

frontlines

reason's
newsletter
for libertarians

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Cato Fires Rothbard

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FINANCES, MAILING LIST DISCUSSED

Natcom Copes with Packed Agenda

The Libertarian National Committee met in Portland, Oregon, on April 11 and 12 and tackled an extraordinarily long agenda. Aside from the major items--appointment of the Constitution, Bylaws and Rules Committee and the Platform Committee for the national convention in August and consideration of a budget and repayment of the Party's debt--the Natcom heard reports and took action where appropriate on a computer contract, the 1981 convention, the Minority Outreach program, Finance and Membership committees, and quite a few other items.

It is clear that the Constitution, Bylaws and Rules Committee (CBR) is where everyone expects the action to be at the national convention in Denver. There were 20 nominees for the 10 positions on the committee, which has been directed by Natcom to consider changes to provide more control over future presidential campaigns. Several people involved in running the Clark campaign (Chris Hocker, Jule Herbert, and Ed Clark himself) and several critics of the campaign (Bill Evers, David Nolan) vied for seats on the committee. The Natcom went through two ballots to select the members of

the committee and then went through three more to select the chair. Bill White won the chairmanship, and the members are Ben Olson, Phil Carden, Lynn Crussel, Bill Evers, Leslie Key, Bruce Lagasse, David Nolan, Ben Olds, and Ed Clark.

Some proposals for various controls on presidential campaigns were circulated and discussed outside the meeting. They include limits on campaign debt, review committees with authority, procedures for disavowing a candidate, and other lesser sanctions.

Sheldon Richman, research director for the Council for a Competitive Economy, was chosen as chair of the Platform Committee, with Jenny Roback, Dean Ahmad, Murray Rothbard, Joan Kennedy Taylor, Ross

Levatter, Dale Pratt, Larry Fullmer, Mike Grossberg, and Jeff Hummel as members. The 10 states with the largest membership will each appoint a member. The Special Platform Committee formed last year was disbanded. The committee never met, although some members had done some work on their own.)

Sylvia Sanders was appointed chair of the Credentials Committee, and Frances Eddy, Ann Perier, Lee Nason, and Craig Franklin were appointed to the committee. The five largest states will each add a member.

A major part of the meeting was devoted to discussion and argument about the Party's financial condition. Natcom member Vivian Baures spent a week at the LP headquarters in Washington in February to prepare an extensive report on income and expenditures for 1980, the LP's net worth, and a list of its outstanding bills and loans. She also presented a number of recommendations for changes in the budgeting process and financial procedures at the office, some of which are in effect.

Baures's report indicated that the allocation of some \$77,000 of large contributions to the LP was

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HESS FILM WINS OSCAR

Karl Hess: Toward Liberty is the title of a 26-minute film that won this year's Oscar for best short documentary. Roland Halle, a successful Canadian businessman, and Peter Ladue, a teacher at Boston University, made the film as their

joint master's project at Boston University for about \$20,000. Hess told FRONTLINES that the film is not purely libertarian. "I don't imagine many libertarians would dance for joy at the film," he said. He added that it is critical of nuclear energy due to its large-scale impact on society via government subsidies, a point he suspects would offend some proponents of nuclear power.

The film's pivot, Hess noted, is the point where he says that his idea of a free society is one in which everyone is responsible for his own actions. From that point, the film deals with Hess's lapse from politics into his search for small-scale decentralized technology, which he believes to be the way of the future. The filmmakers manage to convey Hess's vision of a time when neighborhoods are more important than nations.

The final scene of the film shows a windmill against the backdrop of a monumental, granite, and federally-owned "crapfactory." The analogy is that of a cockroach looking up at a dinosaur, not knowing that the beast and its species are doomed. Hess reiterated that the film is designed to help people move "the first inch" toward a libertarian philosophy, not to push them over "the last step."

COOLEY DROPS OUT, ALICIA CLARK DECLARES

Two events in April have radically altered the state of the race for LP national chair. On Monday the 12th, Alicia Clark announced her intentions to run for national chair. On Tuesday the 13th, it was announced that LP Treasurer Dallas Cooley had suffered a heart attack and would be dropping out of the race (Cooley's heart attack has been without complications).

Alicia Clark's decision to enter the race maintains the number of candidates at three, along with Kent Guida and John Mason. Clark says she is running at the urging of friends around the country, without the counsel of her husband, past LP presidential candidate Ed Clark. Clark told FRONTLINES that one of the reasons she was hesitant to run for chair was that "Everybody will



ALICIA CLARK

say that I am Ed Crane's candidate." To which her supporters responded, "Everybody knows he's already got a candidate," she says. "The truth is that I am not Ed Crane's candidate," Clark reiterates. "Ed Crane didn't like the idea of me running for national chair." Clark says she will run on a platform of unity with an emphasis on molding the national party to better aid the local libertarian groups.

FRONTLINES will cover the candidates in detail before the national convention in August.■

CLARK COMMITTEE SUIT BROUGHT TO LIGHT

Three Ohio libertarians have revealed that the Clark campaign filed a complaint against NBC with the Federal Communications Commission last year. Dan McKiernan, Eric Isaacson, and Bruce Umbaugh have been circulating an article from *Broadcasting* (Sept. 15, 1980) which recounts the story. At its Portland meeting the LP Natcom set up a committee to investigate the situation. Committee member Bill Evers contends, "There is a potentially serious violation of libertarian principles involved." But he would not make a final judgment until all the information is in.

FRONTLINES contacted the NBC legal staff, which provided documents generated during the Clark campaign effort to get NBC air time, as well as copies of another Clark complaint against PBS. The NBC attorney told FRONTLINES, "I saw their commercials and heard some of the stuff they were saying, so I never understood this whole thing."

Some libertarians also don't understand why the Clark Committee would file the complaints with the FCC. According to Jule Herbert, the Clark staffer who initiated the complaint, the first action was taken against NBC when the network refused to sell a number of five-minute ad slots to the committee. Herbert says that "the national television networks operate within what we [on the Clark committee] think is very clearly an industry-lobbied-for, state-created, quasi-monopoly cartel. There were no other networks to go to besides the three set up and licensed by the government. Within this framework, paid political commercials are rationed by network-government agreement. The agreement, implicitly, is that artificially low rates apply for politicians as compared with prices for similar commercial ads. These are maintained at a monopoly price by the restricted number of network and licensees that are allowed. Since [political ads] have artificially low prices, [networks] have a politically set standard as to who can

buy time, which is called 'reasonable access'."

Herbert contends that buying political commercials is consequently like jockeying for position in a line for ration coupons. Even the networks, he claims, expect political groups to use whatever method is at their disposal to gain their share of ad time. "The whole thing," he adds, "is based on the knowledge by the person you are dealing with in the cartel that you will pursue your so-called rights. . . . The networks would probably not sell to anybody if they had their druthers but the trade-off for their monopoly privilege is that they set aside these spots for politicians." After they filed the complaint, NBC sold them the extra spots they wanted; the complaint was dismissed.

The group that handled the Clark Committee complaints was Media Access Project (MAP), a public interest advocacy group that specializes in handling requests from such special groups as environmentalists and feminists who contend that they are being denied access to the media. MAP was aware of the peculiar position of the Clark campaign--both on the NBC complaint and on a second complaint against PBS in an unsuccessful effort to get Ed Clark in the presidential debates on "The Advocates." Heidi Sanchez of MAP told FRONTLINES that the Clark Committee members "were a little bit concerned about the libertarians' involvement with the government. They didn't like having to go to the government in order to get these things, and they felt just a little bit concerned about it and did not want very much publicity early on."

According to Herbert, Roger Macbride's 1976 committee also used MAP to fight an FCC ruling that the LP presidential candidate would not be entitled to buy time as a candidate until after the Republican and Democratic nominating conventions. The Libertarian Party National Committee has had a longstanding prohibition against the use of equal time laws to gain network leverage. ■

CATO BOARD FIRES ROTHBARD

Murray Rothbard has been fired from the Cato Institute's board of directors, through a letter from Cato President Ed Crane dated March 5. As the reason for Rothbard's dismissal, Crane cited Rothbard's criticisms of Crane to other individuals and in print (*Libertarian Forum*). Crane said it would be impossible for the two of them to work together due to Rothbard's antagonism towards him.

Rothbard was one of four stockholders, each with 12 symbolic one-dollar shares, including Crane himself, Charles Koch, and George Pearson. While any three of the four stockholders could fire the fourth, Rothbard protests that established procedures were not carried out. He says he was never notified of any meeting at which business concerning shares would be carried out, despite a Cato Institute by-law provision calling for a 10-day notification of such meeting. He further contends that his shares, which had been kept in Kansas for safekeeping, had been confiscated. Rothbard flatly maintains, "They stole my shares." The decision by the three other members to terminate Rothbard without his knowledge has added to the hard feelings. Rothbard adds, "How do you sue a billionaire?" Rothbard's lawyer is apparently looking into the move.

Sam Husbands, a member of the Cato Institute Board (though not a voting stockholder), bemoans the loss of Rothbard but admits that Crane and Rothbard did have their differences. This put backer Charles Koch into the position of choosing between the two, he believes. "In the final analysis," Husbands asserts, "the guy who puts up the money has the right to do what he wants to do in an untenable situation."

Rothbard told FRONTLINES that he will no longer speak at Cato summer seminars but will continue to write for *Inquiry*. ■

Natcom Agenda

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still to be settled. It was unclear whether the money was supposed to go to Clark campaign-related expenses or LP ballot drive expenses. Since the money has already been spent, the issue to be resolved was whether the LP owes the CFP Committee \$59,000, or CFP owes the LP \$18,000, or something in between. (If this doesn't make sense, you're still not as confused as most Natcom members were after hearing various explanations.) Since the LP has spent more than the questioned amount on campaign-related activities (\$163,000 on ballot drives and \$98,000 on the Clark campaign), a motion was made and passed to allocate the large contributions so that the LP owes

CFP the roughly \$2,200 it had agreed to pay. After modifying the Baures report to reflect this motion, the LP's debt as of December 31, 1980, was approximately \$72,000 to various vendors and \$71,000 to a small number of libertarians who lent money for ballot drives. In 1980 the LP had roughly \$469,000 in income and spent roughly \$637,000. Expenses in several categories exceeded the amount budgeted. The Baures report represents the first really detailed information the Natcom has received on Party finances for the latter part of 1980. The Natcom had asked at several meetings for more detail but had been told that during the rush of the campaign there was no time to get financial data into or out of the computer.

Baures's motion to reorganize and clarify responsibility for LP finan-

ces passed. One of them states that expenditures shall be limited to the amount budgeted (with small exceptions allowed). Vivian Baures announced that she will seek the office of Party Treasurer at the national convention this summer.

The budget submitted to the Natcom for May 1-December 31, 1981 caused long and sometimes heated argument. The disputes centered around the schedule for paying the Party's debts and which, if any, expenditures should be cut. Several people (including Esser, Olson, Cooley) argued that paying the debts should be the highest priority even if the headquarters has to nearly shut down. Others (O'Keefe, Key, Herbert) argued that unless the headquarters continues a high level of activity, it will be impossible to raise enough money to pay off the

debt. Eventually, a motion was passed that allocates a minimum of 10 percent of each month's income to debt retirement. The Natcom also decided to try to refinance the debt to pay back the present creditors and schedule payments over a longer period of time.

The income estimate in the budget was considered unrealistically high by the Natcom and was adjusted downward, leaving the difficult task of cutting expenditures. Since nearly every cut was vehemently opposed by somebody, more than one Natcom member was led to compare the deliberations to Congressional budget debate. Eventually, cuts were made in headquarters staff salaries, computer software, and a few small items, leaving projected monthly expenditures still several thousand dollars above the minimum projected income.

At least something seems to be going well. The new computer, owned by Liberty Services (general partners Craig Franklin and Dallas Cooley), has been installed and seems to be working fine. It is a drastic improvement over the old one. It is worth noting that several of the people who opposed the mail ballot allowing installation of the new computer (Anzis, Bergland, Baase) actively participated in working out the contract details and believe that most of their questions have been acceptably resolved. The Natcom expressed its appreciation to Craig Franklin.

David Nolan, chair of the Advertising/Publications Committee reported that the LP's antidraft ad ("Slaves make lousy defenders of freedom") developed by Nolan himself won first prize in the black and white print ad category in an ad competition sponsored by the Denver Advertising Federation and judged by New York advertisers.

The Natcom appointed a committee (Bill Evers and Andrea Rich) to investigate a report that appeared in *Broadcasting* magazine saying that the Clark for President Committee had asked the FCC to direct NBC to sell it television time for Clark ads (see story on page 2). The LP has a longstanding resolution against using the "Fairness Doctrine" to force the TV networks to provide air time.

The LP rescinded its affiliation with the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft. It also rescinded its resolution recommending that the next presidential nominating convention be in the spring of 1984 rather than the summer of 1983. The actual decision will be made at the national convention. The site will be New York in either case.

David Walter, cofounder of the Society for Individual Liberty, was elected over California LP State Chair Mike Hall to fill the Natcom seat vacated by Ed Crane's resignation. A resolution submitted by Sally Foster supporting the right to have home births and to practice midwifery without a license was passed with minor deletions. And a dispute between the LP and the CFP concerning the ownership and use of the mailing list generated by the Clark campaign was partly settled. Income from outside rentals will go to the group that generated

Delegate Selection Process Criticized

The election of national convention delegates at the California state convention in San Diego in February this year has produced some surprising and controversial results. Complaints center around the use of an election system called the Single Transferable Vote (STV). According to Jack Sanders, who has done an extensive computer analysis with ex-STV supporter Bill White, the system can lead to perverse results.

The STV is a system that uses a ranked list to decide an election in which a number of candidates from a group are to be chosen, such as delegates to a convention. Each ballot, with its ranked preferences, counts as a total of one. As candidates are confirmed from the first preferences, a percentage of the ballot value is transferred down the list until all the delegates are chosen.

The problem with that approach is that it takes very little support to elect someone to a large delegation. At the California convention, where 153 people vied for 94 seats, it took only one first place vote besides your own to assure election. Thus, well-known figures such as Leonard Liggio who received 78 votes (19th in total number of votes) and Sally Foster with 74

votes (25th in total votes) ended up not being elected to one of the 94 seats. The list of delegates who would have been elected using the "breadth of support" system (a vote is a vote) but lost under the STV system reads like a "who's who" of the California LP, according to the Sanders/White study. They note that any six people who understand the STV system can guarantee the election of at least four of their group.

To complicate things further, the study reports, delegates change according to the number of seats to be filled. Some delegates who would win if the race were for 90 seats would not win if the race were for 100 seats.

Sanders and White are in favor of decentralizing the election of delegates as part of a better plan. According to Sanders, a move to change the LP constitution to allow the election of some delegates at the local level was shot down in a partisan play between Hunscher and Clark forces at the last national nominating convention. Sanders argues that dedicated activists who may not be known outside their own areas are at a disadvantage in statewide elections when someone who has done some state-level activity has more name recognition. ■

World Report

CANADA

LIBERTARIAN TV SHOW

The Montreal-based Citizens for Liberty Forum has announced the launching of its television series, "Libertarian Dialogue." The series consists of 12 half-hour shows which will be aired four times a week for 12 weeks on cable TV in Montreal.

Dialogue on subjects such as rent controls, taxation, drug laws, and educational reform will be covered by an impressive array of guests.

The series will be moderated by CLF President Victor Levis and by Irena Bubnuik. Series creator Levis claims that the show is the first expressly libertarian show in North America. Any challengers?

BOYTINCK TAX BATTLE ENDS

Vancouver libertarian and tax-battler Walter Boytinck was found guilty on February 24 on two counts of failing to file proper income

tax returns. Boytinck had entered the words "Object--self incrimination" on every blank on his 1976 and 1977 tax returns, thus sparking a five-year battle which culminated in February.

Boytinck had petitioned for the right to a trial by jury. His request was turned down by three courts and ultimately refused by the Supreme Court of Canada.

The Crown demanded maximum fines of \$10,000 (Canadian) on each of the two counts, arguing that the State had been deprived of its monies since 1976. The judge fortunately thought otherwise, recognizing the principles for which Boytinck fought, and levied fines of \$350 for each count. Boytinck will not appeal the ruling.

NEW VANCOUVER GROUP

The Libertarian Party of Canada has formally moved into British Columbia with the formation of the Greater Vancouver Libertarian Association. Activities so far have included supper club meetings (with guests Walter Block of the Fraser Institute and Sally Hayes of Peterborough, Ontario) and publication of the *West Coast Libertarian*, a bimonthly newsletter. Anyone seeking more information should contact Marco Den Ouden, 1027-B Alderson Ave., Coquitlam, BC V3K 1V8.

--RICHARD BOLSTLER

How Libertarians Can Win the Media Game

By Paul Weber

A Libertarian candidate for a local office in the last election thought he had made great strides when he was interviewed by a well-known all-news radio station. Over the course of an hour, he talked conversationally with the interviewer, carefully going over his positions on the issues and explaining his reasons for taking those stands. He found out later that, instead of the interview being aired in its entirety, it would be condensed into a single news spot. Instead of an excellent interview, the public would hear only that libertarians were "an extreme antigovernment party, against public schools, aid to the poor, and taxation, but for the use of drugs and pornography."

One might say that libertarians go into any media event or discussion with two strikes against them, because it takes someone of great patience and sharp intelligence to advocate libertarian ideas without defaulting his credibility. The reason is simply: standard political candidates have learned the political game of falling back on platitudes and old saws to "prove" their points. The libertarian, on the other hand, has no such crutch. His only recourse is to thought--and often, very complicated thought--in getting through to people. If you've ever had a discussion with a devoutly nonlibertarian person, you've probably noticed that most people will follow your line of reasoning up to a certain point before blanking out on any one of several double-thinks or evasions.

It is essential, however, that libertarians continue improving their media skills. With each successive campaign, media exposure will increase, and with each victory, exposure will increase geometrically.

H. L. Mencken referred to elections as advance auctions on stolen goods. For libertarians, that statement is doubly meaningful, because our very philosophy seems to guarantee that we'll never win an election: we have no stolen goods to offer. For the libertarian, there is no way of engaging in the popular fantasy that 200 million people can somehow live off each other's stolen goods. There is no way to wave a rhetorical wand and somehow promise special favors to each pressure group that comes along. The only promise is that of allowing each person to keep what he earns, which certainly is not as intriguing as the usual promise of a free lunch.

Notice, too, that it is the Republicans in Alaska who claim the credit for ending the state income tax, although there can be no doubt that Randolph was the power behind the movement--Dick Randolph being then the only elected Libertarian representative in Alaska. It does not matter if Republicans and Democrats steal the thunder of Libertarians in backing such accomplishments, however. It only matters that the action is taken and the issues addressed, and Randolph has demonstrated that it does not take too much power to do this.

Pressing forward on unpopular issues may not always bring such immediate rewards, but hold on. In the current age of "me" politics, for example, it has become impossible for any major party to even suggest anything as "radical" as a phase-out of Social Security. It is considered political suicide. The Libertarians lose votes in the short run by making Social Security an issue, but when the Ponzi game runs out of suckers later in this decade, Libertarians will have a lot of political leverage to work with. On the other hand, if Libertarians chose to remain silent for the sake of political expediency, Social Security will remain a sacred cow and will become an ever-increasing burden to all of us.

The media, especially broadcast media, tend to be simplistic in presenting news, since they must cater to society's lowest common denominator in

order to get good ratings. As a broadcast news director, I almost never got the chance to really cover an issue in depth because management always insisted, correctly, that if programs get too cerebral, ratings plummet. Most frequently, the goal in broadcasting news is to be controversial and present racy ideas in order to attract large audiences through shock and outrage. The result of this thinking, applied to an interview with a libertarian, is that the discussions of principle end up on the cutting room floor, while what can be interpreted as quotes with shock value get aired in rather twisted form. Libertarian calls for cutbacks in welfare are interpreted as lack of compassion for the poor, and cutting down government to its legitimate functions gets translated as advocating anarchism.

Many reporters get caught in what I call the "listing issues" trap. Instead of reporting *why* a candidate takes certain stands on the issues, they think it is quite sufficient to simply "list" the stands, without any further discussion. People nowadays do not tend to spell out reasons for taking stands, because the public expects them to simply react to a given, concrete reality.

Rule number one to stopping this syndrome is: Never simply state your position on an issue without also explaining your reason, preferably in a dependent clause. This may seem absurd at face value, but the facts of journalism (and broadcast journalism in particular) make this rule essential. As an example of this, an issue-listing reporter might ask a libertarian candidate about his stand on pornography laws. There are many ways to answer this question, all saying the same thing but with a different interpretation. The simplest way, and the worst way, is to say that you favor an end to all antipornography laws. Period. No explanation, no reasons--just a concrete stand for the reporter to list. Inevitably, you'll be painted as favoring the spread of porn.

A smarter way of doing it is to say, "Although I am personally opposed to pornography, and try to keep it away from myself and my family, I don't believe I have the right to dictate to other people what they can or cannot read." Thus the hot topic of pornography gets covered in such a way that the reporter would have a hard time listing your stand without also giving some inkling as to the reason.

Libertarians have become aware of the need to sound radical in order to be heard, but they have missed the boat on the second part of the problem. They have succeeded in becoming visible and controversial, but more as subjects of mockery than serious thought. The classic example of this desire to be heard at any cost is reflected by the single phrase uttered at the 1979 Libertarian convention to the effect that "There are no three branches of government--there's only one branch--and it sucks." Out of hours of generally good speeches, discussions, and platforms, the one phrase chosen by the media to kernelize libertarian thought is this one. Is it any wonder people are not yet ready to take libertarians seriously?

Incidents like this, as well as inviting, for example, Timothy Leary to be a key speaker, openly invite the press to at best refer to the "libbies" as some sort of cute debating club and, at worst, as anarchists. Libertarians have everything to lose and nothing to gain when they engage in controversy for the sake of controversy.

As news director of a radio station, I often found myself facing the problem of attending a special meeting of the city council, recording three hours of arguments and interviews, and trying to condense the whole mess into a 40-second news spot that would nonetheless present all points of view fairly. The method used would call for an intro, a brief cut to some of the recorded testimony, and a

brief wrap up. That brief cut of testimony is the reason for explaining yourself in dependent clauses, because the news reporter cannot go to the editing room and cut your sentence apart to make it sound like something you didn't mean it to. It's impossible to make the voice-cut anything less than a complete sentence and still sound like you know what you're doing.

These little news spots are called "doughnuts" in industry parlance. The reason is not that they're fluffy and full of holes (though they often are), but because the intro and outro are wrapped around the voice-cut like a doughnut is wrapped around a hole. The simplest way to make a good doughnut, of course, is to go through the taped interviews and lift out any single sentence that might perk up audience interest, then sum up the story with a listing of the candidate's other stands on the issues. I shudder to think how many such doughnuts were made across the nation, with the voice track containing the statement that government "sucks."

It's worth point out at this juncture that broadcasting is a peculiar forum for journalism, and seldom does a good job covering the news. On the other hand, the majority of Americans now depend on broadcast news for the bulk of their information. Print journalism has the tendency to be a bit more fair and in-depth, since someone who goes through the trouble of buying a magazine usually takes time to study things a little more in-depth, and, objectively or not, the good reporter has to cater to this need.

The broadcast networks also have to live with the FCC looking over their shoulders, which can make them a little sheepish about attacking the hand that holds the leash. Also, since federal communications regulations have helped the major TV networks establish and maintain a virtual monopoly, there is very little room for specialized, in-depth reporting. With only three networks, it makes more sense and more profit to go after the big audience, which means going after the lowest common denominator of society. Shock value replaces thought value.

In meeting the press, any libertarian spokesman should look at the interviewer as a two-edged sword. Since most reporters already have vague notions of libertarians as some sort of neoanarchist group, it's unlikely they'll be favorable to your point of view right away. The trick is to avoid fulfilling the reporter's preconceived notions.

Another prime rule is to do anything to get the reporter to believe you're serious. It's best to dress as though the interview were a business luncheon, and speak calmly. This doesn't mean that you can't express your views in all their radical capitalist glory --it just means that you'll never get the chance to if you can't get the listener to stop looking at your clothes and start listening to your ideas.

If you should ever be so unlucky as to be interviewed by a reporter who is not objective, rule number one is to stay calm. Any angry outburst, remember, will be edited out of context and used to portray you as some sort of dangerous radical. Rule number two is not to expect much from this sort of interview--if you come off sounding at all credible, you've done well. The third rule, and the one that gives the best chance for libertarians, is to choose your issues.

By choosing issues, I mean subtly maintaining the focus on those subjects you're best suited to deal with. Many find this hard to do, because the reporter seems to have a tremendous advantage in experience, debate, and control of the interview. This is only partly true. While the reporter does have those advantages,

he has the *disadvantages* of not being an expert on many things. He is a generalist, since he does not have the time to study every news angle in-depth before every interview. I used to sum this up by saying that a reporter does not and should not know all the answers to the questions he poses. If he does, he'll have a lousy interview, because the questions and answers will be too stock and predictable. A reporter should know enough about a subject to provide the questions--not the answers. As the "expert" on libertarianism, you can play on the curiosity of the reporter and listening audience. In fact, if an interview is going particularly well, chances are the reporter will become enthusiastic because your good answers make him sound like a dynamic interviewer.

Keep in mind, too, that TV and radio reporters consciously listen to their interviews with the express goal of cutting out good, exciting 20-second quotes they call "actualities" for use in their news doughnuts. This is one reason why politics these days has become a contest of one-liners; candidates now consciously plan their speeches around these 20-second excerpts. It's well known in the industry, in fact, that ex-president Jimmy Carter developed his rather jerky speaking style by over-reacting to the advice of his media advisors to speak in a "quotable" style. Politicians like Carter intentionally place one- or two-second pauses in the middle of their speeches because it makes the job of splicing and editing much easier and ensures that they'll get coverage on the evening news. If their speaking style were too flowing and didn't provide enough pauses for easy editing, the excerpts would look and sound ragged, and probably not be aired. On such important matters are our national leaders chosen.

The problem of presenting libertarian views, then, boils down more or less to providing controversy but also sounding reasonable and reassuring, and somehow doing it all in 20 seconds. There is really only one way to do this, and it becomes second nature once you get the hang of it. The libertarian who speaks successfully in public is indeed controversial, but he makes the government the focus of controversy, not himself. In discussing public education, for example, the first words out of his mouth should be something that makes the government the defender of the indefensible. Rather than state his controversial private-school alternative first, he should make sure his listeners understand the depth of the problem and the *cause* of the problem. Once people have been convinced that the current situation is intolerable, alternatives that once appeared radical seem quite plausible.

When I call for more subtlety and skill in media relations, I'm not calling for a relaxation of principles, but for the realization that you can't convince anyone of anything unless they first *listen* to you. In this past election, many libertarian conservatives started to listen but were turned off when they began to hear some of the bad press engendered by the desire to shock people into listening.

In some ways, I think libertarians did very well considering some of the planks they had to defend. The Clark campaign particularly showed glimmers of well-rehearsed and well-prepared press relations. The next decade will be critical and will probably determine whether libertarianism can be taken seriously or merely viewed as another ephemeral third party movement. ■

Paul Weber is a broadcast journalist who has been the news director of a radio station. He recently moved to Oregon.

NEWS NOTES

• *SLS Doings.* Students for a Libertarian Society will be having a national convention on August 14-16, reports SLS Chair Jeff Friedman. (For more information, call 202/965-6997.) The focus of the convention will be on deciding the direction of the libertarian student movement, Friedman says.

• *New World Research Movie.* World Research, Inc., the group that put out "The Incredible Bread Machine,"

"Libra," and "The Inflation File," is now working on a new film, "The Poverty Trap." Production is tentatively scheduled to begin in mid-May on the half-hour film, which, according to WRI President Theodore Loeffler, "will present powerful examples to show that private initiative is offering better solutions to the problems of the poor, handicapped and indigent."

• *Inquiry Consulting Editor Resigns.* Ronald Hamowy, former consulting editor to *Inquiry* and a historian at

the University of Alberta in Canada, resigned his editorship in March. Hamowy apparently has reservations over the general direction that *Inquiry* has recently taken, as well as with his relationship with publisher Ed Crane. He will continue to work with *Inquiry* on a less formal basis.

• *Randolph for Governor.* A committee to nominate Alaska state representative Dick Randolph for governor has been formed, headed by Steve DeLisio. DeLisio can be contacted at 907/243-5521. ■

LIBERTARIAN MAGAZINES AIM FOR WIDER AUDIENCES

If the three major libertarian publications are any indication of the direction of the movement, libertarians may have decided to stop talking to themselves and to reach out to the general public. *Reason*, *Libertarian Review*, and *Inquiry* have all undergone changes in the last year designed to present a more journalistic approach to the potential reading audience out there.

Reason, the oldest and most widely circulated of the libertarian publications, was started in 1968 by Lanny Friedlander. When Friedlander ran into financial difficulties, two major contributors--Bob Poole and Tibor Machan--bought the magazine and its 400-name subscriber list. Poole and Machan brought in four other partners, of whom only Manny Klausner remains today. The magazine was moved to California in December 1970. From 1971 to 1978, its circulation grew to 16,000. (The first mailing ever made for the fledgling Libertarian Party, incidentally, used the *Reason* list. Impressively, in that same period, the most number of staff personnel at any time was one and one-half people. In 1978, it was decided that the best way to run *Reason* was to go the nonprofit route, so the nonprofit Reason Foundation was formed. Today, *Reason* has a staff of eight with a circulation of 20,500.

Also in 1978, *Reason's* board decided that *Reason* was too wrapped up with the libertarian movement to appeal to a broad audience. *FRONTLINES* was launched to shift movement material out of the magazine itself while providing an expanded forum for in-group news. In 1980, an outside (nonlibertarian) magazine consultant was hired to do an analysis of *Reason*. His conclusion was that *Reason* was still too in-groupish; the magazine would have to choose whether it was going to talk to libertarians or to the general public and perhaps persuade them toward libertarian stands. Once again, *Reason* renewed its focus toward aware, educated Americans through the addition of general interest department and less didactic headlines.

Most successful of *Reason's* changes has been its concentration on investigative journalism. Editor Poole says, "We are very consciously looking at the success of *Washington Monthly* and *Mother Jones* with investigative reporting and taking a clue from them, frankly emulating success." *Reason's* investigative articles, often reworked under the fastidious blue pencil of Associate Editor Marty Zupan, have attracted critical acclaim by columnists and

scientific journals, and have generated network attention, including two major NBC coverages of *Reason* stories.

Poole sees *Inquiry* as analogous to *Reason*, although aimed at liberal arts graduates rather than *Reason's* engineering and science graduates. Poole sees *LR* as a magazine for the movement, "talking to the converted."

Inquiry ranks second in size of the three magazines. It began in November 1977 with Bill Evers as editor under the auspices of the Cato Institute in San Francisco. Shortly after it started publication, *Inquiry* took over the subscription

believe that "every single word in the magazine has to be explicitly libertarian."

Garvin considers *LR* and *Reason* as magazines designed more for libertarians. He notices that *LR* seems to be more tightly edited recently. An example in the past, Garvin joked, "17 pages on marijuana?" He is also appreciative of *Reason*. "The Love Canal piece (Feb.) is quite a nice job--not by libertarian standards but by anybody's standards."

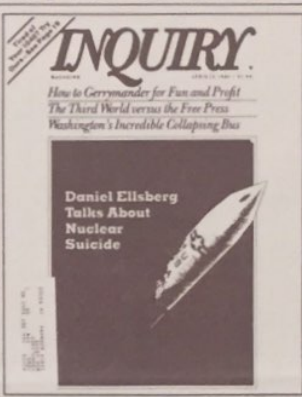
Libertarian Review started as a bulletin for the Society for Individual Liberty, published in Washington, D. C. In its original form it was called *Books for Libertarians* and consisted mostly of book reviews and commentary. It became a tabloid and grew under Robert Kephart, who now publishes several financial newsletters. With expansion, the name was changed to *Libertarian Review*. Present publisher Chris Hocker says that editor Roy Childs did most of the work on the magazine in its early days.

Charles Koch bought the magazine in 1977 and moved it first to New York and then to San Francisco.

According to Hocker, the magazine's format has remained basically the same since 1978, but it has been moving away from inside libertarian material toward more commentary with a wider appeal. To that end, *LR* moved to Washington, D. C. this year. Childs says that access to political information is the primary benefit. Besides changing the content towards a broader appeal, *LR* has changed its policy on article length, down to eight pages maximum. Vocabulary, particularly the names of organizations, will be better explained. It should be noted that *LR* is probably the most visually exciting of the three magazines.

Childs sees all three publications as important to the movement but says that *LR* is the magazine that plainly explains how libertarians tend to think about the issues, both to libertarians and nonlibertarians. Chris Hocker is behind *LR's* new newsletter *Update*, which he admits is out to do basically the same thing as *FRONTLINES*.

If anything can be said about the three libertarian magazines, it is that they are changing and that change seems to be toward broadening their appeal to those who are not dedicated, erudite libertarians. There is a certain amount of competition among them all, and detractors can be found for each of the three. But no one is likely to be damaged by reading any one, and all three have their role on the market. . . or maybe even history. ■



of *Politics & Other Human Interests*, a liberal magazine that was folding. That move is now considered to have been relatively fruitless, says present Editor Glenn Garvin.

Garvin adds, "I don't think *Inquiry* should be a publication of movement news and events or preaching to the faithful. . . *Inquiry* is a libertarian magazine for non-libertarians. We try to avoid heavy-handed rhetoric and libertarian buzz words." Garvin's background is one of extensive experience in journalism, and he wants *Inquiry* to become more journalistic. "The tone of the magazine has been a little too ponderous," he notes. "It needs to be a little brighter and a little livelier."

He observes that "it's no secret that Charles Koch is the main person behind *Inquiry*." Like *LR* and *Reason* (to a lesser extent), *Inquiry* is delivered to your doorstep with the help of contributions. *Inquiry's* present circulation is approximately 14,000. One of the reasons Garvin is concerned about making *Inquiry* more readable is that "Newspapers have millions of subscribers, academic journals have thousands," he points out. Garvin says that his style is much less academic than that of *Inquiry's* past editors. Many of *Inquiry's* contributors are well-known liberal authors, and Garvin says that dealing with leftist writers "is in many ways the hardest part of my job." He adds that most professional writers realize that magazines have a point of view and must comply with it. Garvin doesn't

Letter Rip

FOOLED AGAIN!

Wow, what happened to the Libertarian Party! I was really baffled until I turned the page to find a second headline page. Your April Fool's issue was a novel idea for a periodical; I'm sure you caught a lot of readers off guard. Enjoyed it.

Jim Theriault
Sarasota, FL

THE BEST MEDICINE. . .

I really enjoyed your April first pages. Thanks very much for the many laughs.

Geraldine Robinson
Orgon City, OR

SETTING THE FACTS STRAIGHT

I was pleasantly surprised to see my article, "Another Shamtrovery?," in your April issue. I am waiting to get a share of the royalties from that \$125.00 issue!

Fred Full-of-berries
Berkeley, CA

p.s. You got it wrong, the Immigration and Nationalization Disservice does not think I am a Russian spy. They accuse me of being a Hungarian spy, which is much worse--ask Tibor! They also say I sold my grandmother but didn't deliver. That isn't true--I did deliver!

ERA UNEASE

I was disappointed when Ed Clark announced his support for the Equal Rights Amendment. I was also disappointed with Joan Kennedy Taylor's article in favor of the ERA (Feb.).

Ayn Rand showed the direction libertarians should take regarding the ERA years ago when she pointed out that all rights are, by definition, equal. Government is already violating the law when it discriminates against women.

The ERA legitimizes the concept that rights can be legislated rather than that they exist before governments do. It will lead to further claims for legislated "rights" by other groups and will be used as a colorful pretext for making into law the same language with regard to women and other groups and applying that law to private discrimination, thereby further destroying the right of private citizens to discriminate in whatever manner for whatever purposes they choose.

Westley Deitchler
Forsyth, MT

CANADIAN PRAISE

It's about time I wrote to tell you how much I enjoy FRONTLINES. Your coverage of issues gives the facts necessary to plan effective strategy for the future of the libertarian movement.

The news of the Unparty that has appeared in several of your issues has attracted a substantial number of inquiries from American libertarian activists and from some

of your Canadian subscribers as well. For that I can't thank you enough. Keep up the good work and have the best year yet in 1981!

Mary Lou Gutscher
Toronto, Ontario

DISGRUNTLED READER

The sniping at the Clark campaign, at Ed Crane, and generally at libertarian achievement reached a new high in FRONTLINES with the announcement of the "Coalition for a Party of Principle" and the inane poll on which libertarian leaders are "respected."

The so-called coalition, of course, has only one real principle in mind--jealousy and resentment toward Ed Crane. This is a principle around which to organize a political party?

As for the poll, I respect all the individuals named in the FRONTLINES story, and I would not want to have to rank my respect for them. But it is simply absurd that Ed Crane ranked last in that poll, and it may be due to FRONTLINE's stories of the past few years. Let's just look at the record: Ed Crane was chair of the Libertarian Party during a period of phenomenal growth. He managed the MacBride campaign, which was far more successful than anyone dared hope. He guided the strategy of the Clark for Governor race, which is often pointed out as a good example even by critics of the Clark for President campaign. He established the Cato Institute, the only serious libertarian public-policy foundation. And he was communications director of the Clark for President campaign, which was a tremendous success. There were problems with the Clark campaign, of course. What campaign doesn't have problems? But the Clark campaign tripled the membership and contributor rolls of the Libertarian Party, it raised public awareness of the LP to an all-time high, it created a very positive image for libertarianism, it produced the best introductory book on libertarianism available, it produced four high-quality White Papers that will serve as the foundation for libertarian campaign research for years to come. I could go on, but I think that's a pretty good record of achievement right there.

Accomplishments don't really interest FRONTLINES, of course. Has FRONTLINES reported on Peter Ferrara's excellent book for the Cato Institute, *Social Security: The Inherent Contradiction*, or the two million Americans a week who hear libertarian commentaries on the "Byline" radio program, or the Cato monographs on the balanced budget, rent control, and medical care? No, it was too busy reporting about the New Hebrides, or running essays urging the Clark campaign to cover up our victimless-crimes position, or "investigating" some personal dispute.

When you look at the tone of David Nolan's critique of the Clark campaign, or his truly pathetic, petulant complaints in the March FRONTLINES, or the constant sniping

found throughout FRONTLINES, those of us who have read *Atlas Shrugged* may be reminded of the two kinds of people found in Rand's novels: those who accomplish, and those who snipe at accomplishment.

Since I believe in full disclosure, let me state for the record that I worked for the Clark for President campaign, and I now work for the Cato Institute. I have worked for Ed Crane off and on for two and a half years. For those who think that makes me biased, let me explain something: Maybe some people pretend to respect the people they work for. I only work for people I respect.

May I suggest that the organizers of the "Coalition for a Party of Principle" get out and accomplish something instead of spending their time bitching when other people achieve. I for one am damn glad to be part of a movement that reflects the professionalism and dedication and *libertarianism* of people like Ed Crane rather than the tiny right-wing (Liberty Amendment/"pro-defense") sect David Nolan would prefer.

David D. Boaz
San Francisco, CA

IN BLANCO'S DEFENSE

Upon reading of the Arizona LP Executive Committee's appeal (Apr.) of Natcom's convention site decision in connection with the scapegoating of Ray Blanco, acting representative for Region 16 at the December 6-7 meeting, I have a few comments.

First, I wish to mention that I have worked extensively with Ray Blanco on both his 1980 campaign for city council and on the state-wide Clark campaign. I have yet to meet anywhere in the party a more philosophically committed libertarian or a more politically skilled activist. His work in the NJLP was unprecedented and remains unparalleled to date.

Second, it should be noted that the Natcom's voting was done by secret ballot. For anyone to claim that he or she knows authoritatively that Blanco cast the single vote giving New York the winning edge should immediately raise the suspicions of any fair-minded LP member. Someone has an axe to grind. Were Natcom members actually peering over each other's shoulders to see who scribbled what?

For any libertarian organization to target an LP veteran on highly speculative grounds is not only morally outrageous but is politically destructive. Any investigation of membership status. . . should be conducted with the impartiality which respect for the dignity of individual members and the privacy of the balloting process demands. Deviation from such a standard, no matter the factional motivation for it, merely detracts from the LP's credibility as the party of principle.

Jo Ann Balint
Union, NJ

We welcome your letters. Please type double spaced and keep them brief.

What's Happening

MAY

New York, NY--May 3. Workshop on the psychology of freedom by Peter and Phyllis Breggin, \$35/person, \$60/couple. Contact the Laissez Faire Book and Teaching Society, 206 Mercer St., New York, NY 10012.

Long Beach, CA--May 8-10. Future of Freedom '81 Conference with Karl Hess, Robert LeFevre, Robert Poole, Timothy Leary, others. Two-day ticket \$35, one-day ticket \$20. Write Box 4, Fullerton, CA 92632, or call 714/979-5737.

San Diego, CA--May 12. Karl Hess speaks at the Libertarian Alternative dinner meeting; \$3 program only. Call Sara Baase at 714/460-9136 or 265-5231.

Los Angeles, CA--May 13. Karl Hess at the joint supper clubs of Los Angeles County dinner meeting, Holiday Inn, 1640 Marengo St., 6:15 pm, \$12 for dinner and lecture. Call Janice Allen at 213/466-3776.

Romulus, MI--May 16-17. LP of Michigan state convention with Eric O'Keefe, Robert Tisch, others, at the Ramada Inn, Metro Airport. Details at P.O. Box 930, Royal Oak, MI 48068; call 313/644-1816.

Scottsdale, AZ--May 16-17. Arizona LP state convention with David Bergland, Michael Emerling, David Nolan, others; full package \$85. Write to 4019 N 44th Place, Phoenix, AZ 95018.

Fort Collins, CO--May 22-25. Colorado LP state convention with Lou Witzeman, L. Neil Smith, Vernon Brown, others. Write to P. O. Box 1557, Denver, CO 80201.

Wilmington, DE--May 20. Monthly LP meeting. For details, write 215 W. Ninth St., Wilmington, DE 19801.

Los Angeles, CA--May 26. Don Eric Franzen on freedom of scientific inquiry and FDA abuses, sponsored by the Dissent discussion group; \$3 admission. Janice Allen, 435-1/2 North Van Ness Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90004.

Midland, MI--May 31-June 5. Fourth Annual Freedom in Third Century America summer seminar, sponsored by the Northwood Institute, \$325. Write Director Lawrence Reed, Northwood Institute, Midland, MI 48640.

JUNE

New York, NY--June 17. Sharon Presley at the Laissez Faire Supper Club of Manhattan, 6:30 pm, \$13.50 for

dinner and talk. Reservations at 212/674-8154.

Austin, TX--June 19-21. LP of Texas annual convention with Murray Rothbard, David Friedman, Wendy McElroy, others; full package \$45 before May 20. Box 35432, Dallas, TX 75235.

Irvington-on-Hudson, NY--June 21-27. Foundation for Economic Education summer seminar; \$350, fellowships available. Roger Ream, FEE, Irvington-on-Hudson, NY 10533.

Louisville, KY--June 27-28. LP of Kentucky annual convention. For information, write P. O. Box 274, Prospect, KY 40059; 502/452-9339.

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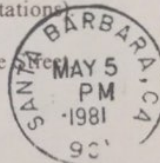
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