

Libertarian LP Party NEWS

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1983

Delegates Name Bergland As Presidential Nominee

Former LP National Chair David Bergland of California was named as the Libertarian Party's 1984 presidential nominee by delegates to the LP Presidential Nominating Convention, held August 31-September 5 in New York City.

Former National Committee member Jim Lewis of Connecticut was named as Bergland's running mate.

Bergland announced his candidacy only days before the convention and emerged as the new front runner after Gene Burns of Florida dropped out of the race for financial reasons. Prior to that decision, Burns was considered a shoo-in for the nomination, facing only token opposition.

Bergland, the party's 1976 vice presidential candidate, defeated Earl C. Ravenal of Washington, D.C., another late entry into the race following the Burns withdrawal, on the



The LP's newly-named presidential and vice presidential nominees, David Bergland (right) and Jim Lewis, are presented to the convention by outgoing Chair Alicia Clark. Photo by Bruce Lagasse.

fourth ballot by a vote of 270 to 242. Ravenal is a former Defense Department policy analyst, who is currently a Georgetown University professor. Ravenal was a principal foreign policy adviser to the LP presidential campaigns of Roger MacBride and Ed Clark.

A central issue in the hotly-contested presidential race was whether the LP should stick with a long-time activist, a proven "long-distance runner," as Bergland was called by his supporters, or to go with Ravenal, who while less familiar to party activists, had credentials that would be impressive to journalists and other non-Libertarians. Another issue in the contest was the fact that Ravenal had no previous candidate experience. Bergland has run for public office four times, most recently for U.S. Senate in 1980.

The candidates spoke to delegates numerous times during the convention through formal debates and panels, question and answer sessions, state caucuses, and informal one-on-one discussions at hospitality suites.

Bergland's campaign for the nomination was managed by Emil Franzl of Arizona. Dick Randolph of Alaska served as Ravenal's campaign manager.

Other candidates for the presidential nomination were Mary Ruwart of Michigan, Tonie Nathan of Oregon, Dick Siano of New Jersey, and James Norwood of Texas. Larry Smiley of Wisconsin also sought the nomination; however, he dropped out before the balloting

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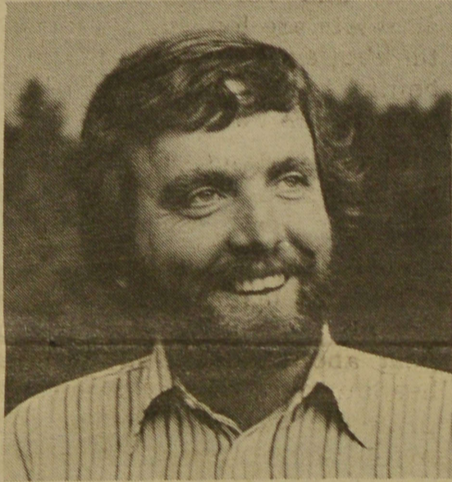
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From the Chair

Targeted Ads Can Bring LP Couple Million New Friends

by Paul Grant

"The most intense, exciting LP convention ever"—that's how Libertarian Party co-founder Dave Nolan described this year's presidential nominating convention in New York City. The contest for the presidential nomination was the most dramatic in party history—that's



certain. Almost overlooked during this exciting convention was the fact that we also elected new party officers and National Committee members, the people who will be directing the party's national efforts during 1983-1985.

Not having the space to describe the qualifications of these new NatCom members, let me just say that I'm very excited about the prospect of working with this new committee. We have assembled a group of tremendously talented and dedicated Libertarians from whom I think we can expect great results in the next two years.

And the LP is in the best shape it's been in, ever. We now have political experience—a major nationwide campaign effort (Clark for President, 1980); over 1500 candidates in the last four years; tens of thousands of campaign workers, contributors and members. We're in the best financial condition (we're in the black!) in years, thanks to the heroic efforts of Alicia Clark, Honey Lanham, Matt Monroe, and many others. And Ronald Reagan is president. What more could we ask for in 1984, a year when George Orwell will have people everywhere questioning

the role and size of government.

1984 should be a great year for the advance of liberty—and the Libertarian Party can make an important contribution to that cause, if we take advantage of the opportunities presented.

First, it's time to turn our focus outward, towards our enemy, arbitrary state power. The internal bickering of the last few years has grown old and tiresome and it's time we got back to our original purpose, creating a free society. If we don't, our continued existence is in jeopardy. Not only will the public lose interest in what we're doing, but we will also lose the support of Libertarians who joined this party looking for results.

The 1984 campaigns are crucial. We must have a well-coordinated federal campaign effort—presidential and congressional campaigns mutually supportive and ballot status in 50 states. We must run and elect candidates in local and state legislative races. We must run all campaigns with our principles held high, earning respect and recruits from non-libertarian ranks and exciting enthusiasm among Libertarian activists.

To be successful in 1984, I think our presidential campaign must lead the way in boldly proclaiming our non-compromising commitment to liberty. Who else but the Libertarians can campaign against Ronald Reagan on the basis that he *betrayed* his campaign *promises* of greater individual liberty, lower taxes, deregulation, free trade, smaller government, etc.?

Who else but Libertarians can point out that a vote for Democrats or Republicans is a vote for more government, because both of those parties accept the basic principles of *state power* and are committed to them. Only the Libertarians stand for the principle of *liberty* and make no compromise in that commitment. If government taxing, spending, and regulation are *out of control* (and few would deny that they are), then only Libertarians offer *solutions* based on real alterna-

tives to the existing system.

Imagine a television ad with a disillusioned 1980 Reagan voter explaining why he's voting Libertarian in 1984, why he won't again be *duped* into voting for a candidate whose *rhetoric* is pro-liberty but whose basic commitment is to *political power*. Imagine that voter reciting a litany of Reagan campaign promises—no peacetime draft registration, lower taxes, reduced government spending, a balanced budget by 1984, free trade... Then we hear Reagan's record—young men being sent to prison for failure to register; tax reporting crackdowns on waiters, waitresses, and coin collectors; the highest tax increases in history; a faster growth in federal spending than under Jimmy Carter; the greatest budget deficits ever; hundreds of new restrictions on imports; foreign adventures in Central America and the Middle East which invite the spread of shooting conflicts... That disillusioned voter can make an eloquent case for voting Libertarian, for casting a third party vote which says something, which says that the voter

which, of course, would be easy, if we stopped spending a few hundred billion dollars annually on federal programs which should be terminated.

These ads would not have universal appeal, but what's wrong with a couple of million new friends? This type of campaign effort will help us build a constituency for liberty, and will help us plant the seed of awareness in the public at large, as to what are the real issues of the day. We won't gain instant credibility with the masses of voters (or the media), but we will earn an *increased respect* from many who don't agree with us, respect for our courage and our devotion to principle.

That would be exciting, and I hope it's the type of effort we will make in 1984. It will take hundreds of thousands of petition signatures, millions of volunteer hours, and millions of dollars for literature and campaign ads. I hope Libertarians across the country will get involved and make this happen.

If we do, 1984 will be the year the Libertarian Party begins to

**“Such a campaign will help us
build a constituency for liberty.”**

believes in the principle of *liberty*. That's a vote to be proud of.

And imagine an ad which attacks the Internal Revenue Service, the most un-American government agency. Millions of Americans fear/hate the IRS and its audits, and its Gestapo-like powers. This ad would explain IRS power—presumed guilt, seizure of property without due process, adjudication in the IRS' own courts, arbitrary, high-handed treatment and abuse of taxpayers, from little people (waiters and waitresses) to newspaper publishers and congressmen (Rep. George Hansen). The ad would conclude that the IRS must go, it has no place in a free country. And to eliminate any justification for an IRS-like agency, the federal income tax must be abolished,

have a significant impact on the American political process. 1984 can be the year when people who love liberty discover they have a political champion—the Libertarian Party.

As national chair, I will be working with all constructive elements within the party to make these next two years successful. But it will take strong grassroots efforts for us to make real progress—don't expect anything if you don't get involved. The state won't stop encroaching on our liberties until we make it stop, and we can't do that without enormous commitments of time, energy, and money from all freedom-loving individuals.

I welcome input and ideas from all sources, both inside and outside the party. Please feel free to send me your suggestions—but volunteer to carry them out, too!

LP National Headquarters Leaves Washington for Houston

by Mike Holmes

Continuing an eleven and a half year tradition of relocating the national LP Headquarters for pragmatic reasons, two separate National Committee sessions held before and after the New York Presidential Nominating Convention voted by three-to-one margins to relocate the national headquarters from Washington, D.C. to Houston, Texas, effective October 1. During a ten-day visit to Houston in September, National Director Honey Lanham signed a two-year lease for a 2000 square foot office suite in the Katy Hollow Building, just one exit west of the 610 Freeway Loop which encircles central Houston.

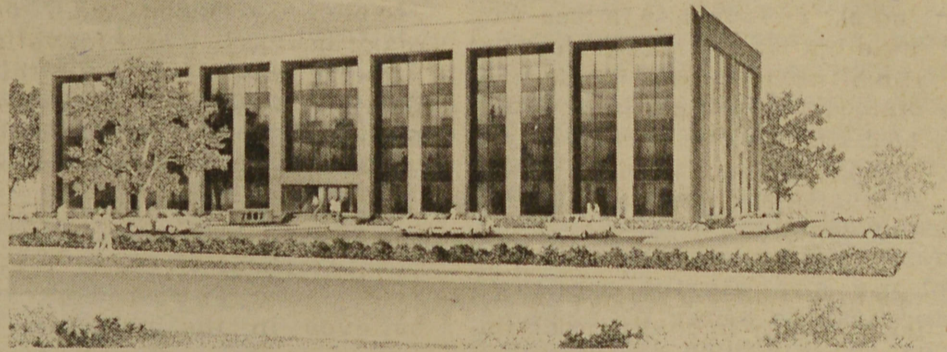
Marking the third major move in the party's history (from Denver to San Francisco, to Washington, and now to Houston), both outgoing and incoming National Committee members were persuaded by arguments from Lanham and outgoing Chair Alicia Clark that the national headquarters could be more effective and productive if it were located in an area with more local volunteers available to assist with the actual routine work of the office. Noting limited space availability and increasing rents in the Washington, D.C. area, Lanham observed that "the Washington, D.C. economy is heavily dependent upon the federal government and related lobbies and hangers-on. Although the Washington, D.C. area volunteers who have come forth have been very helpful and productive, it just hasn't been possible to locate and motivate sufficient numbers to cope with the ever increasing demand for services. Because of the heavy government presence in the area, the natural base of libertarian support is not large enough to properly handle the workload, especially considering the upcoming avalanche we expect of election year related growth."

While some concerns were raised about moving the party headquarters away from the major concentration of national political news media, most National Committee members shared the view that the soft real estate rental market in Houston,

as well as a large pool of proven volunteer libertarian help, outweighed the media considerations, since the Washington, D.C. political press usually tends to cover political events rather than day to day operations. Other possible headquarters sites had been under consideration, including Atlanta, Denver and Los Angeles, but only Houston put together a formal proposal and volunteer commitment at the National Committee meetings.

The new headquarters, a modern four story brick and smoked glass building located off the Katy Freeway, takes full advantage of Houston's unique non-zoned status. Its convenient freeway access brings it within 30 minutes of nearly all of greater Houston, and the party offices overlook Buffalo Bayou and the exclusive Memorial residential area, just two blocks away.

Also within walking distance



(rare for automobile-oriented Houston) are four motor hotels, a print shop, a travel agency, liquor and grocery stores, apartments, an advertising specialty house, and several restaurants. The office location is only 10 minutes from downtown and five minutes from the booming Galleria shopping and office complex. Volunteers will appreciate the security and ample ground level free parking.

With over 30 million rentable square feet available in Houston's soft real estate market, essential LP requirements were readily met.

"Not only was it possible to

find 24 hour air conditioning and heat at no extra charge, I also found that building owners in Houston were anxious and willing to deal," Lanham said. "It's a pleasure to see the free market in action. We received utilities and janitorial services paid, a choice location, and about 50 percent more useable space for only \$45 per month more than we had paid in Washington, D.C. I'm pleased that we were able to upgrade the quality and size of our facilities for such little additional cost."

The third floor suite has a large workroom, a spacious meeting/project room, four offices, a small kitchen, and a computer room. The Harris County (Houston) LP is also leasing two rooms in the suite.

Houston area libertarians have been organized since the late 1960's and the Harris County LP was one of the first active county party groups in the

nation. Houston has played host to all of the previous LP Presidential candidates, and nearby Lake Jackson is the home of self described "small l libertarian" Republican Congressman Ron Paul. Three Houston area libertarians were also elected in 1981 to the Harris County School Board on a platform of abolishing it. Lanham and National Finance Committee Chair Matt Monroe are also Houston residents and most of the National LP Finance Committee mailings in the past year and a half were prepared by Houston volunteers.

Harris County LP Chair Tom

Glass pointed out that "with the exception of NASA's Manned Spacecraft Center, the Houston area has no significant government or defense related industry and owes its recent growth to entrepreneurial businesses in the oil and gas industry, real estate, and international trade. Houston is the largest city in the country without zoning, and Houstonians have been fairly receptive to libertarian ideas. We have been able to build a sizable, 'results oriented' pool of libertarian activists and volunteers. Houston activists are looking forward to the challenges and advantages of being home to the National Libertarian Party."

The Bergland for President campaign is also considering locating its headquarters in Houston.

The LP leadership has been notably unsentimental in the past about relocating national headquarters, as the numerous prior moves indicate. The first two headquarters were located in the Denver area homes of LP founders and David and Sue Nolan. When Ed Crane was elected National Chair in June 1974, the LP headquarters was moved to a 600 square foot office in what was then Crane's home city of San Francisco. After the August 1975 Presidential Nominating Convention, the National Committee approved the relocation of the headquarters to Washington, D.C. to a 1200 square foot space the party shared with the MacBride for President Committee. LP Chair Ed Crane cited close proximity to MacBride, a Virginia resident, and access to the Federal Election Commission and the national political media as reasons for the relocation. In October 1979, the LP moved from its original Washington location to the first of its Wisconsin Avenue locations, which it shared at the time with the Clark for President Committee. In October 1982, the headquarters moved to the recently vacated 2139 Wisconsin Avenue location.

Direct correspondence to: LP National Headquarters, 7887 Katy Freeway, #385, Houston, TX 77024.

NOMINATING CONVENTION

(continued from page 1)

and endorsed Ravenal.

Ruwart's candidacy was by far the most influential of the less serious candidates. Campaigning on the issue that the LP should nominate a woman, as well as serving as a symbol for discontent with the two major contenders, Ruwart was able to draw nearly 20 percent of the vote on some ballots before withdrawing from the contest and endorsing Bergland. She later ran unsuccessfully for the vice presidential nomination.

Media coverage of the convention was particularly encouraging. Media represented at the convention included: the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, The Associated Press, ABC News, Cable News Network, C-Span, and *The New Republic*.

Delegates also named new

national officers, a new National Committee, and a new Judicial Committee. New officers are Paul Grant of Colorado, chair; Mary Gingell of California, vice chair; David Walter of Pennsylvania, treasurer; and Heidi Hartmann of Georgia, secretary. National Committee members

expanded "Children's Rights" plank was adopted, spelling out specific laws and government policies which the LP opposes regarding children and acknowledging the right of children to establish their maturity and independence or choose new guardians.

"Media coverage of the national convention was particularly encouraging."

are listed in the Directory on page 9.

Judicial Committee members are: Stephen Davis of Georgia, Michael Grossberg of Indiana, David Nolan of Colorado, Sylvia Sanders Olson of Iowa, and Bill White of California.

In other convention business, delegates approved a number of changes to the party's platform and bylaws. A substantially

Delegates also adopted a preamble for the platform, authored by LP founder David Nolan, as well as revisions of or substitutions for a variety of planks. The most controversial planks, primarily foreign policy issues, never reached the floor, with the exceptions of "Military Forces" and "Negotiations" which were defeated on the floor. (For more details on the platform

debate see Michael Grossberg's article on page 6.)

Bylaws and Rules changes included explicitly requiring members to sign the membership pledge, giving the convention (rather than the National Committee) authority to elect the Judicial Committee, and reducing the amount of money the National Director can borrow on behalf of the LP without National Committee approval from \$10,000 to \$2,000. Other changes clarified the role of the National Chair as "the chief executive officer of the party with full authority to direct its business and affairs subject to the expressed National Committee policies and directives...", formalized the early meeting schedule put into effect this year by the Platform Committee, and gave the Platform Committee authority to determine the order for the convention's consideration of platform changes.

An Inside Look at the LP's 1984 Presidential Candidate

by Jack Dean

"Freedom is possible and practical." That's the message that 1984 Libertarian Party presidential candidate David Bergland has already started to deliver to the American people.

Since receiving the presidential nomination in New York on September 3, Bergland has already been interviewed by four television networks, appeared on a dozen radio and television talk shows, and given another dozen interviews to newspapers and magazines—including the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and *Newsweek*.

"Actually, the campaign began at the convention," Bergland said. "The media was more interested than ever in what we're doing, primarily because they were pleasantly surprised to discover that the Libertarian Party is still around and still taking the same principled stands."

Bergland, 48, believes that with the 1983 nominating convention the LP "passed the threshold of acceptance" in the minds of many national media people, and that "the same reaction will undoubtedly occur among many local media people as we

campaign throughout the country.

"What the media—and in turn the American people—discover is that we're here to stay," he said, "that our tremendous gains in 1980 were not a fluke, that we plan to keep coming back until we achieve our ultimate goal of a free society."

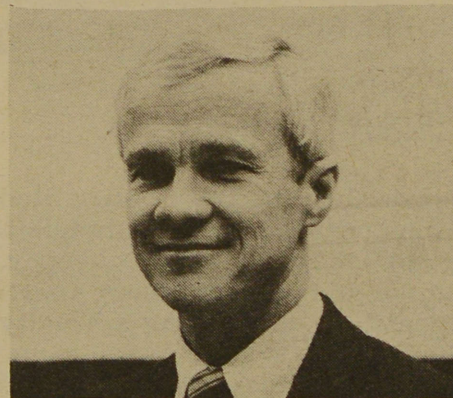
After a few days of post-convention rest, Bergland began doing radio interviews via telephone and started making appearances before LP audiences in Southern California. Beginning October 16, he'll be spending most of the next six weeks on the road visiting 15 states where ballot drives are in progress or about to get underway.

"I hadn't planned to start campaigning full-time until January," he said with a grin, "but with Alicia Clark as my scheduler, I discovered I'd have to start sooner than that!"

Bergland was born in Iowa in 1935, the only boy out of six children. When he was three, the family moved to Long Beach, California. At the age of 10, when his father deserted the family,

Bergland was pretty much on his own—buying his own clothes and contributing to the family's support.

"I never knew I was 'underprivileged' until I went to a UCLA-sponsored summer camp at the age of 12," Bergland said. "I couldn't quite understand what the word meant. After all, I



had already been working hard and had earned many privileges for myself, both as a family member and a young adult. We certainly weren't wealthy, but we had a lot going for us as a family. So it was a shock to discover that those who were poor were somehow underprivileged. In fact, I was brought up to believe that no

matter how little I might have financially, I could do just about whatever I set my mind to in life."

Bergland is now a successful attorney, currently in what he calls a "state of semi-retirement." But it wasn't easy getting there. After high school he spent several years in the U.S. Army, then worked to put himself through Long Beach City College where he received an AA degree in English in 1957. That same year, he was married.

In 1959, he went to work as a fireman for the Los Angeles Fire Department, a job he maintained for seven years while working on his BA degree at UCLA. He majored in English and minored in economics, having earlier been inspired by the works of Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises.

By 1966, he had earned not only his BA but a full academic scholarship to USC Law School. Bergland excelled there, becoming editor-in-chief of the *USC Law Review* and graduating with highest honors in 1969.

Since then he has practiced law in both Los Angeles and Orange

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Building a Grassroots Organization Requires Precinct Level Activism

by Honey Lanham

For the Libertarian Party to reach major party status, we must build a strong grassroots organization which traditional political wisdom has defined as precinct building. In 1980, the Libertarian Party began some of this activity on a national scale, although individuals and local groups across the country had begun even earlier.

Much of the success the major parties enjoy today was realized through precinct building. An extreme example was the Tammany Hall political machine where the precinct captain or chair was one's pipeline, guide, and aide to any relations with the government. This party leader of the precinct provided a real service to its residents.

To build from this example, Libertarian precinct chairs could establish themselves as providers of political and civic information as well as private alternatives to public services. A sampling of the types of information which could be provided

include: voter registration; new resident information such as auto registration, licensing, and fire and police service; dealing with the local bureaucracy; transportation; and fact sheets on local and state political structures, local issues, and bond elections.

Basically, if the Libertarian precinct chairs become known as good sources for facts, people will come to us for information and perhaps later for the answers. The time is right for Libertarians to be working at the precinct level because in many areas the major parties are no longer active at this level.

Contrary to conventional political wisdom, which says to target registered and repeat voters, we should first go for the unregistered and non-voters. Repeat voters are usually already affiliated with a party. They have "paid their dues" and may be getting some tangible benefit for their votes. It requires more effort and time to convert someone from one party to another than to attract the unaf-

filiated. Many active Libertarians have come from the ranks of the unaffiliated and non-voting public. They could never find a home within the two major parties and gave up on politics as a solution to any problem. An unofficial survey of 1978 Clark for Governor voters revealed that more than half of the sample had not voted in seven years. In 1980, 47 percent of the eligible population did not vote. We should target this group and start now to get them registered and educated for the 1984 elections. Every Libertarian can do this on an individual basis to build our Libertarian constitu-

ency.

Another group for us to target is the independent voter or switch voter, if these voters can be readily identified by such sources as state registration. However, these voters will also be targeted by the major parties.

In the last weeks of the campaign, reason will dictate that we approach only registered voters. But until that time, we must make every effort to register and educate the unregistered and unaffiliated potential Libertarians.

Honey S. Lanham is the National Director of the Libertarian Party.

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Delegates Amend LP Platform

by Michael Grossberg

Libertarianism, put simply, upholds the ideal of freedom. Yet that "simple" ideal has subtle implications for public policy. If the Libertarian Party is to be successful in presenting a credible alternative to the statist status quo, such implications should be spelled out in convincing detail in the LP Platform.

During platform debate at the 1983 LP National Convention, delegates undertook the complex task of transforming the politics of freedom into the policies of freedom. Delegates spelled out libertarianism's implications for a wide variety of important issues, from "Immigration" to "Resource Use," from "Pollution" to "Health Care," and from "Crime" to "Children's Rights."

"Children's Rights" is a newly approved substitute plank whose history symbolizes, in my view, the LP Platform revision process at its best.

While all Libertarians agree that children have rights, until

recently few Libertarians agreed on a detailed definition of children's rights. After years of deadlocked Platform Committee discussion over this controversial issue, the 1977 LP Convention finally approved a brief "Children's Rights" plank—as a last-minute proposal from delegates on the convention floor. The new two-sentence plank affirmed that children "have the same rights as any other human beings," but failed to spell out the implications of that principle, leaving a great deal to the imagination. So the 1979 Platform Committee proposed a substitute plank addressing the children's rights issue in greater detail. Unfortunately, lack of time prevented the delegates from considering that plank at both the 1979 and 1981 LP conventions. In retrospect, however, a happy consequence of the issue being raised and debated again and again over the years was the gradual development of a Liber-

tarian consensus on children's rights.

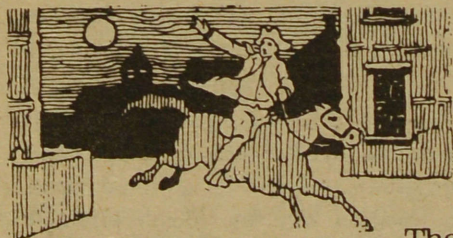
As a result, delegates at the 1983 LP convention overwhelmingly approved a new "Children's Rights" plank that resolves a longstanding party dispute over the legal relationship of children to their parents. "Whenever parents or other guardians are unable or unwilling to care for their children," the new plank states, "those guardians have the right to seek other persons who are willing to assume guardianship—and those children have the right to seek other guardians who place a higher value on their lives." The plank also favors abolition of the juvenile court system, so that juveniles will be held fully responsible for their crimes, and supports repeal of all "children's codes" or statutes which abridge due process protections for young people. "Children's Rights" now not only affirms that children are human beings entitled to human rights, but also enumerates spe-

cific rights, notably their freedom to work or learn as they choose.

The evolution of the LP's position on children's rights is a testament to the central role of ideas in the libertarian movement. Unlike the Republicans or Democrats, the Libertarian Party allows delegates to propose plank revisions—and even totally new planks like "Children's Rights"—from the convention floor. Libertarians justifiably can be proud of the mutual respect demonstrated during platform debate for each other's independent thinking and reasoned convictions.

The LP Platform revision process is also a reflection of the platform's unique role in the Libertarian Party. To help the public understand the LP Platform's principled purpose, convention delegates approved a new Platform Preamble. The Preamble affirms: "As Libertarians, we seek a world of liberty; a

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Plant Closings Legislation Threatens Rights of Workers

by Jennifer Roback

Workers will be forbidden to quit their jobs. Not all workers will be, actually, only workers in one particular occupation. And they will not exactly be forbidden to quit, just required to give one year's notice. These are some of the terms required by a law the Connecticut State Legislature considered recently.

Was this bill called the Industrial Indentured Servitude Act because of the forced attachment to a job? Was it called the Legal Discrimination Bill because it singled out one group of workers for special penalties? No, it was called the Runaway Plant Bill by its proponents, who were not plantation landlords, but representatives of organized labor.

Of course, the proponents of this law saw it as a measure to protect workers, not as discrimination or servitude. But if it had passed, the Plant Closing Bill would have been servitude, regardless of the motives of its advocates. The reasoning behind the proposed law makes it as dangerous to workers as to the employers it was originally directed against.

How can I make these remarkable statements? Suppose the continuation of a factory depended on one particular mechanic who knew how to repair some crucial piece of machinery. No one would seriously argue that he ought to be forced to work, even if hundreds of jobs depended on that one man's performance of his work. No one, especially not labor leaders, would be willing to require that the worker give one year's notice before quitting. Most of us are not persuaded by the fact that the jobs of hundreds of other people and the livelihood of thousands more may hinge on his decision to repair the factory. His motivation for quitting does not seem relevant to us either. Whether he leaves to escape inhumane working conditions, or to take a higher paying job, or just to be contrary, most of us believe that every worker has the right to leave his job.

We might disapprove of our hypothetical mechanic; we might be angry with him; but we

wouldn't dream of forcing him to work. The worker's right to set the terms under which he will work seems more important to us than the hardship his decision may impose on other people.

We think so because we have a vague idea that individuals have natural rights. Natural rights are those we have whether the law recognizes them or not. We have them by our nature as human beings.

One of the most basic of our natural rights is the right of each of us to control our own effort. We all have the right to decide the terms under which we will work, when, how much and for what purpose. A person who cannot quit his job is a slave. A person who can only quit at the end of a specified period of time is an indentured servant.

The right to dispose of one's own effort is so basic that many other aspects of doing business are built around it. Long term labor contracts rarely call for full payment for services in advance, precisely because the law would be hesitant to force someone to work to fulfill the contract. In an exception to this general statement, book publishers sometimes advance money to

authors. But publishers recognize that all too often they have kissed their money good-bye. They don't expect to recover the advance money if the author never completes the manuscript to their satisfaction. Even bankruptcy laws try to accommodate this right: a debtor is rarely forced to work to repay a debt.

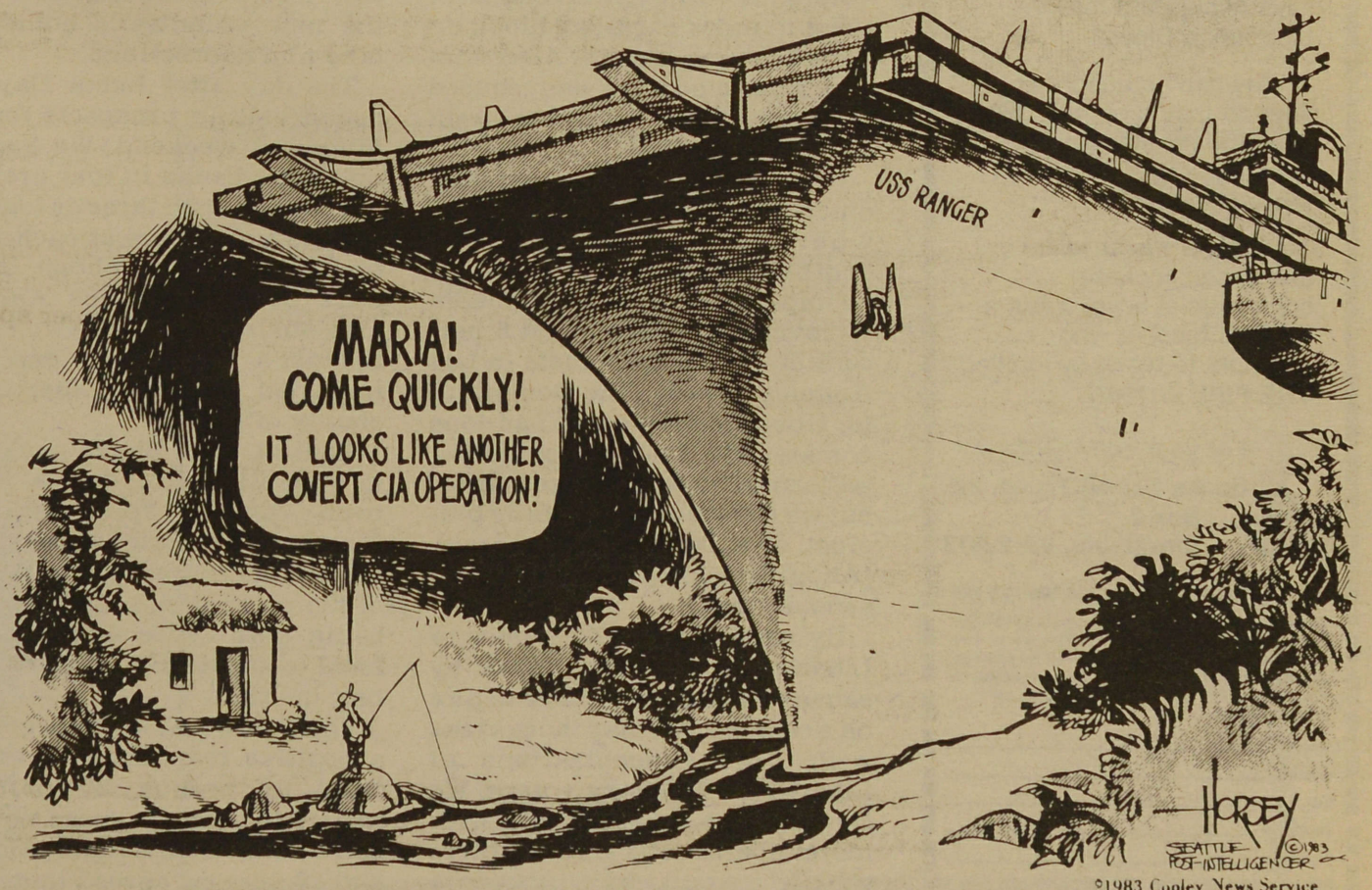
Now, what does all this have to do with plant closing laws? Just this. A factory is not ownerless. Many factories are owned by the individuals who founded them. Others are owned by stockholders and operated by hired managers. In either case, the owners of any industrial enterprise came to acquire it by expending their energies. They may have worked for the money to buy shares of stock or they may have built the factory with their own hands. Either type of factory owner has the same right to dispose of his or her effort that any other worker has.

Forbidding a company to shut down without a year's notice is making indentured servants out of the people who earn their living by starting and managing businesses rather than working for already established firms.

Plant closing legislation violates the natural rights of factory owners. The details of the legislation are less important than its underlying philosophy. Whether the law applies to a business owner, skilled workers or janitors, whether the notice requirement is for one year or one week, whether the law encompasses all firms or exempts businesses of less than one hundred employees, all plant closing laws violate natural rights.

It should be apparent by now why this type of law is as dangerous to workers as to employers. If factory owners and managers can be required to give one year's notice before quitting, why not make the same requirements of any valuable employee? The right to quit is a fundamental right of every worker. Some variation on the plant closing law theme will probably be pushed forward again. Any such law should be defeated if proposed and resisted if passed. The rights of all workers are at stake.

Jennifer Roback is a professor of economics at Yale University and an active member of the LP.



Precinct Analysis Adds To Doorbelling Success

by Bob Lehman

Doorbelling activity in Los Angeles County rose to new heights in the 1982 campaign. Over 50,000 doorbells were rung, and over 100,000 pieces of candidates' literature distributed in "high priority" precincts. (These figures do not include thousands more pieces distributed at street fairs, candidate rallies, and supermarket parking lots.)

In early 1982, Los Angeles County had about 350 dues-paying LP members and 22,000 voters registered in the LP. We wanted to expand our volunteer recruiting effort beyond the limits of our dues-paid membership, but our previous experiences using the registered voters list had not been very productive.

The reason our registered voters list was not very useful was that in 1979, to achieve ballot status, we had registered

thousands of "warm bodies" in the LP, asking people with very little interest to register with us "just to help us get on the ballot." As a result, we needed a way to identify the "real" libertarians on our list, so that we could concentrate our recruiting efforts on those people most likely to respond positively.

We decided to "qualify" our list according to who had voted in the Libertarian Party's 1982 primary election. Libertarians who had not bothered to vote probably would not be interested in doorbelling. By eliminating them as prospects, we would greatly reduce the effort it would take to recruit volunteers from the registered voters list, without reducing the number of volunteers we could expect to recruit.

In July, 1982, volunteers stormed the registrar of voters office, armed with pencils and paper, in search of the names of the 3500 Libertarian registrants who had voted in the primary. Eighty volunteer-hours and 2000 precinct books later, we had the names.

It took about 40 more volunteer hours to update the computer records of the 3500 Libertarian voters, to print out labels, affix them to index cards, and look up their phone numbers. After that experience, our file was reduced to about 1500 prospects with phone numbers.

Next, we had to prioritize precincts, so that we would know where to concentrate our doorbelling effort, since it would be impossible for our volunteers to cover more than about 5 percent of the 7000 precincts in Los Angeles County. The Dougherty for Governor campaign had done a statewide analysis of voting patterns which prioritized cities, but we needed an analysis by precinct, or at least by census tract. (About five precincts make up a census tract.)

By sorting our 3500 names of Libertarian Primary voters by census tract, we were able to plot on a census tract map those areas with high concentrations of Libertarian Primary voters. We figured that census tracts with more Libertarian Primary voters would probably have a

proportionately higher percentage of people who would be receptive to libertarianism, and also that doorbelling in these census tracts might induce some of those Libertarian Primary voters to become more active.

To test our assumption that a high Libertarian Primary vote indicates a priority area for doorbelling, we sorted our 3500 names by city and found that the results bore a high correlation to the Dougherty analysis, so we decided our method was as good as any for prioritizing census tracts.

We wanted to make it as easy as possible for the potential volunteer to say "yes" to our recruiter, so we decided to ask people to

money to the campaign.) We ran into a problem, though, when we tried to find experienced doorbellers to match up with the new volunteers.

Our expectations that local candidates and activists would drop everything to help us get a new Libertarian activist started doorbelling were shattered when we could only match up seven of the twenty-four new volunteers we had recruited for the first weekend.

The second week, we changed our approach, asking the prospective doorbellers to meet us at a central location. (We had about seven meeting places lined up throughout the county.) The result was that the percentage of

**"We wanted to make
it as easy as possible for the
potential volunteer to say 'yes'
to our recruiter."**

doorbell in their own neighborhoods, concentrating our recruiting effort first in high priority census tracts. When we found a volunteer, we would ask a party activist living in the area to go to the new volunteer's home and take him doorbelling.

The day after Labor Day, we began calling prospects for the following weekend. We had set up phone banks in four areas of the county, with three or four telephone volunteers at each location. Two of the phone banks were donated by Los Angeles area businessmen, one was in an activist's home, and one was installed in the Libertarian county office.

At first, each phone bank was in operation one day a week, from 7pm to 9pm, with the County Coordinator supervising all four operations, but by the end of the campaign, each bank was being used twice a week, with local coordinators supervising half the time.

The first week, we were getting a positive response rate to our calls of around 20 percent. (About 10 percent agreed to doorbell in their own neighborhoods, and 10 percent agreed to donate

volunteers recruited dropped from 10 percent to about 5 percent, but at least we were able to put to work everyone who volunteered.

Each recruiter would add a note line on the index card each time he would call a prospect, so that as the campaign progressed, a "call history" was developed on each prospect, telling us who was not interested, who was interested but couldn't help right now, who wanted to help, and who actually showed up for doorbelling. By the sixth week, we had gone through our entire file, so that for the final three weeks we were calling only those who had volunteered before or who had indicated they might help out later.

There were disappointments, to be sure, when people who had seemed interested kept putting us off, and when people who had said they would help did not show up, but the result was that more Libertarian literature was distributed by doorbelling in Los Angeles County in 1982 than ever before.

**Bob Lehman is a party
activist and former LP
candidate from Los Angeles.**

THE FIRE WITHIN

by Joe David

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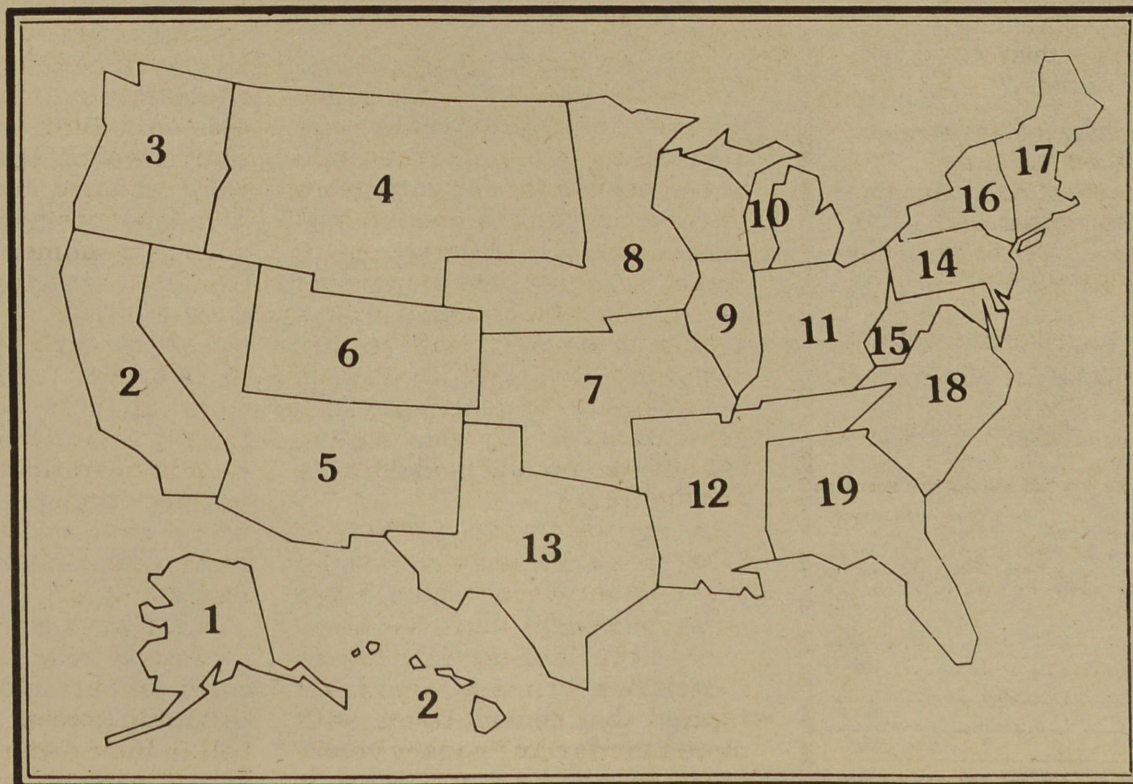
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The corrected minutes of Libertarian National Committee meetings are available to LP members at \$4 per copy from the LP National Headquarters.



One Delegate's View

PRESCON '83 Turns In

by Tonie Nathan

Delegates to the Libertarian Party Presidential Nominating Convention in New York City expected it to be uneventful—an orderly ratification of the candidacy of Gene Burns, the radio talk-show host who had toured some 20 states seeking delegate support.

But five days before the convention began, Burns withdrew, citing money problems. This left the top of the LP ticket up for grabs.

In describing the new race for the nomination, the news media termed one frontrunner, David Bergland, an "ideological" candidate and the other frontrunner, Earl Ravenal, a "pragmatic" candidate. The distinction between them was clearly drawn, according to the *Time-Washington Post* correspondent, when the voting was interrupted to let both address the delegates. Bergland spoke of "the ideal of liberty" and the "ugliness" of government; Ravenal talked about the need to

make the party "relevant" to the "broad sweep of the American people."

Bergland, the 1976 vice presidential candidate, is a Southern California attorney with four Libertarian campaigns under his belt. He was endorsed by 1980 LP presidential nominee Ed Clark, LP founder David Nolan, and Murray Rothbard. He promised to campaign part-time immediately and full-time starting in February.

Ravenal, a professor of international relations at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. and a former Defense Department analyst, stressed his involvement with public policy decisions and his background running a manufacturing plant. He was endorsed by former Alaskan legislator Dick Randolph, *Reason* magazine editor Robert Poole, Bill Hunscher, 1976 LP presidential nominee Roger MacBride, the Radical Caucus, and the group, headed by Ed Crane, that managed the 1980 campaign.

Bergland is a long-time party activist. He was well-known to delegates, having been former chair of the party and having run for office in his home state of California, which had the largest delegation at the convention.

Opponents said Bergland was "too radical" on some issues and lacked the expertise and knowledge of foreign policy that Ravenal obviously had. Ravenal supporters said the party could not go forward unless it nominated a person of "credibility" who would be taken seriously by the media, and hence by the public.

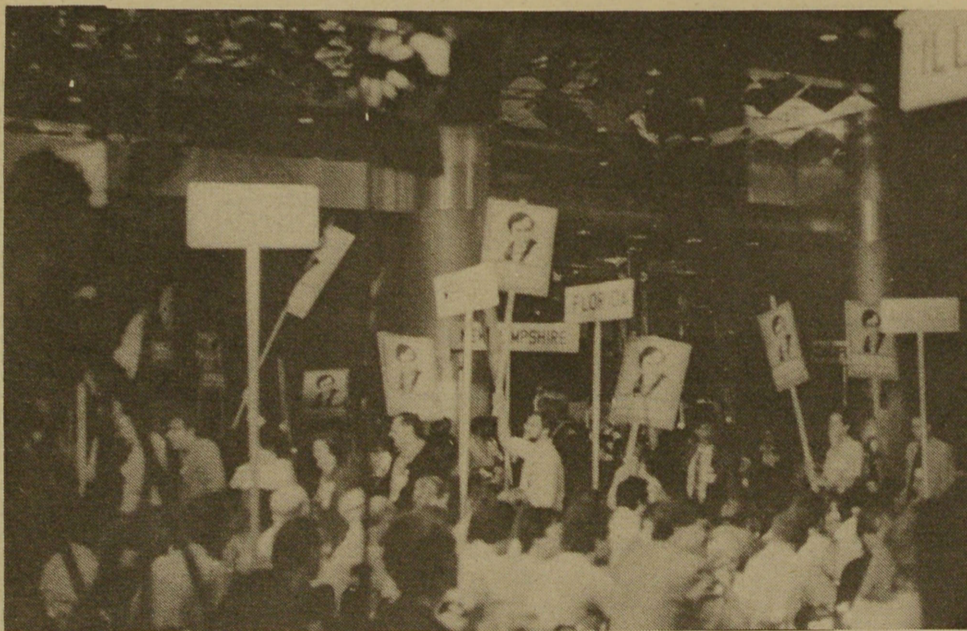
Ravenal's campaign was marked by daily releases, endorsements, balloons, posters, caucuses and much proselytizing. His style was effusive, voluble and contrasted with Bergland's restrained, low-key efforts.

Bergland issued a printed 28-page campaign plan and promised to run a grassroots campaign that had as its goal,

"building the constituency for liberty." Bergland supporters criticized Ravenal's leading supporters for having saddled the party with large campaign debts in the past and for emphasizing media advertising to the exclusion of party growth and development. Bergland promised a fiscally prudent campaign aimed at building the party through cooperation with each state organization.

One of the surprise nominees of the convention was Platform Committee member Mary A. Ruwart of Michigan, who threw her hat into the Presidential ring on the second day of the convention. Ruwart ran on a strategy of winning the female vote and attracting attention to party ideas by being a woman presidential candidate.

Ruwart turned out to be well qualified, intelligent and knowledgeable on the issues. She has a Ph.D. in bio-physics, has served as an assistant professor of surgery, and is currently a research scientist at the Upjohn



(TOP LEFT) Ravenal supporters demonstrate their enthusiasm following the placing of his name in nomination. (LOWER LEFT) Lisa Butler of Canada, Chuck Olson of California, and Wayne Gerber of Canada (left to right) relax after a

(LEFT) Don Ernsberger of Pennsylvania offers his son a better view of convention activities. (TOP CENTER) The LP's symbol, the Statue of Liberty, stands proudly in New York City, site of the

to Exciting Convention

Company. She has been an active Libertarian in Michigan for five years having run for state representative among other achievements.

Even though Ruwart had the third highest vote total after the first ballot with 77 votes, she attempted to withdraw her name. But cries of "No, Mary, No!" persuaded her to stay in the running for another ballot. She picked up 22 more votes, then withdrew, announcing that she was supporting Bergland.

Despite considerable talk of "unity" at the convention, there appeared to be real bitterness between the two groups of party leaders supporting Ravenal and Bergland, but the bitterness was not shared by the majority of delegates who voted almost equally for both candidates and seemed impressed by both men. Following the balloting, Ravenal sat at the banquet table with Bergland, but insiders noted the absence of many who had participated in Ravenal's campaign.

The Ravenal support was not small; it was strong and broad and many delegates expressed the feeling that Ravenal had honored the party by consenting to run for the nomination. Others expressed the hope that he will be active in the coming campaign since his future as a leader in the party is well started and its continuation would be welcome.

The day after the balloting, long-time Libertarian activist and National Committee member Bill Evers said he believed the delegates chose the right candidate for the right reasons. "There are strategic differences between Bergland and Ravenal," Evers said. "Does the party want to build a constituency for liberty or does it want to mimic the other parties and soften up the liberals and conservatives so they'll like us?"

Evers remarks are probably a good analysis of the basic question delegates considered when voting. Editorials and commentaries subsequently written in

the non-libertarian press indicate amazement that the convention could have turned down highly-credentialed Ravenal. Perhaps it is an indication, once again, of the concerns Libertarians have with principles and an accurate dissemination of libertarian ideas.

Be that as it may, the convention was highly successful. A presidential ticket was chosen that has the support of top leaders in the party. It attracted a sizeable group of persons who had not heretofore attended a national convention. It was covered by representatives from more than 52 media. It attracted some 750 persons of whom 554 were registered delegates.

While final figures are not yet in, Gary Greenberg reported to the National Committee that the eight-day convention earned between \$10,000-\$20,000. In addition, some \$42,000 was pledged or contributed to the Bergland for President campaign during a campaign banquet. Ed Clark has

accepted chairmanship of the Bergland campaign.

What might have been a lack-luster convention became exciting when Libertarians learned Gene Burns had dropped out. Early slow registration was replaced by hundreds of last minute registrations. A *Washington Post* reporter was overheard telling his editor that "these people ran a convention that would be the envy of the Republicans and Democrats!"

Overall, the intellectual ammunition, stimulation and camaraderie that abound at any libertarian gathering were more than evident at the convention. Now all the delegates have to do is to unify behind the Bergland/-Lewis ticket and turn their excitement and optimism into local activities that can increase the party's stature, membership, and support among the voters of America.

Tonie Nathan, a convention delegate from Oregon, was the LP's 1972 vice presidential nominee.



convention. (LOWER CENTER) New National Chair Paul Grant takes a break from campaigning. (SECOND FROM RIGHT, TOP) Manny Klausner (center) moderates a panel of candidates for the presidential nomination, (from left) James

No. 1 Mary Ruwart, Earl Ravenal, Larry Smiley, and David Bergland. (SECOND FROM RT, LOWER) Bergland supporters hold a late strategy meeting. (RIGHT) Bergland discusses his qualifications. Photos by M.L. Gutscher.

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Do We Really Have A 'Right To Privacy'?

by Scott Palmer

You probably thought that certain facts about your life were nobody else's business: just between you and your doctor, banker, or employer.

Well, think again. The development of computerized information systems has made some of the most intimate details of your life a matter of public record, available to large numbers of people at the touch of a button.

When you apply for a job, a loan, or a credit card, the prospective employers or creditor can get a printout of your work and financial history from any one of over 2,000 computerized credit bureaus. Between them, these bureaus maintain files on close to 200 million U.S. citizens.

The Medical Information Bureau, largest of the record-keeping firms that serve the insurance industry, can provide your complete medical history if you apply for life or medical insurance. Data about your "moral character," lifestyle, and personal habits may be gathered by one of many investigative firms, such as Equifax, O'Hanlon's, or Hooper-Holmes.

The federal government maintains over *four billion* files on individuals through almost 7,000 separate record systems. And because these systems are computerized, any information in one agency's files is available to all the others. The IRS, FBI, CIA, and scores of other agencies—such as HHS, DOD, EEOC, and FDA—are all in the business of gathering data about your life.

State and local governments, in the name of "law enforcement," have also amassed huge quantities of data on citizens under their jurisdiction. And in the staid Midwestern town of Indianapolis, Indiana, city government has even installed TV cameras on local streets to monitor citizens' actions. The reason? "It cuts down on prostitution," says a spokesman. George Orwell's nightmare vision of "1984" seems more real every day.

Is There a "Right to Privacy"?

In spite of its seeming importance, the idea of a "right to pri-

vacancy" is not mentioned in the U.S. Constitution. It was not even considered by legal scholars before 1891, when the *Harvard Law Review* defined it as "the right to be left alone." A more recent study concluded that "the concept of privacy cannot be satisfactorily defined."

The reason for all this, I would suggest, is that there is no "right to privacy"—at least, not apart from the more traditional rights to life, liberty, and property.

Current thinking about privacy divides it into two areas. The first is "informational privacy," that is, a person's right to limit what other people can find out about him. Second is "privacy as autonomy": the idea that within the sphere of his private life, each person should be free to make his own decisions without interference from others.

Clearly, "privacy as autonomy" is just another way of saying "liberty." Moreover, limiting outside knowledge of one's private life can be done quite effectively within a legal framework which protects property rights. It does not require the invention of a murky new "privacy right," or the creation of the vast regulatory apparatus that would be required to enforce it.

Government Not the Answer

When privacy is threatened, of course, the instinctive response is to demand laws that restrict the collection of personal information by business and government. This "solution," however, is misguided. Most of the information held by credit bureaus and other private data banks was, at some point, voluntarily provided by the individual in question—to obtain a charge card, get a loan, or make an insurance claim. To forbid the collection of such data would not only deprive individuals of the right to reveal it if they wish, but would make it impossible to issue credit, loans, or insurance on a rational basis, thereby crippling our entire economic system.

Another problem with legislative solutions is that they tend to leave untouched the worst

privacy invader of all: the government, which acquires its information largely by coercion. Like it or not, we are forced to provide detailed information about our lives to the Internal Revenue Service; similarly, banks are required to photocopy every check we write, just in case government investigators should ever want to see them.

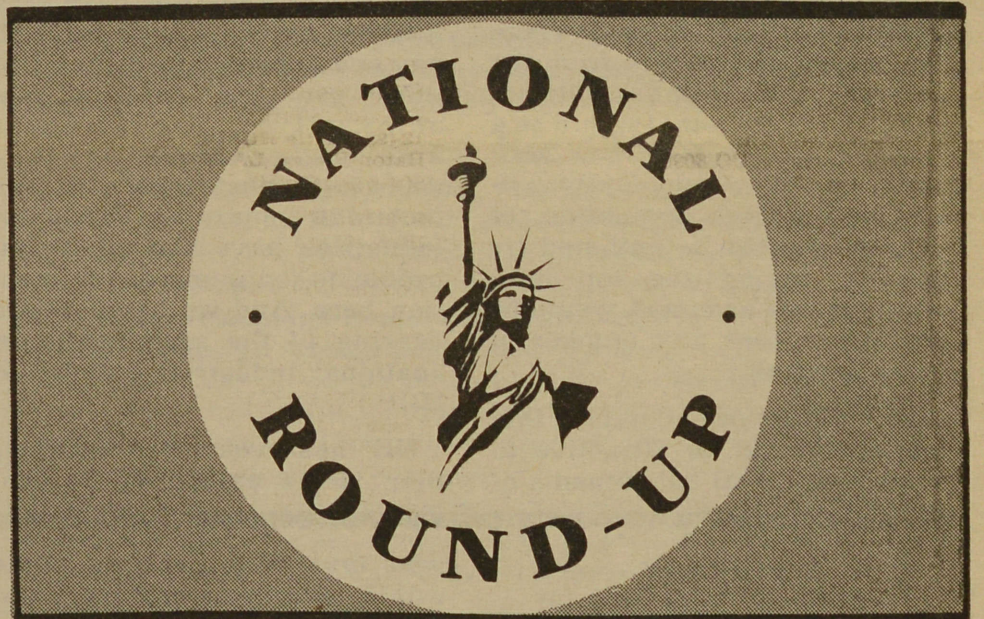
No private business can demand access to your bank records, search your house or your doctor's office, tap your telephone, or bug your living room. No business, however much it may know about you, can force you to do one thing or forbid you to do another. Government, how-

ever, can and does do all of these things. Privacy laws currently on the books do *not* for the most part apply to the state itself, and this is no surprise: government officials, who make the laws, are unwilling to restrict their own freedom of action.

Privacy and Property Rights

If more laws are not the answer, let's see how privacy would fare under a system of limited government which did nothing but defend individuals' rights to life, liberty, and property. No bureaucrats, no social planners, no welfare workers—just police, courts, and a modest

(continued on page 14)



■ The state of Alaska had to reprint all its voter registration forms recently when the **Alaska LP** complained that the party was not listed, despite its meeting all the requirements. But now it is the Republicans and Democrats who are complaining—because the word "Libertarian" now appears on the forms in bolder type than do the other two parties

■ Libertarian Party National Committee member **Murray Rothbard** will be awarded the 1983 Future of Freedom Award at the **Future of Freedom Conference** in October. The award is being given for his lifetime of outstanding work in promoting liberty and freedom. The conference will be held October 21-23 at

Long Beach (CA) City College . .

■ Three Libertarians have been elected to office recently in **California**. In the Santa Barbara area, **Lou Villadsen** was elected to the Mission Canyon Fire District Board, while **Mary Earle** was elected to the Carpinteria School District Board. Also elected to a school board in the Palm Springs area was **Marc Wruble**

■ **Phillip B. Friday** of the **Virginia LP** was recently appointed to the Urbanna Town Council to fill a vacancy. He had run unsuccessfully for the seat last year .

■ Libertarian candidate for city council in **Tucson, AZ** was unexpectedly included in a
(continued on page 14)

New Demogrant Program: National Industrial Policy

by Marvin Olasky

It's not just Republican elephants who should never forget. As Democratic Party presidential aspirants trip over each other in a race to embrace "national industrial policy", they should recall the experience of their candidate holding the worst-defeated record, George McGovern. He should be remembered not for garnering only 39 percent of the vote in 1972, but for coming to a key realization on the road to political disaster.

The 1972 situation, elephants will happily recall, was this: Mr. McGovern was looking for some way to strengthen the soak-the-rich aspect of his campaign. He began proposing that every four-person family of below-average income should receive from the federal government a "demogrant" of \$4,000—that would be a rather grand ten grand now, with inflation. The money for the bottom half of the population, of course, was to be gathered by heavily taxing the top half, which it was assumed, would be willing to bear any number of extra burdens.

Mr. McGovern thought this concept would be attractive to some traditional constituents of

the Democratic party. But the proposal, as a more discerning donkey could have predicted, backfired on the earnest senator. It was unpopular among many of the same folks who would have gained mightily from it. Mr. McGovern eventually admitted—and this was his key realization—that the people in the bottom half hoped and planned to be in the top half some day, and if not them, their children. They didn't want to have to look forward to such a heavy load, and they also thought the plan was plain old unfair.

A little more than a decade later, we have a more subtle demogrant situation developing. Many U.S. industries have been hit hard by changes in technology and a decreasing demand for their products. International competition, shortsighted management, and over-reaching wage settlements have also been factors in some cases. Particular industries have had additional problems too numerous to mention here. And we have started hearing of the aforementioned "national industrial policy," or NIP.

NIP has even more varieties than Heinz catsup or Baskin-

Robbins ice cream, but the most popular at the present have the government choosing certain industries, or companies, that are "worthy" of direct or indirect governmental financial support. Many NIP advocates—I guess they should be called NIPpies—would institutionalize the Chrysler bailout. Some commentators are declaring that effort a victory although the long term consequences both for Chrysler and the whole auto industry are still up in the air. But what about 100 companies becoming wards of the state? What about the whole economy becoming split in two: On the one hand, there would be the federally-subsidized industries and companies, receiving direct or indirect infusions of federal dollars; on the other hand, there would be the unsubsidized companies, the small businesses, and individuals outside the favored sphere, all paying taxes to keep some of the big whales afloat.

If NIPpies have their way, we could end up with an economy of two halves, separate and unequal; NIP would be the subtle, industrial replay of the McGovern demogrant proposal. Sure, this would not be the government explicitly shifting income, but

the effect is the same: Washington taking money, directly or indirectly, from the unsubsidized, to pass on to the subsidized. NIPpies have just recently begun loosening their lips, and so far I have heard no reports of a politician proposing federal subsidies and being told by workers at one of the proposed beneficiaries, "I don't want this, because someday I may be in one of the unsubsidized industries, or my children might be, and I don't want that burden on me or them." But that response will come.

The bottom line is that there is still a relatively small redistributionist whine in this country. Most people still favor freedom and fairness over demogrant greed. Even more important, most people have a healthy horror at the thought of big government and big business shacking up, supposedly for our own good. George McGovern learned the lay of the political land in 1972, and next year's campaign should show that the topography has not changed all that much since then.

Marvin Olasky, a public affairs analyst, is a fellow of the Institute for Humane Studies in Menlo Park, California.

PRIVACY

(continued from page 13)

military establishment. First, the most dangerous privacy invader of all would be out of the picture. A government that is restricted to protecting people from violence, coercion, and fraud has no need to compile vast amounts of data about their lives; and under a limited government system, would not be allowed to do so.

Second, each person would be guaranteed as much privacy as he desired and was willing to "pay for." Suppose, for example, that a person applied for a credit card. If he wished to give up some of his privacy to get the card, he would be free to do so; if he preferred not to answer certain questions at the risk of being turned down, he would be free to do that, too.

Since property rights would be protected, any "investigator"

who invaded a person's home would not only have to pay damages to the injured party, but would be liable to arrest for burglary and trespassing. Anything a person did in his own private sphere would be protected from public knowledge, *unless he chose to reveal it*. If a person shared information about himself with others, except on a pledge of secrecy, it could no longer be considered "private."

What about the accuracy of information held by credit bureaus and other record-keeping firms? How would that be assured? Although inaccuracies would—and do—occur, the profit motive works on the side of truth. A credit bureau that provides unreliable information robs its clients of money-making opportunities, and must eventually lose its customers to its more accuracy-minded competitors. This stands in sharp

contrast to government data banks, which have no incentive for accuracy: they can't go out of business!

Protecting Your Privacy

Make no mistake about it: personal privacy is not free. If you want to get a bank loan, credit card, or file an insurance claim, you will have to sacrifice some of your privacy. The firms you deal with have a legitimate need for data about your creditworthiness, medical history, and income. No government edict can change that fact: but *how much* of your privacy you sacrifice is up to you. A few simple guidelines can help.

First, avoid paying for "secret" items by check or charge card. When you don't, you're revealing your purchase to the people who process your checks or charge slips, and it ceases to be private. Even worse, you're creating a permanent computer record of

the transaction for any would-be snoopers. Next, don't share secrets with third parties, such as insurance companies. When you file a claim for medical treatment of a heart attack, it becomes a matter of public record. Finally, if you must provide information about yourself, don't volunteer more than is really necessary, and *especially* don't reveal anything you want kept private: it won't be.

The individual is far more effective at achieving his own desired level of privacy than all of the government-imposed "solutions" that the politicians can dream up. All it takes is a little common sense.

Scott D. Palmer is an associate of the Institute for Humane Studies in Menlo Park, California, and is editor of *Data Processing Management* magazine and the *ICP Insiders' Letter*.

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PLATFORM

(continued from page 6)

world in which all individuals are sovereign over their own lives, and no one is forced to sacrifice his or her values for the benefit of others... In the following pages we have set forth our basic principles and enumerated various policy stands derived from those principles. These specific policies are not our goal, however. Our goal is nothing more nor less than a world set free in our lifetime, and it is to this end that we take these stands."

Several major current issues were addressed during platform debate, including "Resource Use," "Immigration," "Health Care," "Pollution," "Inflation and Depression," and "Freedom of Communication."

"Resource Use" adds language calling for the establishment of an efficient and just system of private water rights, applied to all bodies of water, surface and underground, and urges privatization of all government and quasi-government water supply systems. The plank emphasizes that "only the complete separation of water and the state will prevent future water crises."

"Immigration" now condemns the U.S. Coast Guard's policy of barring Cubans, Haitians or other refugees from our shores and preventing Americans from assisting their passage to help them escape tyranny or improve their economic prospects. The expanded plank strongly opposes all measures punishing employers who hire undocumented workers, noting that "such measures repress enterprise, harass workers, and systematically discourage employers from hiring Hispanics."

Recognizing the individual's right to self-medication and opposing government efforts to impose a medical orthodoxy on society, the totally rewritten "Health Care" plank looks forward to "the complete separation of medicine and state." The plank now opposes compulsory National Health Insurance, government barriers to medical advertising, and public subsidy of malpractice insurance. The plank also calls for the repeal of all medical licensing laws, "which have raised medical costs while creating a government-imposed monopoly of doctors and hospitals." The plank

also defends the rights of lay midwives, home birth practitioners, and other alternative health care practitioners.

"Pollution" now tackles the complex issue of toxic waste disposal problems, noting that such problems have been created "by government policies that separate liability from property." Recognizing that pollution of other people's property is a violation of individual rights, the revised plank adds radiation pollution to the list of types of pollution that would be illegal under an objective legal system defining property rights to air and water. The plank also condemns the Environmental Protection Agency's Superfund "whose taxing powers are used to penalize all chemical firms, regardless of their conduct."

"Inflation and Depression" now extends its opposition to government control over money and banking to any regulations

recognizing that "full freedom of expression is only possible as part of a system of full property rights."

Other revised planks include "World Government," "The Right to Property," "Justice for the Individual," "International Money," and "Crime."

"World Government" expands the scope of the old "United Nations" plank to include opposition to U.S. government participation in any world or international government.

"The Right to Property" now explains not only that property rights are the rights of humans with respect to property, but also that "all human rights are property rights, too." The plank also condemns recent attempts to employ eminent domain to municipalize sports teams or to try to force them to stay in their present location.

"Justice for the Individual" adds a paragraph supporting a change in rape laws so that

tend to make Social Security voluntary, but merely transfer the financing of benefit payments from payroll taxes to general revenues. A sufficiently large minority of delegates opposed the plank's approach to transitional programs in the apparent belief that Social Security can be made voluntary.

Foreign policy was the arena of controversy in "Military Forces" and "Negotiations," the other two planks that failed to pass by a two-thirds majority. Unfortunately, convention delegates did not have time to consider several other important foreign policy planks, since almost half the scheduled platform business sessions were preempted by the surprising last-minute entry of several candidates in the presidential nominations race.

In all, fifteen proposed planks did not have an opportunity to be considered by the delegates, including the most controversial planks of all, the Majority Planks with Minority Reports: "Offensive Nuclear Weapons," "Military Alliances," "Defense and Retaliation," "Government Debt," and "Latin America." If platform debate is given the priority it deserves at the 1985 LP convention in Phoenix, Arizona, there's a good possibility the delegates will have enough time to finish debating all the important platform issues—for the first time since the 1977 LP Convention.

One benefit of the new early Platform Committee meeting procedure—approved without opposition in LP Bylaws debate—is that even the unconsidered planks were considered by the delegates in issues forums and convention debates before the platform business sessions. Hopefully, such platform debate will continue to build a future consensus on the issues and policies remaining controversial within the Libertarian Party.

Such internal debate is a vital prerequisite of the LP's ultimate success. For unlike the Republican parties, which have sacrificed their principles for a program of expediency, the Libertarian Party must preserve its principles while hammering out a program and platform of liberty.

Michael Grossberg was the Interim Chair of the 1983 Platform Committee.

"Of the 17 planks considered by the delegates, only three failed to win approval."

imposed on other depository institutions as well, such as savings and loan associations. The expanded plank calls for the lifting of the prohibition on domestic deposits denominated in foreign currencies and urges abolition of Federal Reserve control over the reserves of non-member banks and other depository institutions.

Like the revised "Resource Use" and "Health Care" planks, "Freedom of Communication" calls for "separation of media and state," in an effort to popularize and extend the classic libertarian slogan of the American Revolution calling for separation of church and state. The plank supports repeal of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, "which classifies information as secret that should be available to taxpayers, violates freedom of speech and press, and prohibits public discussion of covert government paramilitary activities and spying abroad." This revised "Freedom of Speech and Press" plank includes new material endorsing the right of dissent, condemning indirect censorship by the postal system or by securities regulations, and

cohabitation will no longer be a defense against a charge of rape.

"International Money" adds a paragraph opposing any bailout of foreign governments or American banks by the United States, either by means of the International Monetary Fund or through any other governmental device.

"Crime" was rewritten to emphasize the government's role in breeding crime and its "demonstrated inability" to fight crime. The revised plank supports institutional changes permitting victims to direct the prosecution in criminal cases.

Of the 17 planks considered by the delegates, three failed to win approval. Failing by less than five votes to obtain the two-thirds majority needed for passage, "Social Security" grappled with the difficult question of transitional programs. Going beyond the current platform's opposition to Social Security, the proposed plank noted that "participation in Social Security cannot be made voluntary without simultaneously terminating benefit payments," and found dishonest all "so-called reforms" that pre-

Take Me Back To the Wild, Wild West

by Patrick Cox

Is it really that surprising that a bar full of people wouldn't get involved to save a woman from rape? Ever since the 1940's, our government has been telling us in an authoritarian, macho voice, "Don't get involved. Law enforcement is for professionals. You might get hurt."

But before the birth of big government in the 1930's and 1940's, the police were supposed to aid the citizenry in crime prevention. The constabulary didn't pretend it could stop crime. But this generation has been taught that everything will be taken care of by the appropriate agency.

There was a time when Americans understood what Aristotle

meant when he wrote, "There's no leisure for slaves... and men who cannot face danger courageously become the slaves of the first to assail them." But the new philosophy of government is different. We have created a culture in which every human need is promised and every inequity addressed by government. Individual responsibility is demeaned to the task of paying taxes.

I prefer the Old West, where there were no taxes and the revolver was a tool to prevent the kind of outrage that took place in Big Dan's tavern.

If someone had drawn a Colt .45 and exterminated some of the vermin that gang-raped the young woman in New Bedford, the shooter would probably be in

jail today. Our new age treats heroes like barbarians and thugs like victims. To be a hero now, you have to wear a blue uniform and pass a hero test.

Even cops are now saying they can't prevent crime. Liberal attorney Don B. Kates points out in his forthcoming book, *Firearms and Violence: Issues of Regulation*, that a 1976 national survey of police chiefs and high-ranking administrators found that a majority of that profession favored allowing citizens to carry handguns to deter crime.

But politicians promise things that God doesn't. Practically a whole generation has handed the ethical battle over to a government that fights useless wars, squanders police budgets persecuting adults who use

drugs not served at Big Dan's tavern, and promises Social Security that is a lie.

Let the utopian planners who have sought to legislate a new Camelot stare at their success. Face it folks, we've been had. Delegating blame and responsibility to government is a copout and a waste of money.

The patrons at Big Dan's tavern will live with their cowardice but we have a chance to take back the moral road. The next time a politician offers peace and prosperity if you'll just let him or her run things, say, "No thanks, I think I'll do it myself."

Patrick Cox of the Pacific Institute for Public Policy Research is a columnist for Reason magazine.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP (continued from page 13)

debate with a Republican opponent. William O'Morrissey was allowed to participate in the debate after the other Republican seeking the seat failed to show up for the debate as scheduled

Five Libertarians were recently elected in Alaska. They

were: Jean Calkins, Kachemack City Council (re-elected); Bill Snyder, Homer City Council; Ruth Reed and Daryl Welch, Wasilla City Council; and John Wood, Anchorage Assembly. Also, Judy Roberts made it into a run-off in the Fairbanks School Board election

September 23 marked the one-year anniversary of

Libertarian Paul Jacob's indictment for failure to register for the draft. Although a number of resisters have been tried and convicted over the past year, federal officials have still been unable to locate Jacob, who has been living underground. Individuals wishing to contribute to Jacob's cause can send donations to: The Paul Jacob Fund, c/o The Voluntaryists, P.O. Box 5836, Baltimore, MD 21208.

Cassandra Moore, LP candidate for Palo Alto City Council, has been running a very active race. She has dominated news coverage of the race and was recently endorsed by the San Jose Mercury

Greg Newberry, LP candidate for Cincinnati City Council, has filed suit against the city, indefinitely delaying the city's planned \$27 million expansion of its convention center. Newberry seeks an injunction to stop the city from issuing bonds and assessing new property taxes to finance the center until the issue is put before voters. Newberry claims in the suit that the city failed to prove that a legitimate emergency existed when the council tacked an emergency clause on the measure, making the ordinance effective imme-

diately and blocking any effort to bring it to a public vote. The city now claims the emergency referred to taking advantage of current low interest rates.

Dick Randolph, former Libertarian state representative from Alaska, visited Washington, D.C just prior to attending the LP National Convention in New York City in September. He spoke to a group of congressional interns at the U.S. Capitol building on "Breaking the Two Party Monopoly." Randolph also spoke at a fundraising gathering on behalf of the Alaska LP, gave numerous interviews, and was featured in the Washington Times' daily "Q & A" column

By early December, David Bergland will have kicked off his campaign in at least 27 cities across the country. He will be campaigning full-time in 1984, with former National Chair Alicia Clark coordinating his schedule. Jim Lewis, vice presidential candidate, will also campaign nearly full-time

Eileen Grimes, 1982 LP candidate for the Texas state house, was recently named one of the 84 most interesting people in Houston by Houston City Magazine

(continued on page 20)

NATIONAL PARTY MEMBERSHIP

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rentals: Film: \$25 for two days, \$40 for one week. Tapes \$15 for one week. Purchase and rental prices include shipping and handling.

"The Incredible Bread Machine" 16mm film produced by World Research, Inc. Rental only. \$30 for two days.

"Why Be a Libertarian Candidate?" by elected Libertarians; audio cassette tape ... (\$2 each)

"Ed Clark Answers 50 Questions from the Media" audio cassette tape (\$5 each)

Posters

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"Clark for President" 19" x 26" campaign poster (\$2 each or 10 for \$10)

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Bumper Stickers

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BERGLAND

(continued from page 4)

counties, affiliated with three different firms before venturing out on his own in 1980. He also found time from 1970-1979 to be a professor of law at Western State University's College of Law in Fullerton, California.

In 1973, his wife died of multiple sclerosis. They had three daughters—Jona, Brenda, and Tani—all of whom are now grown, active Libertarians, living in Southern California. Bergland also has two grandchildren.

Bergland says he's been a libertarian all his life, though he wasn't able to put a label on it

until he heard of the Libertarian Party in 1972. He decided to get involved, and in 1973 he helped to found the Orange County region of the California LP.

Bergland is no newcomer to campaigning. This will be his fifth campaign as a Libertarian candidate. In 1974, when John Hospers ran for governor of California, Bergland ran for attorney general on his write-in slate. In 1976, he campaigned nationally as Roger MacBride's vice presidential running mate. Bergland ran for state senate in 1978 and received the "balance of power" vote (six percent), depriving Republican winner John Schmitz of a majority.

In his most recent campaign—for U.S. Senate against Alan Cranston and Paul Gann in 1980—Bergland received over 200,000 votes (2.5 percent) in a five-way race, at a cost of only 12.5 cents per vote.

Bergland has also taken an active role in internal LP politics, serving as national chair for two terms (1977-1981). He has remained a member of the National Committee since then and currently serves as vice chair of his local Orange County central committee, an organiza-

tion elected every two years by the county's 17,000 registered Libertarians.

Bergland is known in LP circles for his honest, realistic, down-to-earth evaluations of situations, so when he says he is "extremely optimistic" about the prospects for the 1984 presidential campaign and the impact it will make, he must have some cold hard facts to back up the observation.

"We've started putting together a very realistic budget," he said, "and our rather conservative fundraising projections look good. We anticipate running a very respectable, credible, cost-effective campaign.

"But my optimism is based more on people than money," he added. "I was impressed by the enthusiasm of my supporters at the convention, but that was only the beginning. Since winning the nomination, it's been very gratifying to receive expressions of personal support from my opponent Earl Ravenal, who's a real gentleman, as well as from most of his supporters. It makes me extremely confident that we're going to be able to put together a dynamic campaign team.

"I feel we're lucky to have in

the Libertarian Party the most creative, talented individuals in politics today. Since none of us are politicians in the normal sense of the word, the only thing we've lacked in the past was practical experience in the political arena, and we've all been constantly gaining ground in that area of expertise as well.

"But the most important factor behind my optimism is the dedication of all Libertarians—whatever their strategic vision—to the cause of freedom, and their keen desire to do everything they possibly can to further that cause.

"This year, we can use the presidential campaign as a vehicle for carrying on that fight. And once again, I would like to invite all Libertarians to participate in the campaign to whatever extent possible. Everyone is welcome on the team, and I look forward to meeting as many activists around the country as possible during the coming year," Bergland added.

Jack Dean was chair of the Bergland for U.S. Senate Committee in 1980 and serves on the Bergland for President campaign steering committee.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

(continued from page 18)

■ The next meeting of the Libertarian National Committee will be held December 3-4 in New Orleans, LA. All LNC meetings are open to interested observers. The meetings will take place at the Ramada Inn, 1732 Canal Street, New Orleans, LA 70112. For reservations at the hotel, call: 800-228-2828

■ The University of Virginia has been archiving National LP materials for the past few years. If you have been saving LP materials which you would be interested in donating to the university's archives, please send them to: Edmund Berkeley, Curator; Manuscripts Department; Alderman Library; University of Virginia; Charlottesville, VA 22901

■ The number of Libertarians from around the country who are throwing their hats into the campaign ring is growing every day. Some of those candidates who have announced as of press time are: Janice DeAmicis, Mark Hinkle, and Gail Lightfoot—California; Stormy Mon—Colorado; Michael Wilson—Idaho; H.K. Bennett, Tim Debaun, Ted Leffler, Dave Murphy, Jacqueline Smith, Webster Smith, Steve Springer, Ben Tackitt—Indiana; Robert Holderbaum, Sheryl Loux, Mary Ruwart, and Kurt Weber—Michigan; Neil Halprin and Jim Winter—Montana; John M. Fields, Jr., Dean Grimes, Jr., and Linda Jowett—New York; Steven Vandervelde—South Carolina; and Dr. Eva Sneed—Texas.

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