

News Digest

Computerized versions and variations of the libertarian **Nolan Chart** are showing up in software listings. *Big Blue Disk*, the magazine on disc for the IBM PC/PC jr. and compatibles, offers a political preference program from **Daniel Tobias**, also noted as the compiler of the Libertarian E-Mail Directory. **Lorne Strider**, California activist, offers a Nolan Chart program, complete with ragtime music, for Commodore 64 (\$5, PO Box 554, Laytonville, CA 95454, 707-984-6644). Program also includes a list of liberty-oriented groups and four articles about the Nolan Chart.

★★★★★

James W. Lark, III, Dean's Fellow in systems engineering and president of Students for Individual Liberty at the University of Virginia, offers to operate a clearinghouse and keep an up-to-date list of **campus libertarian groups** for all who are interested. If you are in such a group, hope to start one, or know of any, contact Jim at 725-F Mountainwood Rd., Charlottesville, VA 22901, 804-295-3801.

★★★★★

Bargain sampler of popular, timely libertarian writings is offered by **Gerald Schneider** who has been writing a libertarian column, opposite offerings by Republican and Democratic columnists, in the *Wheaton (MD) News*. (That's a suburb of DC.) For \$15 he'll send all of next year's 26 columns in monthly mailings. Gerry says, "You will never get cheaper ready-made libertarian ideas written for the general public that you can use as is." Address him at 8750 Georgia Avenue, Suite 1410-B, Silver Spring, MD 20910.

★★★★★

David Bergland and **Dick Boddie** now have a 60-minute cassette tape on how to present libertarian ideas. Includes 35 great examples of 30-second responses to questions about the Libertarian Party. Available (\$5 for single copies, less for multiples, down to \$3 each for 20 or more) from Orpheus Publications, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92626.

★★★★★

Imprisoned **Norma Jean Almodovar**, out of solitary confinement, is eager for letters. New address: W27022, C.I.W. Miller A 54L, Frontera, CA 91720.

★★★★★

Jo McIntyre, editor of "Oregon Libertarian," the state's party newsletter, has been appointed to the Yamhill County Landmarks Commission which looks for sites for historical preservation. It's an odd but interesting opportunity, she says, "to raise the banner of liberty in a unique forum."

★★★★★

Cincinnati LP candidate for city council, **Emmet Winslow**, is getting good attention for a campaign he began on July 4. He plans 400 yard signs, 100 radio spots, 10,000 pieces of literature. "My goal," he says, "when I am out campaigning is to show that libertarians are friendly, regular sort of people. While my commitment to freedom is 'extreme' it is important for us to present a reasonable non-threatening image to the public."

★★★★★

One of the most interesting libertarian questionnaires ever is being distributed by **R.W. Bradford's** new publication "Liberty." For a real challenge to your positions and principles send a self-addressed stamped envelope and a request for the questionnaire to Liberty, PO Box 1167, Port Townsend, WA 98368.

★★★★★

One of left libertarianism's oldest public forums, **Black Rose Lectures**, is still going strong every Friday on the campus of MIT. For information: 617-524-0781.

★★★★★

Utah's LP chairman, **Bob Waldrop**, and friends distributed 3,000 copies of an eight-page special tabloid aimed specifically at fans of the Grateful Dead rock band when the group played at a Utah ski resort. He says, "We took

a serious libertarian message and packaged it with humor and information about a popular rock group—and found that we could sell it at twice what it cost us to produce it [12 cents]." Proselytizing for fun and profit. Not bad.

★★★★★

Libertarian Party of Alabama is selling self-inking rubber stamps with the message "Restore Sound \$, Ron Paul for President." Great. You can stamp just about anything, anywhere with them. To order the Ron Paul stamp send \$8 to Alabama Libertarian Party, PO Box 11514, Birmingham, AL 35202.

★★★★★

Brilliant article by **Alejandro A. Chafuen** in "Free Marin" newsletter (\$10 for 10 issues a year, Box 365, Kentfield, CA 94914-0367) makes the point that a libertarian revolution is hinted at in many Latin American countries as governments try central planning, nationalization, and anti-property laws while people turn to underground free market economy to get things done. In Argentina, one of the most developed countries, he claims, 60 percent of the GNP is in the free market underground, not registered in official statistics. In Peru, he claims the figure is 40 percent.

★★★★★

New Jersey LP is handing out striking handbills. Big type at top says "Government. The Big Lie." Text describes "addiction" to government. Bottom line says "Call the government addict hotline. Kick your habit. Break free from government." Numbers and addresses are given for the state LP.

★★★★★

Francis W. Poretta, chair of the Suffolk County (NY) Society for Individual Liberty, sparks a good idea: Collect your membership's letters-to-the-editors to issue as photocopied local outreach pamphlets.

★★★★★

National committee membership chair **Dr. Matt Monroe**, publisher of *American Libertarian*, has energetically pledged to work for a 15,000-member, \$500,000-per-year budget national Libertarian Party.

★★★★★

Harry's War, one of the best pro-liberty films ever made, is available on VCR cassettes from Free Forum Books, 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102.

★★★★★

In "The Free Market," publication of the Ludwig von Mises Institute (322 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002), **Rick Maybury** provides a spirited reminder: "During patriotic holidays, the news media applaud the Founding Fathers [as do many politicians and judges!]. But rarely does anyone mention some important facts about them: that they were smugglers, tax evaders, and traitors."

★★★★★

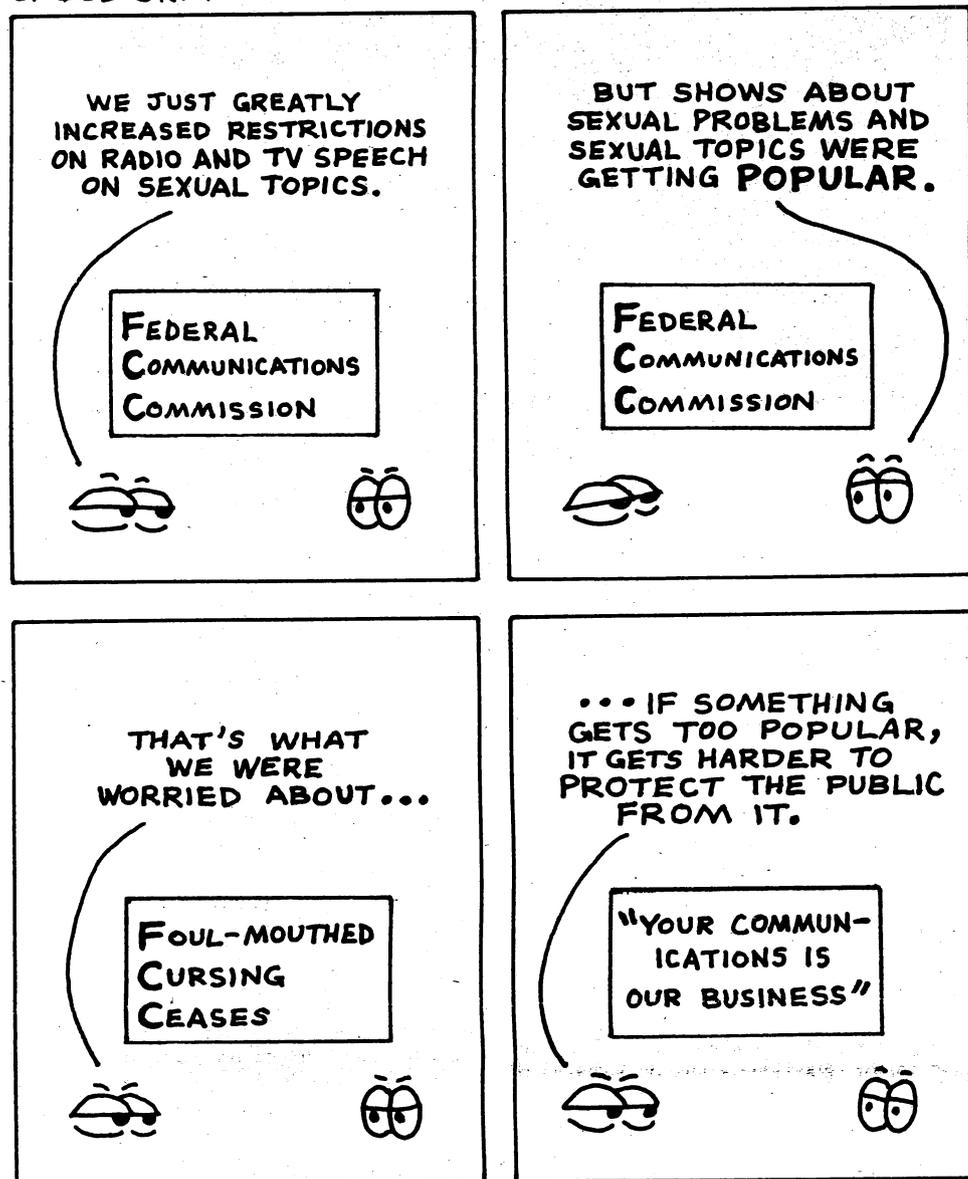
Ballot historian and activist **Richard Winger** provides pointed analysis of Reagan court appointees' decisions regarding the rights of political parties: "The only instance in which a Reagan appointee to a US Court of Appeals voted in favor of the rights of a political party was the Connecticut case in which the plaintiff was the Republican Party...The US Supreme Court shows the same pattern. Neither Reagan appointee...has ever voted in favor of the rights of any political party, or in favor of ballot access for independent candidates, or in favor of the right of candidacy."

★★★★★

Libertarian Party of New Hampshire is among many state parties reporting good results from a booth at a state fair. Report on the activity by **Paul Siegler** says that "From all perspectives, our booth was a resounding success. We earned a good deal of money through the sale of bumper stickers, and from donations. We collected enough new names and addresses to double our current membership." Also distributed: Ron Paul campaign literature.

★★★★★

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South Carolina LP's third annual Crackpot awards for "grotesque or bizarre" legislative proposals featured a second consecutive award to the Speaker of the state House of Representatives for a tax bill which, among other things, would force salesmen covering the state to fill out more than 100 city and 46 county tax returns.

★★★★★

Georgia Libertarian Party's annual Cracked Pot awards "for wasteful, irrelevant" legislation were enhanced this year by a public debate with Alabama LPers as to which state has the worst politicians. Speaking for Alabama, state chair **Frank Monachelli** graciously confined his nominations to local and appointed officials, saying that "We're not going to bring in our Alabama Legislature because obviously it's the worst in the world."

★★★★★

Another libertarian award for "malignant uses of government" (MUG) is being issued monthly by **Contra Costa (CA) LPers** in their "Abolitionist" newsletter. Name of the award: The Ellsworth Toohey MUG, after Ayn Rand's magnificently portrayed, monumentally malignant enemy of liberty.

★★★★★

Pennsylvania libertarian **Richard Fuerle** presents what he calls "the first general theory of economics to be published since...Keynes. [It] synthesizes the laws of economics into a single deductive theory." Title: *The Pure Logic of Choice*, available from Laissez Faire Books, 532 Broadway, New York, NY 10012, at \$13.95.

★★★★★

West Lafayette, Indiana's lively LP newsletter, "The Trout in the Milk," suggests a wild libertarian cabinet. Defense: Ed Clark. Attorney general: Carol Newman. Interior: Karl Hess. Agriculture: Larry Dodge. Commerce: Jim Lewis. Labor: David Bergland. Health and

Human Services: Dr. Peter Breggin. Transportation: Marshall Fritz. Energy: Honey Latham. Education: Steve Dasbach.

★★★★★

Society for Individual Liberty co-founder **Dave Walter** offers a brilliant "save" in regard to a quote used by and obviously favored by Reagan interventionist spokesmen. It's by John Quincy Adams and says, as used by Reagan, that "Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will be America's heart, her benedictions, and her prayers." What is omitted, Walter points out, is the conclusion of the quote: "...but she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well wisher to freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own." A perfect, libertarian, non-interventionist rejoinder that should be good for many an LP speech!

★★★★★

Libertarian **Robert O. Baures** has available a wonderful little cartoon feature called **Burons** (a bureaucracy-baiting "strip of people who do it and the people they do it to") with a consistent libertarian message. There's a sample on this page. If your libertarian publication or a local paper might be interested in using them, contact Baures at 2351 China Gulch Road, Jacksonville, OR 97530, 503-899-8250. In instances where LP papers have paid for the feature, Baures has donated the payments back to them.

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LP Activist Network News

In the coming campaign months it's vital that LP candidates, petitioners, editors, state and local chairs, officers and volunteers — can communicate freely.

The monthly Bulletin Board and Updates of contact names and numbers throughout the national Party structure make the Activist an essential for the truly active Libertarian.

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This Project Is a Sizzler

By Jim Peron

When I take friends out to dinner here in San Francisco, I take them into the heart of the slums. I don't take them to the finest restaurants that Chinatown has to offer. I don't take them to Fisherman's Wharf. I take them into the middle of the district known as the Tenderloin.

In the heart of the Tenderloin is a Sizzler Steak House that is unlike any other steak house I know. It is run by a non-profit organization called Reality House West and it exists because of federal cutbacks. The Tenderloin's biggest single commercial investment since World War II was not the result of a government program but the result of diminished government subsidies.

Reality House, like many other non-profit community groups, provided a service, in this case housing for the elderly. The group was content to take federal funding and make do with what it received. But when federal funding was cut, it was forced to look for new alter-

Ring the Liberty Bell

Libertarian Party NEWS, recently, was the 2,549th caller to Liberty Bell, the rejuvenated bulletin board service of the Santa Clara (CA) Libertarian Party.

The service offers, for casual visitors to the bulletin board, a first-class introduction to libertarianism and asks callers to leave their names and numbers for follow-up contacts.

For regular users, at no charge, the bulletin board offers a regular electronic mail service. The service is accessible through 408-243-1933. It's also a part of the Fido Network: Fido 143/6.

Any local or state libertarian group interested in such a service can contact Liberty Bell. They are skilled and cooperative. The system operators are Bod Bickford and Mike Iddings. They can be reached by phone at 408-243-2711. The only time that the board isn't open is from 1:30 to 3:30 am (PST) daily when mail is being processed.

Another bulletin board of interest to libertarians has gone up in Atlanta. Its number is 404-377-1141. Libertarian David Ross has arranged for a libertarian conference section on the board where local activists can leave comments on projects, philosophy, or any other matters of interest. There's no charge for using the board which also includes discussions of everything from the paranormal to conspiracy theories to general political discussions. The board is part of a national system called Paranet. David Ross' home phone for anyone interested in the bulletin board is 404-425-2891.

And a reminder: There is a directory of modem-using libertarians, the Libertarian E-Mail Directory, \$4.00 postpaid, Daniel Tobias, 4025 Golf Links Blvd, #340, Shreveport, LA 71109. Being listed in it could extend your networking possibilities.

BBS Press Service, Inc. (BPS), produces, edits, and distributes electronic news, audited editorial products, and software demonstration programs to the homes of personal computer users through a network of independent computer bulletin board systems (BBS) in the United States, Canada, Europe, and Australia. BPS is a pioneer and leader in the personal telecommunications industry which now comprises fee-based on-line services, databases, and telecommunications common carriers. The company's news and editorial products are distributed free to its end users; its revenues are derived from national advertising, fees for delivery of software demonstration programs, and on-line interactive surveys placed on behalf of research and opinion clients. The BPS Affiliate Network now comprises over 130 independent BBS systems serving over 60,000 on-line home personal computer users. The company is a private Kansas corporation. Contact: William A. Boas, Jr., Studio 53, 1409 Allison, Lakewood, CO 80215; 303-238-4994.

natives. Forced off the federal dole, organizers resorted to the marketplace. First they approached various businesses and raised almost \$1 million. With the money, they purchased a \$20,000 Sizzler franchise and they renovated a boarded-up store front right in the heart of one of San Francisco's worst neighborhoods.

The change is dramatic. Right in the midst of blight is an impressive, modern, clean restaurant. The food is excellent and the prices reasonable. And the profits are used to subsidize the elderly housing.

But other changes are even more important. While the elderly may not have noticed a major change, the neighbors have. Under the old welfare program no new jobs were created, but under the market alternative, dozens of new jobs have been created. Dozens of people, many of them from the surrounding neighborhood, are learning job skills. And they are earning money, they are off of welfare, and they are spending their money in the neighborhood.

Reality House has provided us with an important example of how creativity and the free market can solve many problems which are presently left in the hands of the government. If those cut-backs had never taken place, things would be quite different. Dozens of people would still be collecting welfare. The store would still be a dark, boarded building attracting unsavory people. The neighborhood would continue its decline until things were so bad the city would finally bring in the bulldozers.

Now a few times a month I walk through the slums to buy dinner. I trade some of my hard-earned money for a good meal. I help improve a neighborhood, provide jobs for the unemployed and housing for the elderly. And when I'm finished eating, I sit back and look out through the clean windows at a neighborhood on its way up and I appreciate those budget cuts that spurred the human creativity necessary to turn a bad situation into a wonderful opportunity.

Jim Peron is chairman of the San Francisco/Marin Libertarian Party, and owner of the Free Forum book store in San Francisco.

Dial-an-Anarchist

In Madison, WI, 24 hours a day, you can "Dial-an-Anarchist."

A two-year-old group of "free-market anarchists" there, organized as KYFHOTech, provides three-minute messages on the free market using an ordinary answering machine, set for "announce only," with a number publicized by bulletin board notes, by notes left in phone booths, by public service radio announcements, by a few small newspaper ads, and by word of mouth.

The messages, which change every two weeks, are part of what KYFHOTech members call their specialization "in the communications needs of the free-market anarchist." They also operate a mail-drop service and a product development service, and publish free-market pamphlets and a free-market newsletter circulated in the Madison area. Although a spokesman for the group says that they do not feel that the Libertarian Party is the answer, he did point out that most of the group started out as Party members. Their own view is that, "A nonaggressive, self-regulating free market is the natural form of a civilized society," and that is exactly what their messages reflect. Dial-an-Anarchist may be reached at 608-244-3641. KYFHOTech may be reached at P.O. Box 322, Middleton, WI 53562. And, as they say, "May the market be with you, for the state, most assuredly, is not!"

PRO-CHOICE LIBERTARIANS

"Vigilant for Women's Freedom"

Box 106, 632 Cloverdale,
Los Angeles, CA 90036

Let's Face It—Violence Is the Real Issue

By Alan Burris

Violence is the key issue of human relations.

Violence against our property, which includes our bodies, is the means by which we are deprived of liberty and human rights. Even though it may not be visible, violence and the threat of violence substantially affect each of our lives every day.

Violence cuts our standard of living at least in half, and in many areas of the world reduces the standard of living below where it is possible to stay alive.

Millions of people die every year as a result of violence. The population of the world could be fed with the enormous wealth that is spent to commit violence or to defend against violence. Violence is the business of politics and government, as well as of common criminals.

When someone says something like, "Government should require people to send their children to public school," he or she is advocating violence. If you point out that violence is being proposed, the response will usually be surprise and denial. But, for refusing to obey, people have been murdered, they and their children kidnapped, and their property seized by men with guns.

Interestingly, the same person who can't see the role of violence in forcing people to pay for, and to send their children for, government indoctrination, would have no problem classifying as violent the action of someone who obtained money by threatening to kill with a concealed weapon.

Now you may be wondering why I have been using the word "violence" rather than our

favorite libertarian word "force." Few non-libertarians, or libertarians for that matter, understand what we mean by force. Often, we use the word force to refer to voluntary choices such as being "forced" to face the facts.

The other reason is that not many people will admit favoring violence as a basis for human relations, whereas they may feel it is alright to force other people to do or not do certain things.

I believe that we are on much stronger ground when we oppose the initiation of violence than when we support liberty, even though the two positions are actually identical.

Unfortunately, liberty is an imprecise abstract concept. And as any libertarian who has tried to convert the heathen knows too well, not many people are interested in, or able to deal with, abstract concepts. In contrast, the concept of violence requires little intellectual effort or imagination. And the word violence has an emotional impact.

It appears to me that we will be more persuasive if we start from a position most people agree with, or feel they should agree with, and if we use easily understood concepts with emotional appeal.

When asked what we stand for, we can say that a libertarian is a person who believes that violence should be used only for self-defense.

The big problem, of course, is to make people aware that when they say "there ought to be a law" they are advocating violence. But that's not a new problem, and when we start with violence instead of liberty we have a number of advantages.

We avoid having to explain, at least right

away, that liberty doesn't mean a major crime wave, disastrous pollution, mass starvation of the poor and the other images that seem to come to people's minds when we advocate more freedom.

Instead, the opposition is put on the defensive when we point out that socialism means basing human relations on violence rather than the tolerance and peaceful voluntary cooperation that we support.

When they ask about the poor, we reply, "Why do you believe that violence is the best solution for social problems? Doesn't violence create more problems than it solves?" or "That's another reason why we are against violence: it is the main cause of poverty."

When we talk about more liberty as the solution to poverty, people tend to think, "Sure, the poor will be free to starve" and then tune us out.

The trouble with liberty is that it doesn't do anything. Everybody knows what violence does and is afraid of violence.

Violence is the real issue, and we should not cooperate with the silent conspiracy to protect the public from the uncomfortable truth. We should expose the violence concealed by euphemisms like "require," "mandatory" and "regulate."

Talking about violence can not only help libertarians persuasively explain what we stand for, it can help us to better analyze questions and to keep our own thinking straight.

Violence is not an academic theory, and the guns, clubs and prisons are not imaginary. The ugly reality we must recognize is that we are being oppressed and robbed so constantly that to most people it seems normal and nothing to get excited about.

Most people can't even imagine what it would be like not to be subjected to pervasive oppression and robbery. We permit ourselves to be robbed and oppressed because of the threat of overwhelming violence.

Often, the lack of widespread obvious physical resistance is cited as evidence that we have agreed to be oppressed, and that there is no violence involved. We don't resist because we know that if we refuse to obey the commands of our oppressors, we may be hunted down by thousands of armed men backed up by soldiers with powerful weapons of modern war.

How many of us would pay taxes if we were certain that no violence would ever be used to collect them?

The basic objective of the libertarian movement is to reduce, to the minimum possible, violence against the property of peaceful people. Because the state is responsible for most violence, our efforts are primarily directed at curbing state violence.

Statist mythology should be understood as merely an excuse for violence, to make violence more acceptable to those who benefit, and to reduce the resistance of the victims. Arguments for statism should not be taken seriously or accorded intellectual respect. The real issue is the justification of violence. If someone is willing to use violence against peaceful fellow human beings, what difference does it make what the excuse is? The question to ask is, "Since you believe that the use of violence to impose your social and economic opinions on others is okay, why shouldn't others use violence to impose their opinions on you?"

Believing, instead of thinking about and understanding social issues, is a comfortable rut for most people. Our job is to make many of them uncomfortable and outraged at the state. One way to do that is to help them become aware of the state violence directed against them and committed against others in their name and with their support.

We have found it useful to point out the absurdity of the left-right political spectrum and offer a different, realistic political spectrum with liberty on one end and statism on the other.

I suggest that we may also find it useful to

offer a violence spectrum with pacifism and arbitrary violence the extremes, and the libertarian position of violence only in self-defense occupying the moderate middle.

An advantage of this spectrum is that fewer people will have preconceived ideas on the subject which have to be overcome. The resistance will come only after they have agreed with the libertarian position, when you explain the implications of their decision. If they have difficulty digesting the idea of opposing government violence, keep reminding them that they agreed that violence could be justified only by self-defense. Ask them if they are willing to assault, kidnap, or kill their neighbors to prevent them from driving without wearing seat belts, or to control their sexual behavior. And if not, is hiring someone else to do the dirty work really any different?

Have fun with politicians and bureaucrats—ask if they would ever support the use of violence against peaceful people. If they say no, never, you can say, "Wonderful—I no longer have to obey your orders!" That violence is the essence of government, is clearly revealed by considering what government would be like if it never initiated violence. If government refrained from violence against peaceful people, then I have no objection to politicians and bureaucrats issuing any silly law or regulation they wish.

Another area of agreement we have with most people, is opposition to war except when it is clearly in self-defense. The role of government is pretty obvious in the massive violence we call war. Governments are the cause of war, not the cure. The curse of war can be eliminated only by individual people throughout the world rejecting violence as a basis for human relations. People everywhere must realize that they can never be personally secure from violence unless they refrain from violence to oppress others. The human race has a choice between socialism, which means violence and war, and liberty, which means tolerance, cooperation, and peace.

Burris is a libertarian activist in Rochester, NY. His article was excerpted from a speech presented to the national convention of the Libertarian Party of Canada this year.

Book Available

By Bob Black

Neither/Nor Press (Box 8043, Ann Arbor, MI 48107) has published an enlarged Second Edition of *Neutron Gun* by Gerry Reith. Not quite 25 when he died in 1984, an apparent suicide, Reith had already compiled an impressive record of libertarian journalism and activism. As an anarchist, he was ambivalent about electoral activity, but he considered the Libertarian Party to be one viable approach to the liberty he so passionately craved. At his death he was vice chairman and newsletter editor of the Wyoming LP.

Although he didn't live long enough to become a major voice in the movement, Reith contributed to such outlets as *Caliber*, *The Connection*, and *Prometheus*, as well as many anarchist publications. He also wrote short fictions and parables, and it is these which are collected in *Neutron Gun*, which he didn't live to see published. The book is an important contribution to what many libertarians are now discussing, the "culture of freedom" which may (or should) accompany the institutional arrangements which libertarians have traditionally concentrated on.

Neutron Gun received favorable notices in the small press (especially—for some reason—in England), in a few "punk" fanzines, and even in the *Village Voice*. It may be time for Gerry Reith's fellow libertarians to take a look at what he accomplished in a few years of intensive political and literary commitment. *Neutron Gun* is available from the publisher (\$5.95 postpaid) and from Loompanics Unlimited, P.O. Box 1197, Port Townsend, WA 98368.

Proof Socialism Sucks

Evidence of the failures of socialism and the successes of the free market come with just about every edition of the news these days. Here are some recent ones:

- In *Newsweek* magazine, Robert J. Samuelson wrote that, "Unfortunately, trying to humanize capitalism ceded too much power to the state. A reaction has set in, even as communist rulers admit their own limits. The common struggle is to reconcile these potent, but opposed, impulses: the recourse to the state as an instrument of utopia and the creative power of open markets. Adam Smith's ghost must be smiling."

- The black market in Nicaragua, successfully distributing goods where the Sandinistas have failed, is reported in the *Washington Post* to be the area "in which discontent with the Sandinistas and their policing methods, is most visible."

- Meantime, in Nicaragua, inflation is roaring along at up to 1,000 percent annually, exports are declining, debt is increasing and the failure of ideological "managers" to get things done is becoming an open scandal.

- In Cuba—a socialist showcase, to listen to the many US pilgrims who go there to ogle, worship and chop cane—a Harvard demographic study shows that in health, literacy, public services, and infant mortality rates Cuba did no better and, in health, did considerably worse than such neighbors as Costa Rica, Panama, and Puerto Rico.

- One of the year's most noticeable popular outbursts in Czechoslovakia came in support of five people named "The Jazz Section," jailed and charged with, gasp, making a profit from publishing books and promoting modern music.

- "Yuppies," young people who want to live well and are prepared to open shops and other businesses to support the ambition, have been sighted in China. And even Ren Zhonglin, a national official responsible for commerce and industry, has been quoted as saying that "individual economic activity has become an indispensable part of China's socialist economy..."

- Writing in *Individual Liberty*, journal of the Society for Individual Liberty (free to

members, \$10/yr for others, P.O. Box 338, Warminster, PA 18974), co-editor Don Ernsberger writes, "It is my view that the emergence of reformism of the market variety within the power elite of the USSR and China suggest the ultimate power of two important themes of libertarian analysis: first, the power of free flow of goods and ideas in the world (particularly with the controlled nations) and second, the linkage of free market principles of trade and self-interest to basic human nature and values."

- Yugoslavia's largest private business, the metal-working firm of the four Karic brothers, is now doing \$20 million worth of business a year, is leading the prosperous development of the poorest area of Yugoslavia, and is showcasing the government's decision to re-privatize at least 20 percent of the nation's economy. Says the oldest Karic brother, Bogoljub: "It doesn't matter if it's called Communist Yugoslavia—this country must have a free economy."

- In Vietnam, a Communist Party Congress has recognized the importance of economic incentives, private enterprises, and profit. In Ho Chi Minh City alone, 3,000 private shops reportedly have sprung up, employing 25,000 people. Bucks, in short, are working better than bayonets.

- Adding some depth to reports of reform in the USSR, Jiri Pehe, a magazine editor in Czechoslovakia before fleeing to the US in 1981, writes in *The New York Times* that "power is shifting from the bureaucracy that derived its 'legitimacy' from the proletariat to the bureaucracy that represents the middle class and its values...middle class professionals are more difficult to control than traditional blue collar workers...A key to the middle class mentality is sophisticated consumption. In return for their labor, members of this professional class demand access to information, travel and goods...Ironically it was Karl Marx who said—the ruling Communists know this well—that ultimately the dominant social class always represents the dominant means of production. Post-industrial technology is operated by a new class—non-proletarian middle class professionals who consider Communism to be an outdated ideology."

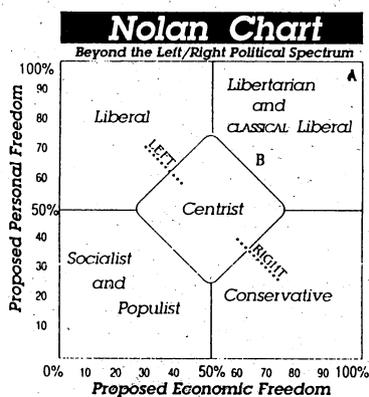
Letters to the Editor

Centrists

Why has the Libertarian Party been going downhill since 1981? Bergland, Fritz, and Mitchell have put their finger on one reason: The LP has appealed to only the 10 percent of the population that is ideological: hence, over 75 percent of LP members are of this "intellectual" personality type.

Yet while less than 1 percent of the population are Libertarian ideologues, surveys by respected pollsters such as Mervin Fields show that 15-20 percent of the US population is libertarian in its thinking; that is, they show support for the triad of pragmatic policies concerning civil liberties, the free market, and a non-interventionist foreign policy more than the average person does.

In other words, the LP has been failing to grow because it has limited its appeal to those in the extreme upper righthand corner of the Nolan chart (A), whereas it could have become a powerful force for political change if it had appealed to that 20 percent of the public at the interface between libertarian and centrist on the chart (B).



Two libertarian institutions, *Reason* magazine and the Cato Institute, have proven that they can grow in size and influence by appealing to that segment of the population. With our new campaign for president we can also begin growing again by reaching that segment of the public. But if we don't do this in 1988, the LP is doomed to fade into oblivion.

Randall Grindle
Lower Lake, CA

Norma Jean

I have contributed to candidates and causes beyond memory but all I ever received in return was a form letter and an envelope saying "Thanks, send more." I read of Norma Jean Almodovar's candidacy [and] that Norma Jean had written a book. I sent a note to pay in advance for a copy and enclosed a very short note inquiring about the result of the election. (In the Peoples Republic of Oregon none of the socialist fish wrappers that impersonate newspapers cover anything outside the donkey/elephant party line.)

I was shocked and absolutely flabbergasted to receive a hand-written full-page letter in response—from an individual under tremendous emotional stress...facing a three-year prison term. If there are some libertarians who consider Norma Jean a "loonie" and a "kook" then I want nothing but...dedicated "loonies" and "kooks" to represent me...

Gerald S. Bernardo
Aloha, OR

Apology

I would like to apologize to all who were offended by my song, "The Social Worker Boogie," which I sang at the LP Presidential Nominating Convention in Seattle. The song was appropriate for neither the audience nor the occasion. But my lapse of judgment in singing it can be instructive to all of us because it points out a common error made by libertarians and non-libertarians alike: the confusion of libertarianism with libertinism; the equation of liberty with license. This unfor-

tunate distortion of the meaning of liberty, propagated more often than not by well meaning libertarian enthusiasts like myself, has probably done more to damage our cause than anything our adversaries could throw at us.

I'm especially ashamed of this gaffe, since I came to the convention eager to share my ideas about the need for a libertarian code of etiquette which would allow libertarians of radically different backgrounds to work together harmoniously and productively.

Too many of us mistake our personal lifestyles for libertarianism itself, and end up promoting them both together as if they were part of the same package. Libertarian atheists, for example, often promote atheism as if it were a requirement for being a libertarian. Yet, libertarianism offers as much to the Christian as to the atheist, as much to the puritan as to the libertine, and as much to the stoic as to the hedonist. Libertarianism is a very narrow political viewpoint, a "minimalist" viewpoint, as Tibor Machan so aptly puts it, and speaks only to a single issue: human aggression. This lack of scope, rather than being a drawback, is libertarianism's beauty and genius. It can have broad appeal precisely because its focus is so narrow. We do a grave disservice when we equate libertarianism with our own peculiar tastes, beliefs, and practices, as I'm afraid I did by singing a bawdy song from a public libertarian platform. Libertarianism is not a lifestyle, a religion, or a culture. It is a framework within which all manner of lifestyles, religions, and cultures may flourish simultaneously, side by side, in harmony rather than conflict.

This narrowness of focus gives us the potential to attract the broadest spectrum of supporters ever gathered under one banner. But this potential will be realized only when we commit ourselves to working with all people, regardless of lifestyle, religion, or culture, who would join us in building a truly free world.

Last week I was out strolling on my lunch break, enjoying the autumnal sun, mulling over these very thoughts, when I came upon an "all books 50¢" box in front of a bookstore. I couldn't resist taking a look, and found the 1937 edition of Emily Post's *Etiquette*. Ms. Post, it turned out, had already postulated the code of libertarian etiquette I was looking for, and she had done it in a single sentence: "Consider the feelings as well as the rights of others."

I bought the book.

Will Hafer
Seattle, WA

Punks

I enjoyed the editorial on punks and principles. I have always found it curious that people who considered themselves friends of liberty were uncomfortable with people whose lifestyles, tastes, and values were different from their own.

My own lifestyle would be considered by many to be a model of middle-class respectability. I am a member of the business faculty at a small rural college. I own a neat, well-kept home in a quiet neighborhood near the country club. I am an officer in the local Elks lodge. I hold several positions of responsibility in the Episcopal church, both at the parish and diocesan level. Etc. Etc.

Yet I have always moved freely in different circles. I have attended social gatherings at which mine was the only white face. I have attended other gatherings where blacks would have been most unwelcome. In the days when the hippie lifestyle was in vogue, I would attend a student pot party one evening and the following evening attend a cocktail party at the Dean's home. And I was equally welcome at all these functions.

Unfortunately, many people appear to be threatened by difference. They see other lifestyles and values as a challenge to what they hold dear, whereas I have always felt my life enriched by people from different cultures. But more to the point, the cause of liberty is too important and its disciples too few for us to

insist on cultural conformity. It is as if we are saying, "First you must become a Rotarian (or Presbyterian, or whatever), and then you can join the fight for liberty." And that is ridiculous!

Sanford W. Wood
Douglas, GA

Decentralist

I'd like to correct the impression that I formally re-joined the Libertarian Party solely to fight Ron Paul's candidacy. While this was part of my reason, other motivations were long-time admiration for Karl Hess and Jim Turney, attraction to the candidacy of Russell Means, and the simple realization that one third of the subscribers to my newsletter DECENTRALIZE! were Libertarian Party members or supporters!

I do see the LP as a useful vehicle for promoting a libertarian decentralist strategy of breaking down nation states into loose, regional confederations of diverse, self-governing communities. I and other libertarians are considering starting a Decentralist Caucus within the LP. I would even feel comfortable with Paul's candidacy if he were merely advocating that individuals in the self-governing communities they form have a right to prohibit abortion.

Carol Moore
Los Angeles, CA

Ron Paul's position that state law, not federal, should govern abortion seems reasonably close to Ms. Moore's position given the practical reality that there are not now any of the sort of self-governing communities that she advocates. (It might be useful to recall that many states legalized abortion before the Supreme Court did it.) And, certainly, libertarians should be able to unite in advocacy of self-government and volitional communities in which consenting persons could make their own rules.—KH

Tolerance

In reading the latest issue of Libertarian Party NEWS, the letter to the editor by Colin and Cecilia Cahoon, Salinas, CA, prompted me to write. I have been a libertarian for all of my adult life (20 years) and within the last few years have been a Libertarian. This letter epitomizes perhaps the single most important reason why the LP does not draw more libertarians who would otherwise become active members. The infighting and derision poured by one LP'er on another turns off most people (please—I am not implying that all LP'ers behave this way). In trying to choose a path, we sometimes forget that we all have the same goal of a libertarian society. Granted, one path may be more effective or efficient than another, but there are many valid paths, each of which has its own adherents. Some may think that this results in a dissipation of effort, but how much effort (or votes, or new members, etc.) is lost in attacking each other?

In contrast, I was heartened to read the Chair's Column in the same issue. The importance of Jim Turney's one statement, "The first step is to behave in a fair and tolerant manner with our adversaries in the elections in Seattle," cannot be overemphasized. This statement recognizes the important of positive reinforcement and the idea that—just possibly—there may be no single pure, true, and ideologically correct way to achieve a libertarian society.

I personally feel that if someone understands and lives by the principle that the initiation of the use of force, and all its derivatives (fraud, etc.), for any reason, is wrong, then that person should be considered a fellow libertarian. This one principle is the distillation of what we want to achieve. Yes, there are a number of tough questions out there on how this principle should be applied (abortion for one), and many of us, myself included, have our own answers. If we can reach out with understanding, we will ultimately succeed. If we don't, our abuse of each other will lead us nowhere.

Arthur J. Dory
Akron, OH

Tolerance

I have long been an advocate of toleration, both as a libertarian and as a humanist. I recall as far back as the 1975 national convention I took out a full-page ad in the convention program advocating toleration among the warring ideological factions with the LP. This was not to be, and because of some, particularly the Leninist group, the Party was to see some rough fights.

Recently I heard Ron Paul addressing the LP dinner meeting in San Diego, making the point that toleration is at the heart of the libertarian approach. Of course this is true, but we cannot yet tolerate each other! Well, let's be as tolerant as we can, anyway. We all have our roads to the ultimate freedom, and they are not all the same road.

Jack Sanders
San Diego, CA

Caucus

Michael Dunn's letter in the July/August LP NEWS announcing the demise of the Libertarian Defense Caucus, deserves commendation.

It was really nice to read a Libertarian Party faction leader acknowledge publicly his group's inability to carry on.

Dunn's letter marks him a better man than others who took monies and never fulfilled subscriptions or printed apologies.

Mr. Dunn, no matter what I think of the content of his caucus, shows good character by these actions. Kudos to him.

Alan R. Turin
N. Miami, FL

Tax Rebels

I would like to comment on Jim Lewis's remarks in the July/August 1987 issue of LP NEWS regarding active resistance; specifically, tax resistance.

While I thoroughly agree with those who advocate everyone doing what they think best to further the cause of liberty, I sincerely question the wisdom of overt tax defiance as a means of protest. I would not argue with anyone who feels compelled by conscience to defy the IRS. However, I feel the most popular forms of tax defiance which have been popularized in recent years have done more harm than good.

First, I must say that I believe those who have overtly defied the IRS and thus far avoided prosecution have done so not because of the sound legal or constitutional basis for their positions, but merely because they are [deemed inconsequential, and] are being given enough rope to thoroughly hang themselves if and when they become more visible.

No one does a bit of good for the cause of liberty from inside a prison. There is no overwhelming public sympathy for tax protestors, and the vast majority who serve time enter prison as active and energetic dissidents, only to come out broken men who are useless to anyone. There are exceptions, but anyone who thinks he will be an exception is probably overestimating himself.

Who wins revolutions, the brave men who die charging into machine gun nests, or the guerrillas who pour a little sugar into the enemy's gas tanks, and then go home to bed?

Andy Barniskis
Levittown, PA

Words

Gerald Schneider's article on critical word choices was great. He asked for suggestions, so I have a couple.

Instead of "major" or "older" parties I prefer to use the term "special interest parties" whenever I refer to the Demopublicans. It's very easy to remind listeners that they suffer for each of the other special interests they cater to.

In the Libertarian Triad, "Personal Liberty" and "Economic Freedom" blend nicely with "Peaceful International Independence."

Charles M. Hart
Cranford, NJ

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Oaks, Not Mushrooms

By Michael Emerling

Three months before the general election, a Libertarian Party candidate files for office. He holds a news conference in front of a federal building. His statement catalogues the evils of The State, stresses the importance of individual rights, and gives compelling reasons for electing him to office. Newspapers, radio, and television carry his message to the voters.

Day after day, for three months, this libertarian speaks out at civic events, public gatherings, high schools, and the like. He grants newspaper interviews, appears on radio and television talk shows, and goes before endorsement committees.

His message gets through. Suddenly the voters come to their senses, realize their true interests, and catapult the libertarian into office.

This scenario is neat, simple, and wrong. It's the myth of mushrooms in the night.

A young boy goes to bed on a warm spring evening. He awakens to see his front yard covered with legions of mushrooms. Yesterday, the yard was uninterrupted green. Today, without any effort or time, mushrooms have sprung up. Without planning or cause. A touch of magic, a hint of the miraculous have entered his life.

It may be several years before the lad learns the natural causes of mushroom growth. Until then, he sees magic, not science. He believes in the Easter Bunny, Santa Claus, the Tooth Fairy, Elves—and mushrooms that magically spring up in the night.

As the boy matures, he discards these childhood fantasies. Or, rather, most of them. Many otherwise mature adults nourish and cherish a belief in the magical. They cling to the myth of mushrooms in the night.

Everyone has dreamed of becoming an overnight success. Wouldn't it be wonderful to

wake up one morning and find you've inherited a million dollars? Or written a best selling novel? Or become a rock star?

Wouldn't it be wonderful to awaken one morning in the White House to discover that you're the first libertarian President?

These dreams of overnight accomplishment can be a pleasant diversion. They can fuel our efforts to make something of our lives.

But some people forget that "the overnight success" is a myth, and begin to treat it as a real possibility. They rationalize and cultivate it as "a long shot."

In the Libertarian Party, many activists subscribe to the myth of mushrooms. Some never gave up their childhood longing for magic. Others have failed to rationally examine all of their beliefs and assumptions.

Many libertarians were captivated by *Atlas Shrugged*. They remember John Galt's three-hour radio speech—and the effect it had on the millions who heard it.

Some libertarians were "overnight converts." On the basis of a conversation or a book, these individuals joined the libertarian movement. These rare individuals may assume that there are thousands more like them.

Individuals act on the basis of their beliefs and assumptions. Suppose that libertarians believe in overnight success, in the myth of mushrooms in the night. What will they do?

They'll go for publicity, media events, and crowds to get the message out. They'll predict high vote totals and the election of local libertarians "any day." They'll beg, borrow, and steal money to pay for brochures, white papers, flyers, and commercials. They'll harass every libertarian in their area to give as much time and money as he has. More if he can borrow. They will raise the intensity of activists to a fever pitch.

On election day, one thing will be clear:

They failed. They didn't deliver on their promises. So they rationalize. They explain. And justify.

In their wake, one finds the burnt-out passions of dedicated activists, the mutilated hopes of idealists, and the mortgaged futures of those who thought they were investing in liberty.

The revolution of 1776 was not sold out overnight. It won't be bought back with a quick fix.

Recapturing liberty will take time, effort, and planning. A permanent freedom must be built on the hearts and minds of informed and committed libertarians.

The Libertarian Party must recruit, educate, and activate. We must locate those who already agree with us and persuade others. We must bring these individuals into the libertarian movement and party. Then we must educate these new libertarians. Some of them will not see all the implications and applications of the libertarian philosophy. Others will be impressed with how well the facts speak for liberty. Because of this educational program, these libertarians will be better able to recruit new libertarians.

But it is not enough to join and know. We must act. To activate these libertarians, we must give them the skills and tools necessary to advance the libertarian cause. They must know how to present libertarian ideas effectively. How to handle a news conference. How to run an effective political campaign. How to organize initiatives to roll back taxes. How to raise funds for projects.

As we recruit, educate, and activate, the Libertarian Party is sowing the seeds of its long term success. Not the seeds of mushrooms. Rather those of oaks and redwoods. They take longer to mature. But their forests last for generations.

State Kills

War is the nation state's most lethal activity.

Wrong.

More people have been killed by government action other than war in this century.

The astonishing assessment has been made in a study by R.J. Rummel, professor of political science at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Altogether, he concludes, government non-war activity has been responsible for the deaths of 119 million persons in this century.

The number killed in war (international and civil) is only 35 million.

Included in the non-war killings are the 27 million killed in the forced 1958-61 collectivization of China's agriculture and the four million killed in the course of similar action in the Soviet Union, 1921-22. Also included are the Khmer Rouge massacres which are estimated to have killed two million people (more than double the number killed in the entire Indo-Chinese war!). Indonesia's slaughter of 600,000 persons accused of being communist and Pakistan's killing of perhaps a million Bengalis also are included.

When the non-war killing is broken down between communist and other authoritarian governments and governments with some semblance of democracy, the authoritarians are judged responsible for 115 million of the 119 million total, with the other governments accounting for only four million (including such things as the 36,000 people believed killed by the French in Algeria and the 2.25 million killed after being turned over to the Soviets by England and the US at the end of the Second World War).



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