



Libertarian Party

NEWS

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Liberty Enlightening the World

November/December 1987

Party Headquarters Moving to Washington

Libertarian Party national headquarters is moving to Washington, DC. The move was authorized by a decisive 15 to 9 vote of National Committee members polled in a mail ballot of the Committee's 28 active members. Four votes were not cast or were received after the ballot deadline.

Preparing for the possibility of such a move under a decision reached by the National Committee at its most recent meeting, in Seattle, NatCom members Clifford Thies (Treasurer), Paul Kunberger (Region 11), Vice Chair Dave Walter, Chair Jim Turney and former Michigan State Chair Janet Parks, a professional office designer, have located a suitable "transition" office.

Also prior to the voting, Paul Jacob, a widely respected libertarian spokesman and a national symbol of resistance to conscription, had accepted the post of Executive Director of the Party (a position technically re-named "office manager" in NatCom deliberations). Assuming his duties as of November 1, after leaving a position at the Cato Institute, Jacob already had spent three weeks in Houston being briefed on office procedures and problems. He will be paid \$23,000 a year, an amount that had already been budgeted for the position. The physical move of the office is expected in December.

As described by Kunberger, the new office space (which rents for half of the current \$1,000 per month being paid for space in Houston) consists of one floor of a remodeled residence at 13th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue in the southeast section of Washington, on the edge of the Capitol Hill area. Kunberger said that the office site is being

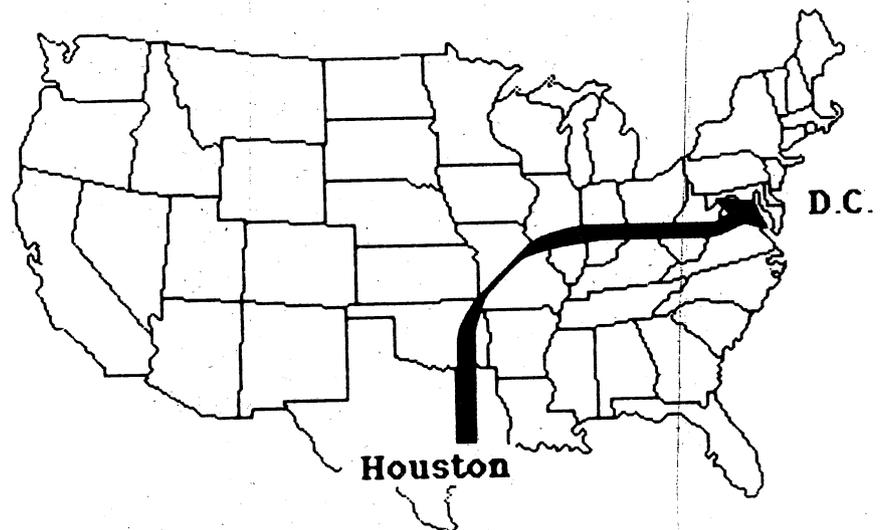
considered transitional because its available space may not be sufficient for growing Party demands and projects. The entire building, however, may become available shortly (for the same rent as that being paid in Houston) and that, according to Kunberger, would be sufficient. Some libertarians may recognize that the building is in the same block as the former offices of *Inquiry* magazine.

Kunberger added that office volunteers, many of them college interns interested in libertarianism, are already in "knee deep" supply.

The mail ballot, which authorized the move and asked for a budget of costs associated with it, received the following votes:

Against the move: I. Dean Ahmad (Secretary), Dave Bergland (CA), Joseph W. Dehn III (OR, WA, ID), Melinda Pillsbury Foster (CA), Mark Hinkle (CA), Peggy Jeney (AZ, HI, LA, MS, NM, NV), Matt Monroe (At Large), Tonie Nathan (At Large), Lew Rockwell (At Large).

In favor of the move: Ted Brown (CA), Stephen L. Dasbach (IL, IN, KY, MO, OH, WV), Bobby Yates Emory (AR, DC, DE, FL, GA, MD, NC, OK, SC, TN, VA), Don Ernsberger (At Large), Stephen R. Fielder (At Large), William Hall (MI, WI), T. David Hudson (CT, MA, ME, NH, NY, RI, VT), Vickie Kirkland (CT, MA, ME, NH, NY, RI, VT), Paul H. Kunberger (AR, DC, DE, FL, GA, MD, NC, OK, SC, TN, VA), Willy Star Marshall (AK, CO, MO, UT, WY), Sharon F. Mitchell (At Large), Clifford F. Thies (Treasurer), Jim Turney (Chair), Gerry Walsh (At Large), Dave Walter (Vice Chair). A 16th vote in favor, that of Burt Blumert (CA), was received too late to be counted.



Paul Campaign Coming Together

By Kevin Southwick

The Paul for President Committee has used the weeks immediately following the nominating convention to organize and reorganize for the long haul ahead.

Two key people have been added to the Houston staff of the Ron Paul for President Campaign. One is Eric Rittberg, who will serve as advance man for Ron's travels and also as liaison to Students for Ron Paul, an organization Eric initiated during the primary. The other new staffer is Renae Hathway, who will act as campaign secretary.

We're restocking our supply of handout material—biographies, bumperstickers, brochures, etc. We've printed a new pocket-size

brochure. These and other campaign materials can be ordered through your Ron Paul for President State Coordinator (see preliminary list elsewhere in this issue).

Alicia Clark is organizing the state coordinators. As of this writing we can list coordinators in 35 states. If you'd like to volunteer to be a coordinator, contact Alicia at 3445 Monterey Rd., San Marino, CA 91108; telephone 818-796-8231.

To sign up as a volunteer for other activities in the presidential campaign, contact your state's campaign coordinator. If no one is listed below for your state, that doesn't mean one hasn't been appointed since this writing. Contact the national headquarters of the Ron Paul

Continued on page 6

This Time...

This time, the Libertarian Party could be off the sidelines and into the thick of it.

This time, the Libertarian Party and Ron Paul, the party's 1988 presidential candidate, will be involved in very real politics.

This time, events are moving to fracture the two-party system, to open presidential politics to new and turbulent forces.

This time, if the Libertarian Party's candidate, Ron Paul, and his running mate Andre Marrou, are on all of the nation's ballots, and if they speak out across the full range of libertarian concerns, they will be in a position to attract votes which may fall away from the older parties by the millions. They could be the center of debates which, without them, would be flaccid and foolish. This time they could establish liberty as the alternative in a political landscape of collapsing centralism. This time, the Libertarian Party could emerge as the other party, not just a third party.

The continuing economic uncertainties foreshadowed by the stock market roller coaster, Reagan's inevitable surrender to higher taxes by whatever names or means, the Gulf war,

Central America, the crushing public debt, uncurbed public spending, rampaging invasions of personal and financial privacy, and continuing political scandals have exposed the older parties as powerless, rudderless, unprincipled, witless, gutless, careless and thoughtless. They are the parties of tired political hacks and failed political promises.

This time, people are seriously over-taxed, dangerously over-extended, and painfully over-stressed and over-policed. This time there is not a single politician from the older parties who is able to speak clearly to America's burdened middle class. Libertarians can.

This time, it isn't only the theory of liberty that will be discussed. There can be discussion of practical ways to practice it. Both of the older parties will offer versions of social authoritarianism. This time, this country and this people will be able to see, if powerfully urged to look, the failures of central authority. This time they will be able at least to consider liberty as the only practical alternative. This time it is very real. This time every libertarian principle and proposal could make good, common sense.

European Advance

Alain Dumait, mayor of the Second District of Paris and a vice-mayor of Paris proper, and Henri Lepage, author of the European best-seller *Capitalism Tomorrow*, have just launched the Libertarian Movement of France (MLF).

Aimed at disseminating the libertarian message in all available forums, the MLF will capitalize on the fact that Lepage's book, translated into five languages, has popularized those ideas throughout Europe over the past several years. Dumait while serving as mayor in Paris also serves as the representative in France of the American-based Libertarian International.

Announcement of the new movement

was followed by meetings, in Paris, with Libertarian International directors Vince Miller and Jim Elwood and Libertarian Party chairman Jim Turney.

At the same time, Miller was voted "libertarian of the year" by Benelux libertarian organizations. Previous recipient of the award was Guy verHofstadt, vice prime minister of Belgium, an outspoken libertarian.

In another European development, the Libertarian Institute for Human Assistance, based in Holland, announced that it would contribute to the continuing effort to gain freedom for the imprisoned Norma Jean Almodovar, former Libertarian Party candidate for lieutenant governor of California.

Letters to the Editor

Plaintive Plea

Please, when submitting letters to the editor, **TYPE THEM**. Transcribing handwritten letters for our typesetter is both unsure, because of idiosyncratic penmanship, and inordinately time consuming. So, please, type if at all possible and, if not, at least *print* legibly.

Rights

Now that the celebration of the signing of the Constitution is over, I suggest that libertarians concentrate on the Bill of Rights.

Steve Malmberg
Pasadena, CA

Kansas

The reason your State-by-State Delegate Count did not add up to 193 for Paul, but rather to only 189, is that you credited Kansas with a single vote. In fact Kansas voted 5 for Paul, which if listed would have totaled 193.

Douglas N. Merritt
Chair, Libertarian Party of Kansas

Issues

Contrary to what I have read in the "letters" column in the LP NEWS, I think we should start focusing our debate onto issues which have clear relevance to our fellow citizens. I include among these deficit spending, the national debt, arms control, and the threat of nuclear annihilation, and the erosion of civil liberties.

I cannot believe the level of debate I read in the LP NEWS. Letters favoring infanticide, nihilist "nobody for president" campaigns, and the abrogation of constitutional government do little to endear us to the average voter. I also do not agree with those who would eschew politics and the value of winning elections. To me, winning elections and coalition-building is what this movement is all about.

Given the probable collapse of our currency, the resurgence of the draft and of military adventurism, the persecution of drug users and so-called "pornographers," and other authoritarian evils, is it not time to start working on solutions to our immediate concerns rather than obtuse philosophical issues?

Like most Americans, I do not want to live under totalitarian rule. If we are to avoid this, we must exercise leadership with practical solutions that people can understand and not fear.

Mike Stamper
Windsor, CT

Letter Bonus

Thanks to libertarian Dan Tisdale of New Haven, MI, 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 Nick Schroeder, of Colorado Springs, CO, and Randall Grindle, of Lower Lake, CA.

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* contains selections from his writings over many years.

Referendum

I suggest that the LP path to public acceptance and electoral victory lies in the referendum process.

The LP could propose that the voter control the acceptance or rejection of the various party planks through referendum.

Referendum has tremendous voter appeal. Missouri electoral history suggests that the American political party endorsing referendum power to the people will be very successful.

Let me give a brief example of the electoral appeal of power to the citizen through referendum.

In 1980, an obscure Springfield, MO, businessman, Mel Hancock, did his homework well in crafting and organizing a constitutional amendment by referendum. The Hancock amendment limited state taxing power and forced local government to secure voter approval for all revenue increases. Despite total Democrat and Republican party opposition, the Hancock amendment passed 1,002,935 to 807,187.

I would suggest the message for the LP is clear. The citizens are restive and will vote to reduce the ever expanding powers of government on every level. The Missouri example indicates that candidates endorsing referendum control to the voter will succeed.

Referendum as a prime policy is the answer for the LP and more importantly for our great nation.

Readers supporting referendum as an LP option might wish to contact me at LP REFERENDUM, P.O. Box 37, Chesterfield, MO, 63006.

Joseph Costello, M.D.
Chesterfield, MO

Recruit

I completely agree with Michael Emmerling's letter. Ninety percent of our efforts should be dedicated to recruitment. York (PA) has been a hotbed of libertarianism dating back to 1973. Just [recently] I re-created an Ayn Rand Club and located a dozen new people. At the moment I'm going through registration lists and finding new people in each ward. All this in a town of 45,000.

They are all around us. We pass fellow libertarians on the street every day without realizing it. The way to find them is via the letters-to-the-editor columns, the voter registration lists, the radio call-in shows, flyers on bulletin boards, and by calling attention to the works of Ayn Rand.

Walt Karwicki II
York County LP Chair

Collider

As a scientist, I am in favor of the six billion dollar super collider and many of the big and small science programs supported by the government. As a Libertarian, I do not know how to pay for many of them. I have not read a statement on this by our philosophers or leaders. It is a subject that must be faced and I would like very much to read a statement on this in the NEWS.

Earl Curtis
Topanga, CA

TV Letters

I enjoyed Eric Rittberg's article "TV 'Letters'" immensely, probably because I had contemplated writing a similar one myself. Eric and I have crossed paths on C-SPAN once or twice and have touted the LP's virtue. Eric's right: This program is an excellent way to give the LP exposure to thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of viewers!

However, there was one error in Eric's article which needs to be pointed out. He cited C-SPAN's telephone number as being 202-628-2525. That's only half right; only if you live in the Eastern or Central time zones. For those who live in the Mountain or Pacific time zones, or Alaska or Hawaii, the phone number is 202-783-2727.

Richard L. Duprey
Chairman, NJ LP

Advocates

This letter is for those who have wondered what it takes to get people active in a state party.

Over the last year I have hosted four discovery groups as a part of the Advocates for Self-Government program. Out of these four groups have come about a dozen new Libertarians, and most are active. As a matter of fact, the new Secretary-Treasurer of the state party, Naomi Eikenberg, is one of the "graduates."

In addition, three others—Steve Peek, Judy Jackson, and Jane Jackson—are all now members of the state executive committee.

Both Steve and Judy plan to host discovery groups of their own soon.

I suppose someone somewhere may be having better results with some other program, but I haven't yet heard about it.

I am certainly not blowing my own horn, because I wouldn't have done any of this had it not been for the tremendous dedication of Marshall Fritz, the founder and director of the Advocates; Virgil Swearingen, who wrote the Bible based study guide; Dave Bergland, who wrote the book we use as a text; and many others.

I have been using the Christian format up to now, but am anxious to get going with a secular group soon to see how that goes.

I would really encourage those who have considered hosting a group to quit considering and go for it. It doesn't all come up roses—my first group dwindled to one (a federal employee), but she did finish—and the results since have been tremendously rewarding.

Dave Dawson
Wyoming State Chair

Education

Education Secretary William Bennett opposes a "global perspective" in education, claiming it will cause wishy-washy judgments. Much more likely, however, is that a basic understanding of world history and other cultures would dramatically reduce our baseless paranoias. Students with global perspectives would not be as easily misled by such simplistic propaganda as the Soviets being the primary cause of international tension. Comparing American history to Soviet history, et. al., would provide a better foundation for moral perspectives; i.e., judging which guy is good, which guy is bad, or whether one is simply less evil than the other.

During its 20 decades, our regime rationalized and institutionalized human slavery and racial prejudice; violated over 300 treaties with natives and killed millions of them with armed aggression, germ warfare, drug addiction, starvation, and exposure; endured one of history's most brutal civil wars imposing the will of the central government on the South; destroyed the families and businesses of tens of thousands of Japanese-Americans with concentration camps; subverted the governments of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Iran, Chile, China, Cuba, Viet Nam, et. al.; and plotted the assassinations of some of their leaders.

Today the United States stifles dissent by denying visas for foreigners critical of US policies, threatening to deport others, and applying direct and indirect censorship of the media. Through arbitrary interpretations and unequal enforcement of the law and selective defense of civil liberties, it has effectively established a state religion, a state morality, a state approved code of personal behavior, a state approved political opinion, and turned the American people into state property. It commands a massive army, an indirect means of reducing unemployment and providing welfare, on a global scale, and maintains a first-strike nuclear missile force far greater than it needs for "defensive" purposes. It funds a CIA/DOD/DEA network of international subversion, intimidation, and bribery.

A global perspective in education will inevitably lead to more protests over abuses of power by all governments, including our own self-righteous "City on a hill." Keeping America misinformed and ignorant of international,

political, and cultural realities is clearly a major function of our government dominated school systems.

Nick Schroeder
Colorado Springs, CO

Vices

"Choose Words Carefully", says Gerald Schneider in his July/August article. Indeed. That's why we should reject his replacement of "victimless crimes" with "personal vices."

For example, many governments have made it a crime to appear out of doors in the costume that nature gave to humans. The majority culture practices the "cult of lust and shame" and considers the nude human body to be sinful and evil, a vice, something that must be hidden except in extreme privacy. But there is a substantial subculture in the world which rejects the cult of lust and shame, and does not consider social nudity to be a vice. Indeed, many naturists regard outdoor nudity as healthy and life-enhancing, and the rational way to swim and sunbathe.

When libertarians start calling skinny-dipping a "personal vice," they join the forces of irrational cultural and religious oppression. When I sunbathe in my back yard, the state has no business dictating to me what to wear, even if I wish to wear nothing. Nudity makes me neither an evil person nor a victim. When libertarians make the value judgment of calling nudity a vice, it gives statist the excuse to send in the vice squad to haul nudists and naturists off to prison for daring to practice their peaceful method of health and recreation.

Libertarians should avoid calling any type of peaceful activity a "vice." Some may privately regard certain practices as evil, but this must not be an organized libertarian view. If libertarians start dictating which lifestyle is good and which is evil, then the movement will not only lose allies such as naturists, but will contradict its own principle of liberty and rationality. The only practice libertarians should call a "vice" is the use of force.

Fred Foldvary
Berkeley, CA

Bookstore

Saturday, I attended the Southern California Libertarian Delegate Caucus, in Orange County. While there, I saw a recent issue of Libertarian Party NEWS which mentioned Jim Peron's claim that Free Forum Books is the only storefront libertarian bookstore in the United States. While that claim was true until recently, I would humbly request that you inform LP NEWS readers that Southern California now has a storefront libertarian bookstore; namely, The Renaissance Bookshop, 3688 Sunnyside Drive, Riverside, CA 92506. It's two blocks west of the Interstate 91 Freeway, Central Ave. exit.

Gene Berkman
Riverside, CA

CORRECTION

In an extremely unfortunate typographical error, Russell Means' offer to share the fees of \$2,500 campus speaking engagements arranged by Libertarian Party groups was printed as \$55. The actual amount which Means has offered to return to LP arrangers as an agent commission is \$500.

In a note on her successful effort to abolish a local fire district, Lou Villadsen was identified as "he."

The correct address for FIFE treasurer Margot Hamilton is 605 155th Av., S.E., Bellevue WA 98007.

The correct phone number for Friends of Norma Jean is 213-389-4495.

The correct presidential candidate vote for the Oregon delegation is 4 votes for Paul, 2 votes for Means, 2 votes for Lewis and no votes for Glenn.

Think About It—Now

Our movement should have as its goal the fulfillment of the ideal of the free and independent entrepreneur.

To accomplish this, our movement must destroy the prevalent statist paradigm and erect, in its stead, a new paradigm of liberty for all people. Our movement must avoid the strategy of conservatives, whose acceptance of statist premises has caused their proposals to be simply moderate versions of the original statist schemes. Our movement must struggle for the realization of the principle of the free market rather than settle for immediately obtainable reforms. For, as Aileen Krador writes, 'to criticize the [radical] agitator for not trimming his demands to the immediately realizable—that is, for not acting as a politician—is to miss the point...the more extreme demand of the agitator makes the politician's demand seem acceptable and perhaps desirable in the sense that the adversary may prefer to give up half a loaf rather than the whole. Also, the agitator helps define the value, the principle, for which the politician bargains. The ethical values placed on various possible political courses are put there partly by agitators working on public opinion that creates public possibilities.'

Such a movement already exists, the libertarian movement. Libertarianism offers the only systematic worldview that supports the ideal of the free and independent businessman. It only remains for businessmen to support this movement. How each businessman can best support it depends on his own abilities and resources.

Businessmen should not only support the

movement's educational and single-issue activist arms. We should also support—with time and money—the Libertarian Party, the movement's mass action arm. The Libertarian Party is a vital organ of the libertarian movement, even if it never elects anyone to major office. It exposes large numbers of people, whose interest in questions of government intervention is limited to election time, to free market ideas. And when we do get a significant number of votes for a libertarian candidate or on a libertarian issue, as with Proposition 13 [California's tax limitation law], people do listen. The Party causes libertarians to apply their own philosophy to topical political issues, and to act. In sum, the Party transforms libertarianism from purely a

political philosophy to a movement, to a force for radical social change.

Business can survive, but it cannot survive without the help of businessmen. By fighting against interventions, however profitable, by advocating a principled, philosophical defense of the free enterprise system, and by becoming a part of the libertarian movement, businessmen can, with pride, be a vital force in restoring our free society. To date, businessmen have not seen fit to do so. Whether businessmen do so in the future may determine, whether business, indeed, has a future. Or deserves to.

The extended quotation above is from an article on libertarian strategy published in August, 1978, in *Libertarian Review*. It is by Charles G. Koch, chairman of Koch Industries, one of the largest privately held industrial organizations on earth.

The message is as powerful and as necessary

today as it was when written. Its emphasis on the free market as the outward sign of our philosophy is always welcome. But it says something else that is particularly important as we head toward another national political year.

As politicians, members of the Libertarian Party may never be able to satisfy the radical demands of libertarian agitators. Many of the agitators, of course, will despise the politicians because of that. It is their temperament to do so. And it is proper that they do so!

No matter how their barbs may sting, however, the words quoted by Charles Koch should be considered. It is the most radical demands that give direction and spirit to our political actions, to reforms, to gradual steps toward liberty. Radical agitators are not our enemy. (Nor are we theirs.) Those who intervene against our individual liberty are the enemy.—KH.

Look to Future

By Karl Hess

Although the sense of unity reported immediately following the nominating convention is, in fact, the dominant mood of the Libertarian Party today, it is not the total mood.

On both sides, from supporters of Ron Paul and from supporters of Russell Means, there are some strong, lingering resentments. Some of Ron Paul's most influential supporters continue to hammer away at Russell Means as though he was an absolute enemy of freedom rather than a recent and enthusiastic convert to the Libertarian Party after having for many years been an enthusiastic supporter of libertarian causes.

Giving the text of the resentments all of the points they claim, it still strikes me as altogether unproductive to dwell upon them. If either side is to be condemned it should be by their own future actions and not by constantly repeating past grievances. If libertarianism does not tolerate the possibility of great changes in people then what does it tolerate? Is not the Libertarian Party, in fact, betting its entire future on the notion that people—most people—can profoundly change their view of the world through experience, observation, and reason.

The purpose of the Party, in my view, should now be to speak as clearly and with as many voices as possible to all people about the peace and prosperity that flows from free markets and from the libertarian principle of non-aggression.

Of course there will be, and should be, continuing debates regarding the applications and definitions proceeding from the basic libertarian notion. But they could be most constructively conducted as debates and not as dogfights.

Party purges and factional fighting may amuse some, delight others, and provide hostility outlets for a few—as well as producing important organizational debates and decisions. But there is more agreement than disagreement even among the most fierce of factional opponents. And, having chosen the admittedly problematic vehicle of a political party to carry the libertarian message, it would now seem the time to get on with the political agenda.

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Lebanon Chaotic, But Not Anarchic

By Jorge E. Amador

West Beirut has "deteriorated into total anarchy," said Ronald Reagan in a statement read by then-presidential spokesman Larry Speakes.

Jeane Kirkpatrick, the former US ambassador to the United Nations, asserted in her syndicated column that, "Today Lebanon represents the closest approximation of anarchy in the modern world. And anarchy, as we have had ample opportunity to observe, is not the benign condition of natural peace described by romantic philosophers. Rather, it is the war of each against all described by Thomas Hobbes."

Lebanese politics is extremely complex by American standards. Political factions don't work within a neat two-party system—they each constitute their own party. Factions, of which there are dozens, are determined not only by economic or ideological interests, but also by religious, ethnic, and kinship loyalties. Foreign armies invade almost at will to protect specific factions or to crush them. Truces and alliances are made and broken on almost a daily basis.

Any attempt to sift through the multiple and shifting relationships between Lebanese groups is likely to be very frustrating. President Amin Gemayel's Phalange organization represents many of the country's Maronite Catholics, who have dominated Lebanon for decades. The pro-Western Phalange feuds with Suleiman Franjeh's faction, which is also Christian but pro-Syrian. The late Camille Chamoun's National Liberal Party quarrels with both Franjeh and the Phalange. The right-wing South Lebanon Army serves as Israel's buffer, absorbing Palestinian guerrilla raids into the border zone north of Galilee.

Among the Muslims there are Druze, Sunni, and Shia sects, and among the Shiites are the Amal and Hezbollah military factions. Syrian president Hafez Assad supports the relatively moderate Amal leader Nabih Berri, while Hezbollah's Islamic revolutionaries look to the Ayatollah Khomeini for guidance, spiritual and material. Sunni Muslims by and large support Fatah, Yasser Arafat's faction in the Palestine Liberation Organization. Amal supports Assad's efforts to crush Fatah, but Hezbollah cooperates with both Arafat and anti-Arafat PLO factions. All of them oppose Israel.

Still following? Walid Jumblatt's Druze militia, like Amal, are aligned with Syria, but they fight Amal and cooperate with the PLO. The Druze have worked with and battled against Christian leader Franjeh, but always opposed Chamoun and the Phalange, both of whom also routinely clash with Amal. Got it?

So many elements are at play that it is easy to give up, call it "anarchy," and then use it as an example of what happens when "anarchy" prevails. Such facile logic hinders us from detecting the disease that ails Lebanon.

When it won independence from France in 1943, Lebanon was the only country in Asia with a Christian majority. Christians demanded and got predominance in the national government. The president is always a Maronite, and the National Assembly is apportioned along religious lines with Christians of various denominations holding 54 of the 99 seats.

Lebanese Muslims were never very happy with this arrangement. In the decades following independence, their numbers grew more rapidly than the Christians'. Today Muslims are informally acknowledged as the majority, but Christians still control the reins of government.

The government is not nearly as inconsequential as we have been led to think. Its budget more than tripled in the years 1982-86, offering a swelling bag of goodies for competing interests to grab at. Nineteen cabinet departments weigh down the country's three million inhabitants, encompassing everything from justice and agriculture to tourism and the fine arts. The bigger and more valuable the bag's contents, the more it invites a Hobbesian war of each against all for the benefits it dispenses.

Lebanon's problem, writes Kirkpatrick, "is rooted in the use of force by some Lebanese groups to impose their will on others." That's true. Trouble begins when some people just won't mind their own business. But imposing wills by force is the distinctive feature of government. Anyone who doesn't think so can easily verify it by mailing his tax return unfilled.

Lebanon's Muslims resent having Christians run the government. They feel the government has neglected their development and favored the Christians. Most Muslims seek a new distribution of power and benefits reflecting the current demographic balance. Some press for union with Syria in a pan-Arab state.

Christians have done well by the system and want to keep it that way. Though ethnically Arabic, they wish to maintain a separate Lebanese identity. By culture and history they feel closer to the West than to Islamic Arab nations.

Predictably, no faction wants another's designs imposed on it. Yet that is what having a state means. Government entails implementing one set of policies for everybody. Each faction can implement its own set only by also preventing the rest from implementing theirs. Government is not the foam that stifles smol-

dering passions and cements the community, but the spark that detonates them and rends it asunder.

Compromise has been tried but seems to be out of the question. The Maronites cannot bear the thought of giving up power to the Muslims, while the Muslims regard as unsatisfactory any arrangement that keeps power in Christian hands. Each side struggles within itself over what to do with that power.

Lebanon represents a classic failure of the government paradigm to satisfy hopelessly contradictory aims. When potent factions each

try to get the central authority to carry out their mutually exclusive goals, the outcome is political turmoil.

The profusion of groups vying for supremacy in Lebanon may seem chaotic, but it is not anarchic. It is not a shortage of rulers that besets the Lebanese, but a glut of pretenders. Statism, not the lack of a state, is Lebanon's sorrow.

Amador is editor of The Pragmatist, Box 392, Forest Grove, PA 18922, from which this article is reprinted.

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Support the Party

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Local Involvement Influences Decisions

By Dick Crow

A year ago the local newspaper had a short notice in it about the need for two volunteers for the Woodland Park, CO, Planning Commission. Woodland Park has about 3,500 people and a growth rate of 14 percent per year. It is 20 miles west of Colorado Springs and has become a bedroom community. At an elevation of 8,465 feet above sea level, the air is clean and the politics as dirty as you will ever find.

With a growth rate three times above what is considered healthy in order for city services to keep up, taxes are two times higher than on comparable houses in Colorado Springs. I decided to volunteer for the Planning Commission position in an attempt to keep taxes down and to breathe some freedom into a stifling city government.

The city council had each applicant for the position state, before the council, why they wanted the position and what direction each thought that planning for the city should go. I had the flu and made a poor presentation. The other applicants were well-known local business leaders.

I wasn't surprised when I wasn't appointed but a few weeks later the city notified me that the Board of Adjustments needed three alternate members to fill occasional vacancies. Three of us applied and were accepted. My own application was questioned by the city council because in the Planning Commission presentation they found out I was a member of the Libertarian Party. None of the city council members had ever heard of the LP and had to ask the city attorney if we were on an FBI subversives list. Assured that the LP was not on such a list, my appointment was approved.

The first thing I found out about being an alternate is that there is almost always a regular member absent from the meeting. Of the first 10 meetings, I served nine times. This isn't as time consuming as it would seem. Most meetings last about 30 minutes with only a couple of them running as long as two hours. Meetings are once a month.

The Board of Adjustments' primary purpose is to grant variances to city ordinances. Woodland Park recently hired a code enforcement officer and his first assignment was to harass people for fence setback violations. We heard perhaps two dozen requests and all were approved. My first real frustration was when a man had to tear down a fence because he couldn't afford the \$100 fee for a variance request.

Other requests are to settle disputes when

DuPont Scorecard

Still being touted as "a libertarian Republican," Delaware's Pierre (Pete) DuPont actually has a mixed bag of positions.

Here is a balance sheet of positions made known so far:

Pro-liberty: Return of farming to the free market; talking down the panic reaction to the trade deficit; a well-publicized visit to the Cato Institute whose views, he said, he values.

Leaning at least a little in liberty's direction: Permit people to choose individual retirement accounts for part of their Social Security taxes; require all able-bodied welfare recipients to work.

Fielder's choice: Permanent tax-supported aid to the contras but also encouragement of private, voluntary support; research and deployment of Star Wars.

Anti-liberty: Mandatory drug testing for all high school students; guaranteed student and retraining loans.

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the planning commission denies requests. An appeal can then be made to the Board of Adjustments. Permits for home offices, variances for setback requirements for new construction, and a request for a combination home and office complex are some of the other requests we have heard.

The members of the Board are realtors, developers, and a business woman. All but one have a healthy respect for property rights and I doubt they would turn down a variance request unless it violated someone else's property rights. This has been a pleasant surprise and serving on the Board has been enjoyable. Had I been on the Planning Commission I am sure I would have had my hands full since the

members of the Commission would quite likely already believe in violating property rights with planning and zoning.

The city staff isn't much of a threat as they have their hands full just trying to keep up with daily crises. They have no time to meddle although I know of a few who are anxious to meddle when time permits.

In the future, having gotten my toes wet, I may jump all the way into the mess with another application to the Planning Commission. It was easy for me to get a small but important (important to the variance applicant) position on a board so as to begin influencing people more toward freedom.

I suspect there are a lot of similar positions in

small communities all across the country, be it the fire district board or the library board. In a large city such as Denver, there are 36 boards and committees ranging from the Board of Ethics to the Judicial Qualifications Commission. Most need help or input, and what easier and better way for the ideas of freedom to become known? As libertarians, most of us just want to be left alone. Government isn't going to leave us alone so we had better start influencing the decisions it makes in the quickest and easiest way we can until we start winning some elections. It is an easy start without having to fight ballot access laws or having to explain the libertarian position on drugs in 30 seconds to a voter.

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On June 21, 1972 Minerva was forcibly invaded by the Kingdom of Tonga, its nearest neighbor, 260 miles distant. Unable to

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Just How Far Can Protectionism Go?

By Lawrence M. Ludlow

Now that computer chip manufacturers have joined their protectionist counterparts in the auto, steel, and garment industries, it's time Americans began wondering where the next blow will fall in the Land of the Free.

With a club in one hand and an envious eye on your pocketbook, special-interest combinations of workers, manufacturers, and politicians have always ganged up on hapless consumers looking for a bargain. They've never understood that the reason people began trading in the first place was to enjoy the benefits of their individual differences. While one person excels at making jelly beans or Madonna records, another specializes in producing cars, computer chips, or pleasure—which brings us to the matter at hand.

How far can it go? If buying locally is one of the chief virtues, should states impose trade barriers against each other? Better yet, should the concept be carried down to the neighborhood level? Will we be forced to do all our shopping within a mile of our homes instead of looking for the best price? It certainly would maintain the local job market, at least for a few. Wouldn't it? So what if we all pay higher prices for fewer goods with less variety? But again, why stop there? Suppose the principle of local self-sufficiency were applied to a new area—one of our favorite mutual exchanges—like sex? Why not introduce legislation setting stringent geographical limits to sexual choices?

Followed to its logical extreme—always the acid test for a good idea—what do we have left? In a word, masturbation. After all, if free trade is nothing more than a peaceful exchange of goods or services by voluntary participants for mutual satisfaction (protectionists being against this), then the Buy-American crowd should be crowing loudly for sexual trade barriers. After all, why seek abroad what can be obtained so much closer to home?

In the end, however, we can count on moderates (heavy on inertia) to locate a happy middle ground. As usual, they will ensure that nobody gets what they want. After abandoning an early, blue-sky attempt to appease anti-discriminationists by mandating equal apportionment of affection to members of both sexes by both sexes, moderates will propose two measures to mollify the masturbationists and their opponents: 1) a sunset clause to protect liaisons and marriages established before the new laws become effective and 2) a compromise bill which restricts the choice of partners to those living within a certain distance from one's home. Of course the actual limits of this free zone would vary—purely an administrative

problem. (Residents of New York City, for example, might be restricted to one city block, while rural inhabitants would probably have the pick of the county.)

When the legislation is finally hammered out, it will probably follow the course taken by all such measures—voluntary restraints followed by licensing. During the "voluntary" period, there will be an appeal to social responsibility and civic-mindedness. Individuals will be asked to confine their romantic wanderings to limits determined by community values.

This appeal, however, will fall on deaf ears. Self-centered individuals, bent on personal happiness above the well-being of the group, will prove that stricter measures are necessary. Needless to say, the various media will be scrambling over each other in an attempt to alert the public about this new and impending crisis.

Dating licenses will be issued by state governments. Purchased when renewing drivers' licenses, they will define the precise nature and geographical limits of permissible dating. Although some states—probably Nevada and New Jersey—will allow licensees to purchase rights to wander in a larger territory (undoubtedly for a much higher fee), in general there will be no exceptions. To allow them would be nothing less than discrimination based on income.

Of course, a law is only as good as its enforcement. Poaching would be strictly prohibited. Those caught romancing outside of their licensed zone or smuggling partners will face suspension, increasingly higher fines, or both. As with every new piece of legislation, there will be a new crop of scofflaws—among them, social misfits who relocate frequently in an attempt to avoid the impact of the new restrictions. As a result, there will naturally be legislative "riders" restricting the number and kind of relocations allowed—as always, pending application to the proper authorities.

Of course, we will not have heard the last of the masturbationists. They will continue pressing for the ultimate in closely circumscribed romance barriers. Every session of Congress will be jammed with new proposals to keep Americans alone and at home, and every session will see the opposing factions line up against each other—each dancing faster than the other in a quest for more votes. Likewise, before each new compromise can be worked out, some hard-liners, unsatisfied with the prospects, will engage in sporadic violence to make their point—proving once again that "when all else fails, there's always the fist."

Ludlow is a free-lance writer in Mt. Clemens, MI.

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Paul

Continued from page 1

for President Campaign to find out. But if your state is listed, please get in touch with your state coordinator who will be handling everything in your area. Meantime, we're forwarding the names of all volunteers who contact us to the state coordinators.

Thanks for your patience as we set up this volunteer system. Alicia and the state coordinators will be calling on volunteers soon.

Ron's eight-minute TV advertisement is already booked on cable access TV stations in New Hampshire. This is in advance of a visit there by Ron. We'll give reports on the feedback in our publication *On The Freedom Trail*. We'll inform all supporters in respective states when the ad is to air in their areas. The ad is available on VHS or BETA to anyone for a contribution of \$100.

On his most recent swing, Ron attended a birthday celebration of the Mises Institute in New York City. He also had time for a visit with New York City Libertarians.

We're asking that everyone keep us informed of significant statewide issues so that we can brief Ron before his visits. Send these to the campaign office.

Please be sure that all scheduling is done by Jan Kessmann at the campaign headquarters, 713-333-1988. The headquarters address is 1120 NASA Rd., Suite 104, Houston, TX 77058.

Though the stock market ups and downs have been a misfortune for some investors, it may prove to be the "open sesame" that Ron and the Libertarian Party need to attract more serious attention.

Funny money is on the run; taxes have become literally revolting; interventionism, and all of the uncertainties that it creates, is on the rise; and the Establishment is backed against the wall. The political zodiac surely is aligned in our favor. Maybe this is the dawning of our Libertarian age after all.

As one of Ron's supporters put it, "Tell everybody!"

LI's Second World Report of Activities

By Vince Miller

FINLAND: Roger Wessman, LI's Rep for Finland, reports that there is a substantial group interested in Austrian Economics at the Turku School of Economics. He also reports that plans are afoot to establish a new libertarian organization this fall. He is now translating the LI/Bob Poole "Privatization" pamphlet into Finnish.

MIDDLE EAST: The Libertarian International, with the valued assistance of the USLP Secretary I. Dean Ahmad, has launched a new Middle East peace plan—i.e., selling the libertarian decentralist positions of Frances Kendall and Leon Louw's book *After Apartheid* to both sides of the Arab/Israeli conflict. So far Ahmad has received positive response from the Palestinian and Islamic groups he has

contacted. LI staff has sent copies of the book and written appeals to libertarians in Israel as well as to Israeli political leaders.

POLAND: Janusz Zuchowski is the new LI Rep from Poland. Janusz was a member of Polish underground free market groups including the strongly libertarian Freedom and Peace movement. He is now in Western Europe and will help LI with communications and cooperation with these groups. When Janusz spoke at the LP Convention in Seattle, he passionately pleaded the case for libertarians becoming involved in international affairs and lending their support to fledgling movements outside North America.

SOUTH AFRICA: LI member Dr. Frank Vorhies reports that the recently-formed South African Libertarian Society held a highly suc-

cessful conference in the Drakensberg Mountains in northern Natal. It was attended by 150 people from many parts of South African society and included successful black capitalist James Mbetse who spoke about how the socialist apartheid system crushes black entrepreneurs. Particularly interesting was the fact that socialists and Marxists were invited to give papers and participate in the discussions. Leon Louw, who is now attempting to sell capitalism to the African National Congress, remarked that while the ANC had adopted Marxist rhetoric they do not clearly understand how economics work. When he explains this to black Marxists he claims close to a 100 percent conversion rate. (A full report on the conference will appear in the October/November issue of "Freedom Network News").

SWAZILAND: The LI will be holding a World Libertarian Convention in Swaziland, Southeast Africa, August 7-13, 1988. Co-hosts will be Frances Kendall and Leon Louw and confirmed speakers (besides Kendall and Louw) so far include LP NEWS's own Karl Hess, Barbara Branden, Hubert Jongen (Holland), and underground economy expert Herando de Soto of Peru. We hope to confirm Zulu Chief Buthelezi very soon. Again, stay tuned and don't miss this one—it will be powerful. A two-day photo safari in the spectacular Kruger National Game Park is included in the program.

Miller is Chairman of Libertarian International, 9308 Farmington Dr., Richmond, VA 23229. Phone: 804-740-6932. Annual dues \$20, including newsletter.