the recognition it needs to become a true political force in this country.

—Michael Tarm, Kansas

I feel he's the most honest man in American politics. I think with Russell Means we could have more fun, raise more hell, and have more impact than ever before.

—Bob Schecter, Oregon

I believe this is a struggle within the hearts and minds of each of us. Our conscience, our ideals, are jousting with our impatience and despair. Are we going to give up hope and settle for less than our dreams? With Russell Means as our candidate we will not only have real hope for the future, but we can show that we—and the Libertarian Party—have not compromised our souls.

—Honey Lanham, former LP National Director, Texas

Letters to the Editor

Continued from page 2

Newcomers

Our presidential candidates worry me a little. I haven't a thing against either Means or Paul; it just strikes me as bizarre that two persons can join the LP and, moments later... be accepted as the Party's standard-bearers. Moreover, both of them admitted in the last issue of LP NEWS that they have a lot of studying to do to become familiar with the libertarian philosophy.

Imagine if I were an LP senator and I quit the Party to join the Republicans. Then, I announced my intention to become the Republican Party's presidential candidate while admitting I didn't know much about the Republican platform. Do you think the rest of the GOP would take me seriously?

Also, I am sure that both Means and Paul could bring in a lot of votes in the presidential race, but how many *permanent LP members* will they generate?

David J. Kramer
Sunnyvale, CA

Abortion

Some libertarians who are opposing Ron Paul's candidacy for the LP presidential nomination are pressing him to "repudiate" his opposition to abortion. As I understand "repudiate," it does not mean "reconsider one's stand and change one's mind." It means, rather, "ignore one's conscience and publicly drop one's principles." If this is what is being asked of Dr. Paul, I doubt if most libertarians would think this to be an acceptable request.

Many highly regarded libertarians recognize that abortion is one of those issues which remain to be settled among libertarians. For this reason, they don't consider abortion to be a litmus test of someone's libertarian credentials. Anyone representing the LP who defends abortion should be careful not to give the impression that it is such a test.

Doris Gordon
National Coordinator
Libertarians for Life

Issues

I've just joined the LP as the best third party hope in '88. Looking at my first issue of LP NEWS I am disappointed that *ecology*, *feminism*, and *peace* are not the main themes on the freedom agenda. There are many millions of Americans looking for some leadership in these areas.

And is it *conceivable* that the LP could choose a presidential candidate who believes in state control over women's wombs?

Charles Keil
Buffalo, NY

Rude

We were quite appalled at the treatment of Congressman Ron Paul by the majority of the participants at the recent Cal Lib convention in San Francisco. The anger and rude behavior exhibited towards the most Libertarian legislator alive would lead an outside observer to believe that Karl Marx was actually standing before them offering to carry their banner. This behavior was especially evident in the "gay rights" and the "free choice" advocates of the crowd. Although we happen to agree with the positions of both of these groups, we do not have the single-minded zeal that they seemed to possess when they would prefer to forever confine Libertarian ideals to political obscurity over the only two Libertarian issues that at this point do not seem in any way threatened in the near future.

With the above in mind, my wife and I have decided against automatic contributions this year to the Libertarian Party. Instead we will contribute a one time amount of \$20 to the Libertarian Party and the same amount to Congressman Ron Paul. If Ron Paul is nominated to represent the Libertarian Party in the upcoming presidential campaign, then we will make a one time contribution of \$180 to

the Libertarian Party and once again the equal amount to the Ron Paul for President Fund. If Ron Paul is not nominated by the Lib Party, both my wife and I will seriously consider disassociating ourselves with the Libertarian Party for quite some time.

Colin & Cecilia Cahoon
Salinas, CA

Candidates

As to Paul or Means: As Ed Clark said at some point in his 1980 presidential campaign—they are running for president of the U.S., not a libertarian dinner club.

We need a larger audience. These individuals may or may not increase our audience and potential supporters. Then we "radicals" can convince others to our point of view, or lose out in the market place of ideas.

My only disappointment in Paul's efforts is the freedom of choice or self-ownership of one's body, which I fully support, and Paul's pro-life statements. I agree with Carol Moore. But, given my list of issues I support, Paul is ok with me, unless someone else steps into the ring.

Bruce Smith
Douglas, MI

Paul

Ron Paul's announcement of his bid for the LP presidential nomination sure did send a wild flurry of ruffled feathers throughout the movement.

"Pro-Choice Libertarians," a group set up in response to Paul's anti-abortion stance, has sent me countless mailings pounding away at Paul's views. I would have listened to them harder but for the fact that PCL leader Carol Moore openly states that she rejoined the Party for the express purpose of fighting the Paul candidacy. Others have said that they will quit the Party if Paul gets the nomination. It seems we've heard all this before.

As a result of these opportunists who refuse to associate with the Party until they have an excuse to do some negative campaigning against someone, I have attached less and less importance to their opinions. Where will you people be if Paul does not get the nomination? Your goal will have been completed; Paul will be out, and next year we won't see any renewal of your dues. In other words, since you haven't been with us all along, I'm not listening very hard to you—your unprofessional antics have made me deaf to you.

I haven't decided who will get my vote yet. There are good reasons to vote for solid, known libertarians such as Jim Burns and Andre Marrou; there are also good reasons to vote for well-known personalities such as Russell Means or Paul. My objections to Paul or Means are balanced by my objections to the other candidates; they all have strong and weak points.

Dr. Paul, one thing I *would* like to hear is a pledge from you that you will clearly and honestly say to any listeners during your campaign that the "Libertarian Party's position on abortion is this:..., but my personal view is different in these ways:...."

I think this alone would alleviate many fears about your ability to run a principled libertarian campaign.

Marc Montoni
Chairman, LP of Virginia

Hostages

If we had elected a Libertarian president in 1984, how do you suppose he would be handling the Middle East hostage dilemma? First, he would not approach the problem assuming that government is inevitably the answer. Rather he would likely look to some Libertarian principles for guidance:

- (1) *Recognize individual responsibility.* U.S. citizens who choose to remain in a foreign country where lawlessness, bombing, and kidnapping are common occurrences are not acting responsibly as regards their own safety.
- (2) *Disdain coercion of innocent individuals.*

Because some individuals did not take reasonable precautions for their own safety (i.e., leave the country) is no reason to *force* taxpayers or soldiers to rescue them.

(3) *Respect and acknowledge individual ingenuity.* This principle leads to a relatively cheap solution to the hostage problem, both in terms of dollars and military lives. Offer interested citizens of the world the opportunity to contribute to a bounty fund for the hostages and their kidnappers. The rescuer(s) would be paid a set amount (e.g., \$50,000) per live rescued hostage and the same amount per live kidnapper brought to a rendezvous point. The bounty would only be paid if at least one live kidnapper were delivered per hostage.

Do you suppose that perhaps one Lebanese person per thousand making less than \$5,000 per year might be interested in helping us rescue hostages and capture kidnappers under those terms? If so, we would then have an internal force of several thousand people energetically helping us to resolve this problem. And a plus is that the reward is contingent upon success.

Richard Putman
Mankato, MN

Outreach

I'm very sorry to hear that there won't be any more outreach issues. I found them perfect for handouts at fairs or anywhere people needed introductory material...I don't see why that kind of thing can't pay for itself. When we run out of them, we're just going to have to produce something locally, which will not be as good and will be more expensive. It seems crazy that some mechanism can't be worked out so that local groups can buy that kind of publication from a central service organization; if not the LP national headquarters, perhaps someone else.

Joseph W. Dehn III
MCI Mail 106-6052

Lysander, Inc., the Society for Individual Liberty, the publishing enterprises of David Bergland and Jim Peron, are just some of the many groups associated with the Libertarian Party that can produce such basic material if ways are found to finance it. In addition, Sharon Mitchell, at LP National Headquarters, has volunteered to put together a student outreach publication if financing is found.

—KH

Strategy

For the Libertarian Party, success can only be defined as the creation of a libertarian society. Whether any particular step is a success can be measured by how much closer it takes us to that goal.

A sheep set loose from the tyranny of flock and shepherd becomes not a free individual but a free meal for the first predator it encounters. If the shepherd shears or butchers the sheep, still they must have a shepherd, for they know not how to survive without one. As with sheep, so with people. While most people look upon government as their only protection from worse evils, they will endure any abuse of power as the price of survival. Until this is changed, a libertarian society is an idle and hopeless dream. Any progress we make in the political arena will be strictly illusory.

Political action is essential, but not for the reasons usually given. Political activity is a way to recruit and train individuals in the skills they need to survive in freedom. Even a lion raised in captivity must be taught how to survive on its own, humans no less so.

The empowerment of the individual is the only road that reaches our goal. If we teach enough people the skills they need to be truly free, they will make themselves free, and us with them. Should we fail in this, they will remain in bondage, and so will we. Merely electing politicians and changing laws will not create a free society. Setting enough individuals free will.

Charles T. Manhart
Callahan, FL

Letter To Another Editor

On April 19, the People's Republic of Vietnam elected its legislature. There were 496 seats to be filled and 829 names on the ballot. The voters of Vietnam had a choice of 1.67 candidates per seat.

In Kansas last November the voters in the 125 legislative districts picked from 196 names (all Democrats or Republicans). Kansans had the choice of only 1.57 candidates per seat.

Of the seven political parties in Kansas only the big two were allowed on the ballot. Of the 125 House legislators elected, 108 had paid a \$50 fee to get their name on the ballot in lieu of gathering petitions for that purpose. Of that 108, 51 had no primary or general election opposition. Thus those 51 bought their seats for \$50 cash.

There were no independent candidates for any of the 125 House seats in Kansas, nor were there any for the five state-wide offices (governor, etc.) nor any for the six federal offices (senator, representative). You see, independents are not allowed the privilege of paying in lieu of gathering petitions and when they try to gather petitions they must get 500 percent more than either of the big party candidates. Additionally those signatures on the petitions must be approved by members of the same two parties who have so far successfully kept 300,000 Kansans (independents) off the ballot.

I sadly must relate that ballot access in Kansas is more totalitarian than it is in Vietnam.

Douglas N. Merritt
Secretary, Kansas LP

(Published in the *Kansas City Star*)

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Continued on page 14

Letters to the Editor

Continued from page 13

Norma Jean

What are we to think about [Norma Jean Almodovar's conviction for pandering]? At least that Norma Jean is eminently stupid for soliciting a police officer to be a prostitute. It also seems that her prime motivation is getting sufficient notoriety to keep out of jail and promote her book. Finally, she appears to seek a haven within the Libertarian Party for her unpopular beliefs and actions, and this we can offer her, but not at the price of running her and others whom the press continues to label "loonies" and "kooks."

The time for libertarianism has arrived, if we can offer the American public serious and credible candidates.

Bruce & Susan Bell
Canyon Country, CA

Norma Jean

I want to let everyone know what my sister, Norma Jean Almodovar, has been up to recently. In April, the Appellate Court, in a 2-1 decision, said that Norma Jean should be returned to prison for a minimum of three years. She has appealed to the state supreme court.

While waiting, Norma Jean has been very active. The fourth draft of her book, which she feels is at the heart of the attempt to imprison her (because of what it reveals of corruption in the Los Angeles Police Department where she worked before becoming a call girl) is being edited. I expect to begin typesetting in the very near future.

Since the court decision, Norma Jean has been traveling around the country taking her message of freedom and liberty to many places and to many media outlets. She has been a speaker at various Libertarian Party conventions such as the recent state convention in Ohio where she was the keynote speaker.

Ed Bradley and a crew from *Sixty Minutes* have been in Los Angeles filming a segment. A West German magazine is preparing an in-depth interview and, of course, *Penthouse* featured her and, in particular, her libertarian political views in its May issue.

I have heard that some libertarians are concerned that Norma Jean is talking about "unpopular" ideas which cast the LP in a negative light. They should ask the fundamental libertarian question: Doesn't she have the right to live her life as she sees fit so long as she doesn't initiate an act of coercion or fraud?

As long as the state has the right to decide with whom and for what reasons a person can have sex with another, we are not free. If the harassment of Norma Jean is aimed at suppression of her book, then it is a serious blow to freedom of speech generally.

As for her ideas being "unpopular," the LP platform is very clear that even if they are, they are, nevertheless, libertarian ideas.

Further, many surveys show that most people actually do agree with her libertarian views on prostitution.

Norma Jean has been called a "bright, knowledgeable, and articulate spokesperson for liberty." I don't believe that such a person ever casts the Libertarian Party in a negative light.

To all who have asked to whom they might write to express support for Norma Jean, here are the names and addresses of the key people: Governor George Deukmajian, State Capitol Bldg., Sacramento, CA 95814; Attorney General John Van de Kamp, State Capitol, Sacramento, CA 95814; Senator David Roberti, State Capitol, Rm. 205, Sacramento, CA 95814; District Attorney Ira Reiner, 210 W. Temple St., 18-709, Los Angeles, CA 90012. If you do write, please send a copy of your letter to Norma Jean Almodovar, 1626 N. Wilcox Ave., #580, Hollywood, CA 90028.

Neil Wright
Hollywood, CA

Vote

Voting, as a collective enterprise, does indeed elect people to office; but this is not why I do it, so arguments against officeholding pass over my head.

I vote because it's my only chance to express my opinion and be listened to. No politician, no reporter, no commentator is going to seriously listen to my individual opinion—to them I'm nobody. But every few years, I get an opportunity to speak to them all.

I'm only heard, to be sure, in abbreviated statistical form; but my opinion is tabulated among all the others for any fool to see. If there's a candidate or party whose explicit political principles approximate my own, then my vote expresses my general opinion of those principles, in a form no one can accidentally misunderstand. If I don't vote, any reader of the statistics gets to provide his own interpretation of my beliefs; and he's likely to get them wrong.

But there is one inherent ambiguity in my all-too-meager statistical statement: I'm also endorsing the candidate or party, besides the principles. Should I have any reason to distrust their motives or character, I cannot use this means to express my high opinion of their political principles.

(The recent attacks on the tolerance of this publication made me suspect that many of the arguments against officeholding can be reformulated to impugn the characters of those who'd try; I couldn't vote for a candidate or party I thought was motivated by the lust for power—and/or the desire to stamp out heresy.)

The argument that my vote sanctions that which I explicitly vote against, like the claim that a woman's "No" means "Yes," requires a lot of evidence I haven't yet seen. What would you think of a liquor store robber defending homicide on grounds that the store-owner consented to a gun fight by reaching for his gun?

If a store-owner keeps his gun visibly accessible, does this force would-be robbers to be free? No. It forces them to respect his rights. And this is a use of force I don't mind at all.

Tom Porter
Reseda, CA

Defense

I had not expected to be sending any further memoranda to the principals of the Libertarian Defense Caucus, but an accumulation of events prompts me to do so out of a decent consideration of our readers and supporters:

—As you are all aware, I had retired from the editorship of *American Defense*, effective in January of this year upon the completion of my final issue, #40.

—Of the subsequent issues prepared by my successor, Hank Phillips, only #41 and #42 have been released (January and February), even though he was producing issues in accordance with the monthly schedule recommended in my last memorandum. My own issue #40 has not been released.

—As of late February, the LDC treasury had insufficient funds to print issue #43 and all newsletter printing has been suspended since then. For personal reasons, Darlene Brinks has had to resign from the LDC Steering Committee.

—No progress has been reported by any remaining member of the LDC Steering Committee since then.

—I have recently been informed of Hank Phillips's intention to resign as editor, based on the Caucus's inability to honor its publishing commitment.

As a matter of practicality and honesty, I think it is necessary to recognize that the Libertarian Defense Caucus is *ipso facto* extinct, and that our supporters should consider themselves discharged from any obligations or expectations. Despite the publication of an "LDC Progress Plan" in issue #34, none of its goals have been achieved nor was there much evidence of commitment to those goals. To my understanding, we have been in arrears with

our subscribers for essentially a year and have not the means to fulfill our publishing schedule. Our cupboard is bare. I hate to say that we have swindled anyone, but it is better to admit our failure and liability openly than to hide and pretend the problem will "go away." As the most visible member of the Caucus, I am therefore assuming the responsibility of making these facts known publicly, in the hope that our readers and members may somehow be informed of this situation.

There is a lesson to be learned from this debacle about the importance of *personal responsibility* and the folly of management-by-committee. I can say only that I have been deeply disappointed by these events.

Michael J. Dunn
Libertarian Defense Caucus

Capitalism

I reply to your article by Tibor R. Machan, entitled "How Not to Defend Free Market Capitalism."

My basic point is that the term "capitalism" refers not to the system, but to a single tool within a system. Yet, in every book, paper, article, and intellectual journal, authors refer to the system as "capitalism."

First off, the term "capitalism" was invented by Karl Marx, who hated with a fierce venom the so-called evils of English manufacturing, trade, and commerce. He successfully introduced a new term which, for over 150 years, has come to represent all that is evil, exploitative, unjust in society, and applied *that* to the economic system. Libertarians are hard put to defend the *bad* name so insidiously inserted into the thoughts and beliefs of most people.

Secondly, make this comparison. Do you call a carpenter a "hammerman"? Do you call a tailor a "needleman"? Do you call a plumber a "wrenchman"? The idea is that we do not usually call a tradesman by the tools he uses.

Thirdly, the free enterprise system has its tools also: accounting, planning, factories, instruments, etc., including one of the most important, that of "capital"—the money and funds used to capitalize an enterprise. Thus capital is *only one* of the many tools used in the free enterprise system. Why then, call the system by the name of one of its tools?

Fourthly, I firmly believe that no person, no institution, no political party, no freedom loving organization can overcome the evil connotation inherent in Marx's hate-word, which continues, and continues to be exploited by left-wingers, and continues to be used by business institutions everywhere, and inexplicably is used by Libertarians to define the "system."

Fifthly, the system of freedom in trade and commerce, which we promote and use in everyday affairs, is the "free enterprise" system! This term defines the economic system employed by freedom loving enterprisers. This term also enjoys the most favorable emotional appeal.

I propose that your LP NEWS adopt this creative, constructive term, "free enterprise," in every position, in every article, in every explanation, from now on into the future. Concurrently, you should then adopt a promotion to put the term "capital" into proper position, that of a tool of the trade, with an explanation of its actual useful activity in providing the financial backing of free enterprise institutions.

Gerard H. Bye
Philadelphia, PA

Our general usage is always to refer to the "free market."—KH

Infiltration

Where we can get on the ballot as Libertarians, that's what we should do. Where we cannot, we'll just have to infiltrate the other parties until we can get the rules changed. In either event, our liberties are fast slipping away, and talking to each other about it isn't going to save them.

Recently, I ran for a seat on the county Board of (Mis)Education. Georgia is no less a one-party state than Byelorussia and, in local races at least, you run in the Democrats' primary or you waste your time. I held my nose

and jumped in. My opponent was hand-picked and supported by the local state school bureaucracy for obvious reasons: I advocated teachers "merit pay," abolition of a number of administrative sinecures, cooperation with private schools and home-schoolers, no pass-no play, realistic grading, and an end to social promotions—a program of sheer heresy. I did not openly advocate abolition of state schools, although this is my ultimate goal. I don't think that was selling out; I simply avoided suicide as an option.

There were more than 6,000 votes cast in our district and I came up short by 97. With some financial support and a few more (L)libertarians to help, I probably would have pulled it off. Some might say my campaign served to "educate" the electorate, but I really doubt it. Far better—whether elected as a Democrat or a Vegetarian—would have been a libertarian vote and voice making some small impact on the statist school system.

Friends, unless we are willing to use guns, we cannot stifle the state from the outside. We have to get inside the apparatus. The communists know this and act on it. Why don't we?

Debating societies are fun, and our doctrines always need honing and definition. But we must get our hands dirty, building coalitions, boring from within, taking every opportunity—even small ones—to make our theories work where they really count: in the organs of state power.

Glenn D. Eberhardt
Warner Robins, GA

Stamp

You did a great job with our ad for the Ron Paul rubber stamps. We have received quite a few orders thanks to that ad and similar ones elsewhere.

Some have questioned what appears to be partisanship by the Alabama LP in selling this stamp. I want to assure everyone that this was not the intention.

When we began producing and advertising the stamps, Ron Paul was the only person being mentioned for the LP nomination. I am proud to say that we now also have "Russell Means Freedom in '88" stamps for sale. Same price.

Either man would be a great presidential candidate. I hope that by assisting people across the country to put thousands or millions of impressions of these Libertarians' names into circulation, we in Alabama will contribute toward the success of the Party in 1988 and beyond.

Steve Smith
Alabama LP

Cabinet

Let the LP have not just a presidential and vice presidential candidate to get on the ballot, but a shadow cabinet before the election.

What would a shadow cabinet do for us? Well, we would have two national candidates traveling around, and 11 more traveling part-time attacking the Democrats and Republicans on all sorts of angles of their specialty.

John T. Harillee
Florence, SC

Ballot

There is a very popular myth going around these days and the myth is that the United States of America is and always has been a two-party system.

People who believe this myth use every excuse they can find to justify keeping third parties and independent candidates off of all of the election ballots in all 50 states and the District of Columbia.

A very clear look at history will show that our country has never been a two-party system.

Ever since 1832 there have been third parties and it was only after the election of 1912 that laws began to be passed to keep third parties and independents off of the election ballot in all 50 states. The reason? Because Theodore Roosevelt got more votes running as a Progressive than William Howard Taft got running as a Republican.

Luther (Lee) Kennicutt
Locust Grove, OK

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Campaign '87

Ed Roth

By Ed Roth

Harsh Questions

Continued from page 8

the founder of the Ku Klux Klan in South Dakota. He found me guilty of "Riot to Obstruct Justice." I was the first person ever convicted under that 1889 law, which was repealed shortly thereafter. That judge was later found guilty of shoplifting and forced to resign. While I spent a year in prison I also worked on the staff of U.S. Senator Abourezk—and, incidentally, I didn't take my government paycheck for that.

There's nothing in the Constitution or laws

that would keep me from serving as President or from running for the office. In 1920 Eugene Debs ran while in prison and got over three percent. I've joked that I just committed my felony before going to Washington, and I may just pardon myself when I'm elected.

LP NEWS: One of your opponents' supporters has accused you of being "anti-competitive, anti-technological, anti-reason, and anti-man." Any comment?

Means: The intensity, the total disrespect for logic, truth, and relevance of that attack is like a religious tract. I don't happen to share his "religion," which seems to be objectivism, or his urban lifestyle. He is welcome to both, and I welcome his support of liberty. But he will never achieve freedom this way—insisting that everyone has to support freedom for precisely the same reasons he does. Freedom is for

everyone, whatever lifestyle they choose, as long as it's peaceful and honest—from high-tech entrepreneur to hippie in a commune and everyone in between.

He takes sentences out of context from whatever I've written or said. I don't repudiate them. The meanings or interpretations I leave to an intelligent person—to draw their own conclusions. He claims that I came from the left. American Indians are caught in the same dilemma as Libertarians. We're neither left nor right. We're just for freedom. The left only came around when they needed martyrs. When we wouldn't be martyrs, they abandoned us.

I'm for a free market. I only oppose the misuse of technology. A Libertarian society would not allow anyone to injure others by pollution because it insists on individual responsibility. That's part of the beauty of Libertarianism.

I have decided to apply for the office of President of the United States and I need your help!

Over the last three decades the United States government and its bureaucracy have steadily encroached upon our rights as free Americans. They have ignored or distorted much of our Constitution to suit their own needs.

I believe in our Constitution.

I believe our Constitution says what it says, and means what it says, not what some bureaucrat in Washington says it "really means."

When our Constitution states, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion; or prohibiting the free exercise thereof..." I believe the writers meant just what they said; and our governmental bureaucrats' attempted use of regulations and the Internal Revenue Service's "tax exempt status" to attempt to control our religions is a direct attack by that bureaucracy on our Constitution.

I believe when the Constitution says "...the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed," it means just that.

I believe, as did our Founding Fathers, that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution" (that means our Constitution!) "nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." That's us.

I need your help—your vote—your support both financial and spiritual to try to reestablish and reaffirm our Constitution and return its guaranteed freedom to us, the people. Please help put the freedom and pride back in America.

Ed Roth, a commercial woodworker in Downers Grove, IL, joined the Libertarian Party in 1980.

RUSSELL MEANS FREEDOM IN '88



☐ I want to be a Charter Member of the *Russell Means for President Campaign*. Enclosed is my contribution of: ☐ \$1000 (Maximum) ☐ \$500 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$10 ☐ \$

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☐ I plan to attend the Libertarian Party Presidential Nominating Convention in Seattle in September 1987.

☐ I am a delegate to the Convention.

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☐ Please publish my name on the *Russell Means for President* endorsement list.

☐ I want to be involved when Russell visits my state during the campaign.

☐ I'm including the names and addresses of others interested in your campaign.

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