

Turks? The Turkish zone now is almost totally Turk, and likewise for the Greek zone. The big problem, however, is that when the Turks invaded Cyprus in 1974 they were, as usually happens in these matters, interested less in ethnic justice than in helping out their own ethnic comrades. As a result, they grabbed far too much territory, ensuring that the excess land would be Greek-free by forcibly ejecting 200,000 Greeks from their northern zone. Justice would require the Turks allowing the Greek expellees back into their homes, compensating them for their losses, and even reducing the extent of Northern Republic territory and transferring the excess land into the Greek zone. The chances of the Turks agreeing to any such plan—they who are deeply convinced that the only good Greek is a dead Greek—are of course minimal.

The chances, indeed, are not good that George Bush will somehow blunder into a solution to the Cyprus problem. Already the *New York Times* reports that "Mr. Bush seemed taken aback when he was asked by a Greek reporter why he did not 'liberate' Cyprus from the Turkish troops, as he 'liberated' Kuwait." But while the Cyprus Question might not get closer to a solution, we can be assured that before this episode is over, a lot of U.S. taxpayer money is going to get funneled into all countries involved. •

Ron Paul for President!

by M.N.R. and L.H.R., Jr.

1991 was a remarkable year for human liberty. In the three days of August that shook the world, the whole world watched on TV as ideas triumphed over guns, as the peoples of Russia and the Soviet Empire, wielding the idea of liberty as a mighty banner, brought down the cruel, seemingly impregnable totalitarian despotism of Soviet Communism. Seventy-four years of brainwashing and terror crumbled in the face of popular devotion to freedom of speech, press and assembly, to privatization and free markets, to devolution and decentralization of imperial power into national republics, and to secession. In short, to the ideas of libertarianism.

But at the same time as liberty triumphs in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, what is happening here at home? In a cruel irony, the outlook for liberty in its homeland and former heartland—the United States—has never been grimmer. Those perceptive but not very funny jokes that used to circulate in Communist countries are now be-

ginning to spread here: e.g., that information and communication seems to be freer in Russia, where we could all watch the coup and the revolution, than in the U.S., where our media were puppets of the Pentagon displaying a phony Nintendo war in the Gulf.

Here at home, President Bush, who lied so notoriously about "read my lips" on taxes, who has been blithely expanding government spending and deficits at a rate unprecedented in American history, who is bringing even more burdens and regulations to American business and to American life, this same George Bush is waltzing toward a coronation in 1992. He faces no opposition in the Republican primary, and the contending

Democrats are a bunch of fourth-rate clowns who will offer Bush no real opposition. No wonder, since the Democratic party is dead from the neck up, offering nothing of substance on any issue, foreign or domestic—nothing but more of the same statism that is not so slowly and surely bringing us down.

Our major problem is that there is, at this moment, no political opposition to these statist trends. We are convinced that large numbers of

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Americans are instinctively libertarian, or "paleo-libertarian," to be more accurate. But most people are not full-time political ideologues; they have their daily lives to live. So they can't be expected to pay permanent, continuing attention to politics—that is the job of ideological and political leaders, of political movements. In our social division of labor, it is up to people who are interested and who care full time about politics to provide leadership, to sound the trumpet, to raise the banner, to point out the grave problems and the libertarian solutions, and to gather the troops for battle. Many politicians, even some libertarian ones, have decided that it's smarter to do nothing, to avoid challenging the mighty champ in the White House, and to maneuver carefully, and position oneself for '96. But this path of caution is not going to work because *people forget*. Presidential elections are the times when most Americans get interested in politics, and are receptive to political ideology. Passing up this opportunity and waiting another four years, risks people forgetting about the cause, getting injured to existing evils, and not caring any more when 1996 rolls around.

The ideas of liberty are now common in the United States, but they are scattered, disorganized, liable to disappear, because no political leader or movement is giving it substance and cohesion.

It is because we desperately

need such a movement and such a standard-bearer, that we now strongly endorse, and urge our readers to get behind, the growing movement to enter Ron Paul in the Republican primaries for President. Ron Paul is the most important and most persuasive political standard-bearer for liberty in our generation. As a four-term Republican Congressman from Texas, he defied the Republican party bosses by voting for liberty and against statism on every vote, across the board, on economics, personal liberties, and for a pro-American foreign policy. In 1988, Ron ran for president on the Libertarian Party ticket. In 1992, by running in the Republican primary, in the big leagues, Ron can take libertarian ideas and policies into the mainstream of American politics. He can make a tremendous impact, get enormous publicity, raise the banner and educate a massive public, and build a cohesive movement which can then be poised and ready to go to take over the Republican party for liberty in 1996.

Ron has a unique opportunity to make such an impact for the following reasons. First, he can mobilize the votes of not just libertarians, but all conservatives and anti-taxers who are disgusted and fed up with George Bush. This is especially true because supporting or voting for Ron Paul in a few primaries does not require a permanent or lifelong commitment from conservative Republicans.

Even those who are generally pro-Bush will be happy to seize the opportunity to "send George a message," and by piling up the votes for Ron Paul, push Bush further to the right in the election campaign or during his second term. In short, even steadfast Republicans will not have to feel that they are betraying the Republican Party or even President Bush by giving him a sharp rap on the knuckles in the primaries and voting for Ron Paul, and then shifting to back Bush against the Democrats next November. There is no downside in a Ron Paul campaign for either conservatives or libertarians. For libertarians, think of it! We will be working in a mighty across-the-board coalition, across the entire Right, headed by a man who is unimpeachably libertarian, educating both the party and the country in the libertarian message!

And secondly, Ron would make an enormous impact in this particular election because the poor media are all dressed up with no place to go. Crack reporters, in the press and TV, are all geared up to report at length on "The Road to the White House, '92," and what have they got to write or talk about? What do they do to overcome the looming boredom among themselves, and still worse, among their readers and viewers? So far, nothing; the Democrats are nowhere, and there is no Republican opposition. The media, in short, are desperate, and so a primary challenge to

George Bush, by a long-time former Republican Congressman, a credible and articulate candidate, will be lapped up by the media.

It is remarkable that already, even at the merest hint that Ron might run in the Republican primaries, he has gotten enormous attention: not only from his hometown *Houston Post*, but also from the *Washington Times*, and even from the nation's most respected political reporter, David Broder of the *Washington Post*, who was fascinated by the idea and called up Ron to interview him for an hour. This is already almost more media attention than Ron received in his entire 1988 LP campaign for President!

Not only that: but the interest, even at these early hints, among conservative and Republican activists has been nothing short of phenomenal. One of the leaders called to offer his full support, and declared that Ron could "really make some trouble for those SOB's at the White House, and rejuvenate the Right." And this is only one of *many* such sentiments, and this before any mailing or announcement!

What we have to do now is simple: persuade Ron Paul that he has enough support, among libertarians, among conservatives, among Republicans, and throughout the country, to get him to agree to disrupt his life and take up, once again, the torch of liberty. Let's do it; let's flood

Ron with messages and calls of support. A Ron Paul for President Exploratory Committee (legally, a "testing-the-waters" committee) has been formed to try to achieve this goal. The committee would greatly welcome your queries, message of support, and financial support for this task (The Ron Paul for President Exploratory Committee's address is 875 Mahler Road, Suite 150, Burlingame, CA 94010, and its phone number is 415-692-8548.) We need to convince Ron of a basic truth: that his leadership is desperately needed now, for the cause of liberty, for the development of a libertarian movement, and for the health of this country. Ron needs to realize that it's not only a small circle of long-time friends that understands this reality, but that many people across the country agree.

What, you might ask, of the Libertarian Party in all this? The LP's "electronic bulletin board" has been featuring a raging dispute among the faithful. Opinions range from those LPers who welcome the Paul candidacy as a way of advancing libertarian ideas, to the more paranoid folks who think that the whole idea is a plot by the two of us to destroy the LP. They might be interested to know that the idea of Ron running in the Republican primary was originated not by us, but in a letter to Ron Paul from a bright young Missouri LP stalwart, Timothy E. Peterman, who ran for

State Rep. on the LP ticket in 1988, and intends to run again next year. Outgoing national LP chair David Walter welcomes the idea of Libertarian Republicans as deeply complementary of LP efforts. Moreover, new LP national chair Mary Gingell, as soon as she learned of the possibility of Ron's running in the Republican primary, issued a press release (September 17) strongly welcoming his proposed race. Ron Paul's race against Bush, said Gingell, could "introduce voters to libertarian ideas," and "deliver a message" about the "harmful policies" of President Bush that "violate the Bill of Rights, block free-market prosperity, and promise to send American troops into the foreign wars of tomorrow."

But what about the LP itself? The two races, Ron Paul's and Andre Marrou's, are perfectly compatible. Andre Marrou has won his nomination; primaries are for him irrelevant. There is no reason why an LP activist cannot work wholeheartedly for Paul in the Republican primaries and then, after next summer's Republican convention, work for Marrou in the general election until November. Even LP loyalists should agree: let's all encourage Ron to enter the race.

Note: Our endorsement of Ron Paul as individuals in no way implies that the Center for Libertarian Studies, which is a non-political organization, endorses his candidacy. ●