



Libertarian Party

NEWS

Volume 4, Number 1

Liberty Enlightening the World

January/February 1989

From the Chair

By Dave Walter
National Chair

On December 4th, Jim Turney resigned his position as national Chair. He took this action, at the National Committee meeting in Oklahoma City, because it had become apparent to him that he no longer enjoyed the support of the majority of NatCom.

I was not there and have no first-hand knowledge of the debates that preceded this decision. Jim is to be commended for making a painful decision that puts the best interest of the Party before personal pride. Whatever one thinks of the outcomes of Jim's many decisions over more than three years as Chair, no one can question that his first commitment is to the long-range success of the Libertarian Party. He has already indicated to me his strong desire to be active, particularly in membership recruitment, on the national level.

Your National Committee chose me to fill the vacancy caused by Jim's resignation. This is a position I have never sought or expected to fill. I do not now anticipate seeking the position at the National Convention next summer.

My initial impulse was to be a "caretaker" Chair, to turn over to the next Chair a Party about at the levels we have now. But we cannot afford to waste nine months treading water. After each national election, the Party stands at a crossroads. The 1988 results showed significant improvement over 1984: we have thousands of new names that should be converted to members, activists, and contributors; tens of thousands of voters were reached who now look forward to future Libertarian activity in their area. I'm certain we are poised for future gains, but only if we work to make them happen. The coming National Convention certainly gives us the opportunity to discuss and agree upon the goals and strategies for the future. But we cannot afford to rely on "business as usual" until the end of August.

Here are the five areas specially deserving our attention until then:

1. Expand the financial contributions flowing to the Party to permit vital new activities, such as hiring a Field Coordinator.
2. Provide the State Parties with materials and assistance to be successful.
3. Get an early start on ensuring maximum ballot access for 1990 and beyond.
4. Significantly increase membership levels.
5. Ensure the national office is running efficiently and providing basic functions on a timely basis.

There is no need to bore you with the many decisions that have been made in each area, the appointments made, the plans launched. If everyone does the fantastic things they have promised me during the "honeymoon," then you should be seeing some of the results already.

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Turney Resigns As Chair

Jim Turney has resigned as Chair of the national Libertarian Party.

Dave Walter has been elected, by the National Committee, to take over as Chair. Walter, who had been serving as Vice Chair, is co-founder of the Society for Individual Liberty, one of the oldest and most respected of libertarian organizations. Dave Bergland was elected to take Walter's place as Vice Chair.

At the same Oklahoma City National Committee meeting in December, Steve Fielder was selected to replace Sam Treynor who resigned as national Treasurer. Robert Murphy of Oklahoma was elected to be an at-large member of the NatCom to fill the position previously held by Fielder.

Turney's resignation came after a full day of debate on his management of LP affairs and was precipitated by a resolution by Lew Rockwell to strip Turney of his powers as chief executive officer, turning the powers over to someone to be newly appointed, presumably by the NatCom. The NatCom members voted 14 to 9 to consider the motion despite the reservations of some, including Bill White, chair of the Party's Judicial Committee, that it would be improper to take away and reassign the Chair's powers and thus override the Seattle convention decision which elected Turney as Chair in the first place.

Nonetheless, it was quickly apparent that Turney had lost the support of most members of the NatCom. His offer to resign, which also means he will remain on the NatCom as an immediate Past Chair, was accepted by a vote of 22 to 1, with California's Lynn Sapowski casting

the dissenting vote. The election of Dave Walter as Chair obviated the need to create a new executive position.

The difference between respect for Turney as a Party spokesperson and leader and as a manager was summed up by Dr. Murray Rothbard who characterized Turney as "a heroic figure with a fatal flaw" when it comes to day-by-day administration of Party affairs. Sharon Freeman reminded the NatCom that at its San Mateo meeting it had limited many of the powers of the Chair and had assigned them to an Executive Committee.

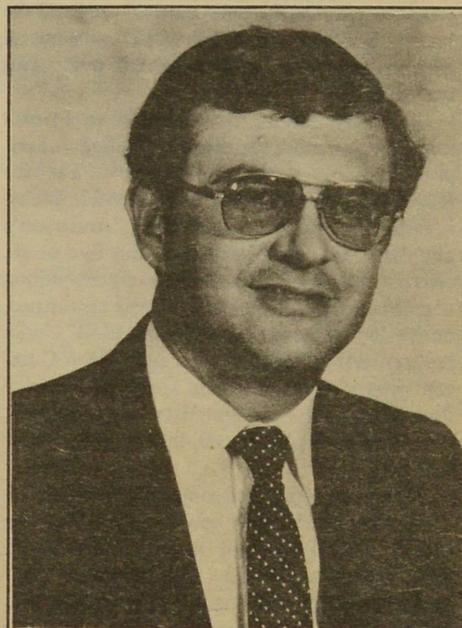
"Now," she said, "we are holding Jim Turney responsible for the inaction of the Executive Committee."

To avoid damaging escalation of charge and counter-charge, however, Paul Kunberger worked hard at and finally achieved a consensus under which the resignation would be accepted and the Chair's powers remain intact so that the Party could get on with its work with a minimum of factional friction.

Members who are interested in the details of the meeting can obtain the minutes through their state chairs or regional representatives.

Coincident with the Turney resignation, Kirk McKee, who had been acting as National Director, also resigned with no replacement being named as this issue of the NEWS went to press.

Reports on the finances of the Party, made at the meeting, showed that the Party's vendor debt had been reduced to a comparatively small \$4,000. The Ballot Access Committee, under Burt Blumert, reported that it ended the year with no debt at all. The meeting also was assured that



Dave Walter was chosen by NatCom to be the Libertarian Party's new national Chair, replacing Jim Turney, who resigned.

despite troubling reports of irregularities in the accounts of Ron Paul's non-Party newsletter and other non-Party operations, that there had been no evidence showing that these problems extended to the Ron Paul campaign itself or to the Ballot Access Committee. Burt Blumert and Party Auditor Mike Holmes are preparing a report on the matter. Meantime, a deputy auditor, Bill Redpath, of Virginia, was appointed by the NatCom.

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Project 51-'92 Organized

Project 51-'92, a registered Political Action Committee (PAC) devoted solely to Libertarian Party ballot status in all 50 states and the District of Columbia in 1992, has been established.

Andre Marrou, the LP's 1988 vice-presidential candidate and now director of Project 51-'92, has brought together an impressive staff for the PAC. Besides Director Marrou, the committee includes: Chief Advisor David Bergland, the LP's 1984 presidential candidate; Ballot Consultant Richard Winger, nationally known ballot access authority; Assistant Advisor Steve Fielder, former LP Ballot Access Committee chair and national LP Treasurer; and Fund Raiser Michael Emerling, noted Libertarian activist and Marrou's recent campaign manager. Other committee members will be announced in the near future, according to Emerling.

Emerling said the PAC was set up as an on-going project with the goal of gaining permanent ballot status in as many states as possible. Rather than working within a committee of the national Party, Emerling said the independent PAC was formed so that all factions of the LP, as well as libertarians outside the Party, could get involved and work together toward one common goal.

Project 51-'92 has already established several goals for 1989. The first goal is to achieve ballot status in North Carolina, Emerling said, where the LP can get two elections for the price of one. If successful in collecting signatures for the 1990 election, the LP will automatically qualify for the 1992 elections as well. Emerling said the PAC

hopes to begin hiring petitioners in late March. North Carolina has continually proven to be the most difficult state for the LP to achieve ballot status in, but, Emerling said, "We are going for the tough one first."

The second goal of Project 51-'92 will be to initiate court action in Illinois to challenge the starting date for LP petitioning, hoping to allow the LP 60 additional days for petitioning in that state.

In Arizona, the PAC has set the goal of registering 8,000 additional Libertarians. When this is accomplished, according to Emerling, the LP will acquire permanent ballot status there.

The raising of \$60,000 to get these three projects started is Emerling's immediate goal. The PAC is designed to run from January 1989 to January 1991, and Emerling is estimating the entire cost of achieving ballot status in all 50 states and DC to be approximately \$750,000. The idea, Emerling stated, is that if the LP is already on all state ballots by early 1991, the LP's presidential candidate will be freed of that responsibility and able to devote more time and money to actual campaigning in 1991 and 1992.

Project 51-'92 is being run as a small business, or cottage industry, from a room at Andre Marrou's home, and the PAC will be issuing financial and progress reports on a regular basis.

To send a contribution or to receive more information write: Project 51-'92, 5143 Blanton Drive, Las Vegas, NV 89122.

Notice

Due to the volume of uncollected accounts, the national office is forced to change its liberal billing procedures. Effective immediately all material orders must be pre-paid. We will accept orders by phone charged to either VISA or MASTERCARD.

The national office also will be raising the prices slightly on some materials after the first of the year. The new prices will be published soon. Price and quantity information is available by phone.

Due to our current situation of more than \$3,000 in past due and uncollected accounts, there can be no exceptions to this policy.

Delivery time can be up to 4-6 weeks, so please order early or stock up on materials ahead of time.

Thank you for your understanding in this matter.

In Liberty,
Charles Rodgers
LP Headquarters
Production Supervisor

The Environment:
A Libertarian Issue
Pages 6-7

Proclaim Liberty
Convention
Pages 8-10

LP's Greatest Obstacle

By David Brin

There is no greater obstacle to the Libertarian Party's success than the present Electoral College system.

The problem is this: People may sympathize with Libertarian ideals, but feel reluctant to "waste their votes" unless at least some good will come of it. The winner-takes-all method of allocating each state's electors reinforces this reluctance by denying third parties any of the partial, symbolic victories that encourage greater efforts next time. The way things stand, the Libertarian Party could win even a quarter of the vote in California—perhaps in a groundswell protest against the two jerks being run by the older parties—and still the Libertarian Party's candidate would come out nil where it counts, and have to start all over again next time.

Ironically, solving all these problems *won't* require eliminating the Electoral College! Simply ending winner-takes-all would do it. Take the famed John Anderson campaign of 1980. With a somewhat different distribution, Anderson's popular votes might have won him five or six electors, opening the possibility to enter coalition negotiations with either of the other candidates, on the floor of the Electoral College itself. Under proportional allocations even such "Don Quixote" campaigns as Anderson's, or the Libertarian Party's, might show progressive, tangible results, year by year, which would, in turn, attract new voters.

This possibility undoubtedly frightens the daylight out of both the Democrats and the Republicans. That's why vested interests prefer the present situation. Just as jerryandering of congressional district boundaries has given over 95 percent of our congressional representatives safe districts, the winner-takes-all method of allo-

cating each state's Electors has long kept new parties from threatening the oligopolistic system.

For a long time, winner-takes-all offered each established party another advantage—home territories in which their power and patronage were secure. But this has changed in recent years. The Democrats' traditional base bloc, the South, has been thoroughly penetrated, while the Republican grip on the West has remained firm. The end of this traditional equilibrium has proven disastrous for the Democrat Party in presidential races, despite their continuing dominance in both the voter rolls and in the Congress.

From 1952 to 1984, 27 states have gone reliably Republican in presidential elections, compared with only six for the Democrats. But what does this reliability mean? Does every voter in Kansas and Utah vote Republican every year? Of course not. A so-called "Republican landslide" seldom means that the GOP received more than 60 or 65 percent of the vote. But what about the 40 percent or so who voted Democrat? Or the brave, far-sighted souls who go with their conscience and go Libertarian? For those people, living in a Western state means, quite simply, that they are completely disenfranchised in presidential elections.

This opens up an interesting possibility; that the oligopoly is ready for break-up, because one of the two traditional partners no longer profits from the process. At least in this one area, the winner-takes-all system of allocating Electors, one of the older parties may now be ripe to approach with a proposition for change.

The Democrats eliminated state by state winner-takes-all in their primary process back in the early '70s, apportioning convention delegates according to some percentage each candidate receives in the primaries. The Republicans followed within a decade. Both acted partly because

of changes in Americans' sense of propriety and fair play. And yet, people still tend to assume that the old, unfair practice of all-or-nothing is constitutionally mandated for choosing Electors. Actually, there is no provision anywhere in the Constitution for winner-takes-all. It is state law that requires it. In every state of the union, Electors are awarded in solid lumps for only one reason, because each state legislature has required it.

Why? Why should every state have instituted such a distorted system? There are several reasons.

First, consider a state such as Utah, with a Republican-dominated legislature and voters who can be relied upon to regularly give the GOP handsome majorities. Naturally, the dominant group in the legislature will institute winner-takes-all because that guarantees their party all of Utah's Electors for president. The same logic would hold in a state with a Democrat-dominated assembly, such as Hawaii, though, as we have seen, the logic is no longer as strong for the Democrats, even where they control the legislatures.

Another answer is even simpler: campaign funds. Consider what would happen if California were the first to end winner-takes-all, while Oregon retains the lump award method on its books. Where will the Democrats and the Republicans spend the most for television and radio and banners and printing and balloons? Before the change, it was worth any amount of money to persuade just five percent more Californians to vote your way, since those few added voters could win you all 47 Electors in one swoop. Meanwhile, Oregon's poor seven votes are hardly worth the effort. But if California's Electors were allocated proportionately, each party would be sure to get a minimum of 20 out of California's 47. Depending on whether the system included a "leader's bonus," getting five percent more voters in California will get you only a couple of

extra Electors. But in Oregon, where it still could be winner-take-all, a similar investment in swing votes can win you seven.

Astonishing. The American political system is twisted all out of shape, and why? Partly, it's because no state dares to be first to adopt proportional allotment. Because any state which did so would have no campaign funds spent within its boundaries that year.

How can it be changed? Really, it ought to be quite simple. Has anyone ever considered filing a lawsuit under the doctrine of one man, one vote? Apparently not even the third parties have seriously contemplated this step. And yet, with the precedent set in only one state, all other winner-takes-all laws would likely soon follow.

Or, a campaign could be waged to raise people's consciousness, to pressure state legislatures to change the laws as a simple matter of fairness. Perhaps trades might be arranged—Utah for Hawaii, etc. Certainly these far simpler reforms ought to be tried before resorting to the difficult road of calling for constitutional amendments.

So, I go back to my earlier suggestion. The time may be right for Libertarians seeking a breakout from the present locked system, to consider a temporary alliance with one of the older parties—the Democrats—with the limited goal of ending an unfair oligopolistic practice that currently hurts us both.

By lawsuit, by concentrated campaign, or by temporary alliance, however it's done, this is an opportunity that the Libertarian Party should not pass up. It offers a way, at comparatively little cost or effort, that we could see a major reform take place in the present rigid system.

David Brin is the author of a number of prize-winning science fiction novels, including *The Postman* and *Startide Rising*.

Among the future plans announced by the Libertarian Party's 1988 presidential candidate **Ron Paul**: The Liberty Political Action Committee. According to Paul's newsletter, "On The Freedom Trail," which was Paul's campaign newsletter and is now the "Newsletter of the Ron Paul Liberty PAC," Liberty PAC will "be Ron's version of hand-to-hand combat against Big Government. Among many things, this PAC will be used to make people in and out of Washington see things our way...If Ron has his way, Liberty PAC will hound almost every politician and bureaucrat in the land."

Paul is also planning to create a weekly television forum, possibly on cable, "discussing important issues from a free-market perspective." The address for "On the Freedom Trail" is 1120 NASA Blvd., Suite 104, Houston, TX 77058.

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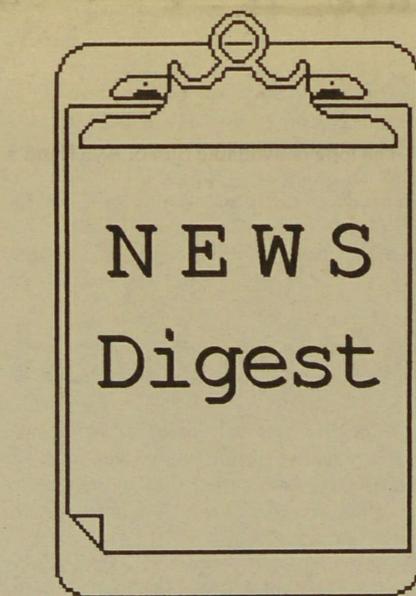
Just out: the **CATO Institute's** winter catalog of books and other publications, a major source of factual ammunition for libertarians.

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Now available: the winter edition of the **Journal of Libertarian Studies** (semiannual, \$20 for individuals, \$28 for institutions, P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011). Included in the issue: "Enforcement of Private Property Rights in Primitive Societies," by Bruce L. Benson; "Fallacies of the Public Goods Theory and the Production of Security," by Hans-Hermann Hoppe; "Anarchism and the Public Goods Issue: Law, Courts and the Police," by David Osterfeld; "The Philosophy of Freedom," by Antony Flew; and "World War I As Fulfillment: Power and The Intellectuals," by Murray N. Rothbard.

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According to **Vincent Miller**, director of the Libertarian International, "Things are getting better" around the world. "Communist" leaders make such fantastic utterances as 'the solution (to their countries' woes) is a totally free market



economy.' Literally hundreds of countries are deregulating and privatizing. At LI's conference in Swaziland, blacks and concerned whites met in unprecedented numbers to discuss libertarian solutions to South Africa's problems. Libertarians addressed the United Nations and interfaced with the Soviets and the Chinese."

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An "international directory of institutions and publications of interest to promoters of reason and liberty" is now available for \$1.95 plus 50 cents shipping, from **Libertarian International**, 9308 Farmington Dr., Richmond, VA 23229. The "Index on Liberty," is published cooperatively by Ideer om Frihet, in Norway, and the Libertarian International.

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Another place to complain about the National Election Service's scurrilous decision to exclude Libertarian Party votes from their reports to the media is suggested by **Sally Moore** of the Cincin-

nati LP: "Article 19 is an international free speech group [named for] Article 19 of the UN Human Rights Charter. If enough of us complain it might pressure Article 19 to denounce the NES...write to Kevin Boyle, Article 19, 90 Borough High Street, London, England, SE 1."

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At least two Libertarian Party members are contributing regular libertarian-viewpoint columns to their local newspapers: **Douglas Merritt** in the *Atchison* (Kansas) *Daily Globe*, and **Gerald Schneider** in the *Wheaton* (suburban DC) *News*. Merritt is chair of the Kansas LP. If there are more, please send clippings to the Libertarian Party NEWS. Schneider, incidentally, offers all 26 tear sheets of his column for the year, plus the Democrat and Republican ones that accompany it, for \$15; write to him at 8750 Georgia Ave., Apt. 1410-B, Silver Spring, MD 20910.

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For any Libertarian Party member plagued by public questions of "how would private enterprise and the free market handle" this or that, the monthly *Privatization Watch* newsletter published by the Reason Foundation is essential reading. The current issue covers everything from private answers to trash disposal to private enterprises in space, plus many other example-items. Although it's a bit pricey for individual subscriptions, groups might find it cost effective (*Privatization Watch*, Local Government Center, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405, \$95).

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Did you know that gamefish catches near oil rigs in the Gulf of Mexico are two-thirds greater than in non-rig sites? Facts like that are a steady diet in *Free, Perspectives on Economics and Environment*, published by the Foundation for Economics and the Environment, 7424 Greenville Ave., Suite 114, Dallas, TX 75231. Subscriptions with donations to the group's work.

Letters to the Editors

Territorial Purchases

I have a question. Why are Libertarians supposed to be opposed to the country's purchases of territory such as the historic Louisiana Purchase during Jefferson's Administration?

Certainly a "friendly takeover" is preferable to military conquest. Who would you have own the territories of the Louisiana Purchase?

I'm certainly glad that we purchased "Seaward's Icebox"—Alaska. With all its natural resources—gold, oil, timber—we certainly got a bargain, and I wouldn't be in favor of the Russians still continuing to possess it!

Some Libertarian out there, please explain. My mind is open. Convince me. I can't take the Libertarian stand at face value. Texas and California we essentially possess by conquest, Alaska and the states of the Louisiana Purchase, we bought and paid for. What's the problem?

Phillips B. Franklin
Port Clyde, ME

New Strategy

When the same results occur election after election, it is necessary to change strategy.

The Replicrats have declared war against us wherever we raise our dissident heads. While our first goal is to be heard, theirs is to silence us, and they have won the battles. Where they cannot silence us they pirate our words as theirs, so few know their origin...

Try to tell people we Misesians are for liberty too; we can scarcely be heard under the wide-ranging thunder of the enemy's mighty air force. The obvious is not to send fresh troops armed no differently than previous wipe-outs.

For my part (after ballot access), give me no more fighting of past wars; no more campaign contributions except against the enemy's headquarters. For we must concentrate our fire power on the Capitol elections, and it must be done by a counter air force: through the tube! Where we don't do it that way, we presently belong elsewhere than in ordinary politics; principally infiltrating our schools and churches, with our Truth.

D.M. Fowle
Redondo Beach, CA

LP Membership Figures Reveal Distorted Growth

By Joseph W. Dehn, III

According to figures recently distributed by the national office, LP membership has grown 17 percent since 1987. But growth has been far from uniform, with some states showing growth rates much higher than that, and some much lower. In eight states, membership actually decreased.

California remains the undisputed leader, accounting for more than one quarter of the total national membership. And with membership growing at 26 percent, more than the national average, California won't lose that position any time soon.

But when differences in population are taken into account, Alaska is the leader, with about twice as many LP members per million population as its nearest rival. This, together with the fact that Ron Paul got about twice the percentage of votes there as anywhere else, seems to justify Alaska's reputation as the "most Libertarian" state.

The highest growth rates appeared in some of the smaller states, with a 157 percent increase in Arkansas, and a 93 percent increase in Nebraska.

National membership numbers are the main factor determining the number of delegates each state will have at the upcoming national convention. Each state gets two "basic" delegates, plus one for each 20 national members. Only memberships current as of the last day of the seventh month prior to the convention will be counted. States where Ron Paul got at least 1/2 percent of the vote will get an additional delegate (except Alaska, which will get three additional delegates).

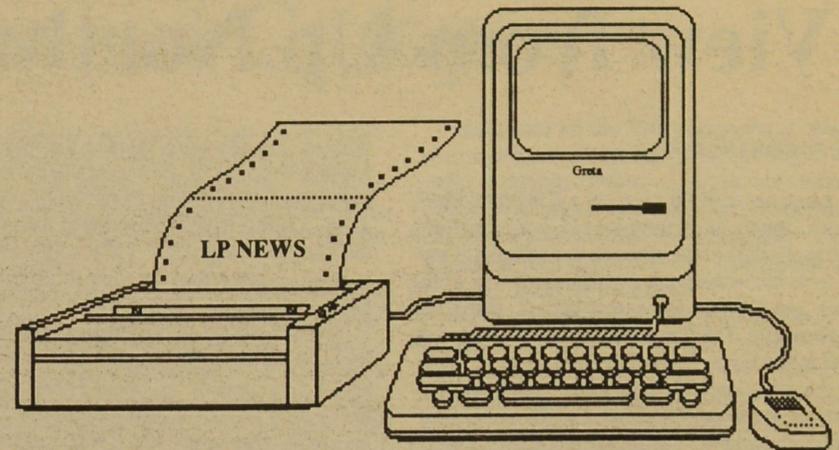
| | Members | Rank | Growth | Density |
|----------------------|---------|------|--------|---------|
| Alabama | 64 | 29 | 28% | 16 |
| Alaska | 66 | 26 | -11% | 127 |
| Arizona | 134 | 15 | 10% | 42 |
| Arkansas | 18 | 43 | 157% | 8 |
| California | 1,736 | 1 | 26% | 66 |
| Colorado | 164 | 10 | 2% | 51 |
| Connecticut | 81 | 22 | 25% | 26 |
| Delaware | 14 | 47 | 8% | 23 |
| District of Columbia | 24 | 40 | 20% | 38 |
| Florida | 219 | 7 | 24% | 19 |
| Georgia | 85 | 19 | 31% | 14 |
| Hawaii | 17 | 44 | 13% | 16 |
| Idaho | 31 | 35 | 7% | 31 |
| Illinois | 284 | 4 | 26% | 25 |
| Indiana | 83 | 20 | 26% | 15 |
| Iowa | 65 | 27 | 25% | 23 |
| Kansas | 82 | 21 | 15% | 33 |
| Kentucky | 23 | 41 | 10% | 6 |
| Louisiana | 53 | 32 | 39% | 12 |
| Maine | 15 | 46 | 0% | 13 |
| Maryland | 128 | 17 | 9% | 29 |
| Massachusetts | 157 | 11 | 34% | 27 |
| Michigan | 265 | 5 | 42% | 29 |
| Minnesota | 129 | 16 | 3% | 31 |
| Mississippi | 17 | 45 | 21% | 7 |
| Missouri | 69 | 24 | 6% | 14 |
| Montana | 24 | 39 | 9% | 29 |
| Nebraska | 29 | 37 | 93% | 18 |
| Nevada | 38 | 34 | 10% | 41 |
| New Hampshire | 57 | 31 | 73% | 57 |
| New Jersey | 178 | 8 | 24% | 24 |
| New Mexico | 67 | 25 | 49% | 46 |
| New York | 350 | 3 | 4% | 20 |
| North Carolina | 91 | 18 | 7% | 15 |
| North Dakota | 1 | 51 | -80% | 1 |
| Ohio | 168 | 9 | -4% | 16 |
| Oklahoma | 43 | 33 | -20% | 13 |
| Oregon | 138 | 14 | 33% | 51 |
| Pennsylvania | 226 | 6 | 10% | 19 |
| Rhode Island | 10 | 49 | 11% | 10 |
| South Carolina | 65 | 28 | 27% | 19 |
| South Dakota | 8 | 50 | -33% | 11 |
| Tennessee | 63 | 30 | 13% | 13 |
| Texas | 356 | 2 | 3% | 22 |
| Utah | 29 | 36 | 26% | 18 |
| Vermont | 25 | 38 | -7% | 47 |
| Virginia | 148 | 13 | 5% | 26 |
| Washington | 151 | 12 | 6% | 34 |
| West Virginia | 14 | 48 | 40% | 7 |
| Wisconsin | 79 | 23 | -21% | 17 |
| Wyoming | 21 | 42 | 24% | 41 |
| Total | 6402 | | 17% | |

Notes

Members: Number of national members as of November 21, 1988.

Growth: Comparison with February 28, 1987 final revised figures.

Density: Members per million population.



Computer Bulletin Boards Carry Libertarian News

The following Fidonet computer bulletin boards carry the LIBERTY echo, a nationwide message facility for libertarian news and messages.

| System Name | Phone Number | Location |
|----------------------|--------------|----------------|
| Cosper Mansion | 503-888-4166 | Charleston, OR |
| Dehnbase Emerald | 503-485-3578 | Eugene, OR |
| House of Ill Compute | 408-733-3734 | Sunnyvale, CA |
| John Galt Line | 817-244-4258 | Ft. Worth, TX |
| Nexus | 602-526-8025 | Flagstaff, AZ |
| Prog. Info. Exch. | 206-776-6790 | Lynnwood, WA |
| Soft Fido | 318-222-3503 | Shreveport, LA |
| WeirdBase | 314-741-2231 | St. Louis, MO |

Ayn Rand Film "We the Living" Set for Showing

The long unavailable film of Ayn Rand's "We The Living" is now set for showing in at least 30 cities. Here are some of the dates, places, and theaters:

1/13, Hartford, CT, Cinema City; 1/16, Ann Arbor, MI, Michigan Theater; 1/27, Chicago, Facets; 1/27, Seattle, Neptune; 1/27, Portland, OR, Cinema 21; 1/27, Ithaca, NY, Cinemapolis; 1/27, Huntington, NY, New Community; 1/29, Williamstown, NY, Images; 1/29, Madison, WI, Majestic; 2/3, Cleveland, Cedar Lee; 2/8, Northampton, MA, Pleasant St.; 2/10, Washington, DC, Biograph; 2/10, Atlanta, Tower Square; 2/12, Denver, Ogden; 2/19, Milwaukee, Oriental; 3/10, Orlando, FL, Fashion Village; 3/17, Cincinnati, Movies; 3/24, San Francisco, Castro; 3/29, Louisville, Vogue; 3/31, Berkeley, CA, U.C.; 3/31, Coral Gables (Miami), Fox Sunrise; March, St. Louis, Tivoli; March, Dallas, Inwood; March, Houston, River Oaks; 4/6, Santa Cruz, CA, Sash Mill; 4/7, Kansas City, Westport Manor Square; 4/7, Tampa, FL, Varsity; 4/12, Salt Lake City, Blue House; 4/14, St. Petersburg, FL, Tyrone Square; 4/21, Clearwater, FL, Tri-City; 4/28, Detroit, Institute of Art; April, Minneapolis, Uptown; April, New Orleans, Prytania; April, San Diego, Ken; 5/6, Sarasota, FL, Plaza.

PROCLAIM LIBERTY
in Philadelphia
August 31-September 3

IS ABORTION AGGRESSION?

Libertarian arguments against abortion and for parental obligation. Literature packet, \$3. (For information only, please send SASE.)

Libertarians for Life
13424 Hathaway Drive, #18
Wheaton, MD 20906, 301/460-4141
Doris Gordon, National Coordinator



Libertarian Party

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone: Day _____ Evening _____

*Occupation _____

*Name of Employer _____

*Federal Election Commission requires we ask.

I WANT TO JOIN THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY AS A NATIONAL MEMBER (INCLUDES LP NEWS) IN THE CATEGORY INDICATED:

\$15 Basic \$25 Sustaining

\$40 Sponsor \$100 Patron

\$250 Associate-Life \$1000 Life Benefactor

"I hereby certify that I do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political or social goals."

Signature _____

(required for membership only)

YES! I WANT TO HELP SUPPORT THE NATIONAL LIBERTARIAN PARTY WITH A CONTRIBUTION OF:

\$15 \$25 \$50 \$100 \$ _____

I WANT TO MAKE A MONTHLY PLEDGE OF:

\$ _____ From _____ Through _____

I WANT TO SUBSCRIBE TO LP NEWS ONLY. ENCLOSED IS MY SUBSCRIPTION FEE—\$15.

PAYMENT ENCLOSED BILL MY:

MasterCard Visa Expiration Date _____

Account Number _____

Signature _____

LIBERTARIAN PARTY NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
1528 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E. • Washington, D.C. 20003

View from Up North: Ye Olde Freedom Ryme

By Martha Olijnyk

Long ago and far away in a Kingdom which may no longer exist, there was a Libertarian Party that set itself the task of becoming a model of perfection. Unfortunately, mistakes crept in. Some were procedural, some conceptual, and some were people. The Party did not prosper and grow as it might have.

Ancient minstrels sang about these long-forgotten Libertarians, and some of the stanzas survived the ravages of time, to unto this very day. I will tell you what was sung in order that you may judge whether lessons may be learned concerning the operation of your own Party. May you hear and prosper.

Unfortunately for us the ancient language of the old ballads does not translate well into English poetry, so they are rendered here in prosaic prose.

1. Some Libertarians had high hopes of election to the Kingdom's Parliament and spent large quantities of gold and brass on their campaigns. When they lost they blamed evil eyes and dropped out of politics.

2. Some became angry with other Libertarians who had no faith in electoral success. They criticized them both before and after the elections—even though there was no success. Swords were sharpened.

3. In the best tradition of Peter Pan, some searched Never-Never Land for the magick formula to catapult the Party to overnight success. They were unwilling to develop grass-roots support for their policies. Some were unwilling even to speak to peasants and journeymen.

4. One special way that the Leaders tried to attract support was to hire minstrels, criers, and scribes so that the Libertarian message would be broadcast in one day and night to all in the realm. Much gold was squandered because these one-shot attempts failed utterly to change the minds of the subjects in the Kingdom. Yet these Leaders were not content with one disaster, but kept repeating the error every few years in the hopes that the magick of one-shot advertising would work.

5. To prove to members that the Libertarian Party was growing fast, the Leaders redefined "member." Then the membership fee was lowered to 1/100 of an ounce of gold, and "members" were left on the list forever. Every so often a messenger would deliver a small manuscript which trumpeted the accomplishments of their Leaders.

6. In order to show the Kingdom and its minstrels that the Party was indeed growing, the Leaders set ever higher goals for the number of candidates they would run in the elections, and bragged loudly about them. To make true their visions they allowed, nay even commandeered, almost any warm body to run for Parliament,

without first educating them in the fine points of Libertarianism. One day one of these was heard to swear that conscription to the King's army was good. Another of these wrote that it was right for the King to seize land to build a highway. However, most were foxy enough to do naught and keep their mouths firmly closed.

7. The Leaders of the Party appealed to Conservative minstrels for support. These were feasted and highly praised as being Libertarians, too. Some sang beautiful lyrics about the Party, but later sang other songs which were not Libertarian at all. Great was the embarrassment in the halls of the chosen.

8. Some Leaders de-emphasized the educational aspect of the Libertarian movement and began to compare their Party to the big political parties which had the ear of the King. Some even started behaving like big-time politicians, making extravagant prophecies of honours to come. Crowns of laurel were prepared.

9. Unrealized goals resulted in disillusionment among the rank and file, especially when election results were announced and the prophecies were seen to be baffle-gab.

10. Some of the Leaders were of small ego and could not accept that the faults of the organization were their own responsibility. They tried to blame others. This caused consternation among the converted who knew the truth.

11. Some Leaders believed that all should march to the drum of one mighty Warlord. When others suggested that a Libertarian approach was to let the members work upon harmonious paths if they preferred, the Leaders tried to rid the Party of those others. Divisions widened, and some lost sight of far goals when they were forced to turn and protect their rear.

12. The Party did not attract many women. The ballads say that the Leaders were often theorists who spouted abstractions in an abrasive, strident, and confrontational way. The women of the day seemed to prefer a practical and caring approach. It is a fact that some Leaders demonstrated little love for humanity, though they did offset this by having lots of love for themselves.

13. The money chests of the Party were often emptied by irresponsible management, even to indebtedness to the usurers. However, this abomination was proclaimed to be right, and different from the debts of all other organizations in the Kingdom. It was an investment in the future. In the years of the red ink, the Party withered.

Now, none of this could possibly happen in the United States of America, the Land of the Free. Nor could it ever happen in Canada, the Home of the Brave. We are all too intelligent.

I expect the one thing Americans don't need is gratuitous advice from foreigners on how to solve problems. Believe that no Libertarian organiza-

tion can stay free of the type of person who boosts his ego at the expense of the Party. It is important to not abandon the Party to those nerds, but to make the Party work in spite of them.

Keeping in direct touch with other Libertarians, both nationally and internationally, will broaden your horizon and could help to keep your morale up during the rough times. There have been some successes in other countries, and it is

comforting to know of them. There have been many successes in the United States; study them and repeat them if possible.

Do whatever you enjoy doing to help the cause. If you don't like what you are doing, you should try to figure out why. You may discover you are doing the wrong thing.

In my ten years as a Libertarian and meeting

continued on page 9

Editors' Comment and a Letter

The 'fable' that appears on this page is the second of what the editors hope will be accepted as constructive commentary by people who have been close to but are not necessarily members of the Libertarian Party. The first, in our last issue, was by Vince Miller, director of the Libertarian International. It evoked, from one of our readers, an angry complaint that the NEWS is "constantly barraging" its readers with comments by anti-political libertarians. The complete text of that letter is printed below.

In fairness, however, the editors want to say that the several critical articles we have printed over the past three years do not seem to us to constitute a barrage, nor have those few articles been anti-political in any sense that would dissuade a Libertarian Party member from continuing to do what the Party was founded to do—engage in politics.

The support of the editors for political activity has been unqualified. Further, the comments by Vince Miller did not evidence hostility for the Party at all. The Libertarian International, which was fairly distant from the Party three years ago, has, in fact, become more and more supportive. Closing the communications gaps that exist between any libertarians is, in fact, a subject about which the NEWS has emphatically and constantly barraged its readers.

The highly critical letter from Marc Montoni, editor of the Virginia Libertarian Party's newspaper, goes as follows:

A few thoughts—of both agreement and disagreement with Vince Miller in his Nov/Dec '88 LP NEWS article. Before I say anything, however, I consider Vince a good friend of mine. I have my own opinion of the issues he raised, and, (hats off to you Vince) he knows.

I would warn anyone who reads the whole first column of the aforementioned article that Vince has consistently argued against Party activity. That's his business, but as a member of the

Libertarian Party, I do not care to be constantly barraged by anti-political libertarians at Party conventions and in official Party newspapers about "how stupid we are to" (quoting Honey Lanham) continue engaging in political activity. I would appreciate it if our Party newspaper would simply report activities of Party members, candidates, and affiliate groups, rather than printing disparaging remarks from known anti-political individuals. I hear them enough everywhere I go and in just about everything else I read—I don't want to hear it again in a newspaper I've paid for.

The fact remains that political libertarians are the most active of all libertarians, as a group. Most apolitical libertarians sit on their tail and tell libertarian neophytes at every opportunity about how the LP is doomed due to its affiliation with the "political world"; then they proudly tell everyone that they "promote" libertarianism "by living a libertarian life." Well, I live a libertarian life too, but I promote libertarians better by publishing a state LP newspaper, and talk frequently with my friends, and coordinate activities that get the word out. Though sorely outnumbered, LP members sent more money for Paul Jacob, Jim Lewis, and Norma Jean Almodovar than all the anti-polits—which in and of itself says a lot about LP members and their willingness to get off their duffs and actually do something.

Some other points raised by Mr. Miller are worthy of agreeing with. I think the national office is hopelessly obstreperous and unmanageable. The national office's function should be, as Mr. Miller stated, limited at this time to networking (maintaining the mailing list) and producing a Party publication. The office's purpose needs simplification because successive national LP chairpersons and their disruptive LNC cohorts have proved that they cannot handle a single national Party office.

Marc Montoni
Richmond, VA

Libertarian Party NEWS

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Promoting Libertarianism on Campus

By James W. Lark, III

The votes have been cast; the people have spoken. Now that the elections are over, those libertarians who are not utterly exhausted are pondering a big question: what do we do now? I contend that one thing we must do is to build solid libertarian organizations on college and university campuses. The purpose of this article is to provide some simple suggestions for promoting this goal.

Before listing my suggestions, I shall relate the advancement of the libertarian movement at the University of Virginia (where I am working on a Ph.D.). I am pleased to say that things are going remarkably well at UVA. Beginning in August, 1987, with a core group of two students and four community supporters, we now have roughly 50 members of Students for Individual Liberty (SIL) and Students for Ron Paul (SFRP); about 35 of these members are students at UVA. Some of our members are high school students; we have been very successful in gaining invitations to speak at local high schools.

During the presidential campaign, we were able to convince the University Union Speakers Committee to sponsor an address by Ron Paul. Representatives of Students for Ron Paul were invited to all of the debates sponsored by UVA campus groups. In each debate, both the Democrats and the Republicans spent much more effort to attack the Libertarian positions. The campus newspapers treated us and our positions with interest and respect. Indeed, SFRP members Bart Hinkle and Kurt Weber are columnists for *The Cavalier Daily* and *The University Journal*, respectively; Weber is the host of a monthly talk show on WTJU radio. Op-Ed pieces written by

SFRP member David Garland have appeared in several newspapers, and SIL member Mike Weiss is the editor of the *Virginia Law Weekly*.

I mention these items because UVA is a success story. We are making genuine progress in promoting the libertarian philosophy among the future movers and shakers of society; if nothing else, most people at UVA now know something about libertarianism.

To facilitate the effort to build strong campus groups, I suggest the following measures for the Libertarian Party:

•The Libertarian Party National Committee should appoint (if it has not done so already) a permanent subcommittee charged with the responsibility of building and supporting campus

groups. Of great importance is the maintenance of accurate information about active groups.

•Each state party should appoint someone who will gather and maintain information about libertarian groups at the colleges and universities within the state.

•National conventions of the Libertarian Party should include workshops for student group leaders. These workshops should include such topics as: (1) basic steps to be taken in building a successful campus group; (2) "black-belt" methods for improving rhetorical and polemical skills; (3) proven methods for obtaining publicity and funds for student groups; and (4) using campus computer facilities and personal computers for producing campus publications, posters, etc.

•Members of the Libertarian Party who are well-informed about ballot access laws should make a special effort to garner invitations to speak on campus. Political science classes can provide fertile ground for promoting both the libertarian philosophy and sentiment against unfair restrictions on ballot access.

•Outreach materials, such as David Bergland's *Libertarianism in One Lesson* and the special outreach issue of *Libertarian Party NEWS* (September/October 1988), should be made available at reduced rates to campus groups.

I believe college students constitute the audience most receptive to our message. Resources invested today by the LP to recruit college students will pay off handsomely in the future.

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From the Chair

continued from page 1

I am heartened by the level of cooperation already received. I hope it represents a deeper commitment to harmonious relations by a leadership that has set aside factionalism and ego-tripping. I hope that what we are seeing is the elimination of a long-running toleration for mediocre performance by those we have selected at all levels of Party leadership. Many of you have heard me say that the quality of work demonstrated by many Party leaders would get that same person fired if demonstrated in his or her career. We have all been guilty, me included, of giving less than our best to a task we have volunteered to do. It isn't just a lack of knowledge, though there is some of that too, but a lack of commitment. We don't need to change the personnel—I think most LPers I have met are many cuts above the non-LPers I have met in their professions—but we do have to change our attitude. We are engaged in a struggle for human liberty and justice for all. Even if participation in the LP is just a hobby, at least do the same competent, trustworthy, and thorough job you would do if your paycheck depended on it.

The Libertarian Party has more members now than George Washington had soldiers who stuck by him at Valley Forge. If those 5,000 Continentals had walked home in that winter of 1777-78, the history of British North America and, indeed, the whole Western World, would have been sadder. If we, with our 6,500, expect to ensure a brighter and freer tomorrow then we must individually and collectively improve our approach to being Libertarians.

Dave Walter, before becoming National Chair, was Vice Chair and Treasurer of the Party during his eight years of service on the National Committee. He also served two terms as chairman of the Libertarian Party of Pennsylvania and has run for office six times.

Man, Nature, State

By Karl Hess, Jr.

There is an ecological rule which I believe is consistent with empirical observations, ecological principles, and the libertarian position: **the severity of unintended ecological consequences increases in proportion to the transfer of power from individuals and communities to the centralized state.**

Theoretical support for this rule rests on a



diversity argument. Simplified ecosystems are more susceptible to disruption than complex systems. State usurpation of local power reduces effective diversity. Citizens and communities, under these circumstances, become mere **facades of diversity**. The ecological potential they represent—the promise of their creativity, ideas, culture, and visions—remains unrealized without the means of implementation: power.

Power translates potential human diversity into maximum ecological benefit when property rights are fully vested in the unit of diversity (individual or corporate); quality information is abundant; and markets allowing access to information and the implementation of information are not obstructed or limited. Real world considerations, of course, compromise the ecological benefits of human diversity to the extent the above conditions are unrealized. Even under ideal circumstances, human action will be less than perfect. Environmental damage will continue to be generated by 1) uncaring people and 2) misinformed people. Some argue that state intervention to deal with these ecologically aberrant people is justified. But intervention would diminish diversity, returning us full circle to the heart of the problem!

There is no better laboratory than here, in the United States, to assess the ecological potential of human diversity and liberty. All the conditions for releasing the ecological power of human creativity are present to some degree. And most of the major global environmental problems are closely associated with our culture and economy.

Two experiments centered on two key environmental problems will, I hope, test the validity of my ideas. The first concerns the rapid depletion of soil in America's agricultural heartland. The second involves the increasingly serious problem of air pollution. Each experiment is designed to

test the relative efficiencies and deficiencies of decentralized (free market) versus centralized strategies for coping with urgent environmental problems.

Three conditions are crucial to the functioning of human diversity in the context of ecosystem maintenance. They are secure and transferable property rights; quality information; and free markets. In regard to American agriculture, both quality information and secure property rights

exist. What does not exist, and upon which pivots the casual factor for soil erosion, are free markets.

Let us begin our experiment by posing the following question. If our goal was to encourage soil erosion and depletion of soil fertility, how might we best proceed? We would undoubtedly begin by injecting distortions into the free market. Remember, our objective is to create a desolate landscape.

We would want a **centralized** economic policy which would encourage above all else overproduction of farm produce. To do this, we would subsidize farmers to produce beyond the needs of our society. We would provide enough subsidies to ensure that farmers could afford the most economically wasteful and environmentally damaging agricultural practices. We would also provide sufficient subsidies to ensure that farmers would cultivate the most marginal and the most fragile of America's lands.

And as soil erosion increased and soil productivity fell and as marginal farmers approached bankruptcy, we would add further subsidies. We would gear up our land grant colleges, our national extension services, and our federal soil conservation agencies to provide just enough assistance to keep American farmers working toward our goal. We would also look to national charity drives and subsidized federal loans to make sure that the net income of American farmers remained above that of the non-farming population.

Finally, we would reap the rewards of our market intervention. Soil erosion would be at historic heights and soil productivity would be at historic lows. To make sure that our policies would have a lasting effect, we would also lavish subsidies on the worst of farmers. We would reward their bad stewardship and keep them in business by paying them to take their lands out of

The Environment: A Question Libertarians Must Face

By Karl Hess

During a quarter-century of publicly espousing and explaining libertarian positions, I have found that questions concerning the physical environment have been second only to suggesting a free market in drugs as a source of audience skepticism and even hostility.

On the drug matter, libertarians have become more and more convincing, more and more sure of their answers and the facts that uphold those answers.

On the environment, things haven't been as clear. Some libertarians have resorted to what may be the weakest position of all: simply denying that there are any problems or, if problems are admitted, glorifying them as in "smoke stack pollution means money in the bank." (It also means aggression against someone else's property, of course!)

Liberty certainly deserves more positive statements. Good sense requires that libertarian solutions which already have worked be stacked up against statist solutions which have not. The entire question deserves and cries for more scientific, careful, and, yes, caring research. The questions won't just go away by ignoring them.

Recently, in what is surely the most important new libertarian magazine of recent years, *Liberty*, the Libertarian Party's first presidential candidate, Prof. John Hospers, wrote movingly of the need for more consideration of ecological problems by libertarians.

Prof. Hospers' concluding plea is reprinted here.

In part of his overall argument, however, he suggested the possibility of broad agreements between nation states to prevent global environmental damage. This position, arrived at by a man of distinguished intellect and long-standing libertarian conviction, surely offends many of his comrades. But

production. We would call the program *conservation reserves*. The scenario, of course, is not imaginary. It is the official farm policy of the United States. It is also a striking example of the ecological subversion of the free market.

Centralized agricultural policies, where ecological cues emanate from the state, do have their place. They would make excellent strategic weapons. Why use nuclear warheads to destroy an enemy nation when all that is needed is a shot of famine, courtesy of the beneficence of the opposing state (and, of course, American foreign aid)? This last possibility makes the second half of our experiment all that more urgent—assuming we wish to survive calculated pestilence and famine. How might we release the creativity of thousands of American farmers and enlist that creativity in a viable alternative to policy monoculture? How can we realize the ecological potential of human diversity?

Marketization of American agriculture is the answer. With the elimination of federal farm subsidies, marginal farmers would look for new professions and those remaining would look for new management strategies to survive in a deregulated market. And lands unsuitable for cultivation would be retired from production by decentralized market forces at rates exceeding the current *conservation reserve program*—at no cost to the taxpayer.

To speed the experiment along, we might also phase out the Soil Conservation Service and the Cooperative Extension Service. The result would be complete marketization of agricultural information. Put to the rigorous test of the market place, superior technologies and innovative resource management strategies would surface—no longer held in check by old technologies and strategies whose only competitive edge was the free tag offered to subsidized farmers.

mere irritation or angry denunciation is not enough. More reasoned and positive arguments for liberty are sorely needed by libertarians who, like it or not, are going to face questions about the environment throughout the coming years. (A friendly hint of how libertarians appear to some others along these lines, is presented on these pages by a member of the Green Party. The editors acknowledge that there are libertarians who deeply dislike the use of the Party's paper to present any such comments. But the editors remain convinced, from reader-customer reaction, that keeping the paper open is generally approved by members of the Libertarian Party.)

To help in the search for non-statist remedies to environmental damages, we are also reprinting a portion of a much larger, so far unpublished, paper by Dr. Karl Hess, Jr., a range ecologist now working at the University of New Mexico.

One very valuable contribution of Dr. Hess' work is that it stresses a social aspect of ecology which, for many libertarians, has long been overshadowed by proposals in theoretical economics. That aspect is decentralization, a powerful alternative to central planning and state control. Not forgetting the crucial economic aspects, however, he also elaborates on a position which libertarians, as a matter of fact, have pioneered—a way in which pollution can be handled as aggression with the polluter-aggressor having to pay the full bill for its consequences.

The editors hope that libertarian concern about the environment will become ever more consciously important and productive of creative ideas and technologies.

This matter, as both Prof. Hospers and Dr. Hess emphatically agree—despite other differences—is not going to go away. Libertarians must face up to it squarely. Their listeners, their potential allies, and possible new members of the Libertarian Party will in most cases settle for nothing less.

Most of us are uncomfortably aware of the effects of air pollution. As I write now, smoke from wood-heated homes in Juarez drifting north and auto emissions trapped by cold air moving south from Albuquerque magically coalesce before my computer screen. Eyes already reddened by the hypnotic allure of a flashing cursor become inflamed by unwelcome particles. And I am one of the fortunate who lives in one of the more sparsely populated areas of the United States.

In this experiment, I will not focus on the causes of pollution. I suspect, however, that there is more complexity to my suffering eyes than wood smoke and car exhausts. But word conservation requires that we focus only on solutions—and then, only on two of many scenarios for correcting unwelcome pollution. The prevailing strategy of the state for pollution control has been the imposition of *best available technologies*. Polluters are relieved of the responsibility of confronting and resolving the pollution they generate. All they need do is meet the minimum standards set by federal regulatory agencies. There is no incentive for environmental excellence. There is no thought given to the ecological potential of diversity.

One of the problems is that no one is responsible for the atmosphere in which polluters dump their wastes. Neither the ownership of that celestial dump nor of the wastes which contaminate it are easily determined. Consequently, all atmospheric polluters are treated the same by federal regulators—each subject to the banality of *best available technologies*. Equality of treatment, however, begets mediocrity in environmental innovation just as it encourages mediocrity in public school systems. Lacking a system of accountability, our expectations for centralized pollution control should not be set too high. But

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John Hospers' Views on Liberty and Ecology

The following is an excerpt from John Hospers' essay, "Ecology and Liberty," which appeared in the September, 1988 issue of *Liberty*, P.O. Box 1167, Port Townsend, WA 98368, and is reprinted here with permission of *Liberty and Hospers*.

Libertarians are second to none in their support of property rights—not only their right to use the crop you've grown, but the right to own the land on which it grows. Ownership of land not only has a high utility (if it's yours you'll take better care of it) but also is a human right (if the land is mine, I can eject trespassers from it, even if others might make better use of it than I do.)

There has always been a condition attached, however, implied or stated: you must not use your land in a way that harms others. You may not pollute the stream that enters your neighbor's land downstream, for you are thereby harming him. The same applies to air pollution—as when smoke from a factory endangers your health—though the culprits in this case are not always easy to identify. It also applies to using your land in such a way as to place others in considerable danger: constructing a house on a hill above his, causing mudslides in the rainy season; raising poisonous snakes in your back yard; even maintaining "attractive nuisances" such as unfenced water holes or patches of quicksand.

But the word "harm" is vague. If the market value of property in your neighborhood goes down, have you been harmed? It would surely seem so. If someone sets up a competing drug store across the street from yours, and excels you at your own trade, have you been harmed? But libertarians exclude economic harm, as being essential to a free market. Usually they mean physical harm—not all physical harm, but physical harm caused by other human beings (not by floods or tornadoes).

The problem we now confront is this: Don't the Brazilians have a right to chop down their forests and make farms? (The farms are theirs, not ours.) And don't Tibetans have the same right? And don't Botswanans have a right to raise cattle on their land and put fences around it to keep out wild animals? Environmentalists may not like this, but don't the Botswanans have a right to do it just the same? (There is, to be sure, a kind of collective "we" hovering over this scene: was it the Brazilian farmer's land? or the government's

land? or the native Indians' land—who of course did not consent to give or sell it to any Brazilians? But this question is simply a diversion as far as the issue before us is concerned: *whoever* owns the land, doesn't he/she/they have a right to cut down the trees on it?—that is the question.)

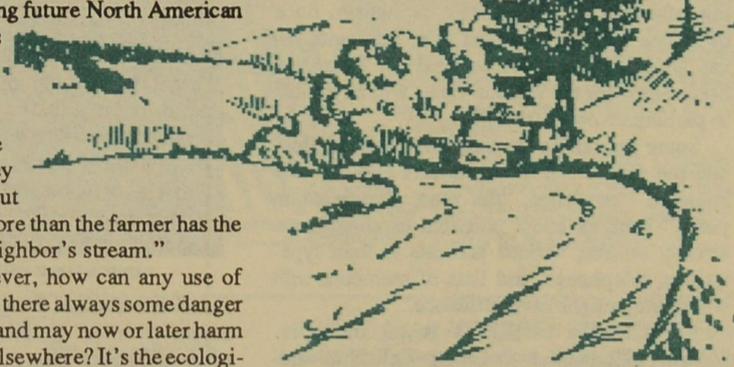
"Ah, but surely we have the answer right before us. When people cut down the rain forest and convert the land to agriculture, they are *harming others* by their use of the land (whatever else they may be doing to *themselves*). They are, for example, harming future North American farmers whose lands (we don't know which yet) will no longer be productive because of the absence of those forests. So they do *not* have a right to cut the trees down, any more than the farmer has the right to pollute his neighbor's stream."

In that case, however, how can any use of land be justified? Isn't there always some danger that your use of your land may now or later harm someone else here or elsewhere? It's the ecological interconnectedness of everything that is the problem. Who knows what ecological disasters may result from even the most well-intentioned use of one's land? Unless we can qualify our rule with some vague clause like "if there are no reasonable grounds for believing that...", it would seem that a rigorous application of this criterion would end up prohibiting the human use of land entirely—and *that* would be self-destructive and suicidal.

May it not be that any destruction of primeval forest, such as Europeans did in the Ohio Valley in 1800, will have catastrophic results? If there are fewer forests, there will be fewer plants to absorb carbon dioxide, followed perhaps by a "greenhouse effect," the warming of the earth's atmosphere, changing the earth's climate, melting the Arctic icecaps, inundating the earth's coasts, and so on. *Your* use of the land is negligible in contributing to such catastrophes, but *everyone's* use of their land in such a way may well cause such catastrophes to happen. And (here's the rub) if you have the right to use your land thus, why doesn't everyone else have the same right with regard to their land? Yet if they all do, catastrophe will ensue. Am I permitted to cut down my forest because my land is "such a little

bit of the total picture"? (Analogous case: The store won't miss the little bit that I steal. But if it's all right for me to steal, why not others? And if everyone did it, business would be impossible to conduct.)

If you apply the rule strictly, it would seem that all property rights are in jeopardy all over the earth. Many persons have alleged



that this is indeed the case—and therefore, that no individual should be permitted to have property in land. Someone, however, must own it and control its use. This is the task of society. But who is society? All the people acting together? But that is an impossibility. What "society" comes to in practice, of course, is government. Yet if individuals may not own land, neither, for the same reason, may governments. In whatever way governments (that is, people employed by governments) use land, they too are endangering others by that use. Nor is there any evidence that governments are any more careful in their use of land than individuals are; quite the contrary, of course.

In view of the ever-present risks to others in one's use of land, it is not surprising that so many ecologists have opted for a "one world government." They are correct on one point: what Brazilians do with the rain forest has vast implications for people outside of Brazil. Ecological considerations transcend our arbitrary national boundaries. Thus they feel that there must be some supra-national regulatory authority that considers not only this individual or that, this nation or that, but all persons and nations—a global regulatory authority set up to preserve the

environment and adjudicate environmental disputes all over the world.

But the considerations against world government regulating the environment are the same as those against world government in any other aspect, and they are already familiar to libertarians. How could it keep from being infected by the disease of all governments—becoming wasteful, inefficient, corrupt, bureaucratic, allied with special interests each seeking to influence those in power? The greater the scope of such a government, the worse it would become. If a national government in Washington suffers from these maladies, wouldn't it be still worse with a world government? And what can you do when a world government becomes autocratic and dictatorial—go to Mars? At least victims of tyrannies have sometimes been able to emigrate to freer places but what happens when there is a monopoly of territorial control? The cure is surely worse than the disease. Environmentalists are attracted to it because they see so clearly the ecological interdependence of all parts of the earth; what they do not see as clearly are the inherent defects of a regulatory authority that spans the globe. Unless, that is, they themselves are in charge of it. That is the bottom line. If others who disagreed with them were in charge, they might be somewhat less enthusiastic.

Proponents of liberty do best in considering the relation between individuals and other individuals. They do not do as well, and are constantly at odds with each other, in considering international affairs—nations dealing with other nations. And for the same reason, they do not do well in ecological issues. It's not that individuals don't count at all in these areas, but that what one individual does is less than a drop in the bucket when it comes to achieving any goals. It may be noble of you to do X, but your nobility will count for nothing unless masses of other people, whom you don't know and surely cannot control, also cooperate in doing X. The philosophy of freedom is geared to do one thing, and then it is asked to do quite another thing. Little wonder that so few care to talk about ecology, that they try to sweep it under the rug, or to arrange their "facts" in such a way that the problems aren't really there. But the difficulty of the task is no excuse for falsification or evasion.

John Hospers, in 1972, was the LP's first U.S. presidential candidate.

Friendly Advice from a Green Party Member

By Charles Allen Dews

Whatever is true, Libertarians are seen by many Americans, including many Green Party members, as cold, intellectual, and selfish. "Why else would they have nominated the icy Ron Paul," I can hear them speculating, "over hot and saucy Russell Means?" Libertarians are seen as theorists, purists, mainly male dwellers in ivory towers. In my speech this year to the Libertarian Party of Texas state convention, I described Greens as "Libertarians with heart." Even some of my Libertarian friends agreed.

What Greens and Libertarians have in common is our love of liberty—the desire to be free of tyrannical governments with their vast and wasteful arsenals of nuclear weapons, nerve gas, biological death-dealers, as well as their bloody propensity to resolve all disputes with unmitigated force.

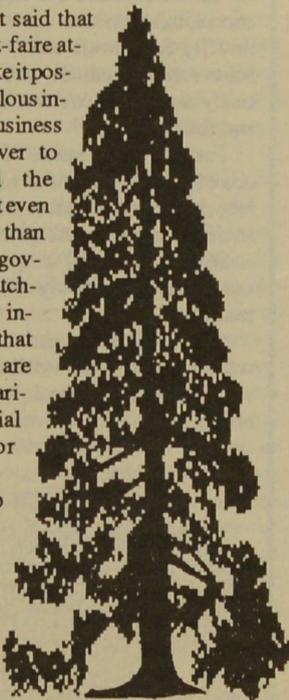
Where we diverge is only, in my opinion, a matter of perception—a mutual misconception.

Some Greens want the federal government, or some government, to solve our environmental problems by force of legislation and by force, if need be, of arms—even though that would subvert the Green commitment to nonviolence. Most Greens, however, see the problems inherent in this approach, but still want the planet protected

somehow.

I have heard it said that libertarian laissez-faire attitudes would make it possible for unscrupulous individuals or big business to use their power to further despoil the earth, to plunder it even more mercilessly than they could while governments were watching over them (as inconceivable as that seems). Greens are afraid that libertarians have no social conscience, or sense of ethics.

"Who will stop the vivisectionists from waging violence against innocent animals?" Greens ask. "Who will protect women and keep them from being relegated to the lowest income echelons? Who will make sure that blacks, browns,



and other minorities have the opportunity to take their places in the economic scheme of things?" Most people, even many Greens, do not realize that government cannot, and has not, helped anyway.

If Libertarians want to win Green votes and Green hearts, they must encourage women to play key roles in the Libertarian Party. Gender parity makes icy intellectualism less of a problem. Women in high political offices warm things up (Maggie Thatcher notwithstanding!). Women seem to understand the interconnectedness of things, the web of life, the spirit of unity better than men. They are the heart and soul of the Green movement.

Libertarians must reassure Greens that might will not make right under the libertarian formula. To say that personal liberty and planetary integrity will be assured by private agreements, by local governments, by neighborhood town meetings, by arbitration corporations, or by high-minded individuals is not enough. How exactly will it work? Isn't it all posited upon a massive change of heart on behalf of all humankind? Pardon us if we are skeptical.

Most Greens are against any further economic growth—preferring quality to quantity. Most think it is beyond the carrying capacity of the planet for us to continue to exploit the fragile vein we have ruthlessly mined for the duration of the

industrial age. Greens see all present governments, capitalist and communist alike, as the brutal proponents of growth at any cost. Can you convince them you don't mean for such growth to continue?

As a Green, indeed as the founder of the Green movement in the proud Texian nation, I affirm our commonality and our mutual dedication to the cause of liberty. I even go so far as to urge

We need to keep open the chink in the armor of the one-party system.

Greens to vote for the Libertarian Party ticket in every electoral race they can. The Interregional Committee of the Green Committees of Correspondence, the continental repository of Green political "power," has taken the position that no mainstream candidate is worthy of endorsement. I heartily concur. For Greens to vote for Libertarians, however, is to maintain the possibility (be it ever so slim) that minority parties can continue to share the ballot with the one megaparty. We need to keep open the chink in the armor of the one-party system. That should be your message to Greens. It should be said with love.

Charles Dews began the Green movement in Texas.

"Proclaim Liberty," 1989 National Convention Set for Philadelphia, August 31-September 3

They say that a change of scenery is good for the soul. After four of the last five national conventions being held West of the Mississippi, the 1989 convention returns East to Philadelphia.

The dates for the **PROCLAIM LIBERTY** convention are Thursday, August 31 to Sunday, September 3. By-Laws and Platform Committees start their proceedings several days earlier.

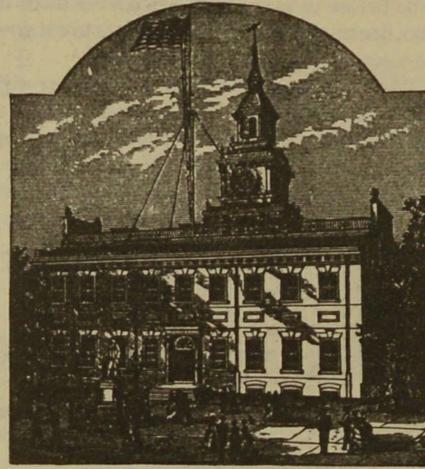
While the convention will have the usual business sessions (beginning Friday, September 1), speakers, workshops, and special events, it will be much more. The convention organizers have structured it so that there will be panels on the future of the Party held before the entire assembly. This is being done in response to numerous requests that this convention be used to determine the direction of the LP for the next decade.

In the aftermath of the 1988 election, many Libertarian activists have called for new directions for the Party. Some want to de-emphasize the presidential campaigns in favor of grassroots elections. Others want to concentrate on five "significant" congressional races. Some want to trim the National Committee and make it more of

a management body. Others want NatCom to have a representative from every state. Some fear a Party that will reach out more to the hard-money, anti-Federal Reserve crowd. Others fear that the Party will try the approach suggested by the so-called *luftmenschen*. Some seek an emotional, loving Party; others call for uncompromising advocacy of laissez faire capitalism. Such questions will be addressed in a "Strategies for the Nineties" panel to be held on Thursday. Spokesmen for the various views will be invited to participate on the panel.

Some are calling the national Chair election, and the election of other officers and the new National Committee, "the most significant in years." Rumors about potential candidates are already sending various activists to their typewriters, telephones, and lists of members with whom they might have influence.

PROCLAIM LIBERTY is, of course, inscribed on Philadelphia's Liberty Bell. Nuts-and-bolts techniques will be featured but those who crave speeches on issues and ideology will not be forgotten. The Convention Associates will sched-



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

ule several sessions designed to attract non-libertarians from the Delaware Valley area. While some speakers will be the Libertarian celebrities and personalities delegates expect to hear, there will also be speakers who aren't Libertarians but who have a message Libertarians will be excited

to hear. At this early date, a schedule of speakers is still being assembled. The next LP NEWS will carry a more detailed program and speakers list.

All-in-all, this is the convention to attend if you want to participate in setting the Party's broad agenda for the 1990's. If you have never been to one, ask those who have. It's a great chance to debate with, learn with, socialize with, and enjoy life with men and women who agree with your basic views on liberty. Don't be one of those who will be saying, in October or November, that they missed one of the all-time great Libertarian events or that they wished they had been there to lend their voice to one of the goals and strategies not chosen.

A great historical city of interest to Libertarians. A great program that will have you eagerly anticipating each event. A great chance to choose the new leaders who will lead the Party in the direction you favor. A great price that won't cause you to seek a second mortgage. A great time to be had by all, whether you are a delegate, an alternate, or just a visitor.

Proclaim Liberty

Celebrate 20th Anniversary Of Libertarian Movement

In September 1969, the "Libertarian Caucus" of the Young Americans for Freedom decided that libertarian views could best be expressed and taught if they were removed from the conservative movement epitomized by William Buckley, Richard Nixon, Strom Thurmond, and Ronald Reagan. Thus was born the Society for Individual Liberty as a nationwide resource, communications clearing house, and educational advocate for libertarianism. Murray Rothbard says: "The birth of S.I.L. marked the beginning of the modern libertarian movement."

S.I.L. is sponsoring a "20th Anniversary of the Movement Banquet" on Wednesday night, August 30th at the LP convention hotel in Philadelphia. Members of the "Class of '69," from all over the country, will gather to relive those days and honor those who have gone on to prominence in the Movement through their words and deeds.

Chief among them is LP NEWS editor, Karl Hess. Karl was the "pied piper" of the Libertarian Caucus, a respected father figure to the largely

student-age crowd who composed it. It was he who urged libertarians to build their own movement separate from the intellectual bankruptcy of the conservatives.

Karl Hess will be the guest of honor at the 20th Anniversary Banquet and will be the object of a good-natured "roast." It doesn't really matter if you were there in St. Louis in 1969, or what side you were on if you were. It only matters that you are now a Libertarian and that you owe much to Karl Hess and others who had the vision and the courage to believe the libertarian movement must stand separate. If you want to honor Karl, and the others, you'll be welcomed to attend the Banquet.

Full details will be mailed out in the Spring by S.I.L. If you want to receive information, please write Don Ernsberger, 865 Meadowood Lane, Warminster, PA 18974. While separate from the LP convention, and available at a modest extra price, this event should add enormously to your enjoyment of **PROCLAIM LIBERTY**.

CONVENTION COMMITTEES SEEK MEMBERS

In April, the National Committee will be electing members of three national convention committees: **PLATFORM, CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS, CREDENTIALS**. If you are interested in serving, send your qualifications to I. Dean Ahmad, Secretary LNC, 4323 Rosedale Ave., Bethesda, MD 20814, by March 1st. He will circulate them to NatCom for their review.

Proclaim Liberty Special Events Set

Atlantic City Excursion

The first special event of the convention is scheduled for Thursday night: an excursion to Atlantic City, New Jersey!

The casinos are the major attraction, of course, but far newer than the famous Atlantic City Boardwalk with its Steel Pier and Miss America parade, not to mention wide sandy beaches, saltwater taffy, Atlantic Ocean, and rolling chairs.

For those into games of chance, the casinos offer all the popular games—slots, roulette, blackjack, craps, and baccarat. The Associates are bargaining with a number of casinos to give \$10 in quarters free to our attendees and possibly a free food coupon, too.

After your big score at the tables, there will even be time to walk barefoot in the surf while the moon shines down on you and your honey.

Olde City Tour

On Friday evening, buses will take the attendees to the Independence Hall National Historical Park. There will be ample time to visit the Hall, see the Liberty Bell, and stop to reflect at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers of the Revolution. Jefferson's residence, where he wrote the Declaration of Independence, is nearby, as is Benjamin Franklin's home. Elfreth's Alley, the oldest inhabited

street in the U.S., is close by as is the Betsy Ross House, Christ Church, and other historically important buildings.

Before breaking for dinner, hoist a tankard at the City Tavern where many a delegate drank many a toast to Independence in 1776.

The most prominent area of the Philadelphia Restaurant Renaissance is close by, too. The Associates will arrange with 10 or more restaurants to give discounts to Libertarians who dine with them. These restaurants offer all kinds of ethnic fare, gourmet cooking, cordon bleu and ribs, seafood and tacos, \$ to \$\$\$\$.

Finish off the evening with a visit to a South Street nightclub (the sidewalks in Philadelphia no longer roll up at 9 pm) or drop in the shops at Head House Square or The Bourse.

Banquet Gala

Saturday night is the time for the traditional Banquet. There will be a speaker that everyone wants to hear, and other special happenings that you won't want to miss. A chance to dress up and enjoy life before plunging back into the politicking on Sunday.

Breakfasts

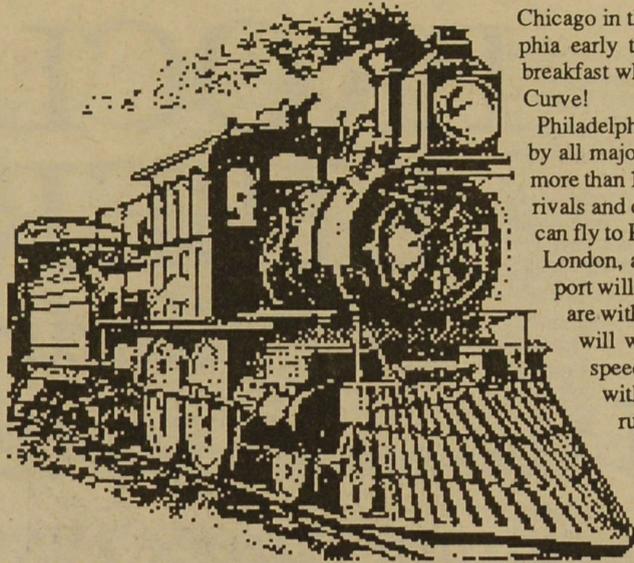
On Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday mornings, you can enjoy sumptuous breakfasts and hear from three top Libertarian celebrities while savoring the second cup of coffee.

Convention Transportation Alternatives

For the first time since 1983, the LP's national convention will be on the East Coast. Philadelphia is within a six hour drive of 21 percent of the members and within 12 hours of another 12 percent. More than 50 percent can drive with no more than a one-night stop at a motel, with plenty of time left over to see sights along the way.

The convention hotel is adjacent to the Vine Street Expressway which connects to major highways leading directly to the Pennsylvania Turnpike, the New Jersey Turnpike, and Interstate 95. For those driving, the hotel offers underground parking for 500 cars.

For those wishing to rediscover the joys of train travel, even if it is via tax-subsidized Amtrak, the hotel is only two blocks from the Suburban Station where an easy connection is made from Amtrak's 30th Street Station, Philadelphia. Boston-Washington trains are frequent and connections from the South are good also. For you Westerners, the "Broadway Limited" departs



Chicago in the evening and arrives in Philadelphia early the next afternoon. Enjoy a diner breakfast while descending famous Horseshoe Curve!

Philadelphia International Airport is served by all major domestic airlines, with flights to more than 100 cities. There are about 1,000 arrivals and departures daily. Foreign attendees can fly to Philadelphia directly from Toronto, London, and Frankfurt. A taxi from the airport will cost about \$15, which is fine if you are with companions. The solitary traveler will want to catch the train (\$4) which speeds you direct to Suburban Station within two blocks of the hotel. Trains run every half hour from 5:30 am to 11:30 pm.

Please contact the Convention Associates if you need more specific information about traveling to Philadelphia.

Full Package Prices Lowest In Years

Delegates who want to attend everything at the convention—all four meal events, all the speakers and business, the special events, and the exhibits—will find that the \$199.95 package (good until April 15) is the lowest in years! Go back the last three or four conventions and you will see full package prices approaching \$300.

The PLCA is betting that more people will want to come if the price is reasonable. With the convention shaping up as a "don't miss" event for those who want to formulate the LP's course in the 1990's, these prices are GOOD NEWS for the budget-conscious.

Prices increase after April 15, so send your check in today to lock in this great bargain.

Man, Nature, State

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what if we replaced state regulation with the natural regulation of the market place? What if we created a new category of property rights?

Let us imagine that polluting industries (including companies manufacturing polluting products) would buy transferable pollution rights—let's call them permits for convenience—on the free market. The number of permits for each pollutant (which could include carbon dioxide—the major culprit of the greenhouse effect—and chlorofluorocarbons—culprit of ozone depletion) would be limited to achieve desired levels of air quality. The high cost of these permits resulting from their scarcity would provide strong economic incentives for improving air pollution control technologies (or for producing alternative products) and would heavily penalize those firms unable to adopt or develop such innovations. China, for example, has already opted for similar free market practices.

The important feature of this proposal is that the state would play a minimal role in pollution control. People would not be restricted from polluting. They would only be required to bear the costs of their activities—a requirement consistent with a free society. The fact that polluters would be allowed to make the key decisions on how much pollution to generate (at the micro level) and the best technologies for controlling it would release the power and potential of human diversity. The direct costs of acquiring pollution permits and the opportunity costs of holding them would be the ecological cue spurring on the technological innovations needed to spare earth from further environmental insults. The decentralized market combined with property rights, not centralized bureaucracies, would animate the latent creativity of human diversity.

It is true that the setting of maximum pollutant levels and the enforcement of pollution rights would involve coercion or the threat of coercion. The setting of pollutant ceilings would be equivalent to the initial establishment of property rights on unoccupied land. Individuals and groups competing for those rights would have to decide through negotiation or political means the rules by which they would settle the new territory. The reality facing each claimant, even in the absence of an organized state, would be the inevitability of coercion should negotiation fail. And regarding the enforcement of pollution rights, I envision it in the same context as the enforcement of property rights.

The bottom line, of course, is that pollution is coercive; it is aggression. A formal state need not exist to justify or allow self-defense against polluters. Indeed, the initiatives taken so far by non-federal interests in combating pollution suggest to me that local communities would be more effective than federal bureaucracies in resolving environmental degradation if the powers reserved

to the centralized state were developed to localities. As it stands now, the options available to individuals, organizations, and communities to fight polluting industries are limited by judicial and political processes insensitive to ecological reality and local sovereignty. Given these obstacles, market approaches which minimize state involvement in environmental protection are preferable to more activist state roles.

I recognize that market or decentralist solutions to environmental problems in this country do not begin to remedy global pollution. However, market and decentralist solutions are infectious. I have considerably more faith in the possibility of a world epidemic of freedom than I do in the possibility of a conglomerate of world states leading unwilling citizens to environmental salvation.

...a beginning toward a coherent ecology of liberty.

Other areas of the American environment would also benefit from the conspicuous absence of the state. My own interests focus on western public lands and whether those lands would be better served by far-sighted government bureaucrats or by narrowly self-interested private owners who would bring to the land a diversity of visions. I know the track record of federal bureaucracies. Management monocultures have served neither the public nor the public's land. What if...what if the diverse visions of ranchers and wildlife conservationists, recreationists and preservationists, economists and ecologists, and poets and carpenters could be realized through private ownership of the public lands?

In southwestern Oregon, a rancher applies his conservation vision to the land. He creates a marshland supporting more species of fish and birds than are found on adjacent public lands. He exchanges a portion of that marshland to the Forest Service for acreage next to a large lake he envisioned and sculpted for a wildlife preserve. The exchange allows him to consolidate his property holdings and control access to his private sanctuary. It brings him the satisfaction of knowing his landscape creation—his contribution to nature's diversity—will be protected. He is saddened, of course, when he revisits his former marshland and finds it despoiled. Gone are the profusion of fish, the dense, waist-high grass, and the rich variety of wildlife. His concern does not stop there, however. Beneficent environmental zoning codes passed by Oregon's conservation community threaten his control of the lake sanctuary he created from the arid landscape. As he ponders his options, the unsettling howl of a solitary wolf—a wolf who shares the rancher's lake home—shatters the tranquility of the sanctu-

ary. Two endangered species. One a symbol of a world past, the other a possibility for a world to come.

Environmental problems are real; they are serious; and they will not disappear with wishful thinking. The challenge must be met if liberty is to have relevance in a world where the economy of nature rules the fate of all earthly life. I have attempted to suggest in theory and example a possible direction—a beginning toward a coherent ecology of liberty.

Aldo Leopold, in his historic essay on the land ethic, observed that *Your true modern is separated from the land by many middlemen, and by innumerable physical gadgets. He has no vital relation to it.* The vital relation Leopold envisioned was membership in the land-community—the organic web binding man to his environment and the life within it. Without those ties, Leopold feared, a land ethic was impossible. And without a land ethic, Leopold wondered, how could man coexist in harmony with nature?

To live apart from one's land-community, Leopold believed, would result in the divergence of the individual's interests from those of his immediate surroundings. Only individuals fully integrated within their environments could evolve the requisite sense of ethical responsibility toward the land and its inhabitants. A land ethic would be possible and meaningful only to the extent man could assume his proper ecological role within the land-community.

Man's vital relation to the land-community has been eroded and obstructed by state intrusion between people, their social communities, and nature. Removed from those vital relations by state beneficence, is it any wonder that men and women in poor and wealthy nations have turned their backs to environmental harm and left the care of their only home to distant bureaucracies? Is it any wonder that lacking accountability for their actions, they have behaved indifferently to their neighbors and to the land which nurtures them all?

Lasting environmental solutions—and the hope for a land ethic—reside neither in the province of the state nor in the doctrinaire application

Solutions and ethics are fellow travelers.

of private property rights. Solutions and ethics are fellow travelers. They will be found, I believe, in the heartland of American liberty—among the elements of community which Charles Murray affectionately calls *little platoons*. There, in the midst of the diversity of a pluralistic society, will be found solutions and ethics. But the ecological workings of *little platoons* will depend on power and responsibility. And so the fate of man and nature turns full circle to the beneficence of the state—or the triumph of liberty.

Dr. Hess is a range ecologist now working at the University of New Mexico.

Convention Associates

The 1989 national convention is being sponsored by "Proclaim Liberty Convention Associates." The three associates are long-time libertarian activists Don Ernsberger, Linda Morrison, and Dave Walter. Morrison is a professional public relations manager and has contracted to provide shows for the Valley Forge Convention Center. Ernsberger and Walter have organized many libertarian conferences for Society for Individual Liberty.

Responsibilities have been split as follows: Morrison—liaison with hotel and outside vendors; Ernsberger—program and speakers; Walter—finances and registration administration.

Your questions or comments can be directed to PLCA at P.O. Box 338, Warminster, PA 18974.

Exhibitors Welcome

The convention will feature the traditional Exhibit Hall where purveyors of libertarian goods, special interest groups, and think-tank educational groups can meet delegates and display their products.

Table prices are not yet available but are expected to be reasonable. PLCA believes exhibitors are an Attraction and should not "pay through the nose" in order to meet the delegates.

Choice table locations will be offered on a first-come, first-served basis. To be sure of receiving information on prices and locations, those interested in exhibiting should write PLCA at P.O. Box 338, Warminster, PA 18974.

Fredome Ryme

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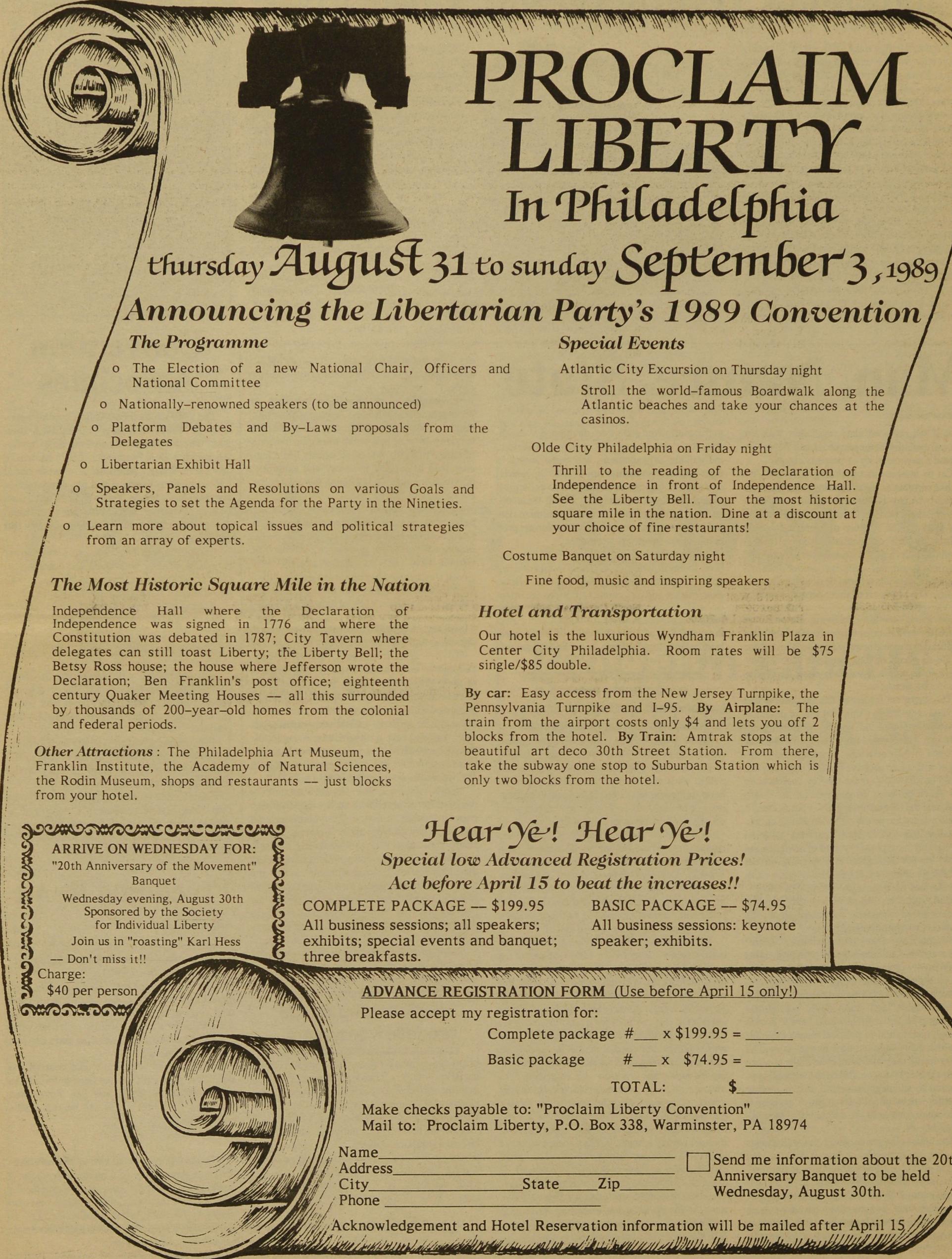
Libertarians all over the world, I have discovered one basic truth: Libertarians on the whole are the nicest people in the world.

As they say, Rome wasn't built in a day. Don't expect instant success, and don't bite off more than you can reasonably chew. Attend conventions in other states and other countries when possible for a wider understanding and a growing circle of friends.

One bit of advice: Don't take yourself too seriously. You aren't in it for fame or fortune, so relax and look on the lighter side. Remember, laugh and the whole world will wonder what's wrong with you.

Good luck!

Martha Olijnyk is a member of several Libertarian organizations in Canada as well as a member of Libertarian International and the US LP. She edits the Association Bulletin and also manages the mail-order bookstore, LLS, in Toronto, which sells at various discounts books of interest to Libertarians.



PROCLAIM LIBERTY In Philadelphia

Thursday August 31 to Sunday September 3, 1989

Announcing the Libertarian Party's 1989 Convention

The Programme

- o The Election of a new National Chair, Officers and National Committee
- o Nationally-renowned speakers (to be announced)
- o Platform Debates and By-Laws proposals from the Delegates
- o Libertarian Exhibit Hall
- o Speakers, Panels and Resolutions on various Goals and Strategies to set the Agenda for the Party in the Nineties.
- o Learn more about topical issues and political strategies from an array of experts.

Special Events

Atlantic City Excursion on Thursday night

Stroll the world-famous Boardwalk along the Atlantic beaches and take your chances at the casinos.

Olde City Philadelphia on Friday night

Thrill to the reading of the Declaration of Independence in front of Independence Hall. See the Liberty Bell. Tour the most historic square mile in the nation. Dine at a discount at your choice of fine restaurants!

Costume Banquet on Saturday night

Fine food, music and inspiring speakers

The Most Historic Square Mile in the Nation

Independence Hall where the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776 and where the Constitution was debated in 1787; City Tavern where delegates can still toast Liberty; the Liberty Bell; the Betsy Ross house; the house where Jefferson wrote the Declaration; Ben Franklin's post office; eighteenth century Quaker Meeting Houses — all this surrounded by thousands of 200-year-old homes from the colonial and federal periods.

Other Attractions: The Philadelphia Art Museum, the Franklin Institute, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Rodin Museum, shops and restaurants — just blocks from your hotel.

Hotel and Transportation

Our hotel is the luxurious Wyndham Franklin Plaza in Center City Philadelphia. Room rates will be \$75 single/\$85 double.

By car: Easy access from the New Jersey Turnpike, the Pennsylvania Turnpike and I-95. **By Airplane:** The train from the airport costs only \$4 and lets you off 2 blocks from the hotel. **By Train:** Amtrak stops at the beautiful art deco 30th Street Station. From there, take the subway one stop to Suburban Station which is only two blocks from the hotel.

Hear Ye! Hear Ye!

Special low Advanced Registration Prices!

Act before April 15 to beat the increases!!

COMPLETE PACKAGE — \$199.95

All business sessions; all speakers; exhibits; special events and banquet; three breakfasts.

BASIC PACKAGE — \$74.95

All business sessions: keynote speaker; exhibits.

ARRIVE ON WEDNESDAY FOR:

"20th Anniversary of the Movement" Banquet

Wednesday evening, August 30th
Sponsored by the Society for Individual Liberty

Join us in "roasting" Karl Hess

— Don't miss it!!

Charge: \$40 per person

ADVANCE REGISTRATION FORM (Use before April 15 only!)

Please accept my registration for:

Complete package # ___ x \$199.95 = _____

Basic package # ___ x \$74.95 = _____

TOTAL: \$ _____

Make checks payable to: "Proclaim Liberty Convention"

Mail to: Proclaim Liberty, P.O. Box 338, Warminster, PA 18974

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

Send me information about the 20th Anniversary Banquet to be held Wednesday, August 30th.

Acknowledgement and Hotel Reservation information will be mailed after April 15

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What Business Is the Libertarian Party Engaged In?

By David P. Bergland

The most fundamental issue facing any organization (business, charitable, religious, educational, or whatever) is: What business are we in? In other words: What is the single overriding objective of the organization? Once you have an answer to that question, you can make decisions about strategy and tactics rationally. Until you answer that question, you can only flounder. The single greatest shortcoming of the Libertarian Party, particularly at the NatCom level, is that we continually avoid dealing with the threshold question.

My answer to this question is: The overriding objective of the LP should be TO INCREASE IN NUMBERS. It is likely that this answer is almost offensively simple to all you smart folks. But, please consider the following analysis.

The LP is one segment of a broader libertarian movement. We all want to see that movement succeed. By succeed, I mean that many more people will come to understand, accept, embrace, or at least not reject as preposterous, libertarian ideas and policies. Ultimately, we want to see libertarian views predominate in economics, politics, and social policy, replacing the protectionist, welfare/warfare state ideas which predominate today. For that to happen, many people who have not yet done so must take some steps in the libertarian direction. The LP is a tool by which this can happen. Every person who discovers the LP and takes the positive step of joining, contributing, registering to vote (in the states which allow it), or even casting a first libertarian vote, is moving in the proper direction. Every such person becomes an even better prospect to move further. Thus, as the LP's membership (and I am defining "membership" loosely to include all who sign on any dotted line indicating support for the LP) increases, more people know and accept

libertarianism and the influence of our ideas increases accordingly. The prospect of electing libertarians and achieving other electoral successes also increases.

If the foregoing analysis is basically sound, then the guiding strategic goal for the LP should be: GET MORE MEMBERS! Obvious, you say? Then why the Hell hasn't it been happening? Membership hit a plateau about five years ago. The "natural attraction" of our ideas has only allowed us to maintain our numbers to offset natural attrition. We have not grown. I believe it is because our leaders have been more interested in other things. We have not had an overriding commitment to growth, and therefore, we have not had growth.

In summary, we should view the LP as a membership organization in the business of selling memberships. Any concrete activities in which we engage must have the goal of promoting membership sales. So, what can I recommend to make this happen?

I am going to share with you a system for success which is based on work in the fields of psychology and communications. It is my own development, incorporating principles learned from experts in their fields. It helps me in every endeavor and I believe it can help the LP. The four points are as follows:

1. Who? Know your audience; know who you have to persuade; know what makes them tick; know what is important to them, their values.

2. Objective. Decide what it is you want to accomplish. What do you want the people you are dealing with to do as a result of your efforts with them? How will you measure the success of your efforts?

3. Approach or theme. Decide on the best way to deal with the targeted people in order to achieve your objective. Design the approach or theme to appeal to them where they are, on their ground, so

that they perceive you as respectful of them and supportive of their values. So they see that what you want to accomplish supports them and their values.

4. Resources and Tactics. Assess what you have to work with and how best to use it to implement the approach to reach the objective.

Following are some recommendations for the LP based on the foregoing, keeping in mind that increased membership is the Objective. Further, resources available are extremely limited and some of them must be expended to raise additional resources.

1. Who? There are many types in America. Young, old, liberal, conservative, independent, male, female, white, black, hispanic, oriental, wealthy, poor, educated, ignorant, etc. Local LP's must take the lead in identifying the people in their areas who might be open to a libertarian appeal. One value which most people share is "democracy"; another is "fairplay."

2. Objective. Get as many people as possible to "sign up." This endeavor will take different forms, depending on the LP organization in the state and the state election laws.

3. Approach or theme. The LP is a political party made up of people like you who are entitled to fair and equal treatment. The establishment tries to stop us from participating in the democratic process. Please help us overcome these unfair obstacles so that the American voters can evaluate our views and candidates objectively.

4. Resources and tactics.

(a) Resources: The national LP organization, including HQ and staff; state and local LPs, some with HQs and staff; existing members; prospects already on mailing lists; lists of registered libertarians in states where registration is allowed; contributor base; inter-party network, including Libertarian Party NEWS; people with a variety of talents and commitment; other?

(b) Tactics:

(b.1) Cut all national LP expenses to the barest essentials necessary to maintain the organization, raise the funds to keep it running, and underwrite activities which will bring in new members. Evaluate all current activities and don't spend a dime on any activity which cannot be justified under the foregoing.

(b.2) Registration/membership drives. In states where voters can register as Libertarians, encourage and support voter registration drives. Follow-up with membership promotion activities to each new registrant. In states where election laws are not that straightforward, attempt to create a membership development program which will work under those laws.

(b.3) Ballot Access: Adopt a ballot access program which begins immediately and continues indefinitely. Identify what can be done, in which states, on what schedule, at what cost. (Richard Winger can answer those questions), and then get on with it. Ballot qualification is a most significant morale builder for existing members in any state and a credibility factor which will help promote membership. Success of such a program can also mean 50 state position for future LP presidential candidates without bankruptcy in the election year. [See story on Project 51-'92 on page 1]

(b.4) Affiliate Party support: The two foregoing items are specific examples of the national LP doing the important job of helping build effective LP organizations and activity all over the country. If more resources become available, they should be devoted to activities which will help Affiliate Parties grow.

David Bergland was the Libertarian Party's 1984 presidential candidate.

Is Little Neck A Big Water?

Some results from the presidential election provided Virginia Libertarians with hopes of their own burgeoning Big Water.

In the Kingston precinct of Virginia Beach, in an area called Little Neck, Ron Paul received six percent of the votes, 114 out of 1,956—results that caught the attention of the election officials and the media. Even members of the Virginia LP were surprised, since no active members of the Party live in the Little Neck area.

Benjamin Parmele, a 75-year-old retiree and not a Party member, was one of those in Little Neck who voted for Paul and apparently recruited

a number of the others.

Parmele told a reporter for the *Virginia Pilot* that he felt "Paul would be just as good a president as the other two. I mentioned it to anyone who would listen, but no one gave any comment."

Party's Pledge Drive Now in Full Swing

The Libertarian Party's annual drive to obtain regular contribution pledges is under way, under the direction of NatCom member Paul Kunberger. If just 1,000 members pledge an average of \$25 a month each, the Party will have enough money to pay basic operating costs and support an aggressive membership recruitment program.

Join up today!

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NatCom Meeting: Turney Resigns, Walter Chosen

continued from page 1

In regard to other financial matters, it was reported that the national Party still owes \$1,900 to the group that managed the Seattle convention, and \$5,000 to the Advertising Development Committee. With the \$4,000 vendor debt this gives a total debt of less than \$11,000, compared to the \$60,000 debt left after the 1984 election campaign.

The meeting also adopted a budget for 1989, which is similar to the current budget but permits the addition of a fifth staffer in the national office, and also provides \$15,000 to provide half of the funding for a new position of field coordinator to keep the ballot access work going year-round and beginning as soon as possible. The other half of funding for the new position would be raised by the Ballot Access Committee. Former National Director Paul Jacob is a candidate for the new position. Ballot Access chair Burt Blumert has announced that he wants to start the ballot work now rather than during the hectic months before the next campaign.

On the crucial matter of membership (see the article by Dave Bergland on this page) there was a total paid national membership of 6,438, described as a high for recent years and representing a 17% increase since the 1987 LP convention.

The "program" called for as far back as the 1985 convention has also reappeared on the LNC's active agenda. The "program" would not replace the national platform but would concentrate on short-range proposals that could be used by LP candidates. Its aim would be to pinpoint and amplify issues that average voters might respond to rather than issues of theoretical interest to libertarians.

A committee is working on the material for submission to the 1989 convention. Copies of the current draft are available electronically through the Bulletin Board Service being operated by NatCom regional representative Joseph W. Dehn, III. The number is 503-485-3578 and the file is entitled LPUSPROG.TXT.

Dehn, a powerful supporter of the use of

electronic mail by the LP, reports that about a quarter of the members of the National Committee now are signed on to such networks as CompuServe, MCI Mail and Fidonet. He has become an informal but active clearing-house to keep participants in the various networks in touch with each other, and reports that some of the issues discussed at the Oklahoma City NatCom meeting had been discussed earlier, electronically. It is Dehn's hope that state chairs will join in the move to expand electronic communications "both so they can keep track of what is going on with the national LP and so they can give the National Committee feedback on what is and is not benefiting the state parties." Dehn says that he welcomes inquiries about getting "into the network."

** ATTENTION ** STATE CHAIRS

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Your state's national convention delegation size is determined by the number of national members you have as of February 28, 1989.

Build your membership! Build your treasury! Build your delegation!

Win the First Place award for greatest growth, as a percent of population, since February 28, 1987!

Start a statewide membership drive today!