

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,

mine on what Murray Rothbard has correctly called the most difficult point in Libertarian theory. I am aware that my position is a minority one within the Party, holding the allegiance of perhaps only a third of Libertarians.

I respect those who differ from me on grounds of Libertarian theory and natural rights, and ask only the same respect in return. For this is a question of principle, and surely we Libertarians, of all people, can understand that.

LP NEWS: Some people have said you are a Conservative and not a Libertarian. How do you respond?

Paul: Since I believe in 100 percent laissez-faire, zero foreign intervention, and total personal liberty, I cannot be a conservative. Conservatives—like liberals—are interventionists in all three areas, no matter what their rhetoric.

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 coying 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

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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?"

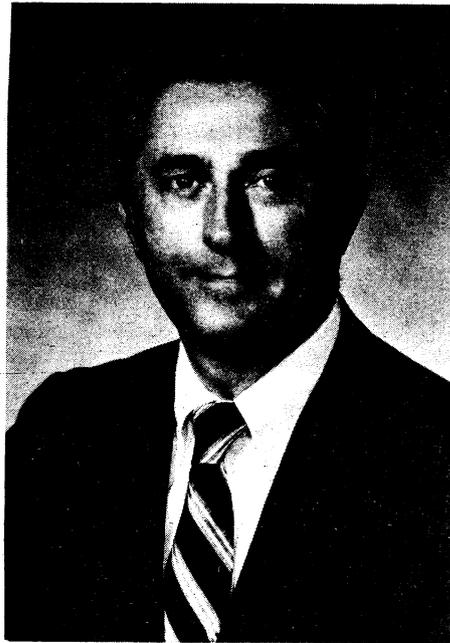
This may indeed be that moment. If it is, it will be for the delegates in Seattle to discover who holds the brass ring.

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

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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.

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

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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

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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

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 reinvigorating 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 that 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

Continued on page 14

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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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. Harllee
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.

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Campaign '87

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.

By Ed Roth

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.



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- I'll pledge to *Russell Means Freedom in '88*:
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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.
- I am an alternate to the Convention.
- 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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