

Libertarian NEWS

March-April, 1981

A Publication of the Libertarian National Committee

EL SALVADOR: OLIGARCHY OR REVOLUTION?

Stephen P. Halbrook

The Reagan administration has announced an aggressive foreign policy focusing on opposing "terrorism" around the world. Under this policy, open intervention in the affairs of other countries is becoming increasingly likely. While the Middle East, particularly the Persian Gulf, and to some extent Africa and Asia remain possible regions where a sudden turn of events could trigger a U.S. military reaction (and conceivably a world war), the most likely candidate for the United States' next Vietnam is Central America's smallest but most densely populated nation: El Salvador.

Whether or not the rebellion against the El Salvador dictatorship is communist inspired is irrelevant to the question of U.S. intervention. The purpose of the U.S. military should be to defend against attacks on the U.S. itself, not to subsidize the defense of other countries or to engage in wars on behalf of authoritarian regimes whose principles are inimicable to those of the Founding Fathers. But close examination of the Reagan Administration's rationalizations for



intervention in El Salvador is revealing.

The administration's claim that increased supplies of arms and advisors for the military dictatorship of El Salvador are necessary to defeat communist subversion there appears embarrassingly shallow in view of the lack of evidence that opponents of the government are communists. Even if they were, it is difficult to conceive how a socialist state would be any worse than the present regime, which by all accounts was responsible for the murder of 10,000 people in 1980 (equivalent as a percentage of population to the murder of the

populace of New Orleans in the United States). And one can only wonder about the consistency of a U.S. policy which threatens war with Iran because of the reprehensible taking of hostages, who were released alive, but which increases military aid to the junta in El Salvador, which has refused to cooperate in bringing to justice the members of the "security forces" who murdered four U.S. citizens, including three nuns and a lay religious worker.

It makes more sense to analyze the current bloody repression in El

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Randolph-Fanning Form First Libertarian Caucus

Pete Schnaars

For those who just tuned in, the Alaska Libertarian Party has elected two representatives from Fairbanks to the State House. Dick Randolph, who won reelection and earned more votes than any representative in this decade, is joined this year by Ken Fanning, a professional guide and trapper, who came in fourth in Fairbanks' six-member district -- ahead of two Democratic incumbents.

Many of our political opponents have always hoped that the philosophical consistency and solidarity exhibited by Libertarians up 'til now was only an illusion made possible because we had but a single, elected spokesman. Ken disposed of which quickly set him apart from

members of the other parties. As far as legislative issues are concerned, Ken has pretty well convinced his fellow House members that his differences with Randolph are differences of style and not of substance.

This has brought about a subtle but important change in the way Libertarians are perceived around Juneau. Many who previously wrote off Dick Randolph as an eccentric nuisance are now facing the fact that we are here to stay. The Speaker of the House, a Democrat, no longer that notion by refusing to accept reimbursement for personal travel expenses he incurred prior to the start of the legislative session, an action refers to the Republicans as "the

minority," he now distinguishes between "the Republican minority," and "the Libertarian minority," much to the distress of the Republicans.

In addition to Dick and Ken, we have a staff of six: two secretaries, three legislative aides, and one volunteer. Combining two offices into one helps us to prevent duplication of effort and permits us to monitor far more activities of the Legislature than we could last year.

The ongoing challenge for Libertarians in Alaska remains the problem of excessive government wealth. For most of you in the Lower 48, the task seems to be to convince the voters that what they get from government is not worth the taxes they pay and that they should do something about it. Up here the state government has a seemingly bottomless source of revenue not dependent on the voters: oil revenues. Alaska's expected receipts from the

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...k's specific spending, to an immediate cut of on in spending, are a good start, though we shouldn't stop there. The Clark White Taxing and Spending was a realistic proposal for budget cut. We should rather cuts -- in every -- as rapidly as we can.

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March-April, 1981

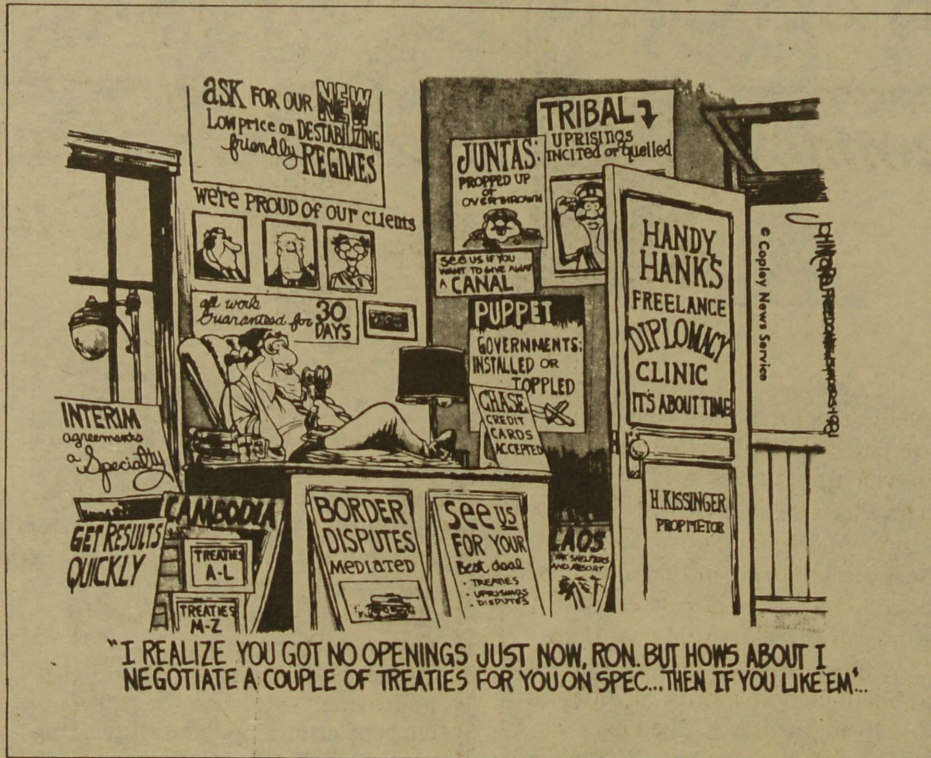
El Salvador, continued from page 1

Salvador as a stage in a five hundred year old legacy of political violence by an oligarchy supported by foreign interests against the masses of people there, rather than as some kind of sudden emergency called forth by a few communist conspirators. With the defeat of the Pipil Indian tribe in 1527, the Spaniards seized the Indians' land and reduced them to serfdom. Under the *encomienda* system the state forced the Indians to work for the Spaniards in order to pay the required tribute; by the eighteenth century debt peonage took its place as the Indians began to live on *haciendas*. (large federal estates).

Although the area's people spearheaded the revolt against Spain in 1811, the eventual climb to the status of an independent republic failed to extinguish civil war between Liberals and Conservatives or to stop the always bloody massacres of peasants. By the turn of the century the independent caudillos all were defeated and the rule of the *Cartorce Grande* (Big 14) families was consolidated.

Twentieth century El Salvador has been predictably characterized by some instability within the ruling classes of oligarchs and successive military juntas, but most of all by the brutal repression of the people. The revolt of 1932 cost 30,000 peasants. The government have used every means, from mass murder to wage laws to control of the economy. The top of repression and the claim of the Communist Party. Whether receiving Cuba, or to their they would and support were offered among some the U.S. the guerrillas, (posed). Arms the outside

page 1
have recently billion (for a under half a million). Our present surplus is \$5 billion and growing quickly.
The Democrats are preparing some of the most disgustingly discriminatory welfare programs imaginable, while the Republicans are advocating public works projects on an unprecedented scale (in the name of free enterprise). This leaves us trying to find a quick way to put both the surplus and the resource which produced it into private



world (communist and non-communist), just as they were to Ireland during the Irish uprisings against English domination of the last few centuries, because there is no arms industry in El Salvador. The smuggling is not proof of communist involvement. Similarly, "international communism" was not a real issue in 1926 when the U.S. protested that Mexico sent arms to guerrillas in Nicaragua, which it used as an excuse to send in the Marines to fight Augusto Cesar Sandino, who himself rejected the support of the Communist International. The communist bogey man theory cannot explain why all guerrilla movements in Latin America have found it necessary to break relations with the opportunist communist parties, from Guevara in Boliva to Cesar Montes and Yon Sosa in Guatemala. And while the bogey man theory cannot explain why Somoza was ousted from Nicaragua because the Chamber of Commerce came to support the Sandinistas, adherents blindly cry against a similar overthrow in neighboring El Salvador.

While there has been no discussion in the U.S. press of the aims of the broad opposition movement, which is

ownership.

In addition to trying to repeal all remaining state taxes, we are making some good arguments for refusing federal funds, ending the authority to sell bonds for capital improvements, and joining the Sagebrush Rebellion.

Your support is always appreciated. Anyone with good ideas can write to Representative Dick Randolph Pouch V Juneau, Ak 99811

Pete Schnaars is a legislative aid to state Rep. Dick Randolph.

known as the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), a review of its avowed objectives clearly demonstrates that its victory could bring about a much greater degree of "Free Enterprise" and "Agrarian reform" (so necessary for market oriented economic development) than the present authoritarian state, which exists to perpetuate the land monopoly of the oligarchy. This is why membership in the FDR includes not only peasants, trade unions, students and Christians but also the National Federation of Small Businesses and professional organizations. The official Platform of the FDR clarifies its fundamental anti-statist objective by calling for the overthrow of the "military dictatorship of the oligarchy and Yankee imperialism" (the latter might strike a responsive cord in the western United States, where the Federal government owns roughly three-quarters of the land) and the "dissolution of the existing state powers."

The FDR Platform seeks a democracy formed by "the working class, the peasantry, and the advanced middle layers.... small and medium-sized industrialists, merchants, artisans, and farmers (small and medium-sized coffee planters and those involved in other areas of agriculture or cattle raising)." While the large businesses and estates which came to be owned by the oligarchs and U.S. monopolies through years of state intervention in the economy are to be expropriated, "none of this will affect small or medium-sized private businesses" and "the agrarian reform will not affect small and medium landholders."

While the FDR Platform does advocate some forms of state intervention in the economy which are hardly any more far-reaching than

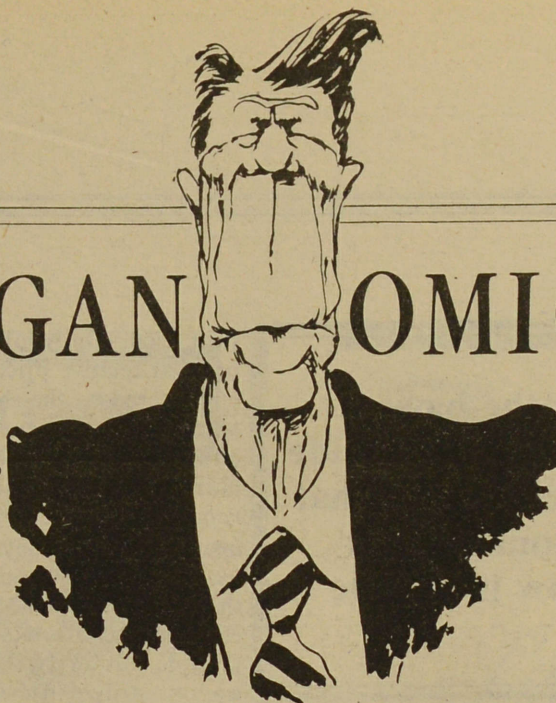
present welfare state practices throughout the world, libertarian models are also viewed with sympathy. Thus, Jorge Alberto Villacorta, a civilian member of the junta who resigned in protest because the government's "land reform" program consisted mainly of massacres of peasants by members of the national guard and police, has stated: "A non-totalitarian and non-state-controlled model can only be carried out with the real participation of the peasants....." More recently, just prior to its latest offensive, the FDR declared: "The Democratic Revolutionary Government will support all those private enterprises that cooperate and promote the economic development of the country and the realization of its program." If this is not the purest free market language, it is a far cry from any demand for communism, which the FDR has never advocated.

The one thing most likely to inspire a communist direction to and involvement with the revolution in El Salvador is U.S. intervention. Such intervention would not only bring in support from the Soviet Union and its proxies but would more than likely strengthen those few openly anti-American (as opposed to anti-U.S. intervention) and pro-communist forces in El Salvador. Such is the recent pattern of U.S. involvement in local revolutions against domestic tyrannies.

The indiscriminate assassination not only of peasants and other poor people but also of church workers, university professors, lawyers, journalists, and business people has already created broad opposition from their North American counterparts in churches, universities, unions, and professional associations against further U.S. support for the junta. As the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, the guerrilla ally of the FDR, continues its current life or death struggle with the government forces and the allied rightist death squads (ORDEN), U.S. involvement promises to escalate through further supply of lethal equipment and military advisors. Should El Salvador become a Vietnam-like quicksand through the commitment of U.S. troops, the U.S. government may expect an opposition to its interventionist policies from all layers of the public which will be broader and respond more quickly than the opposition to the war in Vietnam. As the interventionist impulse and hence public debate thereon escalates, Americans from all classes and walks of life will come to reject in disgust support for a terrorist regime which has made of El Salvador a vast graveyard in the name of anti-communism.

Stephen P. Holbrook practices law in Virginia and teaches at George Mason University.

REAGANOMICS :



Supply Side Economics: Another View

by Tyler Cowen

What do you call a new economic theory that may have the potential to decrease tax rates, increase government spending, balance the budget, and cure inflation? If the theory were capable of achieving these feats all at once, you would most likely be looking at the latest trend in modern economic thought, supply-side economics.

Supply-side economics, broadly defined, consists of two propositions: (1) Fiscal policy produces changes in supply as well as demand; (2) The amount of labor and capital supplied, and hence, productivity, is influenced by the marginal rate of taxation. When elaborated in these simple statements, supply-side economics is highly unobjectionable. Indeed, it focuses on several important points that mainstream economics has overlooked. Many supply-siders have directed attention to some of the classical economists (e.g., Smith, Say) whose contributions were deemphasized by the Keynesian revolution. The supply-siders have also admirably applied marginal analysis to the decisions that individuals make to work, save, and produce. For instance, Michael Boskin's recent work analyzing the effect of taxation on the rate of savings is particularly relevant at a time when America's savings rate has just fallen below 4%.

Of course, a definition of supply-side economics would not be complete without at least a partial list of who the supply-siders are. Arthur Laffer, Martin Feldstein, Michael Boskin, Irving Kristol, Paul Craig Roberts, Michael Evans, George Gilder, and Jude Wanniski are but a few of the more prominent names that have been associated with supply-side economics.

One cannot help feeling suspicious about some of the claims of supply-side economics, however. It is not the basic idea behind supply-side analysis as such that is objectionable, but rather how it may be used. Because there are as many kinds of supply-side economics as there are supply-siders, it is impossible to write a comprehensive critique of the theory, and therefore I will concentrate on analyzing some of the more dubious supply-side theories.

Supply-side economics promises (threatens?) to become the macroeconomic policy tool of the 1980s, just as Keynesian economics was the major policy tool of the

1960s. The problem is that both tools are particularly ill-suited to the task to which politicians wish to put them. The Phillips curve (which purports to represent a functional relationship between inflation and unemployment, entailing a trade-off between the two) works in the short run, but it was used to pursue long-term goals, such as adequately low rates of inflation and unemployment. The result was stagflation. Although the Laffer curve (which purports to establish a relationship between tax rates and tax revenues, showing that a high tax rate can result in a smaller revenue than some lower rate) may operate effectively in the long run, its proponents wish to use it for a short-run goal: balancing the budget. We can only guess at the results of supply-side fine-tuning. After fifty years (at least) of tinkering with the demand side of the economy, the federal government is starting to realize the impossibility of effectively managing aggregate demand. Now the government is about to start fine-tuning the supply side. Although the problems of supply-side tinkering may catch up to them in another 50 years, by that time they will have forgotten all of the problems with demand-side tinkering and will be ready to prime the demand pump once again.

The Laffer curve is the linchpin of current supply-side economics. The basic insight behind the Laffer curve is that "there are always two tax rates that yield the same revenues." For instance, either a taxation rate of 0% or a taxation rate of 100% will yield zero revenues. The diagrammatic representation of the curve places the tax rate on the vertical axis and revenues on the horizontal axis. The shape of the curve resembles the right half of an oblong horizontal oval and represents different combinations of tax rates and government revenues. The economic policy maker may be given the task of finding the point of the Laffer curve that maximizes government revenue, but this is not as easy as it sounds, as we do not know either the true shape of the curve or our location on it. The curve is nothing but an imaginary representation of the aggregate results

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Reagan's Budget Cut: How Big Is It?

by David Boaz

President Reagan has proposed a plan "to slash the federal budget," according to the major media. The *Los Angeles Times* called it "sweeping cuts across the board," while the *New York Times* said his plan would "drastically change the shape of Government programs."

The American people responded approvingly, strongly supporting the concept of cutting federal spending.

But President Reagan is *not* cutting the budget.

Spending in 1981 was projected at \$658 billion without any Reagan changes. After adoption of the *entire* Reagan plan, spending in fiscal 1982 would be \$696 billion. That's not a budget cut, it is a \$38 billion spending increase.

Unfortunately, most Americans don't realize this. Indeed, most of them don't even know how large the federal budget actually is. The *Washington Post*, for instance, in its first five stories about budget director David Stockman's proposals, failed to mention the actual size of the 1982 budget or how much it has increased over the past few years. How, then, are readers supposed to decide whether Stockman's proposals were in fact "massive" budget cuts or not?

Let's get some numbers straight. The federal budget, as projected by President Reagan, will be \$696 billion in 1982. (Of course, many of those proposals to "slow down the spending increase" won't succeed; he will be lucky to bring the budget in at \$725 billion.) That is \$330 billion more than the 1976 budget and \$517 billion more than the 1968 budget. The budget is out of control, and Reagan's proposals are nothing more than a band-aid.

Perhaps the basic problem is in the terms of the debate that are presented to us. Political debate these days is always based on the status quo. We are supposed to begin with a budget of about \$660 billion and propose revisions. Why don't we stop and question the very nature of this debate?

We have some fundamental problems in this country -- poverty, unemployment, hunger, poor education, lack of respect around the world. We spend more every year on each of these problems, and they continue to get worse. Yet our political leaders never

propose any fundamental changes. The solutions offered us amount only to tinkering, or to throwing more money at a problem that previous infusions of money failed to solve (or even created).

Ronald Reagan sought the presidency in 1976, when the federal budget totaled a record \$366 billion. He labeled President Ford a spendthrift and pledged to cut the budget by \$90 billion. If he had proposed then a 1982 budget of \$700 billion, Republicans would have scorned him as a bigger spender than any Democrat. But now he pledges a mighty crusade to hold the budget to \$700 billion. Does President Reagan still believe that 1976 budget was too high? If so, why doesn't he try to cut it back to at least what he promised us then?

Our fundamental problems don't change from election to election, and we won't solve them by merely proposing minor changes in the status quo.

Ed Clark's specific spending, amounting to an immediate cut of \$200 billion in spending, are a good place to start, though we shouldn't expect to stop there. The Clark White Paper on Taxing and Spending Reduction was a realistic proposal for a *one-year* budget cut. We should demand further cuts -- in every department -- as rapidly as we can.

President Reagan sounded in his televised address to the nation like he understands what is wrong with our economy -- inflation, unemployment, soaring taxes, declining productivity. What is not so clear is whether he knows what to do about it. His proposal to slow down the rate of growth of spending is like telling us that we are all on a bus heading for a cliff at 80 miles per hour and that he plans to slow it down to 55. That may delay the crash slightly, but it won't avert it.

David Boaz was the Research Director for the Clark for President campaign and is currently a policy analyst for the Cato Institute.

Economics, continued from page 3

of individual decisions regarding work vs. leisure, saving vs. spending, etc. Since these decisions are essentially of a subjective nature, they cannot be measured. Even if peoples' preferences and expectations were known by the policy maker, they cannot be assumed to remain constant. By the time a tax cut is enacted and begins to take effect, the curve will have shifted considerably.

Another problem with the Laffer curve is that its true shape is not smooth and continuous, as uncertainties and rigidities will produce a "bumpy" curve with many ups and downs. There is even the possibility of two different points of maximum revenue, and the curve may be characterized by all sorts of peaks and valleys. If this were the case, a tax cut might produce *more* revenue while moving the economy further *away* from the point of maximum revenue. The policy maker can never know which way the economy is heading.

Many of these problems arise because supply-siders have adopted the aggregative macroeconomic perspective of Keynesian economics. Irving Kristol has even admitted that "it (supply-side economics) does retain the Keynesian macroeconomic apparatus for diagnostic purposes...." All of the key concepts behind supply-side economics, such as "productivity," "savings," "investment," and "rate of taxation" are often aggregated into lump-sum figures or rates. The effect of taxation on macro-variables is given priority, but its microeconomic effects are ignored. Productivity in one sector of the economy is treated as equivalent to productivity in another sector. However, when the two "amounts" of productivity are added together, something additional is lost: the meaning that individual actors attached to the disaggregated figures. The resulting aggregates are not relevant to the plans of the market participants, nor do they exert any causal influence on the market.

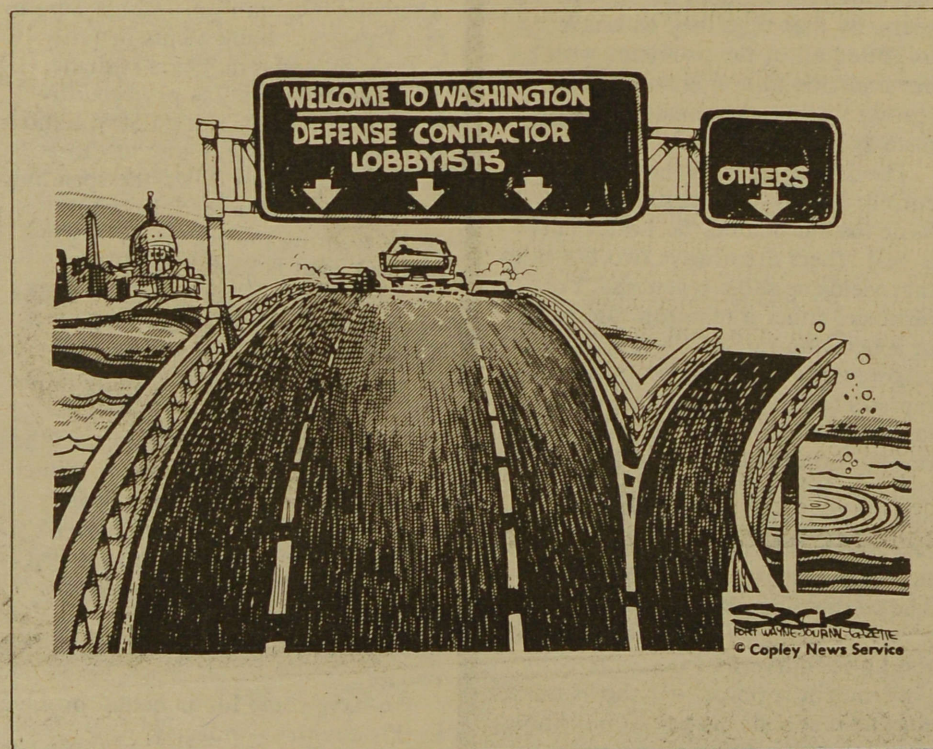
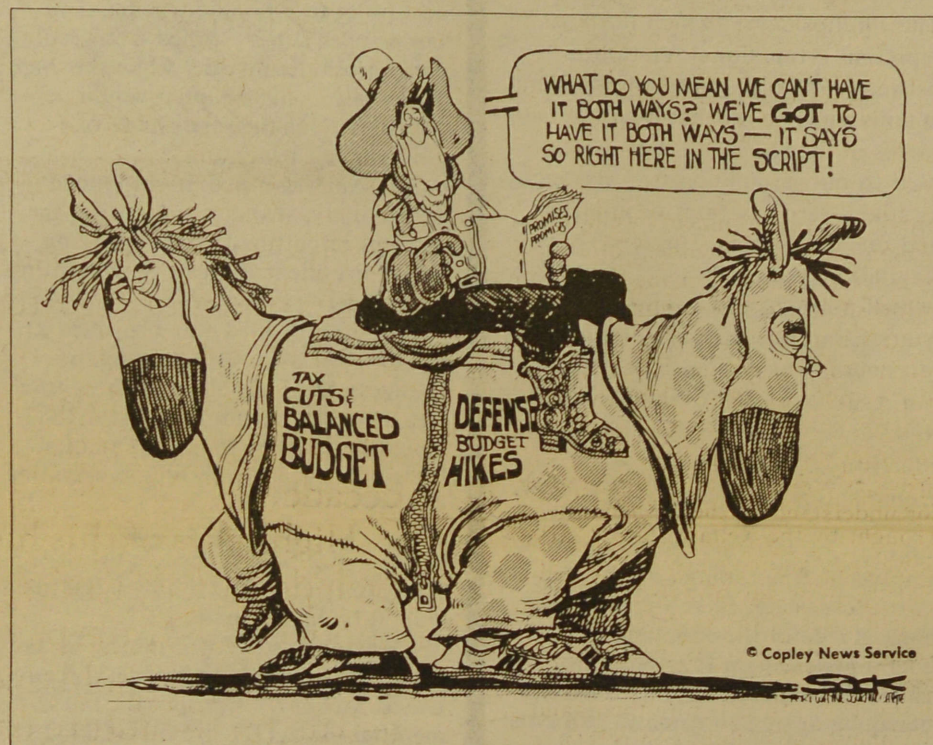
While supply-side economics raises the question of inadequate gross investment, it ignores the problem of where these investment funds are going. The market's ability to channel investment effectively into the proper areas has seriously been hindered by government policies of inflation, taxation, and regulation, which create distortions in the relative prices, interest rates, and profits that allocate resources. Hence a theory that focuses only on changes in the level of investment and not its composition confronts only part of the problem.

Like most macroeconomic theories, the Laffer curve lacks any discussion of economic processes; it is simply assumed that the economy shifts from one point on the curve to another. There is no discussion of how the

"It is not the basic idea behind supply-side economics as such that is objectionable, but rather how it may be used."

shift occurs, how long the shift takes, or what relative price effects are engendered by the shift. These should all be crucial factors in evaluating the effectiveness of a tax cut, yet the current versions of supply-side economics have not provided these insights because they have not incorporated micro-dynamics into the theory. Neither are the supply-side econometricians (e.g., Evans) able to provide this analysis because they are primarily concerned with

"Like most macro-economic theories, the Laffer curve lacks any discussion of economic processes; it is simply assumed that the economy shifts from one point on the curve to another."



measuring aggregate economic variables rather than tracing market phenomena back to individual choice.

The most serious drawback with the Laffer curve is that it may be used for the purpose of maximizing government revenue. The track record of the last 200 years of federal spending indicates that this may not be the most desirable goal. Increasing the government's command over resources is likely to have harmful effects, not only in the market and in the international arena but also on our civil liberties. There is nothing necessarily "free-market" about supply-side economics. It could be just as easily used to justify a tax increase, depending on our supposed location on the curve. Supply-side economists focus on the rate of taxation as a potentially benevolent instrument of policy, to be varied at the policy maker's discretion. In doing so, they draw attention away from the important ethical questions that are raised by *any* level of taxation. One of the major supply-siders, Jude Wanniski, admits that "a welfare state is perfectly consistent with the Laffer curve..." Although we should applaud any theory that advocates an immediate cut in taxes, the supply-siders should be prepared to accept the fact that this may mean a corresponding reduction in federal spending.

If the supply-siders are seriously concerned about productivity rather than government revenue, let us issue the following challenge: Redraw the Laffer curve by replacing "government revenue" on the horizontal axis with "private-sector productivity." Draw a new curve, representing the trade-off between the rate of taxation and productivity. This curve will have a negative slope, showing productivity at its maximum when the tax rate is zero. *Now* choose the appropriate rate of taxation.

Tyler Cowen is the managing editor of the *Austrian Economic Newsletter*.

Books For Libertarians

For A New Liberty

Murray N. Rothbard,
Collier Books, 338 pages
(pb., \$6.95)

Reviewed by Tom G. Palmer

For many years, Murray Rothbard was the primary proponent of consistent libertarianism in the United States. An economist and historian by training, he tirelessly produced a stream of seminal works on economic theory, history, foreign policy, political philosophy, and public policy. Eight years ago, when the new libertarian movement was in its infancy, he synthesized much of this work on a popular level. The result, updated extensively since then, was *For A New Liberty*, subtitled *The Libertarian Manifesto*.

For A New Liberty is the best intermediate introduction to the politics of liberty available. The book is divided into four sections. In the first part Rothbard takes the reader through a history of libertarianism's glorious heritage, dealing with such figures as John Locke and the American Revolutionaries, and laying out his famous analysis (not wholly original to Rothbard) of history as a race between government and social forces. Section two deals with the foundations of libertarianism -- the right to self-ownership, property rights, and the "non-aggression axiom." Rothbard proceeds from this basis to a critical analysis of government power and its disruptive effects on society. It is here that he is at his most incisive and penetrating, cutting away the centuries of encrusted myth that have for so long obscured the predatory nature of state power. The chapter on "The State" alone is worth the price of the book.

Section three deals with libertarianism applied to current problems -- civil liberties, welfare, inflation, unemployment, taxes, provision of "public goods," conservation, foreign policy and more. The analysis is generally first-rate, though the chapter on "Welfare and the Welfare State" focuses too much on the disincentives to effort

provided by government "welfare" programs, to the detriment of a broader and more humane libertarian argument against the welfare state, namely that the poor are its primary (and intended) victims. The chapter on "Freeing Up the System" from Ed Clark's *A New Beginning*, while covering some of the same ground, provides a much sounder framework for understanding the devastation wrought by the welfare state. Clark powerfully and cogently points out that the poor, far from being the beneficiaries of the welfare system, are its greatest victims, because of the shackles it fastens on them, the obstacles it places before them, and the monstrous web of controls in which it enmeshes them. Clark's book expounds on a major theme of great relevance to libertarianism, a theme that is largely absent from Rothbard's book.

The fourth section presents Rothbard's "Strategy for Liberty," an attempt to lay out a path toward the attainment of liberty. Rothbard seeks to identify political constituencies and allies for liberty as well as the numerous pitfalls which lie along the way. While not the last word on the subject, Rothbard's concluding chapter is an important starting point for any discussion of strategies for liberty.

In short, *For A New Liberty* is a good book, and along with Ed Clark's *A New Beginning*, deserves to be read by every serious libertarian.



The Tenth Anniversary Convention of the Libertarian Party

August 26-30, 1981
Denver, Colorado

The Libertarian Party has come a long way since its beginnings ten years ago. And this summer, we're meeting in Colorado — birthplace of the party — for a grand celebration and a flying start into our second decade.

Highlights of this historic gathering will include panels, workshops, a reception in honor of our three past presidential candidates, a trip to an old gold mining town, a great debate on the future of the party, and a gala 10th Birthday Banquet that will be talked about for years to come.

For veterans and newcomers alike, LP/10 will be an exhilarating and memorable experience. Plan now to be there.

Details to follow.



LP/10

Here To Stay

Have you made a
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Region 15

"Power to the People!" Is this an obsolete sixties-style slogan, or the philosophy behind an exciting new initiative to free up the system? In Washington, D. C., the slogan is being used to promote an Educational Tax Credit Initiative similar to a proposal outlined in Ed Clark's White Paper on Education.

The D. C. Committee for Improved Education, a project supported by the National Taxpayers Union, is beginning to circulate its initiative petition to put the tax credit issue on the November, 1981, ballot. According to Jo Ann Willis, director of the committee and a former ballot drive coordinator for the Clark campaign, 26,000 signatures will be collected this spring and summer to qualify the proposal. The DC LP is participating in the drive.

Jule R. Herbert, Jr., Vice-President of the National Taxpayers Union, Treasurer of the Clark for President Committee and a member of the group which drafted the Clark White Paper, said the initiative is basically very simple: "If a taxpayer spends money for a child's education, that taxpayer would be able to subtract that amount of money from what he or she would otherwise pay in income taxes to D. C. — up to \$1200 per child and up to 100% of income tax owed." Herbert claims that the government-controlled schools in D. C. are recognized as being so bad — especially in the "inner city" areas — that NTU decided to help the local group rather than try the proposal again in California, where signature requirements are much higher and where two earlier attempts fell short of the required number of signatures. "We're working in California with CAST, which is very popular with local taxpayer groups, on a strict tax initiative. In the District, everybody's upset about the school rip-off."

Herbert points out that in the fall semester of 1980, a remarkable 10,646 of 21,538 primary school children failed to pass the simple "essential skills" test required for promotion.

The D. C. Committee for Improved Education is telling D. C. voters that families should pay for schools they choose, not for the schools they reject. For more information, contact Jo Ann Willis, 711 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, D. C. 20002, (202) 543-1300.

If you live in the Southeast, it is not too early to begin plans to be in Richmond, Virginia, June 26 - 28, for the Virginia LP sponsored Southeast Regional Convention.

Ed Clark will be a featured speaker. Panels and seminars on libertarian theory and on the "nuts and bolts" of actually running a campaign will be offered. Come to

REGIONAL REPORTS

Richmond in June and learn how to be an effective campaigner for 1982! Contact Michel La Vean, Convention Coordinator, 1710 Wilmington Avenue, Richmond, Virginia 23227, (804) 355-1923.

Region 4

by Tyler M. Olson

Few communities have as deep an understanding of what the Libertarian Party stands for as does Apache Junction, Arizona. Residents there, in a multi-partisan effort spearheaded by local Libertarians and supported by the Arizona LP, are on the verge of disincorporating their city. By all accounts this has never happened before anywhere in the country.

Disincorporation, under Arizona law, occurs when two-thirds of the qualified electors in a city sign petitions calling for the dissolution of their municipal government. No vote is required. To date, 2508 citizens have signed those petitions, far more than the probable number required. However, the mayor, city council, and various city bureaucrats refuse to give up without a fight. Using tax money, they are challenging the disincorporation efforts, forcing the Disincorporation Committee to file suit in Superior Court to clarify portions of the previously untested law. Judgement in the case has been delayed, pending verification of the petition signatures by county election officials. While awaiting this certification, the Committee has launched an effort to short-circuit the opposition by running four Committee members for seats on the City Council in elections to be held in March. If elected, they would control the council, and they have pledged to end all opposition to the disincorporation. As one candidate, LP County Chairman Bob Dugger, says in his campaign appearances, "I want to be the last City Councilman in Apache Junction. I promise to turn off the lights when I leave City Hall!"

Anyone wishing to contribute to the disincorporation legal fund can mail their check to either the Pinal County Libertarian Committee or the Disincorporation Committee at 1484 West Apache Trail, Apache Junction, Arizona 85220. Bob Dugger can be reached at (602) 982-6812 or 982-6810 and Committee Chairman Joe Saggio (also a LP member, recently elected to the Apache Junction School Board) at (602) 982-2389. A copy of the 12-minute segment of "NBC Magazine" about the disincorporation effort will be made free of charge for anyone

providing the Committee with a blank videocassette.

Elsewhere, Phoenix Libertarians have formed the "Liberty/Phoenix Committee" to field libertarian candidates for that city's technically non-partisan elections in November and December. The Arizona LP will hold its State Convention May 16-17, in Scottsdale, with Bob Poole, David Bergland and David Nolan as featured speakers. For further information on these items contact Tyler Olson at 212 N. 32nd Street, #3, Phoenix, Arizona 85034. My phone is (602) 275-9478.

Region 17

by Gary Greenberg

Most FLP chapters have started to emerge from the post-election winter hibernation porcupine and have started to hold regular meetings and planning sessions. One of the most successful of these initial events found over 50 Libertarians turning out on a cold blustery winter's day to attend the NYCFLP Dinner Club where Gary Greenberg, Murray Rothbard and Chuck Pike reviewed the lessons of the Clark campaign.

The move to a new headquarters was completed by mid-January and once again Big Apple Libertarians are turning out in copious numbers every Tuesday and Thursday night. All correspondence should be addressed to us at 225 Lafayette St., New York, New York, 10012. Our phone number is 212-226-6483.

The FLP now publishes *The New York Libertarian*, a quality bimonthly newspaper that covers New York State current events and FLP activities. It is receiving much praise and we are quite proud of it. (we will send a sample if you send a SASE.)

The Fall elections loom important in upcoming FLP activities. In April, the New York City FLP will select a candidate to run against the Mayatollah Koch. Other chapters are also talking of running local races and we may see campaigns in Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Binghamton, Nassau and Suffolk.

The Albany Libertarians are busy coordinating the FLP State Convention to be held in Albany the weekend of May 30-31. The speakers schedule isn't complete yet but confirmed speakers include Ed Clark, Dr. Peter Breggin, Roy Childs, Gary Greenberg and Ann Wortham.

Suffolk Libertarian activist Virginia Walker has been incredibly busy taping a series of twenty one-minute interviews about the Libertarian Party to be broadcast over WRCN-FM. She

has also had two articles published in local newspapers dealing with the kinds of problems the government creates for Suffolk's poor and sick.

John Chodes, head of the FLP Editorial Reply committee, isn't satisfied burning up the NYC airwaves. He is now branching out for an interview on Suffolk's Channel 67.

Members continue to be active in writing letters to the editor of their local newspapers. Bill Kloppenburg was published in Long Island's *Newsday*. Virginia Walker had letters printed in the Shelter Island *Reporter* and the Greenport *Suffolk Times*. In Buffalo, Mike James had letters in both the Buffalo *Evening News* and the Buffalo *Courier-Express*. Bob Goodman had a letter in the New York *Daily News*. (In Rochester, in the month before the election, FLPers had fifteen letters in the two Rochester dailies.)

Membership still come in at a steady pace and we expect to start several new chapters in the next few months.

Region 6

by Della Scott

The Montana L.P. has introduced a bill in the Montana Legislature that would greatly reduce future petitioning requirements. The bill, which passed the House of Representatives 90-0 and is now pending in the Senate, would allow all L.P. candidates to participate in the June primary by filing 9,978 valid signatures.

Under current Montana law no provision exists that allows a party's candidates to appear on the ballot by a single petition. Instead, each candidate must file a separate petition, which means that in 1982, to place a U.S. Senate and two House candidates on the ballot the L.P. must collect nearly 20,000 valid signatures. In addition, another 20 petitions and 2000 signatures must be collected to place on the ballot the 20 candidates the party expects to run for the state legislature.

If the bill passes, the Montana L.P. intends to begin its petition drive this Summer and complete it by the Fall. If the bill fails, which seems unlikely at this point, the party will nominate federal candidates at its convention this June and immediately thereafter begin its petition drive for them, again with the expectation of finishing before Fall.

In other areas, the membership drive spearheaded by Della Scott looks like a success. In the first month membership increased 30%.

The Montana LP Platform committee, chaired by Chris Mullin, is preparing a draft to have ready for vote in the state convention this June in Billings.

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Reviewed in this issue of *Libertarian News*. (pb., \$6.95)

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Thorough examination of conscription, its purpose, its history, its impact. Argues that the draft is unnecessary to maintain national defense (pamphlet \$1.50)

The Incredible Bread Machine, various authors.

Introductory book on the free market vs. government intervention. Explodes many of the popular myths about state action. (pb., \$2.95)

Unemployment and Monetary Policy: Government as Generator of the Business Cycle, F. A. Hayek.

Exposition of the causal relationship between inflation and unemployment. Includes Hayek's important Nobel prize essay. (pb., \$2.00)

The Libertarian Alternative: Essays in Social and Political Philosophy, ed. by Tibor Machan.

Wide-ranging collection of essays on libertarian theory and analysis, covering such areas as ethics, economics, foreign affairs, etc. Includes many important essays, such as Murray Rothbard's "War, Peace and the State." (pb., \$11.95)

Never Again: Learning from America's Foreign Policy Failures, Earl Ravenal.

Analysis of recent American foreign policy. Argues for a fundamental rethinking of foreign policy. Written by a leading analyst and primary foreign policy advisor to Ed Clark's 1980 presidential campaign. (pb., \$7.95)

The Political Economy of Liberal Corporatism, ed. by Walter Grinder.

Historical analyses of government intervention. Argues that intervention serves to transfer wealth from the poor and middle classes to powerful political interests. Important reading for an understanding of twentieth century politics and the roots of government regulation. (pamphlet, \$1.00)

Economics in One Lesson, Henry Hazlitt.

Easy introduction to an often difficult subject. Intended to help the reader understand the effects of government economic policy. (pb., \$4.95/hb., \$8.95)

The Law, Frederic Bastiat.

Classic polemic against statism by crusading nineteenth century French libertarian economist. Dated but excellent. (pb., \$2.00)

What Has Government Done to Our Money?, Murray N. Rothbard.

Brilliant introduction to the economics of inflation. Explains the function, origin, and history of money, as well as the disastrous consequences of its control by the state. (pamphlet, \$1.00)

The Fallacy of the Mixed Economy, Stephen Littlechild.

Explodes the idea of a "mixed economy" and argues for a free market. Powerful application of "Austrian" economic theory to political economy. (pb., \$2.00)

Winning Campaigns With Publicity, Hank Parkinson.

Introductory "how-to" book on local media relations, geared to campaigns at state legislative level or lower. Treatment of techniques is superb; treatment of strategy is unprincipled and not recommended. (pb. reprint, \$8.00)

Uncle Sam's Apartheid: The New Jim Crow Laws, Walter Williams.

Thorough analysis of how government intervention hurts minorities and the poor. Williams presents his argument with unassailable logic and thorough documentation. Highly recommended. (article reprint, \$1.00)

Letters To The Editor And You

Libertarian Party National Headquarters receives requests from people all over the country on how they can help inform more voters about the Libertarian alternative of peace, justice, and freedom. Writing letters to the editor is a tried and true, low cost technique that can be utilized by *anyone*. Of course, there is no substitute for a well organized grass roots organization, but many people find themselves unable, for various reasons, to become involved locally. That, however, shouldn't stop them from waging an effective one-person campaign that will bring the Libertarian message to thousands of Americans. Local organizers can also supplement their efforts by writing letters to the editor, thus "softening up" voters for other forms of contact by increasing their awareness of libertarianism and the Libertarian Party.

Newspaper readership surveys show that more people read the letters to the editor column than read the editorials that appear alongside them. Only the first page has more readers.

Try to write letters on the average of one a week. They can be about the Libertarian Party in general or, even better, can respond to an article by a political columnist or an editorial stand that the publication has taken, outlining the alternative offered by the Libertarian Party. Writers might point out that the Libertarian Party was on the ballot in every state in 1980 and that approximately two-and-one-half million Americans voted Libertarian. Writers may also point out that the Libertarian Party represents an attractive, coherent, and humane alternative to "politics-as-usual." If you are responding to a column or editorial, make a brief and clear case for the contrasting or complementary libertarian position.

Following are a few "do's and don'ts" that should serve as guidelines for your own letters to the editor campaign:

Do's.

1. Make an effort to be polite and objective. Even those who initially take strong exception to your views will be more favorably impressed by a well thought out and temperately worded letter.
2. Make sure that you know your facts and can document any specific assertion you make.
3. Use materials provided by the Libertarian Party as your reference material. This can include brochures, *Libertarian News*, Ed Clark's *A New Beginning*, etc.
4. Make your letter brief, clear, and to the point. Long letters are generally not printed and if printed are not read. Keep your letter between 100 and 200 words.
5. Letters should be neatly typed and double spaced, with your address and phone number in the upper right hand and your name and signature at the bottom.

Don'ts.

1. Don't send the same letter as someone else. Put your message in your own words.
2. Don't write inflammatory letters. Low key and reasonable is the best approach to promoting notions with far reaching implications.
3. Don't question the morals or integrity of the editors or of other writers. Your statement should be positive not griping or negative.

You can start your own one-person campaign today. Get the address of your local papers from the editorial page and send off a letter about libertarianism and the Libertarian Party. Your fifteen cents will reach thousands of interested and concerned Americans.

Libertarian Student Organizing

What would be the perfect environment in which to spread Libertarian ideas?

In the best of all possible worlds, we might ask for a population of intelligent people who are accustomed to dealing with ideas. We might want them to be constantly exposed to new approaches so that our radical suggestions would not be frightening. We might want them to be young, so they would possess few prejudices and preconceived notions, and because young people are often in search of new directions. And we might want them to be unencumbered by the demands of job and family, so they would have enough time on their hands to think out our proposals, talk to each other about them and become actively involved in working for them.

Such a population exists, of course — on the nation's high school and college campuses. There are twelve million college students in America, and many more in high school — large numbers of whom are ready and waiting for a brand new approach to politics which contains none of the contradictions and hypocrisies of the left or the right, and which respects the rights of others to determine the course of their own lives. During Ed Clark's presidential campaign, his most enthusiastic audiences were student audiences; students' energy and enthusiasm contributed substantially to the campaigns of hundreds of local Libertarian candidates; many of our finest activists have come from the ranks of libertarian students.

These successes demonstrate that there is no type of libertarian organizing more important than libertarian campus organizing. Fortunately, there is already quite an established libertarian student movement, with discussion and study groups, political activism and literature distribution going on every day at hundreds of campuses around

the country. Every libertarian ought to join or help this vital libertarian network in some way.

The Libertarian Party has attractive and persuasive literature and other materials for distribution on campuses and elsewhere. If you are a student, you can receive a "campus organizing packet" for \$10 (\$25 value). Send a check and a letter to "Campus Organizing Packet," Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20007. Work with your local Libertarian Party affiliate (see directory in this issue) — they should be willing to provide help and valuable resources.

One organization that has already done a great deal of work in this area is Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS, 2262 Hall Place, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20007, 202-965-6997). Called by *Newsweek* "the hottest new political movement on campus," SLS has active chapters on over 100 college and high school campuses. It is not affiliated with the Libertarian Party, but is an independent student organization with a track record of effective activism. They publish a monthly newspaper, *Liberty*, that covers the student libertarian movement (subscriptions are \$5 per year and are included in membership dues, \$10 for college students, \$5 for high school students, and \$15 for non-students) and provides brochures, booklets, and books on libertarianism and current events. SLS also provides an inexpensive and informative study guide to libertarianism.

If you are not a student but are interested in helping students organize in your area, contact your local party affiliate and offer your services. Lists of student libertarians are available from Libertarian National Headquarters and from SLS. Remember, the leaders of tomorrow are on campus today.

LP PUBLICATIONS DIRECTOR

The Libertarian National Committee may consider hiring a publications director in May or June. Individuals interested in applying for the position should submit a resume and a sample of writing ability to Eric O'Keefe, National Director, Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20007. Responsibilities will include development of literature and managing editorship of *Libertarian News*. Salary requirements (ha ha) should be specified.

CHANGING YOUR ADDRESS?

If you are moving or otherwise changing your address, please let us know. Just clip the address label from this issue of *Libertarian News* and send it with your new correct address to Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20007. That way you'll continue to receive your subscription to *Libertarian News* — as well as other information from the LP — without delay.

Student Internships Available

Libertarian National Headquarters has openings for a limited number of student interns for the summer and fall of 1981. The program will include lectures and instructional seminars led by leading libertarian intellectuals and scholars. Students should check with their school administrations about the availability of credit for supervised internships in Washington. If you are interested, send a request for more information to Student Internships, Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20007.

Region 6, continued from page 6

Flathead county Libertarians are planning a Thomas Jefferson birthday party in Kalispell April 13th.

A county-by-county breakdown of the Clark vote in Montana will appear in the March/April *Porcupine*. This material was prepared by Montanans for Clark coordinator, Don Doig, and those requesting this issue of the *Porcupine* may send a 15c stamp to Box 7272, Missoula, Mt., 59807. In one precinct in Missoula county, Clark received 10.6%.

Montana LP T-shirts will soon be available.

The Utah LP is mainly concentrating on improving their newsletter (Utah Liberty) and completing the ballot drive for 1982. They need 500 signatures with 10 from each of 10 different counties, not as easy as it sounds, since many counties in Utah are extremely sparsely populated.

Utah libertarians are also looking forward to seeing an educational tax credit bill introduced in Utah.

The Utah LP plans a Summer convention.

Libertarian activity in Idaho has been heaviest in the Southern part of the state. Ada county (Boise) had its annual convention January 21st. Boise State University economics professor and Libertarian Barry Asmus was one of the speakers. The LP of Ada county is still maintaining its Boise telephone and headquarters. Write them at Box 205, Boise, Idaho 83707.

They have a newsletter. Student activists are also forming an SLS chapter at BSU.

The newly-formed Bingham county (Blackfoot) party also meets monthly.

Della Scott of Missoula, Montana is serving as Region 6 representative through April 12th. Wes Deitchler of Forsyth, Mt. will serve April 13th through the August convention.

Region 5

by Rick White

Jerry Baldwin has donated space in his print business office for the Libertarian Party of Nevada State Office. His donation of space along with the donations and pledges of many other Nevada Libertarians (in the form of cash) have made it possible for us to reopen our state office. We have been fortunate enough to retain Debbie "George" Hassler as our interim State Coordinator. With inexhaustible energy and unbelievable efficiency, she's cleaned up the organizational mess that accumulated as everyone recuperated from the elections. Because of "George" and the state office, we have been able to plan and develop several new projects.

We mounted a membership drive

effort to increase participation and augment our representation at the Denver convention this August. Instrumental in this effort, which consisted mainly of a mailer and follow-up phone contact, were; Ron Wittig, Don Duncan, John Ketchum, Pete O'Brien, Rick White, Frank Marzano, and Bill Carlyle.

George prepared and mailed a Libertarian Speaker's Bureau promotion to all the schools and many service organizations across the state. This let them know that speakers were available for classes and programs and is part of a continuing effort to maintain a high visibility within the state.

Don Darling worked with Libertarian Review and, by putting together a list of all libraries in the state, created an attractive project package. For \$6.00 a subscription, (or a total of about \$360.00) Libertarian Review can be sent to every library in the state. Because the results are so readily apparent and for many other related reasons, it has been easy to raise money for this project which is already about 2/3 funded!

About 80% of the population of Nevada is in two counties, Washoe Co. (around Reno) and Clark Co. (around Las Vegas). We have active organizations in both counties. But in the rest of the so-called "Cow Counties," we haven't been able to develop active organizations. The sparse population and large distances make it quite difficult. But Don Darling and Danny Becan have undertaken a project to organize several of these "Cow Counties." Don has made several preliminary exploratory trips, and Danny is already cultivating several prospective activists.

We are planning close coordination with the LNC Finance Committee fundraising effort in March, and hope to get more solid financial backing as a result of the 50% share the state organization will get. Everyone really seems enthusiastic about this project.

Unfortunately we are losing one of our most tireless activists. Ron Wittig, our Clark Co. Chair and one hell of a good diesel mechanic as well, is leaving. But Nevada's loss is Idaho's gain. He's already been in touch with Larry Fullmer, and I'm sure Idaho libertarians are in for a big boost. We all wish you a great baked potato, Ron!!

Region 2

by Bruce Lagasse

The major recent activity was the California Libertarian Council/Libertarian Party of California state

REGIONAL REPORTS

Convention held over the weekend of Feb. 13-16. (Note: The Council is the dues-paying, membership organization; the Party is the official, California-mandated organization of registered Libertarians.)

Approximately 350-400 people attended at least one event, with over 130 delegates debating Constitution/By-Laws, adopting resolutions, picking National Convention delegates and electing new officers. The new state chairman of the Council is long-time LP activist Mike Hall; the new chairman of the Party is current LNC member Bill Evers, replacing Jack Sanders, who stepped down in the middle of his two-year term. Some Convention highlights:

- * A Sunday night Banquet Roast of Ed Clark
 - * Dan Mahaffey receiving the second annual Karl Bray Award for distinguished activism
 - * A heavily attended, lively debate between David Friedman and George Smith on the best ways to promote libertarianism
 - * A vote to hold next year's Convention on board the liner Queen Mary in Long Beach harbor
- A significant resolution was adopted. It gave the endorsement of the California Libertarian Council to LP members Earl Smith and Zach Richardson, both candidates for the non-partisan office of Mayor of Los Angeles.

Aside from the Convention, the most significant local activity appears to be the candidacies of Zach Richardson and Earl Smith for mayor of Los Angeles; numerous local libertarians are involved in both the Smith and Richardson campaigns. Some degree of media coverage has been generated so far, with more to come, undoubtedly, as the campaign (including incumbent Tom Bradley and former mayor Sam Yorty) heats up.

Region 13

by Phil Carden

Louisiana's LP organization plans its 1980 convention March 14 in the Baton Rouge Hilton, and the Tennessee party leaders are now planning their state convention to be held in a Cumberland Mountains retreat in May with a minimum of business on the agenda.

Louisiana LP Treasurer Noah Fruge of Metairie is the man to contact in Louisiana; Statement Chairman Bob Chapuis of Nashville for Tennessee.

Tennessee hosted a second Michael Emerling workshop on the "Art of Political Persuasion" in Nashville the

weekend of February 21-22, which drew about the same number of participants as his highly successful one last August in Memphis.

Both Memphis and Nashville monthly meetings continue to attract some of the increased attendance noticed during the fall campaign, but West Tennessee has produced the most recent new memberships. Was that because of the Memphis legislative races of Perry Boling and Shirley Lamar or Emerling's August workshop, or both?

Diane Tudor of Lake Charles is now Louisiana's "unofficial, temporary, acting chairman," giving Tristan Junius of New Orleans a rest after his multi-hat performance last fall as state chairman. Clark campaign chairman, legislative candidate -- and law school student. Tristan is still chairman of the Committee to Aboish the Postal Monopoly, according to Chris Gould's February newsletter, appropriately titled in Cajun French as "Liberte."

Crayton "Sparky" Hall has formed a Libertarian Club in Baton Rouge, of which more will doubtless be heard later.

Meanwhile Sparky is looking into a newly discovered kink in Louisiana's election laws and administration that may allow Louisiana Libertarians to seek ballot status by the registration route. He says Libertarian Lawyer Henry Dart is going to help check out his theory. The main problem may be moving the election bureaucracy to re-read the law and re-program their checks and computer system uniformly throughout the state.

Region 16

The Pennsylvania party has set a goal of running 50 candidates in 1981 in various municipal and county races all across the state. The reason for running so many candidates is to keep the Libertarian message before the voters, to build up local organizations, and to prepare candidates for the important races in 1982 when the LPP hopes to secure permanent ballot status through campaigns for Governor, Lt. Governor, Senator, and all twenty-three House seats.

The State Chairman, Dave Walter, has expanded the Board of Directors, appointed chairmen to various committees, and divided the state into seven regions. The organizational goal is to have functioning LPP organizations in 50 of the state's 67 counties by January 1982. "It is extremely important to have the LPP active on grass-roots levels. The media visibility is high, the opportunities to run candidates is greater, and the task of educating new

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March-April, 1981

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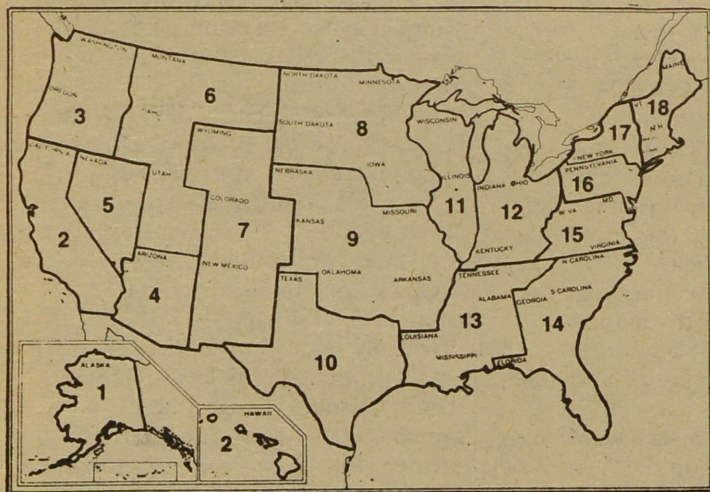
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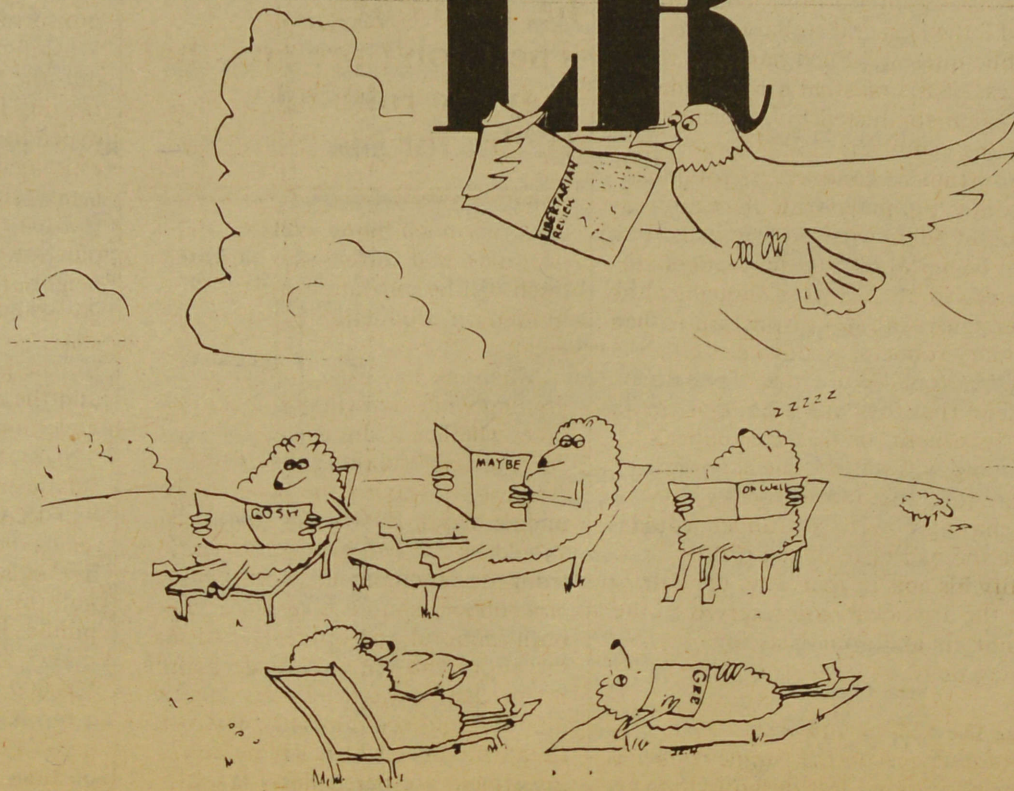
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Taxation: Is It Voluntary?

Murray Rothbard

Every individual, group, organization, and institution in society gets income in one of two ways: either through voluntary purchase by users or consumers of its goods or services, or through voluntary contributions by members or donors. In either case the payment of money is optional, reflecting either a desire to buy the organization's products or to advance its activity. There is, of course, an exception: theft. The thief or robber gets his income not by voluntary purchase or gifts, but by forcing funds from his victim through violence or the threat of violence. The thief gains his income at the expense of his victims.

There is another glaring exception to this social rule of voluntary payment and income. That exception is *government*, which obtains its revenue (called "taxes") in precisely the same way. Taxation is a compulsory levy that no person or institution is allowed to consider or reject. Just as the holdup man obtains his revenue by threatening harm to anyone who might dare refuse, so the government threatens further confiscation and ultimately imprisonment should anyone refuse to pay (and further violence should the victim "resist arrest").

The point, then, is that there is no difference between taxation and robbery. Since any organization that systematically employs robbery to obtain its income is defined as a criminal organization, we must conclude that government — *all* government — is an organization of robbers. If anyone should balk at this startling idea, I challenge him to sit down and try to work out a definition of robbery that does not *also* apply to taxation. For what else is the compulsory extraction of funds, with violence employed if demands are not met?

There are, of course, many social differences, but they stem not from a real distinction in action, but from contrasting social *attitudes* toward the two kinds of payment and organization. No organization would ever sponsor a symposium on whether robbery is a good or a bad thing, whether it should be abolished or fostered. Virtually everyone despises crime; the only arguments revolve about *how* crime can be reduced or eliminated. Even the mightiest criminal syndicate lacks sympathy or legitimacy in the eyes of the public, and it is always on the run. Such is scarcely true of government. On the contrary, government officials generally enjoy high status in the

community, and their extortions are hailed as essential to the "common good," the "general welfare," and the "public interest." Such has been the success of the massive propaganda campaign conducted by governments over the centuries.

Government conducts its robberies on a much grander scale than any group of acknowledged criminals. Far from being on the run, its leaders are revered, sometimes even thought of as sovereigns. Another distinction is that ordinary robbers, whatever else they may be, aren't hypocrites. They don't pretend that they are robbing a victim for his benefit, or that the robber's spending will stabilize the economy, create jobs and add to society's purchasing power. No robber would have the bad taste or the gall to justify his acts in that way; the gall and the arguments are reserved to the organizers and apologists for government.

Take the Money and Run

Another reason the simple robber is more decent and less despotic than government is that after robbing you, he at least has the good grace to *leave you alone*. The government, far from leaving you alone, is always at your side, insisting on annual compulsory tribute, calling itself your "sovereign," ordering you to salute its battle flag and forcing you to fight for it when it wishes to conduct battles against rival gangs in remote climes. And to make sure that you and future generations will put up with this system without much complaint, it forces your children into its "educational" centers where it promotes the virtues of obedience to its authority. Furthermore, the robber confines himself to spending his ill-gotten gains on his own private consumption. The government, while of course doing the same, also spends a large portion of its loot on propagandizing us on its behalf and, what is more, on forcing us to act in ways *it* considers moral. Think of it. Society's mightiest and most hypocritical collection of gangsters has managed to allot to itself the role of guardian of the public's "morality." No Mafioso would ever contemplate behaving with such colossal effrontery.

Once one realizes that taxation is organized theft, the social and economic effects become clear. For the state exists as a parasite upon both producers and consumers. The greater the tax load, the lower the standard of living of the producers, and the lower the incentive for producers to continue working and saving. As in every kind of parasitism, the host body is less and less able to produce for itself as the parasite grows fat; if the parasite

Ordinary robbers, whatever else they may be, aren't hypocrites. They don't pretend that they are robbing a victim for his benefit...

does too much blood sucking, the host dies, and so then the parasite. Such will be our fate if the tax burden on production becomes too great.

Much ink has been spilled on arguing what *form* taxation should take: whether it should be "progressive" (taxing the rich) or "regressive" (taxing the poor or the middle class). By arguing about *who* should be robbed we divert attention from the fundamental issue: whether *any* robbery should take place. It is both immoral and oppressive to tax the poor, who are only made poorer by the depredation, but it is equally immoral and economically destructive to tax the rich, whose saving and investment are particularly taxed. Progressive taxation is simply the old highwayman's practice of extracting money from the most promising targets.

There is another neglected point that should be made about progressive income taxation. Most people think that it taxes "the rich." What it really does is to tax not those who have capital but those who currently are earning income. It taxes not so much those who are *already* rich, as those who are trying to *become* rich. In short, progressive income taxation injures those who are successfully trying to compete with the current rich, and thus impedes mobility and the ability of people to better their lot.

Take from the Rich and Take from the Poor

As government has grown in our society, however, it has found that there aren't enough rich people, and so the poor and the middle class are taxed heavily too. Conservatives who oppose progressive taxation in our day have their priorities wrong; it is not the poor who are robbing the rich, but the government that is robbing both, and every income group in between. The "welfare state," like the other slogans of government, is nothing but a racket. Two examples will suffice. Herriott and Miller (writing in *The Conference Board Record*, May 1971) have estimated that people in 1968 making less than \$2,000 a year paid, on the average, 50 percent of their income in taxes of all kinds, while those making \$50,000 a year and more paid 45 percent of their income in taxes. A fascinating study was made by Earl

Mellor for the Institute for Policy Studies of the money paid to the federal government in taxes, compared to the money paid out by the government in the low-income mixed race area of Shaw-Cardozo in Washington, DC. The money flowing into the area from the government, ranging from welfare benefits to expenditures on public schools, was estimated at \$45.7 million. But the total outflow of taxes from Shaw-Cardozo came to \$50.0 million, a net out-flow from the low-income neighborhood of \$4.3 million to the government. So much for the "welfare state," which is welfare not so much for the poor, as for public officials and the other recipients of government's largess and subsidies.

If we take a close look at the salaries of government officials we will see that in fact they pay *no taxes at all*. Tax payments by bureaucrats are an accounting fiction, designed to gull the unfortunate tax-paying public. Suppose that a bureaucrat makes \$50,000 a year, and pays \$20,000 taxes; in actual fact, he is not a net taxpayer at all, but a net "tax consumer" (to use the happy phrase of John C. Calhoun 160 years ago). He is really living off your taxes and mine to the tune of \$30,000.

As Calhoun also pointed out (at a time where taxation was minimal.) the very existence of taxation sets up two mighty and conflicting classes in society: the net taxpayers, and the net tax consumers. The latter live off the former group. As the tax burden grows, the class conflict in society is aggravated, for it becomes ever more important for persons to join the tax consumer group and to escape the ranks of the burdened taxpayers. The scramble to get funds from the government trough accelerates, and class conflict, not just the burden of parasitism on the economy, intensifies.

Of all the forms of taxation, the worst and most oppressive is the income tax, but not primarily because the income tax is more or less "progressive" than other taxes (although no other tax can single out and loot the rich *and* the poor in quite as effective and drastic a way). The main evil of the income tax is that it provides a method by which the government pries into the lives and actions of every citizen in the country. No one is safe from the legalized spying of the Internal Revenue Service. We now know that IRS files have been used by whatever regime happened to be in power to harass political dissidents. The income tax is the single most oppressive institution in modern life.

The Cheating Kind

It is a good thing that despite centuries of persistent propaganda the average citizen has an intuitive

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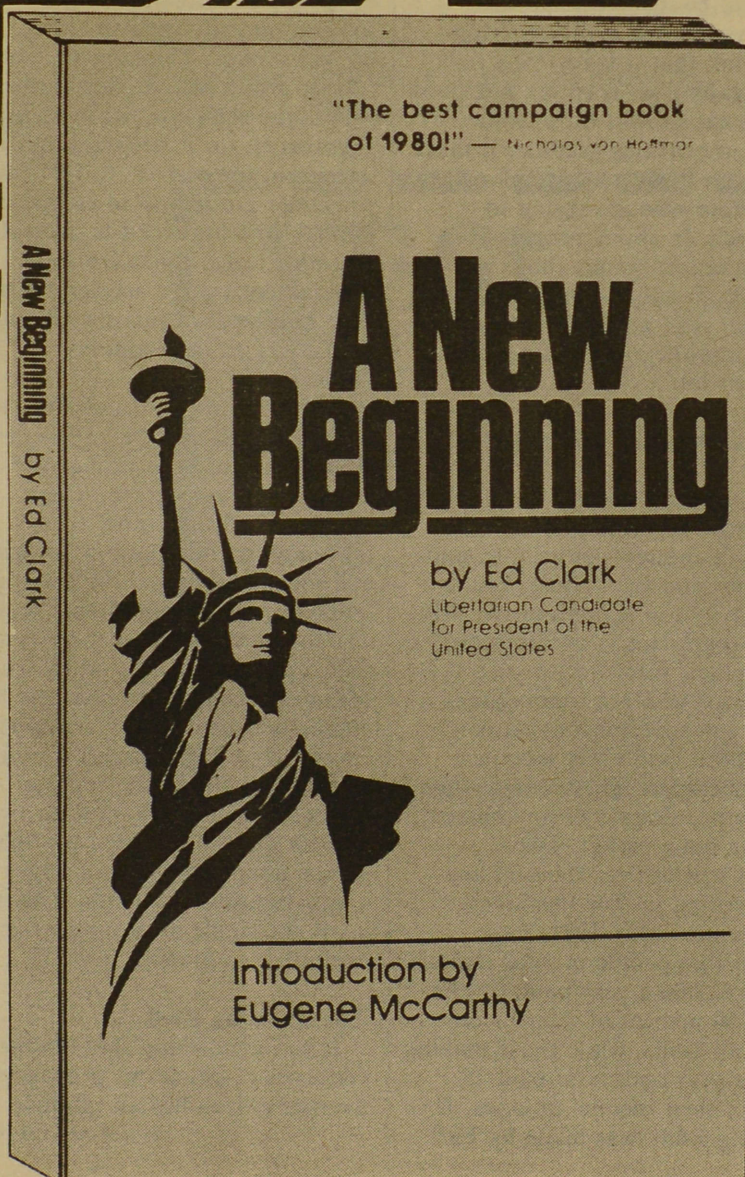
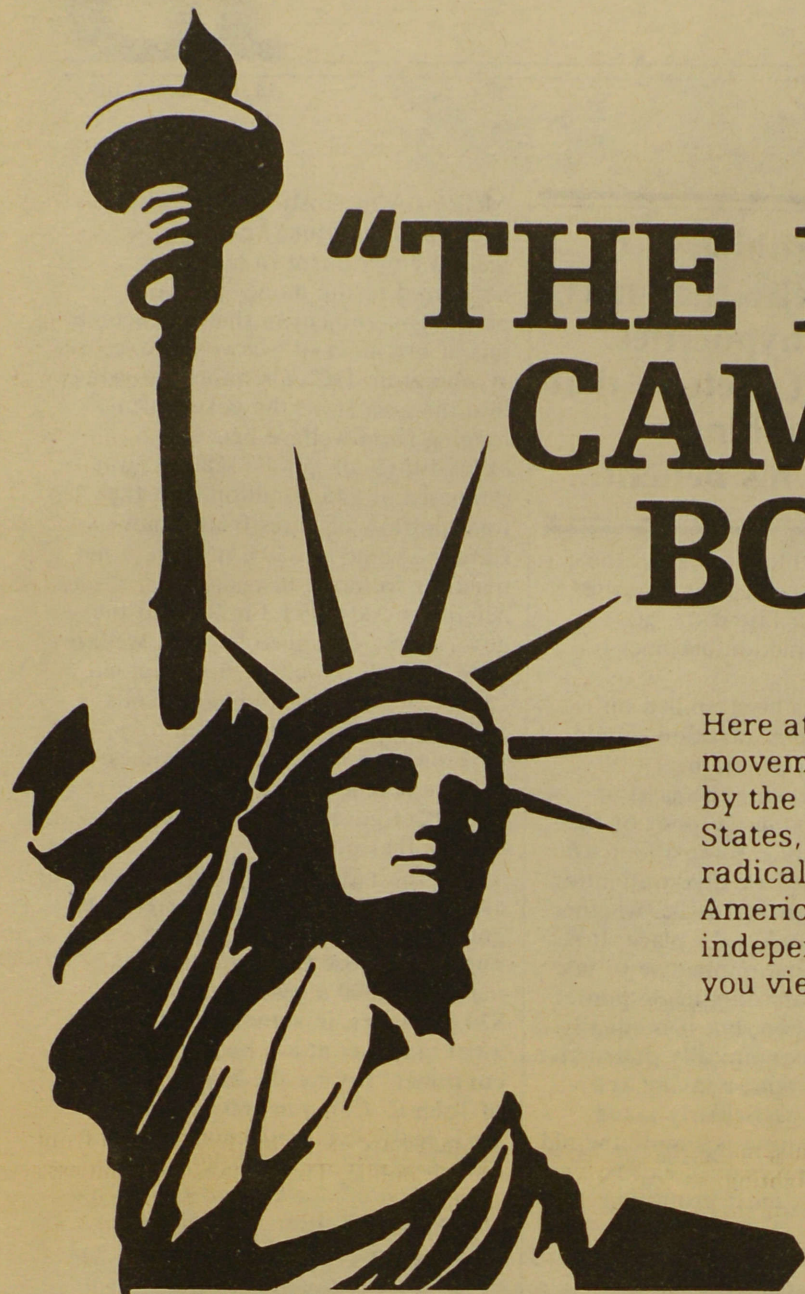
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Taxation, continued from page 13

perception of the truth that taxation is robbery, and that the income tax is the major culprit. Most people think it's immoral to cheat friends, neighbors and business associates. Yet, how many people consider it *immoral* to cheat on their income tax returns? Even now, income-tax cheating and evasion is widespread; the only thing that inhibits it is not moral qualms but the perfectly sensible fear of getting caught. As H.L. Mencken wrote 60 years ago:

When a private citizen is robbed a worthy man is deprived of the fruits of industry and thrift; when the government is robbed the worst that happens is that certain rogues and loafers have less money to play with than they had before. The notion that they have earned that money is never entertained; to most sensible men it would seem ludicrous. They are simply rascals who, by accidents of law, have a somewhat dubious right to a share in the earnings of their fellow men.

Yet the myth propounded by political scientists, economists and other apologists for government is that taxation is "really" voluntary, that the people freely decide to pay taxes in return for the numerous "services" the government performs.

In contrast, the great economist Joseph Schumpeter chided:

...ever since the princes' feudal incomes ceased to be of major importance, the State has been living on a revenue which was being produced in the private sphere for private purposes and had to be deflected from these purposes by political force. The theory which construes taxes on the analogy of club dues or of the purchase of services of, say, a doctor, only proves how far removed this part of the social sciences is from scientific habits of mind.

All right, there is an easy way to settle this dispute, a way that would also have the incidental benefit of removing the parasitic blight of organized robbery from our social and economic life. Let us try a noble experiment: let all levels of government — federal, state and local — remove compulsion from the tax system. Let them repeal all the penalties for nonpayment of taxes. Let the various governments issue requests for funds, let them put the public on the "honor system" and convert taxes to the status of donations to the Salvation Army, and let them see what happens. Let us see how much revenue would then flow freely to the coffers of government. I would predict very little, while presumably the apologists for our tax system would say that government revenues would be sustained at almost the current level. Let's find out. And, as we find out, we will also remove the criminality from government's

The main evil of the income tax is that it provides a method by which the government pries into the lives and actions of every citizen in the country.

inflow of funds, and convert government to the status of every other social institution whose income is a voluntary expression of consumer or donor support. The people would then be supporting only that level of government that they truly *wish* to support.

If people voluntarily pay only a small sum to government, wouldn't that mean a drastic reduction in the supply of government services they enjoy? Yes, but it would also mean that the people *prefer* to spend their own earnings on the other goods and services that they enjoy in the private sector. Why not let us — the people — make our own choices with the fruits of our own work and energy? To say otherwise, to endorse the government's power to coerce people into paying its revenue, is to enshrine the principle of dictatorship and despotism and to violate the essential principles of individual freedom and cooperation that are the glories of America's heritage.

Serving No Purpose

In fact, of the services government supposedly provides, many are services only in the sense of a grisly jest. Robbery and compulsion serve us ill. Controls and regulations prevent us from doing what we want to do with our own lives and property; coerced "morality" prevents all of us from making our *own* moral choices and decisions. And those services that government *does* perform it renders badly and inefficiently, as does any coercive monopolist (that is, anyone who has a government license to perform a service free from competition).

How could the free market supply essential services that we have come to think of as uniquely governmental? No one can blueprint the market in advance, for there is no way to predict, in any particular industry, what forms creative energy will take, or what will be profitable. But some broad prognoses can be made. In the case of the postal service, the task is easy; for with the disappearance of the lumbering postal monopoly, competing firms will leap into the breach to fulfill the demands of the consumers. During the 19th century, when the US government allowed private competition in the postal service, private mail deliverers lowered the price of mail and

pioneered innovations in postal service. Consider the more complex case of fire fighting. If government fire departments were eliminated, there might be a return to the older system — still in force in many small towns today — of volunteer fire fighting teams drawn from the community. In the larger cities volunteerism is inefficient; paid, professional fire fighters are needed to provide round-the-clock service. In that case, fire fighting companies would spring up in the market, charging a fee for their services. To obviate the problem of paying per fire, most homeowners and landlords could pay a monthly or annual premium, putting the fire fighters on a retainer basis. In short, fire service would be paid for in the manner of insurance, with regular premiums paying for services when needed. Indeed, it is probable that fire insurance companies themselves would include the fire fighting services in their premiums, for insurance companies have a built-in interest in seeing to it that the fire damage suffered by their clients be as small as possible. On the other hand, those people who are capable of putting out their own fires or who have built their houses with specially fire-proof materials, may prefer not to pay for any fire fighting services. Residents of Hispanic-American neighborhoods may prefer to patronize Spanish-speaking fire companies. Each homeowner is permitted to choose and pay for any form of fire fighting that he prefers. In this way, the free market allows a maximum range of individual choice, while actual or potential competition keeps costs low and the quality of service high. And the private firemen, eager to please their customers, will scarcely stoop to the common arrogant practice of government firemen of wantonly destroying more of the fire victims' property, through ax and water, than might be lost in the fire itself. Private fire companies depend for their income on satisfied customers, while government fire departments mulch the hapless coerced taxpayer.

Similar solutions could be worked out for the supply of all services now performed by government. At one time or other in the past, all of these services were supplied in the free market; now of course they could be performed with the aid of modern technology.

Let the Market Decide

Let's pause for a moment to consider the opposing view. Suppose that the advocates of taxation are right, that taxation is legitimate and moral, that the people are in some sense "voluntarily" paying taxes for services offered them by the government. In that case, *what criteria* can the pro-taxers offer for *how high* taxation should be and who

should be taxed? The private market offers a variety of goods and services, each one of them desired by various members of the consuming public. And yet, we all know that there can be too much of a good thing: we don't put *all* our resources, all of our land, labor and capital, for example, into hi-fi sets, or bread, or bubble gum or concerts. For the more resources that go into these products, the *less* can go into the production of still other goods and services desired by consumers. There must be a balance between all these desired products. One of the glorious things about the free market is that it *itself* provides such a balance without coercion. If too much of one thing is produced and too little of another, costs become higher than prices in the first industry, businesspeople suffer losses, and resources flow into those industries where profits can be made because not enough is being produced. Thus the price system, and profit-and-loss signals on the free market, direct all resources in such a way as to supply efficiently for consumers the most desired goods and services.

But where are the criteria for taxation for government services? The answer is that *there are none*, because taxes are extracted by coercion from the public. Those taxes are limitless, for there is no built-in balance to keep them in check. There is no profit-and-loss test for government activities, because the government can always cover its inefficiencies by taxing the public still more. And so, even if we believed that all government services were beneficial, there is no way to keep them in balance with private services; the tax level and who pays the taxes are purely arbitrary, necessarily decided not by economic criteria (for there are none) but by who controls the levers of political power. Taxes and government spending grow and feed upon themselves until the productive economy — and individual freedom — shrivel and die.

Thus, taxation is more than organized theft; it is an arbitrary system that leaves us at sea without a rudder. Apologists for statism have long led us to believe that freedom, while cherished by most of us, can only bring "chaos," while taxation and government action are needed to impose "order." In truth it is freedom and the free market that give us a balanced and harmonious economic order; it is government and taxation that bring chaos and arbitrary power.

The choice is quite clear. It is between freedom, prosperity and order on the one hand; taxation, tyranny, impoverishment and chaos on the other. Faced with the fundamental choice, we should see clearly that what we desperately need to do is not to limit or reform the tax system, but to abolish it.

Libertarian News Interview

Kenai Borough Mayor Stan Thompson

Libertarian News — You ran a hard campaign, I know. What can you tell other Libertarian candidates about your experiences as a candidate?

Thompson — I'm not certain at all that I know the answer. You know each area would be different. In my area people are conservative. They are also very concerned citizens. They really know what the issues are and they're interested. Libertarians are a minority here. But we have a very good reputation due to our statewide work on repealing the income tax, which I co-sponsored with Dick Randolph and on the Tundra Rebellion, which I also co-sponsored.

Libertarian News — Did you find that you had to sell your campaign in terms of emphasizing some issues rather than others — instead of giving everybody the whole libertarian line, did you emphasize certain issues rather than others?

Thompson — Yes, I did. I emphasized particularly economic philosophies — generally the less government concept. Most people are put off at excess government these days. And it was well received. It's something I believe in both from a local viewpoint and a larger state and federal viewpoint. They are strong libertarian positions and we made points on those.

Libertarian News — Even though it was a non-partisan race, people knew you were a Libertarian, right?

Thompson — No question about it. It was brought up by both sides.

Libertarian News — Did they try and hurt you with it?

Thompson — In some cases. My opponent used that a little bit in the campaign. I guess you'd call it smear tactics. Somebody would bring up the statement, "Well — he's a Libertarian you know." And somebody else would say, "What's a Libertarian?" And the response was: "Oh — you know — dope, drugs, that sort of thing." And that may have hurt, I don't know whether it did or not.

Libertarian News — Did you answer them or did you not bother?

Thompson — A lot of the people came and told me what he said, of course, and we answered it. On the air we stated that we followed the Libertarian philosophy of freedom, the ability to do what one wants to as

long as it does not hurt somebody else, that type of thing. Also the economic situation, we did emphasize that quite heavily.

Libertarian News — How did you do in the essentials of the campaign, in terms of raising money, and putting together an organization, and your media. How did you handle those sort of things, did you have a big organization — and how did you put it together?

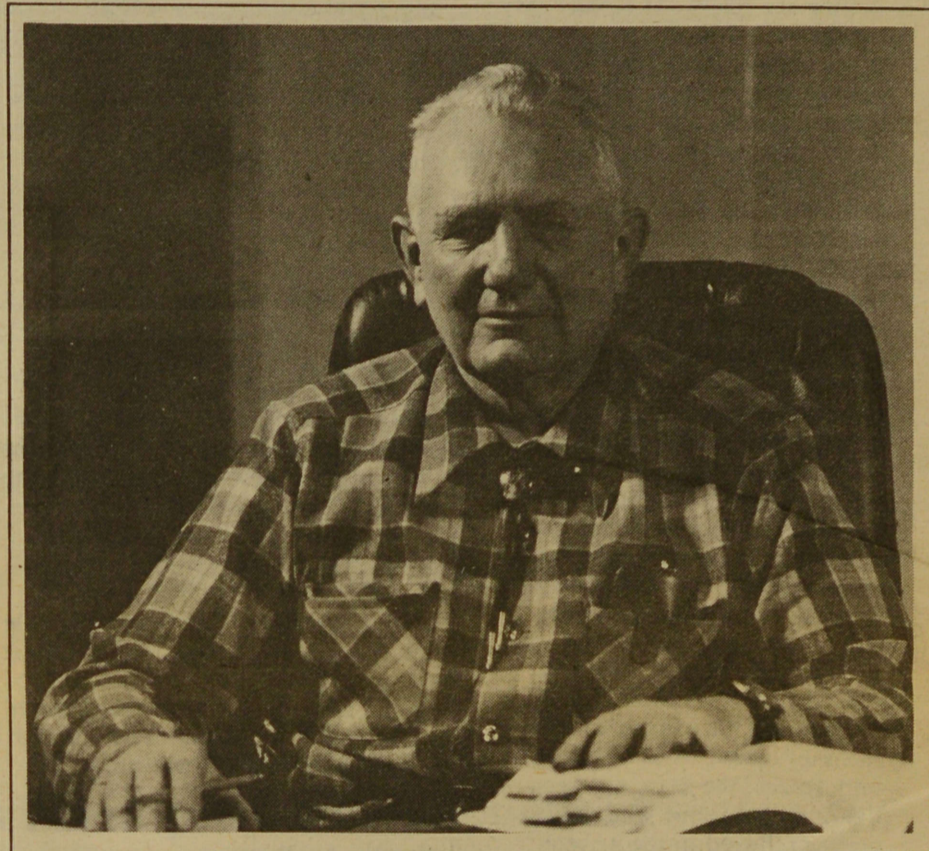
Thompson — I'm a poor organizer and I've not been in this game too many times, so I started out without any organization, except my wife and myself. But we had many people who wanted to work for us, and I found an office with two realtors and then we got quite a number of people organized for telephoning in each area. We had a couple of people helping with the advertising.

Libertarian News — Did you get any help from Libertarians per se or was it more a Stan Thompson organization?

Thompson — Well, both. We had more of a Stan Thompson organization. I was president of our local libertarian society here and I didn't feel like I should push my own candidacy too much. We didn't use the party officially. On the other hand, all the members supported me and it worked. Many of them went house-to-house campaigning to help out. And although we didn't contribute to our local coffers, again because I was president of it, the Fairbanks Libertarians sent down some money to help. So we did get some financial help that way.

Libertarian News — You said the libertarian constituency in your district is pretty small, and that people tended to be conservative. Do you see yourself using the office as a kind of bully pulpit to some extent, in terms of trying to influence your constituency to get them to think about other libertarian issues?

Thompson — Well, yes, to some extent I do. I'm very much of an activist. I see our role here as changing our particular governmental agency in our own borough to match the libertarian philosophy. Of course, I'm a practical person too, so I realize there are some things that we just can't do overnight. You've got to do it with the consent of the community which requires a certain amount of pulpit work, getting your philosophy



across to the community before you take action.

Libertarian News — What have you done so far — what effect do you think it will have on your people? I saw an article where you lopped off a couple of positions in office already.

Thompson — We've knocked down five positions now, and we're still working.

We have refused the IRS's request to withhold W-4 forms as claimed by various employees of the Borough. We feel that's a matter between the employees and IRS.

We are making all that is needed of our forest land available to the small, local, timber operators so they will have timber for their mills. This has been a major problem in the past.

We have also at this date refused to take septic waste problems outside city areas as a Borough function and have encouraged private business to solve the problem. I'm not certain yet how this is going to work out. We do have a problem that must be solved. My Libertarian view is that it should be done strictly by private initiative.

We are returning planning and zoning powers to the cities which previously were a borough control. However, we are requiring each city's

populace to vote on whether they even want planning and zoning before the cities will be allowed to have it. If they vote no, there will be no planning or zoning in that particular city.

We're working very hard at getting lands to the public. We have two land sales coming up now. They're borough lands — which is one of our beliefs that the people should own land rather than the borough or the state.

Libertarian News — Is it the borough or state land that you want to return to the people?

Thompson — There is quite an acreage of both borough and state land. And that is one of our programs to get that going. We're getting it set up now through our planning commission and so forth. So we're getting it organized so we'll have our first sale in about two months. Some will be sales, some will be homesteading — different methods.

Libertarian News — What powers does the Mayor of the Kenai borough have in terms of — how much can you do and what can't you do?

Thompson — Well, we have a sixteen member assembly all over the borough. The assembly legislates and

Thompson, continued from page 16 the borough mayor administers. It's sort of a strong position, especially when you can work well with the assembly, which I can. It is a good assembly as far as I'm concerned. Most of them approve of my programs and we do all of the administrating.

Libertarian News — What plans do you have for the future in terms of what policies would you like to implement and what do you think your chances of success are?

Thompson — Well, chances of success are always tough to figure out. We're working hard on a statewide proposal — it's my pet one right now — to return all the state mineral rights to the people of the state. As it is, they are all retained by the state, and the state is becoming exceedingly wealthy. They just found an extra billion dollars. The reason they are is because there is very little private land in Alaska and most of

what there is here does not have mineral rights.

Libertarian News — What do you think about Libertarian possibilities in the "lower 48" from the vantage point of Alaska? Do you think it's going to be a much longer road before we start having the equivalent of borough mayors and state reps?

Thompson — I think the Libertarians will become very strong in the next election. I see quite a steady turn towards it. A few years ago when you mentioned libertarianism it was like coming out from under a rock. They looked at you funny. Now, it's a respected philosophy. I think that you are going to see quite a turn to it. I think that it will grow even as it is, but I think that it depends quite a lot on present national politics.

Libertarian News — I've talked with Lew Beyer, LP state chair, and

he said it was a big step forward for Libertarians to have a foothold in Kenai which they hadn't had before. Do you see that as benefitting Dick Randolph if he runs for Governor in 1982?

Thompson — Yes — I can turn a lot of votes for Dick when he runs in this area. I carry a lot of respect and political weight here. The people are backing what I am doing. They seem to like what I am doing, and I'm getting a lot of radio and television coverage, that type of thing. So right now I can help him a great deal. Next week I may do something wrong. When you are an activist you run from one extreme to another at times. I try to watch it, but it can happen. No — Dick will do well in our area.

Libertarian News — How did you become a Libertarian?

Thompson — By accident. I had an attorney that was a Libertarian and

he tossed some of the Libertarian literature on my desk and occasionally we argued politics and that type of thing. I one time happened to read some of it, and thought well, gee, that's interesting. I started reading a little bit more and got quite interested in it and just about that time Dick Randolph came down here and had a meeting and I went to the meeting and I listened to him. I decided this is exactly where I fit in in my philosophy. I'd left the Republicans. I'd been just a Republican for years but I left that because their philosophy wasn't what I believed in and, of course, I didn't believe in the Democratic philosophy. And this one did just match it, so I thought well, the heck with it, they'll look at me, again, like I was coming out from under a rock at first, there, but it's what I believe in so let's go that way. So I did and I like it a lot.

Libertarian News — Thank you Mr. Mayor.

What's Available From Headquarters?

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- _____ **Local Problems: Libertarian Solutions.** The popular community issues manual. (\$5.00 each) _____
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_____ **Question and Answer Brochure.** The Libertarian Party's new brochure, which explains the positions and purposes of the Libertarian Party. (5 for \$1.00, 50 for \$8.00) _____

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Make checks payable to "Libertarian National Committee" and if possible use street address below, as U.P.S. will not deliver to PO Box. Mail completed order form and payment to:

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* Federal election law requires us to ask for this information.

CATO SUMMER SEMINAR

"It was like living in a libertarian society; a week of it might just last me till next year."

—Vivian Wadlin
Highland, New York

Whether you have only just discovered libertarianism's rich history or you want a chance to develop and integrate your knowledge of liberty, you could be one of the people who will spend eight days on a beautiful college campus with the major authorities on the emerging economic and political freedom. Information is now available on the selection of applicants for the Cato Institute's 1981 Summer Seminars in Political Economy.

Twenty lectures and pertinent reading materials in philosophy, economics, foreign affairs, and history highlight the program. Room, board, and recreation are also included. It all adds up to a learning experience more rewarding and in fact more fun than a vacation—and for a fraction of usual vacation costs. As Jack and Harriet Nicholas of Glendale, California, said of last year's Stanford conference,

"The program as a whole is even greater than the sum of its parts! A week spent in that company, both staff and students, cannot but inform the mind and uplift the spirit!"

Cato will return to two of its most popular seminar sites in 1981. An eastern conference will be held at picturesque Dartmouth College, July 4–11. A western conference will be held at Stanford University, August 8–15. The entire cost for either conference is only \$295. And *if you are a student*, the cost is even less: \$95 pays for everything! There are even a few travel scholarships available.

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Cato Institute, 747 Front St.,
San Francisco, California 94111
or phone (415) 433-4316



REGIONAL REPORTS

Region 16, continued from page 9
converts to libertarianism is so much easier when local clubs meet on a regular basis. While we are not yet organized like California LP, our party is now one of the top ten and, through grass-roots organizing, I think we can soon challenge the top several parties in terms of members, candidates, and results", says Walter.

The LPP annual convention took place on March 7th and 8th in Monroeville (Pittsburgh suburb). Dr. Murray Rothbard was the featured speaker, and spokesmen for several non-Libertarian groups gave workshops on topics such as justice, civil liberties, private schools, and taxes.

Region 11

by Leslie Graves Key

Libertarians in Illinois and Wisconsin spent most of their time in January and February on membership drives. Because of their concentrated efforts to recruit as members people who have already shown interest in the LP - by contributing to various Libertarian campaigns, etc. - membership in both states has increased over 30% in the first two months of 1981.

In addition, the Illinois LP is putting on a major fundraising drive to solicit monthly pledges so that they can afford to hire a statewide LP director. One responsibility of their new director will be to coordinate

their petition drive (over 30,000 signatures) so that they can achieve ballot status by early 1982. Ray Birks, acting chair, is doing a fine job coordinating this fundraising project.

The Illinois LP newsletter has a new editor. Daniel Hansen has gotten the newsletter back on a regular schedule, and designed an attractive new format for it. It features regular columns from experienced activists such as Craig Fisher, and gives reports from around the state by local leaders.

The Illinois LP Convention is scheduled for April 10-11 in Chicago. Featured speakers are Ed Clark, Roy Childs, and Peter Breggin. The Wisconsin LP Convention will be held June 6-7 in Madison. Murray Rothbard is the featured banquet speaker.

In Wisconsin, new local affiliates are springing up in such diverse cities as Superior and Rice Lake. John Dembroski and his affiliate in Superior have had a great deal of success in getting letters-to-the-editor published. Paul Gordon is the new statewide media coordinator, and he will be working to make sure that Libertarians receive ongoing coverage of their activities in Wisconsin throughout 1981. Helen Slavens in Madison is doing a great job coordinating a new statewide Libertarian speaker's bureau.

Region 10

by Ann Perier

Texas Libertarians started the year off with good showings in the January elections. In a special election held January 10th to fill the State house seat of Chase Untermeyer who resigned to take a position with Vice-President George Bush, LP candidate Scott Meek, a 29 year old metallurgy consultant, won two

percent of the vote in a seven-way race. In regular nonpartisan elections held January 17th, Houston Libertarian Mike McCollum polled 36 percent in a two-way race against the incumbent for the Board of Trustees of North Harris County Community College District. In San Antonio, LPT Executive Committee member Roger Cary received 29 percent of the vote, coming in second in a four-way race for the San Antonio River Authority.

These elections have begun what should be a very busy year for Texans. The LPT Executive Committee has set very aggressive goals to be met before the 1982 ballot drive: to expand the organization from 30 to 100 of the 254 counties in Texas; to organize students at 25 colleges and universities; and to recruit at least 100 candidates for the state legislature. In order to do this, the committee is holding frequent meetings around the state to encourage local participation and publicity and to better acquaint the Regional Representatives with their territory. They have also begun a fundraising project based on a monthly pledge system that should insure money for the state newspaper FREE TEXAS and the regular workings of the organization.

Local parties are now preparing for the April nonpartisan City Council and Mayoral elections. We will be running an active campaign in Austin and other cities. The state legislature is now in session and we are keeping our eyes on them. There are groups working on proposed health care legislation and the sunset of the medical boards, as well as groups working for the repeal of legislation and the prevention of passage of many bills.

There is a bright outlook in Texas. With energetic people throughout the state and an Executive Committee that has far reaching goals and the desire to reach them, the LPT will soon have an impact on Texas politics.

O'Keefe, continued from page 20
with literature and media, which help us gain publicity for Libertarian proposals and accomplishments; e) and assistance with fundraising, a necessity to finance the other activities.

Our headquarters is designed to make you -- the individual Libertarian -- and your local Libertarian organization more effective. The materials and assistance of our headquarters are designed to

assist you in carrying out the important responsibilities which rest on Libertarians today. Libertarians alone stand prepared to point out the fraud of Reagan's so-called tax and spending "cuts" and the errors of any U.S. government intervention in El Salvador. It rests with all Libertarians to point out the truth, to explain the consistency of our views, the principles behind them, and the ultimate conclusions and positions which these principles lead us to.

Bergland, continued from page 20

That there are factions in the party is probably good. Diversity of viewpoints on how best to create a free society is healthy. Unfortunately, some people spend too much energy trying to crush other factions rather than working for common goals. The National Chair must be prepared to play a major role in making LP factionalism creative and productive rather than destructive.

Finally, the National Chair must respect the other members of the National Committee and party activists throughout the country sufficiently to delegate authority, recognizing that the effectiveness of the Libertarian Party is much greater as a grass roots organization than if we were to attempt to run things from the top down. Not that a strong hand isn't needed from time to time. It is. But it should be used sparingly. The party will grow in a healthy fashion only if we develop leadership qualities in many people and that requires making room to give others opportunity and experience. This is one of the reasons that I decided not to run for a third term as National Chair.

All of what I have said above regarding the National Chair position applies in some degree to all of the other National Party offices and National Committee members. Each of those positions carries substantial responsibility with it. Each person elected will be a spokesperson for the party and a liaison between the national party organization and the state and local organizations.

Delegates to the National Convention must consider all of the candidates for these positions very, very carefully. Get to know the candidates. Assure yourselves that each of them is uncompromisingly committed to Libertarian principle and willing to put in a lot of time, effort and personal financial resources toward making the Libertarian Party an increasingly effective vehicle for the creation of a free society.

The addresses and phone numbers of the three candidates for chair are

Dallas Cooley
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Fairfax, Va. 22031
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Perspective

From The Chair

David P. Bergland

Perhaps the most important decision to be made by the delegates to the National Convention in Denver in August, 1981 will be the selection of a new National Chair.

I am now in the "lame duck" phase of my second 2-year term as the National Chairman of the Libertarian Party. In 1977, when I ran for the office, it was an uncontested election. I decided to run again in 1979 for a second 2-year term on the theory that it would be wise to maintain the same party leadership through the 1980 presidential campaign. Again, in 1979 I was the only candidate for the position. I do not intend to seek the position a third time.

Some interesting things must have happened in the last year and a half because already there are three announced candidates for the position of National Chair. It is the responsibility of all who will be delegates to the National Convention to learn as much about these candidates as possible before the convention.

The three persons who have already announced their intention to seek the National Chairmanship are: Dallas Cooley, who is presently the treasurer of the National Party organization and was a member of the Clark for President Steering Committee; Kent Guida, who is currently the National Membership Chair for the Libertarian Party and who has also served as Maryland State Party Chair; and John Mason who is serving his second term as a Libertarian National Committee member and who has also served as Colorado State Party Chair.

In addition to filling the position for National Chair at the Convention, the delegates will also be selecting the other party officers (vice chair, treasurer and secretary) and the other members of the National Committee who are at-large representatives and regional representatives. One reason it is important for us all to be giving substantial thought to this before August is that the following national convention may be scheduled in 1984 rather than 1983 so that all of the party officers and LNC members elected in 1981 may serve almost three years rather than the customary two.

The Libertarian Party is growing so fast that what we have done in the

past is not necessarily a guide for what we should do in the future. There are no "precedents." It has certainly been my experience as Chair in the last three and a half years that flexibility and openness to new ideas are absolutely necessary for persons in party leadership positions. That proposition certainly applies at state and local levels as well.

Let me share with you some thoughts about other criteria you should be considering in your evaluation of candidates for the National Chair position and the other officers and National Committee members. The party Chair fills a position similar to that of a Chairman of the Board of a large, diffuse corporation. The national headquarters staff, headed up by the National Director, are the employees of the corporation who handle its day-to-day business affairs. The National Chair must necessarily be in almost constant personal or telephone contact with the National Director or other members of the staff. As our National Headquarters operations continue to grow, as they should, the demands on the National Chair will increase. They certainly have increased during the period I have held the position.

The National Chair must have experience and skill in dealing with people, not only as a supervisor of the headquarters staff, but also as one who must persuade people to volunteer and perform a number of functions which are crucial to the success of the party. I speak here of the Chair's relationship to all of the other members of the National Committee whose support for policies adopted is critical. The Chair must therefore command the respect of others in the party.

The Chair must also command respect in another capacity. The Chair will be one of the primary spokespersons for the party. He or she will be meeting the press, representatives of other organizations, major financial supporters of the party. The Chair must therefore be a "class act."

One function, which many of us do not like to talk about, but which may be the most important for the Chair, is the function of reducing

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From The Director

Eric O'Keefe

What do we do at National Headquarters? How does our work fit in with the work of the Libertarian Party as a whole? If Libertarian Party members and supporters understand the answer to these questions, they can help us operate with maximum effectiveness.

At headquarters, we perform many essential tasks basic to an ongoing organization. We use the services of a modern high-speed computer to maintain our mailing list, contributor and membership records, monthly pledge records, financial records, and more. We handle a large volume of mail, filling orders and answering letters before preparing information for inputting on the computer.

Libertarian News and many other informational mailings are sent to our supporters, activists, and contributors. These mailings are designed both to keep members abreast of developments in the Libertarian Party around the country, and to provide Libertarian commentaries and analyses of current events. (e.g., see Reagan budget article and El Salvador article in this issue of *Lib. News.*)

Our Communications Director sends *Libertarian News* to a media list of 5,000, and regularly sends news releases to major media outlets. These and other efforts keep the national media aware of the Libertarian alternative. Assistance is also offered to state and local media coordinators to help them take advantage of the many opportunities for media coverage of Libertarian activities.

In addition to preparing *Libertarian News*, our Publications and Research Departments are working on new Libertarian Party literature. Two new introductory brochures have been written, one of which has been produced, and is being offered for sale for the first time in this issue of *Libertarian News*. An entire new set of Issue Papers is being prepared, and many of them will be offered in the next issue of *Libertarian News*.

Headquarters is providing special books and manuals, either prepared by our staff, or reprinted by us. These cover campaign techniques, media work, newsletter editing, and more. Also, books on a wide range of topics are offered through the new

Libertarian Party Book Service, which is advertised in a special brochure, and in *Libertarian News*. Our Publications and Research Departments are also providing syndicated articles for state newsletters, research and assistance to Libertarian Party Speaker's Bureaus, and meeting requests for research assistance from Libertarian candidates.

An entire additional area of headquarters work involves research and assistance with ballot drives. The Libertarian Party has been phenomenally successful at clearing ballot drive hurdles, and the research and experience from past efforts is available for future use. Important financial and legal assistance is provided to state Libertarian Parties with especially onerous ballot requirements to clear.

Recruiting and training of candidates has been done successfully in the past, and will become even more important in the next two years. Information and training in effective campaign techniques will be given to Libertarian candidates and activists.

What common themes run throughout these and other headquarters programs? It is the job of the Libertarian Party to greatly increase the number and influence of Libertarians. All of the efforts of National Headquarters are directed toward furthering these goals. Libertarian influence can be increased by influencing the media, and much more importantly and fundamentally, by engaging in all kinds of educational and political activity at the grassroots level. In fact, success at the grassroots level will determine to what extent the media will cover us. Headquarters programs are geared toward increasing the effectiveness of the Libertarian Party by helping state and local parties and individual Libertarians through: a) educational activities for members, which increase their understanding of Libertarian ideas; b) training in speaking and campaign skills, which improves the ability to present Libertarian positions; c) ballot drive and legal assistance, which help gain essential forums (ballot status) for presenting political ideas and enacting Libertarian solutions; d) assistance

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