

A MESSAGE TO THE DELEGATES
of the
1975 LIBERTARIAN PARTY
NATIONAL CONVENTION

"THE" SPEECH

RECOGNITION--AND
OTHER ENCOURAGEMENT....

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Near the end of my Senate campaign last year, I received a letter from a young man who said he had resisted writing to me for many weeks. He asked me a number of questions, and when I replied I asked why he had "resisted" writing to me and why, then, had he finally done so.

He had been in the civil rights movement, he said, into Marxism, and in the Panther Party. After seeing the contradictions and absurdities in each, he felt he was forever estranged from movements. He wrote me finally, he explained, to find out, first if I understood what I was saying and, second, whether I was controlled by any other person or group. My answers, he added, had reassured him on all these points.

As to why he had written to me at all, he replied at some length, but his first statements were, to me, the most important. "First and foremost," he wrote, "I heard freedom in you. I heard that most clearly."

A few months ago I had some business at Cleveland City Hall. One man there usually took care of me. When I called one day for some information, he answered the phone. I gave him my name and then apologized, saying, "I'm sorry; you see so many people each day, I'm sure you don't remember me." He replied, "Not only do I remember you, Ms. Harroff, but I know who you are and what you are about." I asked how he knew -- and this was his reply:

"You must understand, Ms. Harroff, that when we hear of a person who is fighting for people's rights--not just black people's rights, I don't mean that--but for all peoples' rights, the word spreads very quickly in the black community."

I talked in my campaign in the words of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, of "a world not only without wars, but without violence or telling us how to live." I talked to many students and the reaction remaining most vividly in my mind is of a young woman who said to me after hearing the four Senate candidates speak, "You were so calm and cool, while all those men got so flustered and upset." And then, with tears forming in her eyes, she asked, "Can it really be? Can one person do anything?" To which I replied, "But don't you know that everything begins with one person?"

I spoke at three state Libertarian Party conventions in June. I received both criticisms and compliments. One man said I was too emotional, another that I was not emotional enough. One said I should pin my hair back, and another said I should not wear a black gown. Several men insisted I should forget idealism and talk about taxes and inflation. I remember all this free advice--and mostly I intend to ignore it.

For I also remember the young couple who asked, "Do we have to join the Party to support you?" And the young woman who said, "I almost didn't come to this convention, but now I am glad I did. I'm a student and haven't much money, but I will start saving my pennies to support your campaign." And I remember the middle-aged woman who said, "You are the first person I've heard who makes me proud to be a libertarian."

I have viewed with dismay the procession of libertarian candidates who, while adhering to libertarian principle, have conducted one issue-oriented campaign after another. It began in 1972 and it continues in campaigns this year.

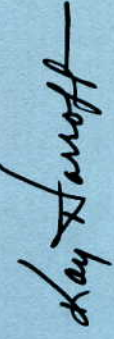
Experience has shown, and it is my belief that these campaigns have not succeeded and will not succeed -- that in following this approach, libertarians fight on the grounds, and on the terms of political hacks.

It is my belief that libertarians must choose our own ground and argue on our own terms, that our discipline needs to be conscious and consistent, and that our style needs to be unique, certain and idealistic. If it is not, then I believe we shall have failed to honor and use the most powerful philosophy--and the most hopeful--as far as conceived in the minds of superior women and men.

My discipline is not that of the Libertarian Party; it is the discipline of my personal knowledge and beliefs-- and realities.

I offer only two qualifications for my nomination as the presidential candidate of the Libertarian Party:

- A proven vote-getting record and, more importantly...
- My discipline and integrity.



"THE" SPEECH

of
Kathleen G. Harroff
Candidate for the U. S. Senate from Ohio - 1974

Because of Ohio's election laws, I shall be listed on the ballot with no party affiliation. I am, however a member of the Libertarian Party -- a new political party, not quite three years old. We are unique among all other political parties--past or present--not only in this country, but any place in the world.

Libertarians hold these basic principles: First, that every human being owns his or her own life...that each of us has a right to live our life in any way and for whatever purposes we see fit...that no one holds any claim on our life, nor do we hold any claim on anyone else's life. And, while we have a right to defend ourselves and demand restitution for injuries, NO ONE may RIGHTFULLY INITIATE force against any other human being -- not on any excuse, not on any pretext, not for any reason whatsoever.

All political parties other than the Libertarian Party hold the opposite view -- that is, that some persons may decide what all of us shall do with our lives...what restrictions THEY shall place upon OUR liberty...and in the case of wars and the draft, which of us shall live, which of us shall die, and for what purposes.

People create governments; governments do not create people--in spite of what many of our legislators and bureaucrats seem to think today. And a government can do morally only what we as individuals can do morally. We cannot assign or delegate rights to governments if we do not possess those rights as individuals. You cannot delegate a right that does not exist. For example...

...if I have no right to rob you, at the point of a gun, in order to pay for my children's education or my medical care, to subsidize my business or my retirement--then I cannot give my government any such "right" to rob you for my benefit.

...if I have no right to force you into an army to protect me and my property--then my government can have no right to do this.

...if I have no right to rob you, at the point of a gun, in order to pay for my children's education or my medical care, to subsidize my business or my retirement--then I cannot give my government any such "right" to rob you for my benefit.

To draft an 18- or 19-year old man to fight...to kill or be killed in a foreign war...is not noble; it is murder.

To take income or property...by force...from those who have earned it, to give to those who have not earned it, is not charity; it is theft.

To force our children to serve a 12-year prison sentence in government schools...to be taught a standardized and rigid curriculum that government decrees...in a restrictive environment that government controls...by teachers that only the government certifies...is not education; it is enslavement of the bodies and indoctrination of the minds of the way vulnerable, and helpless young.

When the government prosecutes an assault on you--in the name of the state, it is saying, "you, the victim, are the property of the state."

We have been taught that we must choose between evils --that we must elect to be either masters or slaves--that our only alternative is to decide whether we shall have a system in which the majority rules and exploits a minority--or a system in which a minority rules and exploits the majority. Libertarians reject these choices. We say there is a better way--and that day will come when moral people, honest people shall proudly proclaim: "I am an individual human being... unique in all the world and in all of time. I have the right to live; I have the right to be free; I have the right to be happy, and to be at peace with myself and with my fellowmen."

"Coexistence on this tightly knit Earth," wrote Alexander Solzhenitsyn, "should be viewed as an existence not only without wars--but also without violence, or telling us how to live..."

Today the world is reeling in a kind of numbed crisis--shock: endless wars, constant violence, pain, suffering, hunger, and an endless variety of petty and large interference s in our most personal and private lives.

Some of these troubles of course we inflict upon ourselves and others, as individuals. But the overwhelming amount of all this agony and misery is being inflicted upon all human beings by small groups or people who have seized or --shamefully--been elected to power. There is no longer anything they do not seek to control, rule, regulate and tax... and the evidence is everywhere around us of the consequences of their actions. Political propaganda to the contrary -- things are not getting better and better; every day they are getting worse and worse.

Libertarians say that the only proper purpose of any group hired to protect us can be the protection of every person's life EQUALLY, and every person's rights and property--EQUALLY. People are NOT the property of the state. Their bodies, minds and skills are NOT national resources; their businesses are NOT public utilities; and their earnings are NOT at the disposal of any gang who decided yesterday by majority vote that they thereby acquired some divine right to take any or all of these things for their purposes.

There can be no peace...no happiness...no progress... no justice, anywhere in the world, until we learn that the basic social and political commandment must be: Thou shalt respect each other's rights!

As a political candidate, I say: "I am not god, and being elected to high public office will not turn me into one. I do not protect lives and property from murderers and thieves by becoming a criminal myself. I know the difference between criminality, legality and morality -- and I intend to live my life as a moral person -- to the extent I am left free to do so. Other peoples' lives and other peoples' property are not mine to dispose of; there is no such thing as a 'right' to enslave or a 'right' to the unearned."

* * *

The assault on basic human rights has come from every kind of government...

...in Nazi Germany, the Hitler government told the German citizens that they must sacrifice their lives to the Fatherland;

...in communist countries, the individual is taught that he must sacrifice himself to the "good of the collective";

...in socialist countries, the citizens are told they must sacrifice their lives, liberty and property to something called "social justice" and "economic equality";

...in the United States we are told that we must sacrifice ourselves to "our country", to "society", to the "general welfare" or the "national interest".

The terms and phrases vary, but the concept is always the same: The concept is that of human sacrifice--the idea that a small group of people, holding power, may decide WHO shall be sacrificed...to WHOM we SHALL be sacrificed--and for what PURPOSES we shall be sacrificed.

Have we anyone but ourselves to blame if we continue to accept this kind of authoritarian political philosophy?

* * *

As examples of some hard but necessary solutions to our very real problems, I suggest the following brief proposals. First, in the area of foreign policy...

- (1) Recall all American troops and military equipment to American soil;
- (2) Reduce our armed forces and our military spending to that required merely to defend this country and to adequately deter attack by any other nation. The government of this republic is charged only with the defense of this country. It is emperors who seek to forcibly export their ideas and their power and influence to other lands;

- (3) Abolish the CIA. It has "ring around the collar" from being up to its neck in dirty tricks, designed to manipulate the internal affairs of various countries--including our own;
- (4) Repeal the Selective Service Act, issue a blanket amnesty to all draft evaders and deserters, and establish a national ideal and policy that no American shall ever again be forced to sacrifice his or her life or any part of it to any cause in which he or she does not believe;
- (5) Cease all foreign aid. Establish total neutrality as the American foreign policy. Individual citizens should be free to join in any war they wish, but no individual or group should ever again be able to commit over 212 million Americans to any foreign cause;
- (6) Prohibit the government forever from engaging in any kind of foreign trade whatever--including and especially armaments, and from interfering in any way in free trade between the citizens of this country and the citizens of any other country -- no subsidies or guarantees, no tariffs, duties or imposts, no quotas, no import or export restrictions, no rules, no regulations, no red taps. And, of course, complete freedom of travel both to and from this nation for all peaceful individuals.

If we would correct our present economic situation, stop inflation, and avoid national bankruptcy--and prevent any recurrence of our present problems, the following need to be done:

- (1) Return to a completely free market in gold and all other commodities, with individuals having once again the right to own gold, and the freedom to mint money;
- (2) Repeal the legal tender laws--which make it possible for the government to force us to accept their paper currency which has no backing other than a gun--that is, the power to tax and confiscate the wealth of productive citizens;
- (3) Return to a free and private banking system by repealing the Federal Reserve Act and eliminating--with all deliberate speed--the Federal Reserve System. It is through this system that the governmental establishment manipulates both the supply and the value of money and credit;
- (4) Divest the government of all its businesses which drain tax dollars and compete with private businesses which are handicapped by stifling government regulations and taxes. Divest the government also of all property it now owns which does not house "useful public buildings" or domestic defense installations. Use the proceeds from these to eliminate the national debt and the long-term commitments, such as Social Security, that must be kept;

RECOGNITION -- AND OTHER ENCOURAGEMENT...

- (5) Gradual elimination of all "welfare" programs--whether subsidies for the rich or for the poor--returning these responsibilities to local communities and private groups and individuals;
- (6) Eliminate all regulatory agencies which interfere in private and voluntary responsibility and decision-making...which grant special monopoly privileges to one person, one company, one group or one industry...which regulate prices, costs, working conditions or production...which waste our natural resources, create shortages, and provoke one "crisis" after another;
- (7) Immediate reduction and eventual repeal of all taxes which now support our enormous parasitic and non-productive bureaucracies at every level or government.

* * *

If you are thinking that these sound like very radical solutions, I must agree -- and point out that all the other things government has tried are not working, have not worked --or ever can work--and that our problems are becoming so severe that solutions based on cold realities are the only options we now have.

If you are thinking that libertarians sound very idealistic, I must agree -- and point out that to NOT hold any ideals is to have no values, no principles, no consciously held goals -- and that THIS is perhaps the greatest tragedy of America today.

If you are thinking that libertarians sound like dreamers, I must agree. Libertarians hold the dream of individual and universal human dignity...a humane and just society...and a better tomorrow for ourselves and our children.

But I shall tell you also that libertarians are the most practical, the most realistic, and the most determined of people -- and that we are offering the only practical and realistic solutions to all the problems descended on us by the high priests of power, pragmatism and political opportunism.

And if...in cynicism and hopelessness...you say our system could never work, I must point out to you that it is the present system that is not working.

OUR SYSTEM HAS NEVER BEEN TRIED!

** Charles Blackwell - South Carolina LP Chair
"I hope you are the LP candidate. I'm a lazy libertarian, but would work for you..."

** Bill Bobick - Maryland LP Founding Chair
"Key is the most resourceful libertarian I have ever known. She has held our respect and support from Ohio, '73."

** Susan Love Brown - California LP Vice Chair
"I think Key is the most 'liberarian' of the candidates for the nomination. I heard the speech she gave to non-libertarians during her campaign. It covered all our principles and made them completely understandable. Key holds the record for getting the most votes for the least money... she can get maximum mileage out of funds. More than anything, this party needs to present its difference from the other parties, as well as its radical nature. We need a candidate who can be both clear and direct--who will not hesitate to tell people exactly what we stand for. I think Key is our best bet if we want to make a good showing (in more ways than one) in the 1976 election."

** Art Carol - D.C. LP Delegate
"It would be wiser from the perspective of long-term success of libertarian principles if you were the LP nominee. It may be that my judgment concerning the best long-term hope is wrong; but at this point each of us must make some decision. Consider me signed up. Be well."

** Joe Cobb - Illinois LP Secretary
"One problem we have as a Party is to establish an image separate from conservatives in general...to separate ourselves from the old (expl. del.) who have been the supporters of free enterprise over the years. With you at the head of the ticket, we might make some significant inroads both in media exposure and in educating young people about our philosophy."

** Jan Croxton - Indiana LP Vice-Chair
"I would like to add my name to the growing list of people who support you for the nomination. Without you in this position the real tragedy may be that the true perspective of libertarianism will be lost. The bureaucratic sweep we have been fighting can now be felt in our own party. I don't want to see it left to the devices of calculating conservatives and benevolent bureaucrats, with you as our candidate, the LP will succeed as a promoter of a sure and consistent libertarian philosophy. Unless you are the Presidential candidate, I will have to re-evaluate my activism in the party. No substitutions will be considered."

** Mainwright Dawson - D.C. LP Chair

"I was most pleased when Phil told me you were going to run, as I well remember our first pleasant meeting and conversations in Cleveland in '73 and have great respect for your sensible and forceful approach to campaigns and the tactics thereof."

** V. Dwight House - Indiana LP Member

"I was impressed with the way you ran your Senate campaign. You are a pioneer libertarian vote-getter. I would rather support you..."

** Paul Hyatt - Indiana LP Chair

"Your decision to seek the nomination is certainly good news for the LP. I simply believe you can represent the cause of freedom better than anyone else I know of."

** Richard Kenney - Massachusetts LP Founding Chair

"About the best LP rumor I heard lately was that a certain mid-west libertarian firebrand is throwing her hat into the Presidential ring. You're the kind of person whose candidacy will guarantee principled political struggle. We need radicals inspired with moral passion, who can convey that fervor while presenting our ideas clearly and forcefully. There is, I believe, a groundswell waiting for, eager for dash, spirit, ability and integrity. I hope the rumor is true."

** Art Ketchen - New Hampshire LP Founding Chair

"I cannot find words to express my joy at your deciding to run for the nomination. We cannot survive if principle is divorced from practical politics, with either candidates who have principle but no practicality, or with unprincipled pragmatists. You must be the only logical choice..."

** Phil Menger - LP Region 7 Chair - (Maryland)

"The energy and vitality you brought to the Senate campaign, your uncompromising stand on the issues, your ability to communicate with voters, and your sheer devotion to the cause were, I am convinced, responsible for your receiving a higher percentage of votes than any other candidate for a statewide office. A campaign such as you are capable of waging will restore life and vigor to some of our more moribund state parties. I discussed the possibility of a Herroff candidacy with some former LP members in Baltimore; this possibility is the only party-type activity in which they have expressed any interest. You could give the presidential campaign a drive and spirit nobody else could."

** Fran Moore, Connecticut LP Co-Chair

"Strong leadership, I believe, is a misnomer for a strong person in the forefront of activities. Your determination and integrity is a sight for tired eyes and there ought to be a million more like you."

** Garry and Teddy Reed, Editors - THE REASONABLE ANSWER - Minnesota LP Newsletter

"Ms. Herroff simply stands up and 'Tells it like it is.' Her charismatic ability to project enthusiasm and stimulate minds may yet strip the LP of its persistent image as 'just a different kind of conservative party.' 1976 is a building year, the year in which to lay the broadest and firmest foundation for the future. Libertarianism is a philosophy of practical ideals. The most practical way to insure a campaign which accomplishes our goal is to utilize the most effective candidate: Kay Herroff."

** Frank Robinson - National LP Execom - Member-at-large (Oklahoma)
"I will attend the NYC Convention now that you are in the race. I had not planned to go."

** Terry Thomas - Minnesota LP Delegate

"Your visit to our state convention was a very refreshing one for me. Your speech revived the primacy of freedom as the starting point for any political philosophy. It appeals to the rational remnant left in people. I can see in your method of expression the reason for your ability to reach people, and to get them to listen and accept at least the beginning foundations of rights and freedom. Your presence is important in reminding all of us that we are not simply playing a political game. Winning any number of votes will be meaningless if it is not absolutely clear what our principles are and how we intend to implement them."

** Georgiann Iremell - Texas LP Delegate

"She's a battering ram for the libertarian cause. She'll tell it that I know of."

** Bill Westmiller - California LP Chair

"I want an LP Presidential candidate who will truly represent the libertarian ethics, stressing the human principles as primary--above and beyond the individual pragmatic arguments or a simple condemnation of the statist alternatives...who personifies honesty and integrity and expresses beyond words a love for freedom and liberty...a representative of my philosophy who's not afraid to stand up and defend my ideas better than I could do it myself...someone to be proud of...who has demonstrated an ability to communicate not only the ideas, but also the passions and hopes of the libertarian community. I've known Kay for over two years. In the past I've thought it wise to reserve my endorsement of any candidate until the convention. In this case, it's unnecessary. I can't imagine anyone who would make a better representative of the LP in the election of 1976."