

Libertarian LP Party NEWS

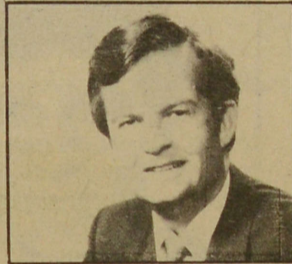
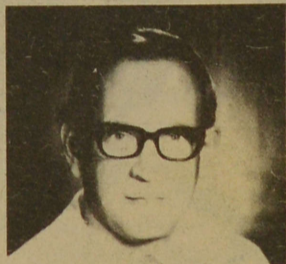
July-August, 1981

A Publication of the Libertarian National Committee

National Convention to Feature One Hundred Speakers and Panelists

Libertarians from all fifty states and a few foreign countries are planning now to attend the most important and exciting libertarian event of 1981—the Libertarian Party national convention. The convention, to be held in Denver, August 26-30, will feature a jam-packed program of fun, comradeship and learning, in addition to electing a new national committee and officers, planning the party's future course, and reaching a consensus on the many important political questions facing the Libertarian Party.

The convention will be preceded by two days (August 25 and 26) of deliberation by the Platform and Constitution and Bylaws committees. Many of the party's most prominent members will be participating in these meetings, which are open to the public. They will be followed on Wednesday (August 26) by two social events designed to introduce attendees to each other. Convention business will get into full swing on Thursday with a keynote address by National Chair David Bergland and a keynote panel which will include diverse view-



The three past Libertarian presidential candidates (l. to r.): John Hospers, Roger Macbride, and Ed Clark.

points. Following that will be a concurrently running set of workshops, panels, and important business on the convention floor. The workshops and panels will draw on the skills and knowledge of more than one hundred Libertarian speakers.

In addition to debate on the platform and constitution and bylaws, workshops and political panels will be held to acquaint attendees with the promise of liberty and the means to its attainment. An impressive series of panels will explore such questions as: Libertarian Perspectives on Central America; Libertarian Approaches to Environmental Problems; Civil Liber-

ties; Defense and Foreign Policy; and many other subjects. These panels will include some of the most knowledgeable experts in the United States. If you've been wondering about the implications of libertarianism for these and other issues, be sure to attend. In addition, the Association of Libertarian Feminists will sponsor a panel on libertarianism, feminism, and related political issues.

A new speaker has just been confirmed by the Convention Committee — former Soviet scientist, Dr. Edward Lozanski. He is now the Executive Director of the Sakharov In-

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Going Mobile: A Report On The MX

by Jeffrey Rogers Hummel

The Missile Experimental, or MX, is an extremely controversial weapons system, and deservedly so. The MX would involve one of the most extensive construction and engineering projects ever undertaken. Air Force Brigadier General Guy Heckler described the MX as "man's largest project — larger than the Great Wall, larger than the pyramids, larger than the Alaska Pipeline or the Panama Canal". When completed, the MX will include 4,600 hardened missile shelters, two operating centers together employing between 13,000 and 17,000 workers, three to six area support centers, and 9,000 miles of connecting roadway. This mileage is equivalent to about one-fourth the interstate highway system. Not all of these roads will be paved, but they will all have to be strong enough to carry the 800-ton MX transporter.

The Air Force will need access to 8,500 square miles, an area about the size of the state of New Hampshire.

The Air Force estimates that the cost of developing and building the MX system will be \$33.8 billion in 1980 dollars, while yearly operating costs will be \$425 million in 1980 dollars. If one assumes that inflation continues at the current rate, the \$33.8 billion acquisition figure will rise to \$108 billion. That total does not include the cost of the 2,000 nuclear warheads needed for the system, which will be supplied by the Department of Energy. If past cost-overruns on weapons are any guide, the total cost should be increased by another 50 percent. The General Accounting Office has already found \$816 million of unanticipated expenditures that the Air Force is covering up.

The Air Force's environmental impact statement examines nine poten-

tial alternative deployment arrangements for the MX. By the end of July, President Reagan should have made a final decision, picking one of these nine. Seven of them would place the system entirely within the states of Nevada and Utah; one would place the system entirely within the states of Texas and New Mexico; and one, the split-basing mode, would divide the system between Nevada/Utah and Texas/New Mexico. Each of these alternatives has its own long list of disadvantages.

Most of the land required for Nevada/Utah basing is government-owned land already, so the main problems with these two states are environmental. Water is the most severe environmental problem. The Air Force predicts that MX construction and operating will consume between 310,000 and 570,000 acre feet of water (about 100 to 200 billion gallons). In

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Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, a former Army officer, is a graduate student in history at the University of Texas. He is a contributing editor to *Free Texas* and an at large member of the LP's national Platform Committee.

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National Chair Candidate Forum

One of the most important functions of the LP/10 National convention in Denver, August 26-30, is the election of a new slate of officers and a new National Committee. Those elected will guide the LP through the following two years.

Of the positions to be filled, that of National Chair is the most important. The Libertarian Party Constitution describes the Chair as "the chief executive officer of the Party." In this role, the Chair presides over National Committee meetings and national conventions, and acts as a leading party spokesperson, along with holding many other responsibilities.

Libertarian Party News has invited each of the three announced candidates for Chair to write a presentation of his or her programs and abilities.



by Alicia Clark

Both as a candidate for National Chair and as a result of my activities in the 1980 campaign, I have had the opportunity to travel to a number of states, attend their conventions, and meet with local activists. Because of this and other activity, I have been able to discuss with many Libertarians what they think the National Committee should do and what they view the role of the National Chair to be. I have a number of specific goals that I have derived from conversations with many Libertarians around the country, which the National LP must implement in the next two years.

1. *Grass-Roots Organizing:* The NatCom must aid state and local parties in increasing their membership, voter registration, educational programs, and practical political skills. Programs *must* take into account local needs and local wants. There is a lot of skill in the Libertarian Party in many parts of the country. It is the job of the NatCom to find those people with skills and pass their information on to others who badly need to know what to do. It is time the NatCom took a more active role in helping state and local organizations to insure that we quit making the same mistakes over again. I propose a series of organizational manuals that outline everything from how to conduct a ballot drive to the way to put on a state convention.

2. *Fundraising:* I have been active as a fundraiser for years in a variety of charitable and service organizations, so I have considerable experience in this area. I agree with Kent Guida that the National and state LP's need considerably more coordination in their fund-raising drives. I further believe that this will only

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by Kent Guida

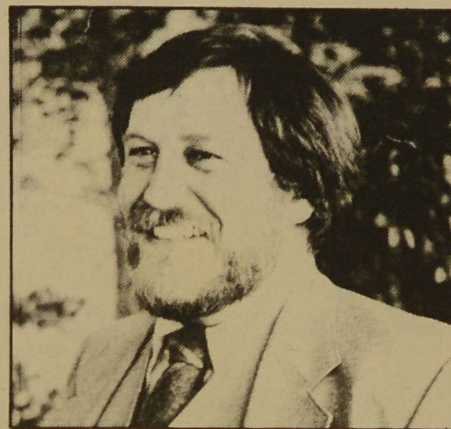
The years between now and the next presidential election will require Libertarians to reach new levels of principled, sophisticated political activity. We need to raise more money, run more candidates, win more votes, earn more press coverage. And most importantly, we need to constantly improve our ability to relate hard-core Libertarian principles and programs to voters, to demonstrate clearly and irrefutably why we are the correct political alternative for the 1980's.

We need a National Chair who is a true *activist*, someone who is committed to nuts-and-bolts, effective political activity at all levels, including the ability to personally participate in key campaign activities wherever and whenever necessary. We need a National Chair who is thoroughly grounded in Libertarian *principles*, who is well-equipped to proudly articulate all the ideas contained in the Party Platform. In short, we need a *principled activist* whose goal is political success for the Libertarian Party, not as an end in itself, but so that society can be transformed along libertarian lines.

I believe I fit that description. That's why I'm running for National Chair, and why I'm seeking the support of all Libertarian Party members.

Personal Background: I first became acquainted with libertarianism by attending weekly economic seminars conducted by Ludwig von Mises at New York University in the late '60's. I formally joined the Libertarian Party in 1974, and have been an activist at the local, state, and national levels. I was Chair of the Maryland Libertarian Party, state coordinator of the Clark campaign, a

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by John Mason

This is a year of great opportunity for the Libertarian Party. We are celebrating ten years of growth and success that resulted in over 2½ million people voting for 500 Libertarian candidates in 1980. Our opportunity is to forge an authentic grass roots political movement composed of tens of thousands of Libertarian activists advancing the cause of Liberty in their own communities.

But before we can take advantage of this opportunity, we must resolve some basic questions — questions that I believe we have ignored until now.

We must first and foremost rededicate ourselves to Libertarian principles and the ideas that make us the Party of Principle. We must define the relationship between the presidential campaign and the national party and develop appropriate mechanisms to insure that campaigns accurately reflect our principles and goals. We must define the proper role of the national party and determine the most effective means to assist state and local efforts so as to maximize real growth and sound development.

To help build state and local efforts, I have proposed a concrete plan — outlined in my letter to the convention delegates — to have the LP national office stress the development and training of candidates, the development of state parties, issues research, media relations, and a new "large contributor" fund raising program.

We will make some critical decisions at the national convention in Denver, but the discussion of these questions will — and should — continue into the term of the next Libertarian National Committee. That committee should encourage open and

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contrast, the entire city of Las Vegas uses only 72,000 acre feet of water in a year. The environmental impact of Texas/New Mexico basing is only slightly less troublesome, and water is still an issue. More important, most of the land for Texas/New Mexico basing is privately owned, and productive farm land at that. Many homes would require relocation.

Needless to say, the residents of all four of these states are not exactly overjoyed at the prospect of having their homeland turned into a giant "nuclear sponge", to use the words of Air Force General Lew Allen. Broad-based coalitions, encompassing groups representing the entire political spectrum, have organized in these states to fight the MX. Even the extremely conservative Mormon Church has declared its opposition.

Most of the MX's opponents focus either on the system's massive cost or its harmful environmental impact. The case against the MX, however, is not simply a matter of costs outweighing benefits. Even from a purely military standpoint, the MX system is unjustified. Indeed, some of the most dangerous aspects of the MX are its military features.

The MX is an advanced, land-based mobile ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile) system. There are two distinct aspects to the system: (1) the basing mode and (2) the missile itself. Although these two are frequently discussed together, they really should be considered separately, because they each have their own set of alleged justifications. It is possible to have the MX basing mode with a different missile (such as the Minuteman III) or a different basing mode for the MX missile.

The source of the MX system's great expense is its mobile basing. The justification for mobile basing is the alleged increasing vulnerability of hardened U.S. ICBM silos to a Soviet attack. Soviet ICBMs have always carried higher-yield warheads than their U.S. counterparts, but recently the Soviets have begun to match the U.S. in missile accuracy. This increased accuracy has improved the hard-target kill capability of Soviet missiles and threatens, it is argued, the survivability of U.S. land-based ICBMs in the event of a Soviet preemptive first strike.

To close this "window of vulnerability," the Air Force plans to hide each MX missile in one of a cluster of 23 multiple protective shelters. These shelters will be arranged in a linear road system with a distance of approximately one mile between them. An 800-ton shielded transporter will carry the missile from shelter to shelter, stopping at each shelter during its rounds so that the missile's actual location will remain uncertain to outside observers. A total of 200 missiles is envisaged. If the system

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ANALYSIS:

Libertarianism and Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Peace

by Sheldon Richman

"It is now urgent in the interest of liberty that many persons become 'peacemongers'."

F.A. Harper

The ideology of libertarianism has evolved through history into a comprehensive, seamless whole. Starting from the premise of individual freedom (with varying justifications), libertarianism comprises an analysis of liberty and coercion, market and state, cooperation and conflict. Vital to understanding the intellectual achievement of the libertarian ideology is a grasp of its seamlessness. Libertarianism is not a quilt made of disparate patches, as are today's notions of conservatism and liberalism. Libertarianism's integrity is the consequence of the application of a single principle: liberty.

In this, libertarianism stands in stark relief against conservatism and liberalism. (One of the tragedies of linguistic history is the loss of the word "liberalism" by advocates of liberty.) These terms denote no philosophy, but rather a hodge-podge of unconnected, contradictory views. Liberals pride themselves on their belief in freedom of speech, yet care little for that which makes freedom of speech a coherent idea: property. Conservatives pride themselves on their belief in "free enterprise," yet in many cases they advocate conscription and in all cases, foreign adventurism (not to mention laws creating victimless crimes).

Both, to the extent they value liberty at all, believe it is a luxury that cannot be afforded until, in the liberals' case, everyone is "equal," or, in the conservatives' case, the Russian menace is extinguished and our moral traditions are safe. Here, of course, is where the libertarian objects. Perhaps the foremost question of political philosophy is whether liberty is a luxury or a necessity. If it is a luxury, the problems that follow are mind-boggling: Even considering the question requires liberty. Who decides when liberty is affordable? How does the decision-maker escape the general rule? Etc.

On the other hand, if liberty is a necessity (for life, prosperity, goodness, and so on), it is not something to be shelved in "emergencies." Who would be authorized to declare such emergencies and why? As F.A. Harper, founder of the Institute for Humane Studies wrote in his moving essay, "In Search of Peace":

It is frequently said of wartime controls and centralization of power that liberty is a luxury to

be enjoyed in peacetime when things are normal, that we cannot afford the luxuries of liberty during emergencies like the present . . . Relinquish liberty for purposes of defense in an emergency? Why? It would seem that in an emergency, of all times, one needs his greatest strength. So if liberty is strength and slavery is weakness, liberty is a necessity rather than a luxury, and we can all ill afford to be without it—least of all during an emergency.

Libertarianism is at its most radical and fresh in the issue of war, for nearly everyone else takes for granted that liberty must be suspended in wartime. You'll notice that most opponents of the draft, outside the libertarian movement, stress that they oppose "peacetime" conscription. I call this use of "peacetime" the *ominous adjective* for it implies that we are to be free until someone declares war. (It used to be that Congress had to do this; then, in Korea and Vietnam, all it took was the president. So much for constitutional protections.)

No believer in wartime suspension of liberties ever bothers to justify this belief. If a group goes to war against another, why does it have the right to act as if individuals have no rights? This cannot be justified on the grounds of defense, since that only allows retaliation against aggressors, not innocents.

Of course, how to treat individuals during war is a question that *doesn't* arise until a war is entered. And this raises the issue of foreign policy.

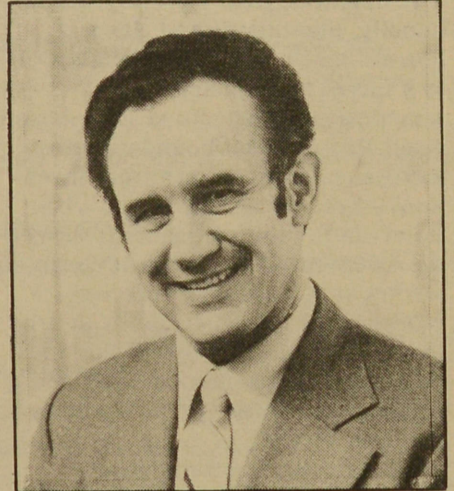
In asserting that there is a distinctly *libertarian* foreign policy, one should understand that the very notion of foreign policy arises only in the context of coercive nation-states. If I like to buy Italian-made goods, it is absurd to say that I have a friendly *foreign policy* with Italy. Only governments have foreign policies.

For Alaska Governor: Randolph in '82!

Libertarian legislator Dick Randolph recently announced his candidacy for Governor of Alaska. According to the *Fairbanks News-Miner*, "Randolph really does stand a chance to win the governorship."

Randolph became the country's first Libertarian state legislator in 1978. He earned statewide attention and popularity by leading a successful drive to repeal the state's personal income tax in 1980. He was partially rewarded for that effort by receiving the highest total for any state representative candidate in the state in the 1980 elections.

The 1980 elections also sent fellow Libertarian Ken Fanning to the Alaska Legislature. He has joined Randolph in an ongoing fight to eliminate remaining taxes and to oppose a flood of boondoggle Democratic and Republican proposals to spend oil royalties. Randolph promotes the view that Alaskans must act soon to get control of Alaskan land, petroleum, and minerals out of the hands of the state and federal governments. "If government controls the wealth, it controls the people," said



Dick Randolph

Randolph. "The hallmark of a Randolph administration would be to privatize Alaska's wealth-producing resources and reduce government to a bare minimum."

The Randolph forces are organizing now for what could be the most important campaign yet for the young Libertarian Party. Check future issues of *Libertarian Party News* for progress reports on the Randolph for Governor campaign.

Foreign policies are "necessary" because states define national boundaries and erect various barriers there: immigration restriction, tariffs, import quotas, export restrictions. Even without these barriers states would maintain a distinction between "foreign" and "domestic" policies because when people cross borders they enter the jurisdiction of another government. Only if governments abstain from all coercion does the distinction vanish. (States within the U.S. don't have foreign policies among themselves because all Americans are subject to a single taxing authority that supports a common court system at the federal level and because inter-state trade and "immigration" are unimpeded with a few exceptions.)

This emphasis on the political origin of foreign policy is intended to debunk the idea that in foreign af-

fairs states may do whatever individuals may do. Some have argued that since individuals may "intervene" in the affairs of others to protect innocents, so may states. In other words, since when I'm visiting, say, Lichtenstein I may protect a local victim from a mugger, the U.S. government may send the Marines to Lichtenstein to do the same.

The libertarian policy of noninterventionism would condemn the U.S. government for doing what no one would object to *my* doing. What is the difference? The difference lies in the nature of states. A state is a widely accepted or "legitimized" institution (group of people) that claims a monopoly on the use of force or violence in a given area. The concept of sovereignty entails two important points: The state claims to act in the name of "its" people, and it is ultimately unaccountable for what it does. Unless it meets a group with superior force, its members may act with impunity.

Libertarianism builds its foreign policy position on its view of the state and of war. In this regard, then, the policy of nonintervention is a corollary of the nonaggression axiom. (No one may aggress against a non-aggressor.) Since states carve out monopolies for themselves, they are jealous of encroachment. They have done literally everything in order to maintain sovereignty, even slaughtering innocent people. Noncombatants are killed because, living within an enemy state's territory, they are seen as part



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of that state's assets. So they become "fair" game.

It should be clear now why, traditionally, libertarians and classical liberals have held noninterventionism as a sacred principle. This is sometimes misunderstood. The reason is not that national boundaries are sacrosanct—they are arbitrary inventions—but that no one is safe when states clash. Nonintervention, then, is the determination to prevent conflicts among unaccountable, coercive groups of people who usually destroy the lives of innocent people and impose the costs of their conflicts, via taxation and conscription, on other innocent people.

Historically, libertarians have realized that the danger of warfare is not just in what the opposing state does, but in what the "home" state does too. First, the people who run the state never do the fighting themselves; they compel others, either by outright conscription or by lies and propaganda meant to make power quests appear as moral crusades. ("The war to end all wars," etc.) Second, the mechanics of fighting a war require further expansion of the state. It must raise taxes, obtain resources and generally regulate people's economic activities. All must serve a single end—defeating the foe—because the very existence of the state depends on it. For the same reason, dissent can not be tolerated. Civil liberties are suspended to some degree. Anything that undermines the war effort undermines the state itself. When the classical liberals warned that liberty cannot survive in a garrison state, this is what they meant.

Even in a *strictly defensive war* a coercive state is a liability. Not only must it coerce noncombatants, but when it chooses to surrender, it puts others who wish to continue defending themselves at a great disadvantage. The enemy uses the existing state apparatus to suppress the recalcitrant.

The upshot is that to those who say there is no libertarian position on foreign policy, one should reply: As long as there is a libertarian position on murder, slavery and theft, there is a position on foreign policy.

With this as groundwork, it is useful and inspiring to examine the foreign policy of some of history's libertarians and liberals on foreign policy. An important point unites their views, namely, that the distinction between foreign and domestic government policy is bogus.

The radicals who wished to liberate the American colonies from Great Britain were noninterventionists from personal experience as well as in theory. They were all too familiar with that perpetual battleground called Europe and wanted no part of such policies. Everyone knows of Washington's warning against "entangling alliances." John Adams elaborated: "Our business with

Europe," he said, "is commerce, not politics, much less war. America has been the sport of European wars and their policies long enough." It was also Adams who said we must establish liberty at home, be a beacon to others and not chase monsters abroad.

Thomas Paine, the conscience of the Revolution, was another non-interventionist. At one point he wrote, "War can never be in the interest of a trading nation any more than quarreling can be profitable to a man in business. But to make war with those who trade with us is like setting a bulldog upon a customer at the shop-door."

people is to remain at peace; and not only so, but to be on their guard against false alarms about intended aggressions of their neighbors, which when too credulously believed, give to government all the political advantages of a war, without its risks.

In 1850, when England was astir with the Russian invasion of Hungary, Cobden rose in the House of Commons to say:

If you recognize the principle of intervention in your Government, you must tolerate it in other nations also. . . . I say, if

portion as military activity is great does the coercive regime more pervade society."

In his *Principles of Sociology*, Spencer elaborated:

Thus the trait characterizing the militant structure throughout, is that its units are coerced into their various combined actions. As the soldier's will is so suspended that he becomes in everything the agent of his officer's will; so is the will of the citizens in all transactions, private and public, overruled by that of the government. The cooperation by which the life of the militant society is maintained, is a *compulsory* cooperation. The social structure adopted for dealing with surrounding hostile societies is under a centralized regulating system, to which all the parts are completely subject; just as in the individual organism the outer organs are completely subject to the chief nervous centre.

Spencer's opposition to militarism was not merely academic, as shown by his response when asked if he mourned the *British soldiers who died during a war in Afghanistan*. Spencer said, "When men hire themselves out to shoot other men on order, asking nothing about the justice of their cause, I don't care if they are shot themselves."

Henry David Thoreau's attitudes on war and the state are well known. So let me quote him but once: "It is impossible to give the soldier a good education without making him a deserter. His natural foe is the government that dulls him . . ."

One of the inspiring facts of history is that classical liberals and libertarians have always been in the forefront of peace and anti-imperialist movements. Such people include Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, David Ricardo, Jean Baptiste Say and Frederic Bastiat. In the United States they included William Graham Sumner and Edward Atkinson.

Sumner, like Spencer, knew that war was destructive, not just in the obvious way, but in many subtle ways. In 1903 he was alarmed at how war involved whole populations, not just armies, and how war preparation made militancy permanent.

"Modern warfare bears down on the whole population with a frightful weight through all the years of peace. Never, from the day of barbarism down to our own time, has every man in society been a soldier until now.

A statesman who proposes war as an instrumentality admits his incompetency; a politician who makes use of war as a counter in the game of politics is a criminal.

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The upshot is that to those who say there is no libertarian position on foreign policy, one should reply: As long as there is a libertarian position on murder, slavery and theft, there is a position on foreign policy.

Two men with perhaps the sharpest insights into the relation between foreign and domestic policies were Richard Cobden and John Bright, leaders of Britain's 19th Century free-trade and anti-imperialist movements. In many speeches and essays, they made the case for peace as few have since. Wrote Cobden:

Free Trade, in the widest definition of the term, means only the division of labor, by which the productive powers of the whole earth are brought into mutual cooperation. If this scheme of universal dependence is to be liable to sudden dislocation, whenever two governments choose to go to war, it converts a manufacturing industry, such as ours, into a lottery in which the lives and fortunes of multitudes of men are at stake.

In 1853 Cobden wrote:

I wish . . . that all might understand the "true secret" of despots, which is to employ one nation in cutting the throats of another, so that neither may have time to reform the abuses in their own domestic government. I would say, on the contrary, that the true secret of the

you want to benefit nations who are struggling for their freedom, establish as one of the maxims of international law the principle of non-intervention. . . . Let us begin, and set the example to other nations of this non-intervention . . .

When Britain entered the Crimean war, Bright contemplated the horror and devastation, and told the Parliament:

This is war—every crime which human nature can commit or imagine, every horror it can perpetrate or suffer; and this it is which our Christian Government recklessly plunges into, and which so many of our countrymen at this moment think it patriotic to applaud! You must excuse me if I cannot go with you. I will have no part in this terrible crime. My hands shall be unstained with the blood which is being shed.

Later in the 19th Century, the great classical liberal Herbert Spencer contrasted industrial society with militant society and criticized war-making. "Whatever fosters militarism makes for barbarism; whatever fosters peace makes for civilization . . . Just in pro-

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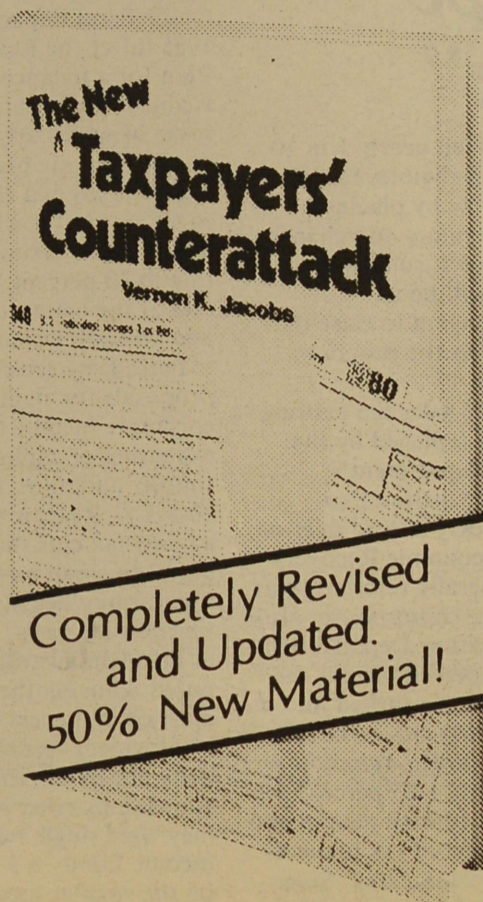
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The Slippery Slope of "Tax Cutting"

by Jule R. Herbert, Jr.

At this time it is premature to compile a chronicle of each waffle, compromise, back-track, or side-movement of the Reagan tax and budget proposals. The original Kemp-Roth plan of three annual 10% marginal rate cuts, reducing the top rate to 50%, and indexing the brackets to the rate of inflation thereafter, has long since been abandoned. By mid-summer, only the rhetoric of supply-side economics remained; the hopes of a relatively "simple" across-the-board rate reduction had died. The current tax package is an embodiment of traditional business-as-usual tax-cutting policies.

The possibility of passage of any sort of tax bill by Congress prior to September has become remote. The budget reconciliation process has turned into a farce in the House.

The \$35 billion in so-called cuts called for in the First Budget Resolution were to have been reflected in new laws proposed by various House authorizing committees to reduce future outlays from what they would otherwise be under the current law of entitlements.

The committees for the most part simply refused to make any cuts. For example, the Agriculture Committee purported to have shaved almost \$1.5 billion from the runaway food stamp

program — for which nearly 1 in 10 Americans is today eligible. However, this was done merely by placing a "cap" on the program — no changes in eligibility or benefit rules were made. The result will be an "unavoidable" decision to raise the cap later in FY 81 as the program runs out of money.

On the "tax cut" side, the February Kemp-Roth II was replaced by the June 5, Treasury Department's "Bipartisan Tax Reduction Program," which quickly moved over on June 9 for the "Economic Recovery Act of 1981," generally referred to as the *Conable-Hance compromise*, also written by the Treasury Department.

The original 10 percent across the board rate cut has been turned into a 5 percent *withholding* cut, to be effective on October 1, 1981. *Actual rates* would be cut by only 1.25 percent for 1981 — effectively forcing people into *higher* inflation-induced tax brackets under the guise of "tax cuts." Since withholding rates are notoriously higher than final tax obligations can justify, the great 1981 personal income tax "cut" can be explained better as a simple technical and very political adjustment in the withholding tables.

The Administration's latest proposal also scales down the original "10-5-3" depreciation proposal put forth by big business and Charles Walker's American Council for

Capital Formation. By delaying the major fiscal impact of 10-5-3 until 1985 (after the Reagan Four Year Plan for a balanced Budget), the plan is able to substitute nine "sweeteners," some of which are very important. By re-adopting the proposal to reduce the highest marginal rates from 70 percent to 50 percent — which automatically reduces the maximum capital gains rate to 20 percent — Reagan accepted one of the better ideas of Southern and oil-state Democrats.

Indeed, by rejecting the Democrat's proposals for significant cuts in the corporate income tax and first year expensing of capital purchases — far simpler and more fundamental than 10-5-3 — Reagan was forced to argue against tax cuts that would be meaningful to small business in favor of older, more heavily capitalized business interests.

The Administration has also proposed reducing the tax "penalty" on married taxpayers who both have employment income. This would be done not by the simple expedient of allowing married people to file as if they were single but by giving the two-income family a 5 percent deduction on the smaller income (10 percent in 1983).

Of course, the nature of the pro-

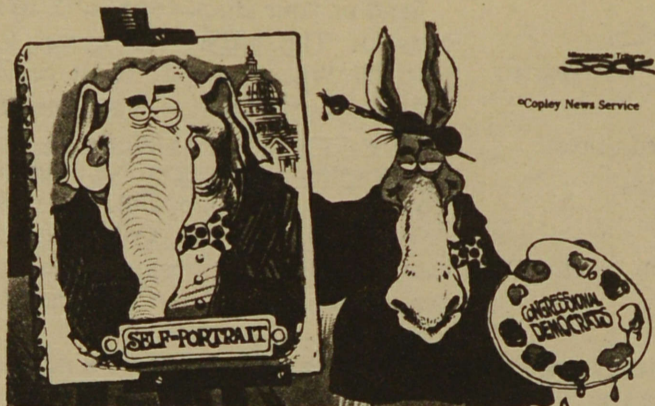
gressive income tax makes it impossible *not* to penalize either certain single or married people unless they are allowed to choose which category is better for them under given conditions. So, look out for *higher taxes for singles*.

Former Finance Committee Chair, Senator Russel Long (D-LA) has proposed just that. During the testimony of Treasury spokesman, John E. Chapoton, before the Senate Finance Committee on June 10 the marriage penalty came up with Administration friend Long wondering if the difference could best be closed by *raising* the rates for single taxpayers. Chapoton estimated that eliminating the singles "advantage" would raise about \$10 billion in additional annual revenues.

Additionally, this proposed tax increase for single people would have the support of the leadership of the New Right and "moral majority".

These groups oppose proposals to get rid of the marriage penalty by *lowering* the taxes of two-earner families. If each spouse of a two-earner marriage is allowed to file his or her income tax return as a single (unmarried) individual, then a traditional one-earner family with the same

continued on page 20



Platform Committee to Hold Hearings for LP Members

by Sheldon Richman

The 1981 Libertarian Party Platform Committee will hold hearings for party members beginning at 11 a.m. Tuesday, August 25 at the Denver Hilton. People wishing to testify must notify me and submit a summary of remarks by August 20. (Send requests to 1021 Arlington Blvd., #1044, Arlington, VA 22209.)

Each witness will be allotted five minutes, or ten minutes if more than one issue is addressed. The committee will have an opportunity to question witnesses.

Where more than one witness plans to make similar remarks, they will be asked to get together and designate a single representative. This is necessary because of the severely limited period the committee has for its work.

To aid the committee, witnesses are requested to bring copies of their statement for the members. The order of witnesses, based on when the requests were received, will be posted at the Hilton.

Sheldon Richman is the Chair of the 1981 Platform Committee.

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Sample issues are available in limited quantities. (#3: "Crisis" issue. #4: "Big Business versus Big Government" issue. #5: "Future of Freedom" issue. #6: "Local Problems, Libertarian Solutions" issue. #7: "Education" issue. #8: "Controversies" issue. \$1.50 each, including postage. Subscribe today! \$10/year.)

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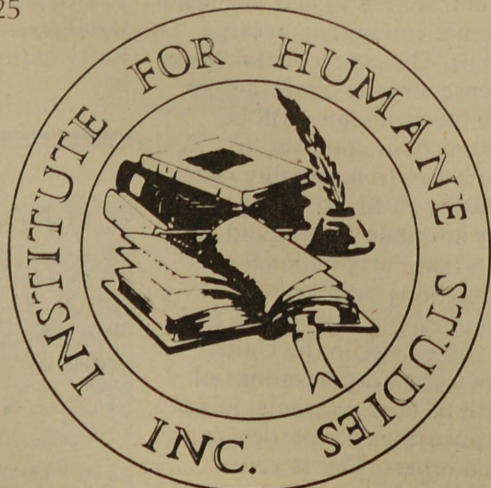
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20th ANNIVERSARY YEAR

Presidential Nominating Convention: '83 or 84?

The Libertarian Party is holding a "Regular Convention during the period July through October" of this "odd-numbered year," 1981 — as prescribed in the LP Constitution. Some of the important business sessions at the national convention (LP/10, Denver, August 26-30) will deal with Constitution and Bylaws revisions.

One of the questions to be dealt with during these debates is: When should the next Presidential nominating convention be held: in the third quarter of 1983, the second quarter of 1984, or sometime in between? (The location, New York City, has already been selected.) If the Constitution is left unchanged, the convention will be held in the third quarter of the year preceding the presidential election year — as it was in 1979.

The Libertarian Party has traditionally held its nominating convention at this time, because ballot access laws in many states mandated that we have our nominee before we started petitioning, and we often needed to start petitioning more than a year before the election. Unfortunately, this has not *all* changed. But positive developments in 1980 have led some Libertarians to call for a 1984 convention. The circumstances which changed are: 1.) Independent candidate John Anderson won several federal court cases declaring early petition filing deadlines unconstitutional. The courts ruled that the independent

couldn't be forced to declare his candidacy before the Democrats and Republicans named their candidates (mid-summer of election year). 2.) The Libertarian Party and the Clark campaign exceeded the most optimistic forecasts by gaining ballot status in all fifty states, acquiring great expertise along the way. These changes have at least made the question of whether to hold the convention in '83 or '84 a debatable one.

However, the legal framework is by no means settled. More than a dozen state legislatures are considering changes in their ballot access laws, some of which could bear on our decision. Also, two states are still appealing Anderson victories against their early deadline laws.

Libertarian Party News has spoken with leading Libertarians about this question. There is a wide range of opinions on when the convention should be held. So far, one of the most vocal proponents of a Spring, 1984 convention has been ballot access law expert Richard Winger of San Francisco. Winger promotes an '84 convention primarily as a decisive way to break further away from the small "third" parties and into the league with the Democrats and Republicans. Winger points out that a Spring of '84 convention would be during primary season and "just when the nation is paying attention to the upcoming national conventions of the Republicans and Democrats. He also points out that the LP could use the presidential

primary machinery in at least seven states, and (depending on 1982 election results) possibly twelve. Winger says that the Anderson court victories against early deadlines look like firm precedents for us, but, pending further decisions, he says that he "can't say for sure that the deadline issue has been settled by the federal courts."

National Committee member Bill Evers supports a third quarter of 1983 convention to afford state parties and the presidential campaign more "financial flexibility — more time to raise money, organize, and run the ballot drives." National Committee member Michael Emerling argues against a Spring of '84 convention. "The state parties need more lead time for organizing their ballot drives and their presidential campaigns," said Emerling.

Former Clark for President National Coordinator Chris Hocker supports an "April or May" 1984 convention. Hocker says that "given reasonably good results in retaining ballot status in the 1982 elections, we should easily have the resources to hold a Spring '84 convention, and *still* get on the ballot in all fifty states." Hocker points to extra credibility and media coverage the LP would receive with a Spring of '84 convention, but he strongly opposes LP participation in presidential primaries in 1984.

National Chair candidate Kent Guida believes that a Spring of '84 convention offers important advantages, but that legal uncertainties make selection of a date too risky at this time. "Selecting the nominating convention date this August in Denver would be risky, and unnecessary. What we should do is remove the Constitutional requirement for

holding the convention in 1983, and leave the date selection up to the National Committee." Guida favors having the National Committee make a "well-informed decision in 1982."

John Mason, National Chair candidate from Colorado, favors retaining the provision for a 1983 convention. Mason said that a "1984 convention would require clearing more than just legal obstacles. The organizational obstacles — fundraising and organizing, both for the ballot drives and for the presidential campaign in general, would be large." For Mason, these extra burdens, combined with the legal obstacles, outweigh the plus of potential extra media coverage.

National Chair candidate Alicia Clark advocates a February 1984 convention. "This would show some progress" from the last nominating convention, but with fewer legal and organizational problems. Clark argued that LP participation in the presidential primaries which a Spring '84 convention would allow would probably lead to extra media coverage, "but it might be adverse coverage, because we might do very poorly in the primaries" because of relatively low Libertarian registrations, and other factors. She pointed out that we could get some good media coverage of our nominating contest "at some state conventions in early 1984."

Because of the complexity and importance of the question, Clark has proposed that an unofficial committee be formed to meet in Denver before the convention, and to present a report to the convention delegates. She has proposed that the committee consist of: an appointee of the Na-

continued on page 20

Convention from page 1

ternational Committee, which seeks to advance its views against "the violation of basic human rights of Soviet dissidents and particularly of Peace Nobel Laureate Andrei Sakharov by the Soviet government."

For activists seeking to hone their political skills, a series of in-depth workshops has been organized by California LP activist Carolyn Felton. These panels will provide the kind of "nuts-and-bolts" knowledge that is essential to the growth and success of the Libertarian Party. Drawing on her expertise gained from many years of political activism, Felton has put together a valuable resource service for libertarians. Workshops will cover such topics as organizing a campaign, developing precinct organizations, dealing with the media, public speaking, advertising, fundraising, and dealing with the hated Federal Election Commission (it's easier than you think). The workshop format will allow for significant audience participation. Libertarians who want to become better promoters of liberty should be sure to attend these exciting and fact-filled workshops.

Participants in the keynote panel will be David Nolan, one of the LP's founders, Don Ernsberger, a co-founder of the Society for Individual Liberty in 1969, Bob Poole, president of the Reason Foundation and long-time editor of *Reason* magazine, and Roy Childs, editor of *Libertarian Review*. The panel will cover a whole range of issues important to the LP, including ideology, strategy and tactics, and internal organization.

Besides the tremendous selection of panels and workshops, attendees will have a chance to hear speeches from such Libertarian giants as Alaska Libertarian legislator Dick Randolph, 1980 Libertarian presidential candidate Ed Clark, economist Murray Rothbard, foreign policy analyst Earl Ravenal, and more. These speakers will be entertaining, informative, challenging, and inspiring. A reception honoring Libertarian candidates for president and vice-president in the last three elections will give you an opportunity to meet these dedicated crusaders for liberty and discuss the party's past and future.

The floor debates on the party's constitution and bylaws and platform

will allow delegates the opportunity to participate in shaping the form and content of the party's future. The platform debate will deal with such vital questions as the party's stands on nuclear disarmament and foreign policy, while the constitution and bylaws debate will shape the organizational form that the party will take in the future.

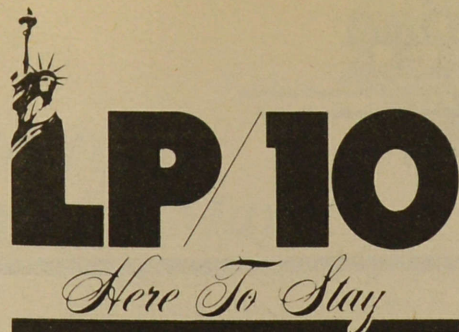
Delegates will also elect four national officers (chair, vice-chair, treasurer, and secretary) and members of the national committee (at large and regional). The candidate lobbying will be intense and the opportunities to evaluate the candidates will be many — from floor speeches to regional caucuses to hospitality suites.

Candidates won't be the only people hosting hospitality suites and parties. Libertarian Party national conventions have long been known for the most interesting, worthwhile and just-plain-fun parties in the United States. Libertarian organizations of all sorts will be hosting events, in addition to caucuses, state parties, candidates, and others. This is your chance to meet other political activists who share your love of liberty and

your willingness to work for its attainment. The acquaintances and friendships begun at this convention will last the rest of your life.

Add to all of the above an exhibit hall stocked with more libertarian oriented books, periodicals, services, and you-name-it than may have ever before been in one place, thousands of libertarian activists, and the satisfaction of shaping the bright future of the Libertarian Party, and you've got the most exciting libertarian event of 1981: the Libertarian Party national convention. Don't miss it!

**LP/10 Pre-registration
Discounts Extend to July 31**
In response to many requests and in consideration of the lateness of several LP state conventions, LP/10 pre-registration discounts will still be in effect for any registrations received on or before July 31.



The Denver Hilton
August 26-30, 1981

Convention Highlights

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Foreign Policy from page 4

Sumner also saw through the national-security guise so prevalent today:

If you want a war, nourish a doctrine . . . A doctrine is an article of faith . . . The nearest parallel to it in politics is the "reason of state." The most frightful injustice and cruelty which has ever been perpetrated on earth has been due to the reason of state.

Nor was Sumner fooled by the idea — lately held by Ronald Reagan — that peace is maintained by preparation for war:

It is a fallacy. It is evident that to pursue such a notion with any idea of realizing it would absorb all the resources and activity of the state . . . A wiser rule would be to make up your mind soberly what you want, peace or war, and then to get ready for what you want; for what we prepare for is what we shall get.

As inspirational as the 19th Century liberals are, the 20th Century has its share of "peacemongers," though they are largely obscured by the blackout of government school propaganda.

Sumner also recognized the damage military spending inflicts on civilians by "eating up all the products of science and art".

Now what will hasten the day when our present advantages will wear out and when we shall come down to the conditions of the older and densely populated nations? The answer is: war, debt, taxation, diplomacy, a grand governmental system, pomp, glory, a big army and navy, lavish expenditures, political jobbery — in a word, imperialism.

Businessman Edward Atkinson, like Sumner, opposed the Spanish-American war. Later, Atkinson denounced the U.S. government for putting down a rebellion in the newly acquired Philippine Islands. In an 1899 American Anti-Imperialist League publication, Atkinson wrote:

We earnestly condemn the policy of the present National Administration in the Philippines. It seeks to extinguish the spirit of 1776 in those islands . . .

Much as we abhor the war of "criminal aggression" . . . we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home.

Atkinson could speak with authority about that betrayal. He was an early victim of the crackdown on dissent when the government seized anti-war pamphlets he had mailed to American troops. Such suppression was a mild preview of what occurred during the world wars.

As inspirational as the 19th Century liberals are, the 20th Century has its share of "peacemongers," though they are largely obscured by the blackout of government school propaganda. During the height of the Vietnam war protests, how many New Leftists realized that their anti-war forebears were such proponents of individualism as Robert Taft, Garet Garrett, John T. Flynn, Albert Jay Nock, H.L. Mencken, Frank Chodorov, Felix Morley, F.A. Harper, Leonard Read and many others.

Since space prohibits extensive quotations, the sampling is meant to entice readers to seek out these authors.

Albert Jay Nock, author of *Our*

This distrust of American military power and those who control it was inherent in the remarks of Sen. Robert Taft. When a communist coup took place in Czechoslovakia in 1948, the Truman administration went into a frenzy about the allegedly imminent Russian invasion of Europe. Taft tried to stop the panic with reasoned analysis:

I believe that the tone of the President's statement that his confidence in ultimate world peace has been shaken is unfortunate . . . I myself know of no particular indication of Russian intentions to undertake military aggression beyond the sphere of influence which was originally assigned to the Russians. The situation in Czechoslovakia is indeed a tragic one; but the Russian influence has been predominant in Czechoslovakia since the end of the war. The Communists are merely consolidating their position in Czechoslovakia; but there has been no military aggression, since the end of the war.

Taft also opposed the NATO alliance of 1949 on the grounds that it would turn the world into two armed camps and provoke the Soviets. For all this he was smeared as a member of the "Stalinist caucus." Robert Taft!

Similar views were expressed by the muckraking liberal journalist John T. Flynn. Flynn ably cut through the national-security scare by pointing out that military spending is the way politicians get conservatives to stop complaining about big government:

"Thus militarism is the one glamorous public-works project upon which a variety of elements in the community can be brought into agreement," wrote Flynn.

His analysis of America's globalism is as fresh today as it was in 1943:

We have now managed to acquire bases all over the world . . . There is no part of the world where trouble can break out

where we do not have bases of some sort which, if we wish to use the pretension, we can claim our interests are menaced. Thus menaced, there must remain when the war is over a continuing argument in the hands of the imperialists for a vast naval establishment and a huge army ready to attack anywhere or to resist an attack from all enemies we shall be obliged to have. Because always the most powerful argument for a huge army maintained for economic reasons is that we have enemies. We must have enemies.

Journalist Garet Garrett argued similarly, declaring in one of many articles, "We have crossed the boundary that lies between Republic and Empire."

Historian Charles Beard made his own distinctive contribution to these analyses and warnings:

The theory of limitless power in the Executive to conduct foreign affairs and initiate war at will, unhampered by popular objections and legislative control, is of course old in the history of empires and despotism . . . But such governments have never been under the delusion that limitless power can be exercised over foreign affairs and war, while domestic affairs and domestic economy are left free and the authority of government over them is constitutionally limited.

. . . In short, with the government of the United States committed under a so-called bipartisan foreign policy to supporting by money and other forms of power for an indefinite time an indefinite number of other governments around the globe, the domestic affairs of the American people became appendages to an aleatory expedition in the management of the world.

The founders of the modern libertarian movement also understood the relation between foreign and domestic policy. They, too, were peacemongers. Former *Washington Post* editor Felix Morley, one of the founders of the original *Human Events*, often probed the consequences of interventionism: "It is evident that power is most easily centralized by war, or by the expectation of war . . . Every war . . . has contributed to that centralization of power which tends to destroy that local self-government which is what most Americans have in mind when they acclaim democracy."

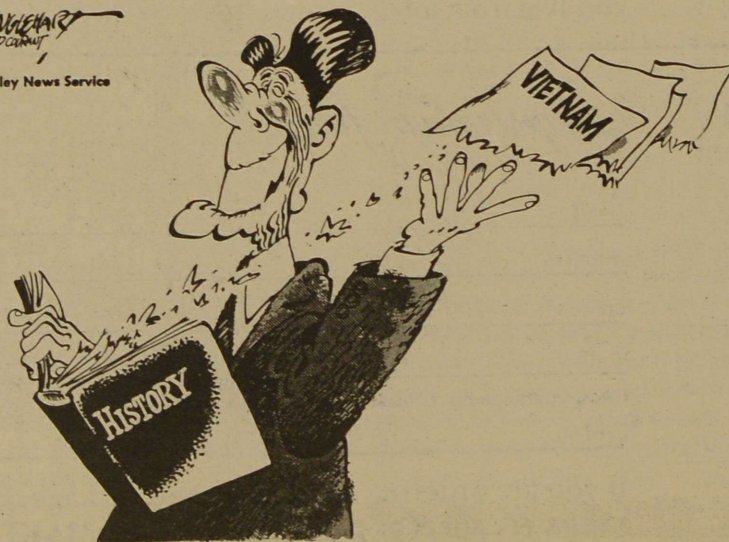
F.A. Harper told us: "A review of the historical consequences of war, so far as its effect on liberty is concern-

continued on page 18

Enemy the State, understood that the state gets its allegiance through people's mistaken belief that it protects them from other states. He sought to debunk this:

No alien state policy will ever disturb us unless our government puts us in the way of it. We are in no danger whatever from any government except our own, and the danger from that is very great; therefore, our own government is the one to be watched and kept on a short leash.

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Judith Jones, Libertarian for Mayor

by Tom Avery

On Sunday, May 3rd, the New York City chapter of the Free Libertarian Party nominated Judith Jones as its 1981 candidate for mayor of the Big Apple.

A project manager in the field of computer systems design, Ms. Jones is no stranger to civic activism. She has served as chair of the Bronx County chapter of the Youth Division of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and has received an award from the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR).

The incumbent mayor, Democrat Ed Koch (name rhymes with "botch"), is running in both the Democratic and Republican primaries and has gotten public support from former President Richard Nixon (among others). Speaking at a Republican fund-raising dinner in New York City this past June, the Tricky One observed that Koch is "a shoo-in for reelection and deservedly so." Since there will be no Republican party opposition to the incumbent, a hard-hitting libertarian campaign can attract a lot of attention from the news media.

Judith Jones intends to propose a principled alternative to the politics of the Democratic/Republican Party. She will call for drastic cuts in taxes, the repeal of all victimless crime laws,

a radical decentralization of the city's governmental structure and the transfer of municipal services from the public to the private sector.

The Jones campaign will publish a series of white papers presenting a detailed libertarian program to solve local problems. A white paper on privatizing public services, for example, will discuss police and fire protection, transportation, sanitation and education, among other issues. Another white paper will assess the impact of an immediate repeal of the 4% city sales tax and the city income tax as well as the repeal of the state income and sales taxes. Immediate relief from rising property taxes will also be discussed.

In 1973, New York City mayoral candidate Fran Youngstein received almost as many votes as the other four minor party candidates combined and got news coverage in all three major dailies: the *Times*, the *News* and the *Post*. This year, Judith Jones, Libertarian for Mayor, looks forward to building on this foundation and helping to make libertarianism a recognized alternative — the recognized alternative — to the wormy politics of the Big Apple.

Tom Avery edits the *New York Libertarian*, the excellent newsletter of New York's Free Libertarian Party.

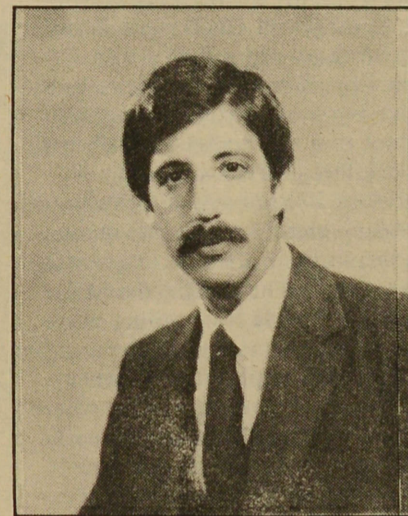
Dorn in Philadelphia Congressional Race

Libertarian David Dorn is a candidate in a special congressional election to be held July 21 in Philadelphia's Third District. An "Abscam" conviction and resignation created a vacancy in the central Philadelphia district.

Dorn, 30, a lifelong resident of the area, has the campaign backing of his wife, Lorrie, and their two-year-old daughter, Kristin. He is a successful independent insurance agent with a strong background in business and economics.

In his announcement speech, Dorn quoted Fred Perri, a Republican leader who was influential in the selection of his Republican opponent: "We're trying to get a candidate who can win. What's the difference between Republicans and Democrats any more?" Dorn then said, "That's exactly why I'm here."

Dorn then touched on many of the failings of government today, and spoke in favor of education tax credits, abolition of the Departments of Education and Energy, and a noninterventionist U.S. foreign policy in El Salvador and elsewhere. He also spoke in favor of deregulation of the local economy in Philadelphia as a way to help minorities and others. He



David Dorn

cited \$30,000 medallions for the right to own a cab as a restriction which reduces jobs.

In less than a year, the LP has built an active organization in Philadelphia which collected the 1,500 signatures Dorn needed for ballot status and is now helping with the campaign. David Dorn welcomes any help that you can provide in his race. To volunteer or to send a contribution, contact: Dorn for Congress, 1131 South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, (215) 387-6953.

Murray Rothbard on the New York City mayoral campaign.

Dear Libertarian:

This is an exciting year for the Libertarian Party! 1981 is a year for strictly local elections, but it is vital that we build on the momentum that we developed in 1980.

The New York City mayoralty race is by far the most important election this November; it provides us with a critical opportunity to increase the impact of the LP across the nation. New York City is the news media capital of the world. To make a greater national impact in the years to come we have to "crack" the media in a big way by doing well in New York City elections. A large vote for mayor this year will make the news media sit up and take notice and will increase the quantity (and improve the quality) of news coverage for the LP next year and for years to come. The Libertarian Party ran its first major local race in the New York City mayoralty contest in 1973. Fran Youngstein's 9000 votes was the LP's first dramatic step toward media awareness and general public recognition.

But getting on the ballot and running a good campaign takes money. There is no better libertarian investment for your dollar than the campaign of Judith Jones for mayor of New York City. A dynamic candidate, Judith intends to run a principled campaign, stressing the following positions:

- **Abolition of rent control.** It is rent control that has done so much to destroy the housing stock in New York.

- **Abolition of victimless crime laws.** Making peaceful actions "crimes" is not only immoral and despotic but it also diverts the police

from combating genuine crime. In particular, outlawing heroin makes that drug artificially expensive and forces addicts to commit countless robberies to pay for their habit.

- **Drastic tax cuts.** New York Libertarians look toward repeal of the crippling city sales, city income and city real estate taxes, which injure the poor and repress improvements in housing.

- **Drastic cuts in the New York City budget.** We want cuts especially in swollen welfare and education expenditures.

- **Breaking up New York City.** Genuine decentralization is necessary to break up the New York City Leviathan, which grew by forcing the incorporation of surrounding towns and boroughs through the state legislature. This means the political breakup of the city structure, and the devolution of all "governmental" functions, including revenue and expenditures, to the neighborhood level.

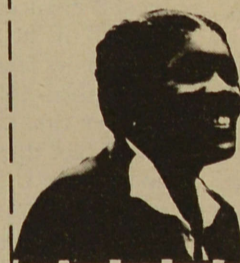
The Judith Jones mayoralty campaign will be principled and hard-hitting. At this point, it looks as if Mayor Ed Koch will receive little or no major party opposition. This will leave a news vacuum which the Jones campaign could easily fill. But this means funding. Your dollars contributed to the Jones campaign could strike a blow for Liberty and against the Leviathan State.

Sincerely,

Murray Rothbard
Murray Rothbard

Let's stop local Big Government where it starts—**New York City.** Here is my contribution to Judith's mayoral campaign. (Make checks payable to "Judith Jones, Libertarian for Mayor," c/o Free Libertarian Party, 225 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012.

Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____



Occupation _____

Phone _____

\$1000 \$500

\$250 \$100

\$50 \$25

\$10 Other _____

Judith Jones LIBERTARIAN FOR MAYOR

Paid for by Judith Jones, Libertarian for Mayor Committee, Ira Gottlieb, Treasurer, c/o Free Libertarian, 225 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

MX from page 2

works as planned, the Soviets will have to target all 4,600 shelters in order to carry out a first strike.

One objection that can be raised to this basing mode is that it implicitly assumes that the Soviets will observe the SALT II limitations on the number of ICBMs and MIRVs (multiple independently-targetable reentry vehicles) in their arsenal. Otherwise, the Soviets can neutralize the MX shell game simply by building more missiles and/or increasing the number of MIRVs on each missile. Either way, the Soviets reach a point where they can target all the shelters with plenty of warheads left to spare. Without SALT II, the necessary expansion of the MX system faces no upper bound, as it becomes just as vulnerable as present land-based ICBMs.

Several alternatives to the multiple-protective-shelter basing mode have been suggested. One of these would put the MX missile on small diesel-powered submarines, one or two per sub, operating close to U.S. shores. This basing mode would be much less expensive, but the Air Force opposes it strenuously because it would turn control of the MX over to the Navy. Another alternative involves protecting the MX with a BMD (ballistic missile defense — essentially a new abbreviation for ABM) system. Some even want a BMD system as a supplement rather than substitute for mobile basing.

All of the proposed alternatives, even when cheaper than multiple protective shelters, miss the basic point. U.S. land-based ICBMs are not vulnerable to a Soviet preemptive first strike. . .

All of the proposed alternatives, even when cheaper than multiple protective shelters, miss the basic point. U.S. land-based ICBMs are *not* vulnerable to a Soviet preemptive first strike, and it does not matter even if they are. There are any number of reasons why the Soviets could not pull off a successful first strike, each one of them sufficient to deter even the most diabolical aggressor.

First, despite their increasing accuracy, Soviet missiles are still not lethal enough to knock out a sufficient number of U.S. ICBMs. The Pentagon has a history of exaggerating Soviet capabilities, but if their latest intelligence is correct, the most lethal MIRVed Soviet ICBM is the SS-18 Mod 4, which carries ten 500 kiloton warheads each with a CEP (circular error probably) of 850 feet. CEP measures the accuracy of an ICBM by giving the radius within which one half of the warheads are expected to fall. This combination of accuracy and yield gives the Soviets only a 60 percent chance of destroying a U.S. Minuteman silo.

Admittedly, as time goes on, the Soviets will improve the accuracy and

kill probabilities of their ICBMs. But even the 60 percent figure, or whatever probability value the Soviets can attain in the forthcoming years, overestimates Soviet capabilities. There are problems both with the equations used to compute these probabilities and the variables put into the equations. The most serious uncertainties surround the CEPs of ICBMs. The ability of either U.S. or Soviet ICBMs to duplicate in practice the accuracies they achieve under artificial test conditions is open to question. Neither the Soviet Union nor the U.S. has ever test fired an ICBM over the North Pole, which would be the missile's route in an actual nuclear exchange. The ICBM's inertial guidance system must be programmed with precise data on the gravitational anomalies along its intended path. Even with such data, the warhead's accuracy can be degraded by such phenomena as thunderstorms and solar flares, if they affect the warhead's trajectory after the missile has burned out.

Not only have the U.S. and Soviet Union never test fired an ICBM over the North Pole, they have never exploded a nuclear warhead at the end of an ICBM flight, nor have they fired more than a few ICBMs in conjunction. An effective first strike requires that *all* components of the attacking force work together as flawlessly as they do when tested separately under unrepresentative circumstances. Furthermore, they must

all do so the *first time*. With a first strike, there can be no test runs or second chances.

If all of the above is not enough to give Soviet leaders second thoughts about their ability to launch a preemptive first strike, there is the additional fact that a first strike does no good if the U.S. adopts a launch-on-warning posture. Although the U.S. officially disavows launch-on-warning, the Soviet leaders can never be sure.

More important than all the operational difficulties in conducting a successful first strike is the fact that U.S. land-based ICBMs compose only one leg of the U.S. government's strategic nuclear triad. The U.S. continues to maintain a strong nuclear deterrent on the other two legs: strategic nuclear bombers and submarine-launched ballistic missiles. Suppose the unlikely event that the Soviets conducted a successful preemptive attack that wiped out *all* U.S. land-based ICBMs, and *all* U.S. strategic nuclear bombers, and the 45 percent of U.S. missile-launching submarines that are not continuously on station — within range and ready to fire — at any par-

ticular time. The U.S. would still retain on the remaining missile-launching subs a nuclear arsenal of approximately 3,000 warheads carrying the equivalent of 470 megatons. That amounts to more than 10 warheads for every Russian city with a population over 100,000. According to the Pentagon's conservative damage estimates, which take into consideration mainly the blast effects of nuclear explosions, 400 equivalent megatons will destroy 70 percent of Soviet industry and 35 percent of the Soviet population.

Only because U.S. nuclear doctrine requires that each leg of the strategic nuclear triad be able to independently deter a Soviet attack has U.S. ICBM vulnerability become an issue. The defense planners remain blind to the fact that, if the U.S. ICBMs are truly becoming vulnerable, the solution is to totally scrap land-based ICBMs and move to a strategic diad, rather than spend a fortune on mobile basing.

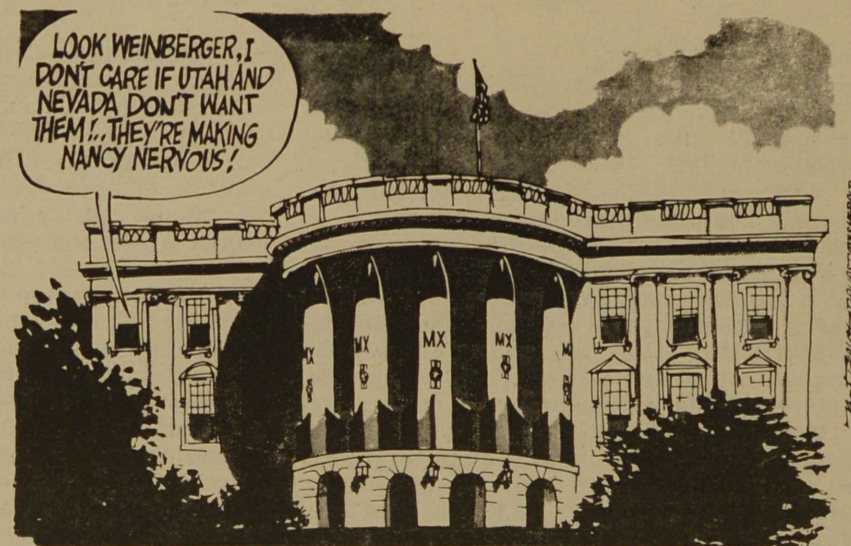
While the MX basing mode is the most expensive part of the system, the MX missile itself is the most dangerous. Currently, the U.S. Minuteman III with a Mark 12A warhead has a CEP of 730 feet and a hard-target kill probability against Soviet silos of 55 percent, roughly comparable to Soviet capabilities. In comparison, the MX missile will carry ten 335 kiloton MIRVs each with a CEP of 300 feet, giving the MX a single-shot hard-target kill probability of *99 percent!*

Of course, a preemptive first strike is as unfeasible for the U.S. as it is for the Soviet Union. If the Pentagon,

however, is paranoid about the survivability of U.S. land-based ICBMs, imagine how the MX will make the Soviet leaders feel about the survivability of their land-based ICBMs, which account for a much greater portion of their overall nuclear arsenal. Over 70 percent of Soviet warheads are on their ICBMs, as opposed to less than 25 percent for the U.S.

The MX is a destabilizing counterforce weapon. Counterforce, the ability to destroy the military capabilities of an opponent, figures prominently in scenarios involving limited nuclear exchange. U.S. planners claim they are only interested in "second-strike counterforce," but from the Soviet perspective, U.S. weapons designed for "second-strike counterforce" are indistinguishable from weapons designed for a preemptive first strike designed to knock out Soviet second-strike capabilities. Deployment of the MX will heighten international tension, and may even precipitate the very first strike it was designed to deter. The MX will usher in a new and more deadly phase of the nuclear arms race, in which any world crisis could trigger nuclear holocaust.

In short, libertarians must prevent deployment of the MX. Doing so is the prerequisite for bringing the insane nuclear arms race between the U.S. and Soviet governments under control. Stopping the MX is not simply a matter of avoiding an enormously expensive, unnecessary weapons system that will destroy the environment and disrupt communities, although these are important factors. Stopping the MX is a matter of survival.



Legislative Alert: STOP THE MX

Congress will vote soon, probably sometime in late July, on whether to appropriate funds for the MX basing mode for the MX missile. If passed, it will cost billions of dollars, wreak havoc on thousands of acres of privately held land, and cause a further acceleration of the arms race. Urge your Congressional Representatives to vote *NO* on the MX.

To make your voice heard, pick up the phone and call Western Union. Ask to send a public opinion message to your Senator and Congressperson. You can send a fifteen word message for \$4.25, which will be added to your phone bill. Or you can write to your Congresspersons: c/o House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515; or your Senator: c/o Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.

Please send your mailgram or letter today!

REGIONAL REPORTS

Region 2: California

by Bruce Lagasse

In the Los Angeles Mayor's race, the two Libertarian candidates, Zack Richardson and Earl Smith, finished in the middle of the pack, in a field of 20. Their assessments of their races—Earl Smith: 30,000 brochures distributed; 45 campaign appearances; a campaign involving over 200 people and concluding with no campaign debt (!); three strong position papers ("Making the L.A.P.D. More Cost-Effective," by Bob Poole; "Mass Transit," by George Hilton; "Rent Control," by Tom Hazlett); large ads in 5 minority newspapers. Zack Richardson: "I learned that one must start more than 6 months prior to the election. I did not, and had time problems getting organized. In particular, we need pre-campaign activities that get our candidates into the news. One must start the campaign proper with a staff already trained and ready. Do the training and candidate exposure between campaigns."

In the Santa Monica City Council race, Clayton Cramer, LP Chair in West Los Angeles, received a relatively small vote percentage in the face of massive spending by Tom Hayden's "Campaign for Economic Democracy" candidates (who won all four contested seats), and the landlord-backed, pro-rent-control candidates (who got just what they deserved). However, an encouraging note was that Cramer's highest vote totals came from the poorer, minority precincts of Santa Monica.

There are three upcoming initiatives: (1) DeLea Burns, a lay midwife, has been found guilty of practicing medicine without a license, and sentenced to thirty days in jail and three years probation. A petition is being circulated statewide, in an attempt to gain a Governor's Pardon. (2) The CAST Initiative (Citizens Asserting Supremacy over Taxation), if passed, would require voter approval of any and all taxes—at all levels of government. A statewide organization is set up to circulate the petitions, primarily through the tireless efforts of longtime Libertarian activist Pablo Campos. (3) An attempt is underway to get a Marijuana Reform Initiative on the Nov. 1982 ballot. It would read, in part, "Adults . . . shall not be punished criminally, or be denied any right or privilege, by reason of their private possession, transportation or cultivation of marijuana for personal use."

Region 3: Oregon, Washington

by Vivian Baures

The big news in the Northeast is that Paul Dillon of Philomath, Oregon, who will serve his second term on the Plat-

form Committee at the convention in Denver, has been appointed to fill a vacancy on the City Council in his town.

He has begun to serve and has found it to be hard work. By working hard at endless meetings he hopes to gain respect from his fellow council members so that he can begin to introduce some Libertarian ideas. Paul plans to run for re-election in 1982 when his term is up and from there, who knows? Maybe a new political career has been launched. We all wish him the best!

From Washington, secretary of the state party Penny Robinson files this report:

The Washington State Libertarian Party held its business convention on May 16th. Our featured speaker was Craig Armstrong from the Oregon LP, who was well received and much appreciated for his help and good guidance. We elected our 14 delegates and 12 alternates to attend the National Convention in Denver. We also elected our new state chair, Rod Colver, who has some very good ideas. With his positive working skills we hope to build the party into a successful political organization. Rod also appointed his two new officers: Penny Robinson, Secretary, and Colleen Downchilde, Treasurer. Pat Artz was appointed editor. We will continue to build support from the grass-roots level and put our efforts into being recognized as an alternative to the other political "choices."

Speakers Bureau Proves Effective

In its few months of existence, the Libertarian Party Speakers Bureau has brought articulate libertarian speakers before thousands of interested people. Organized in 44 states, the Speakers Bureau arranges appearances by Libertarian Party spokespeople before meetings of student groups, civic organizations, religious congregations, business and labor organizations, and other forums. In addition, the Speakers Bureau provides speakers with background information, sample speeches, and other useful materials.

Under the direction of Marion Williams, a long-time Libertarian Party activist and a national field coordinator for the 1980 Libertarian presidential campaign, the Speakers Bureau has evolved into a major outreach project for the Party. "Spokespeople for the Party are now regularly appearing before all kinds of groups in their communities to present our case," says Williams, "and those are some of the places where politics really happens, where people get their ideas about politics and where they make up their minds about whether to participate."

Enthusiasm for the project is evident at all levels of participation,

We recently served a summons on the Seattle Police Department which has brought us a great deal of publicity and support from local communities. We are going to continue our battle against the City and will be taking action against the state Liquor Board next. We feel we have a lot of support from businesses on this particular issue.

The Washington Party is a growing party with a paid membership list of 170 people—plus a contact list of 1500 people—and with calls coming into our answering service daily. State Central Committee will continue traveling throughout the state each month, building new regional organizations. We have been very successful in the past year and plan to double our goals for the coming year.

Region 6: Montana, Utah, Idaho

by Westley F. Deitchler

The Montana LP's convention was held June 13-14 in Billings. Tony Nathan was the Keynote Speaker. In attendance were all three candidates for the National Chair. Michael Emerling presented a workshop on Political Persuasion and John Baden, Director of the Center for Political Economy and Natural Resources at Montana State University, was the Saturday banquet speaker.

Thanks to the efforts of the state

from the speakers to the coordinators to the audiences. Tom Palmer of the national headquarters staff has spoken before over two thousand college and high school students in the Washington, D.C. area since the project began. Says Palmer, "It's one of the most enjoyable and exciting things about being a libertarian activist. The audiences are enthusiastic and eager to learn more about libertarianism and the Libertarian Party. That makes me more enthusiastic and it also keeps me on my toes. The questions are challenging and often unexpected; in fact, I can't think of a better training ground for an LP candidate than speaking before a local group." Palmer also says that attendees have taken home literature that has resulted in quite a few new national memberships.

Libertarians interested in volunteering as coordinators (working with program directors of local organizations) or as speakers should contact the Speakers Bureau coordinator for their state (see Libertarian Party Directory in this issue) or should contact Marion Williams at the Libertarian Party Speakers Bureau, 225 Lafayette Street, Suite 1212, New York, NY, 10012 (212) 226-6483.

party's leadership and two enlightened legislators, the Montana legislature passed a bill authorizing third parties to get on the ballot with a single petition drive. We plan to begin our ballot drive July 1.

We are also working on an initiative to decontrol the price of milk in Montana and are considering an initiative to reduce controls on liquor and wine sales and licenses. The latter would include a provision for a tax credit for present holders of such licenses to compensate for their decreased value.

The Utah Libertarian Party's State Convention was held June 20. David Nolan was the Keynote Speaker.

Their ballot drive for the 1982 election is already in process and the Utah Party is also spearheading a drive to get tuition tax credits.

The Ada County Party and the Boise based Center for the Study of Market Alternatives co-sponsored a debate on whether "a compulsory government school system (is) consistent with a free society." The debate was well attended and well covered by the press.

Region 7: Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming

by John Mason

Colorado recently held its state convention in Fort Collins, where new officers were elected, the Constitution and By-laws were modified to incorporate county affiliates, and the state party platform was revised. The convention was organized by Dan and Margie Boscia of the Larimer County party, and was the first held outside the Denver metropolitan area. The convention featured Vernon Brown, Karl Hess, Lou Witzeman of the private Scottsdale fire service, Lynn Crussel of Oklahoma, and science fiction writer L. Neil Smith.

The officers for 1981 are Ruth Bennett, Denver, State Chair; Linda Kaiser, Vail, Communications and Education Director; Dan Boscia, Ft. Collins, Membership Director; Craig Green, Littleton, Finance Director; and Richard Cheek, Denver, Campaigns Director. Regional members are M.L. Hanson of Denver, Lenn Jackson of Boulder, Cynthia Molson of Ft. Collins, and Pat Lilly of Colorado Springs.

Work is proceeding apace on the national convention, but local efforts continue as well. The party recently held a fund-raising election at a local community fair, where the public was invited to express with money their choice for the most unpopular political figure of 1981. The project raised almost \$200 and the results—Jerry Falwell was the winner—received radio and wire service coverage.

Boulder activists were recently involved in a campaign to halt an urban renewal program aimed to prop up the town's major shopping center.

continued on page 16

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May-June, 1981

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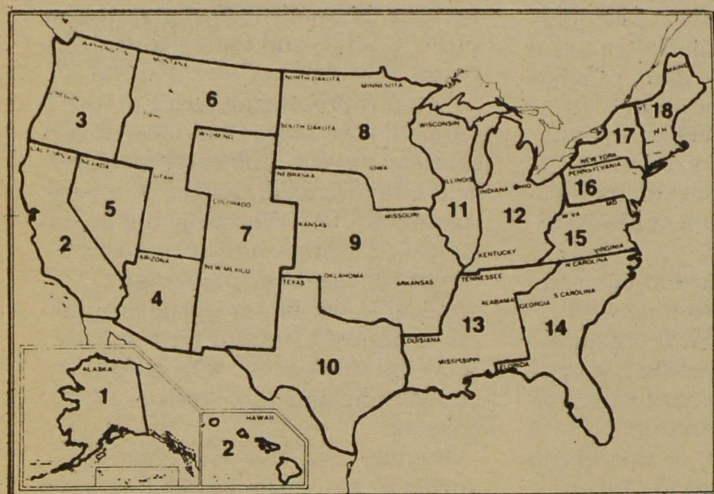
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Good publicity resulted, but the measure to repeal failed in a close election.

County affiliates continue to organize on a local level, and ground-work is being laid for the 1982 elections.

In Wyoming, party activists are beginning their organizing for 1982. The Wyoming Executive Committee is holding monthly meetings around the state, emphasizing discussion of important issues by way of introducing the public to Libertarian principles and proposals. Wyoming elections to the state legislature are organized on an at-large basis, similar to Alaska, and new State Chair Larry Gray of Buffalo has begun the research work to take advantage of the at-large elections in 1982. Dave Dawson, Exxecom member from Casper, Gerry Reith, Vice Chair of Sheridan, and Jim Blomquist, Execom member from Riverton, are assisting in the effort.

The Wyoming LP can be reached at their answering service in Casper at (307) 265-7804 or through State Chair Larry Gray at (307) 684-7257.

Region 11: Wisconsin, Illinois

by Leslie Graves Key

Murray Rothbard keynoted a highly successful LP of Wisconsin convention June 6-7 in Madison. Also speaking at this well-attended convention were Eric O'Keefe, Kent Guida, Linda Taylor, Frank Horn, and David Beito. The Madison CBS, NBC and ABC affiliates and five area radio stations covered parts of the convention, and interviewed O'Keefe.

A new Executive Committee elected at the convention includes Leslie Graves Key, chair; Scott Mixdorf, vice-chair; Mark Sunwall, treasurer; and Susan Pukay, secretary. Norman Spencer from Madison is editing the new LP of Wisconsin newsletter, *North Country Libertarian*.

The Illinois LP is completing preparatory work for their Fourth Annual Pig Roast at Bruce Green's house on the shores of the scenic Fox River, near South Elgin. Sixty to one hundred people are expected to attend this popular event.

On the legislative front, Illinois House Bill 1162, which would have required the LP in Illinois to file 35,000 signatures in December 1981 instead of August, 1982 has been effectively stalled by its placement on the 1982 spring calendar.

The Central Committee of the LP of Illinois unanimously passed a resolution, sponsored by Tom Verkuilen, urging passage of Senate Bill 499. Senate Bill 499 would entirely eliminate the inheritance tax in Illinois. Letters were sent to the Governor and members of the Illinois House of Representatives arguing for this tax repeal measure.

REGIONAL REPORTS

Region 12: Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky

by Sandy Burns

Indiana Libertarians fought rain and fog in order to attend the state's delegate nominating convention held May 9 in Indianapolis. Kevin Grant, State Chair-elect, reported that State Chair Joe Bryan is still recuperating from triple by-pass surgery and is doing much better. In fact, the LPI is planning to put Joe back to work soon.

Joe Laiacona solicited funds for Indiana's ballot drive for 1982. Ohio has agreed to help Indiana in this ballot drive. Plans are in the mill to run Stephen Dasbach for Secretary of State, John Rothrock for State Treasurer and Charles Reavis for State Auditor in 1982.

The Michigan Libertarians had a week's agenda to be completed in two days at their convention held in Detroit May 16 and 17. A major campaign to oppose Proposal A (another sneaky way to double-tax individuals and businesses) was opposed by the LPM and anti-tax activist Robert Tisch. Tisch received a standing ovation after his speech to the convention. Ben Bachrach did an excellent job of gaining media coverage for the event. (Ed. note: Proposal A was defeated.)

Eric O'Keefe gave the keynote address analyzing the history of the LP and forecasting the future of the LP after four years of the Reagan administration.

National Chair candidates Kent Guida and Alicia Clark were present for a question and answer session on why they are running and what their plans are for the future of the LP, if elected. Fred Dechow was elected new LPM Chair and Bette Erwin was elected new Vice-Chair. National Finance Chair Leslie Graves Key presented a workshop on fundraising and volunteer recruitment and conducted a workshop on developing media relations. The convention elected 17 delegates to the National Convention in Denver and named LPM Director Kathleen Jacob to the National Platform Committee.

The LP of Ohio convention was held June 20-21 at the Brown Derby Inn between Cleveland and Akron. Judy Jones, Libertarian candidate for Mayor of New York City, delivered the keynote address.

Featured speakers and workshops included Eric O'Keefe, former Florida State Chair Ted McAnlis, former Clark for President National Coordinator Chris Hocker, and at-large member of the 1980 National Platform Committee Ross Levatter.

I'll report on the late-June Kentucky convention in the next issue.

Region 13: Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee

by Phil Carden

The Alabama Party has decided to hold its state convention the same weekend as it will host the second Region 13 meeting scheduled in Tuscaloosa for Saturday, July 18. However, Chairman Tim Gatewood says the site of the joint meeting probably will be shifted to Birmingham for maximum attendance as well as the convenience of airborne visitors.

Tentative plans call for a joint banquet Saturday night at which all three candidates for national chair have been invited to speak. Alicia Clark and Kent Guida have already accepted, and John Mason's invitation is still open at this writing.

Louisiana Chairman Sparky Hall, whose delegation would have to travel farthest for the regional meeting, says he hopes to have a good portion of his state's nine national convention delegates and other activists on hand even with the extra hour's drive to Birmingham. Sparky says Louisiana has three new projects under way. One is to set up an organization to promote formation of private schools. Another is to make a big pitch next fall to the 100,000 state fair visitors from the already reserved booth. A third is to launch a new libertarian book publishing venture.

Mississippi Chairman Charles Clark says his state convention May 4 in Jackson was disappointing in attendance. He says Jim Clarkson's slide lecture on setting up a private school deserved a larger audience. Clark was re-elected chairman.

Tennessee's one-day convention May 16 included Chris Hocker who spoke for Kent Guida's candidacy for National Chair at Saturday's lunch. Literature sent in for Alicia Clark and John Mason was also passed around at the luncheon.

Bill McDonald and Mary Lou Gutscher of the Canadian Unparty presented workshops on grassroots campaigning, local organizing, fundraising and recruiting.

Region 17: New York

by Andrea Millen Rich

The New York State Convention May 30-31 in Albany was highlighted by a foreign policy debate between Roy Childs and Gary Greenberg; the crowd of more than 100 cheered for more. Other convention speakers included Peter Ferrara, Joan Kennedy Taylor, Richard Wilcke, Peter Breggin and John Zdanowicz (who will be doing a regular TV commentary in

Rochester). A panel on campaigning included 1980 candidates Dick Savadel, Dave Hoesly, Tom Goonan and Ernie Phillips.

At the convention banquet Ed Clark was "roasted" by Gary Greenberg, Bruce Evoy, Andrea Millen Rich, Joan Kennedy Taylor, Mike Kessler and Dave Walter.

Clark National Ballot Drive Coordinator Howie Rich was presented with the second annual "Hoesly Award" for achieving "50 in '80". Ed Clark was awarded this year's Phoenix Award by SIL's Dave Walter.

LP chair candidates Kent Guida and Alicia Clark were joined by Dave Walter, speaking on behalf of John Mason, in a question and answer period during Saturday's session.

Gary Greenberg was re-elected state chair; the other officers are Jorge Codina and Chuck Steber, vice-chairs; Charles Kiessling, secretary; and Ira Gottlieb, treasurer. Gottlieb was named to the national Platform Committee and Loretta Weiss to the Credentials Committee.

At the New York City convention earlier in May, Judith Jones, a systems analyst, was chosen to run as NYC Mayoral candidate. In Binghamton, urban planner Ed Jowett received the mayoral nod from the newly-formed Binghamton group. Both are expected to run very active and high-visibility campaigns.

The Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS) will hold their annual convention at NYU in New York in August.

The FLP and NYU-LS will co-sponsor an economics course in July, given by Rutgers economics instructor Richard Ebeling. The course will be given on five consecutive Wednesdays beginning July 1. For further information, call the FLP office at (212) 226-6483.

Region 18: New England

by Bill Burt

The Connecticut Libertarian Party elected new officers at its convention held May 24. The officers are: Jerry Brennan, chair; Pete Reed, vice-chair, Rich Loomis, treasurer, and Loki Scofield, secretary. Over 100 people were in attendance.

Lothar Frank, a Libertarian who has held the elected position of Greenwich Town Meeting Representative for the past seven years, will be running for the Greenwich 2nd Selectman seat this year. Frank's campaign has already received front page coverage in the *Greenwich Times*.

The Massachusetts Libertarian Party won a suit against the city of Woburn, Massachusetts when the city denied the MLP a permit to have a "Las Vegas night" fundraiser.

continued on page 20

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Books:

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Earth's Resources: Private Ownership vs. Public Waste. Libertarian answers to pollution and other environmental problems. (\$5.00 each)

LP Activist's Manual. Based on the Party's successful Political Action Workshops. (\$5.00 each)

A New Dawn for America by Roger MacBride (\$5.95 each)

A New Beginning by Ed Clark (\$5.95 each)

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Books For Libertarians

Prisoner Without A Name, Cell Without A Number

Prisoner without a name,
Cell without a number

Jacobo
Timerman

by Jacobo Timerman,
\$10.95, 164 pages

Reviewed by Tom G. Palmer

American libertarians—and their counterparts around the world—are deeply in debt to Jacobo Timerman, a courageous journalist from Buenos Aires, Argentina who was imprisoned, tortured and abused by his government from April, 1977 to September, 1979. Through his powerful book, *Prisoner without a name, Cell without a number*, Timerman has exploded the specious U.S. policy distinction between “authoritarian” and “totalitarian” regimes that has been promulgated by the American right.

After describing the kidnapping and brutal torture of a family of five, Timerman asks, “How does this scene conceivably differ from the events that transpired during the period of Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, Stalin? In certain procedural details, perhaps, though not in the conception of the event. For the event was conceived in accordance with a basic totalitarian principle: A political deed can be achieved through the destruction of

an individual; violence committed upon one person can signify the solution of a political problem, the strengthening of an ideology, a system.” In just a few lines, Timerman, a victim himself of the Argentine state apparatus so dear to the hearts of the American right-wing, has exploded the entire whitewash of dictatorship erected by U.S. ambassador to the U.N. Jeanne Kirkpatrick and her cohorts. The killings and abuses may be more or less common from dictatorship to dictatorship and from time to time, but the reality remains the same; at most it is a difference in quantity, not in quality.

While the destruction of the “authoritarian vs. totalitarian” distinction is having the greatest political impact in the U.S., there are other important lessons to be drawn from Timerman’s book.

Anti-Semitism has reemerged in Argentina as a powerful force, one of the props of the totalitarian ideology of the military. “The chief obsession of the totalitarian mind lies in its need for the world to be clearcut and orderly,” says Timerman, and the existence of a scapegoat provides a convenient tool for the creation of such an orderly, black-and-white fantasy world. Jews, in Argentina as in so many other countries, are a convenient scapegoat. They are singled out

for harassment, blamed for all the world’s ills, and placed at the center of a grand and all-powerful conspiracy to subvert the order of things. Timerman tells of pictures of Hitler in Argentine prisons, beatings accompanied by anti-Semitic taunts, special torture for those suspected of being Jewish, military indoctrination courses in anti-Semitic conspiracy theory, and the creation of a more withdrawn ghetto atmosphere within the Argentine Jewish community.

Timerman has drawn his own lesson from the Holocaust, one that is quite different from the one drawn by those who urge patience, restraint, and avoidance of confrontation in the face of anti-Semitic violence. “. . . In my opinion the most important lesson of the Holocaust doesn’t lie in the horrors committed by Naziism. Expounding those over and over fails to move any anti-Semite to pity. But the Holocaust teaches us the need to understand the Jewish silence and the Jewish incapacity to defend itself; it lies in the Jewish incapacity to confront the world with its own insanity, with the significance of anti-Semitic insanity . . . The Holocaust will be understood not so much for the number of victims as for the magnitude of the silence. And what obsesses me most is the repetition of the silence rather than the possibility of another Holocaust.” Silence is the

fastest route to the Holocaust, and Jacobo Timerman has done his part to break the silence.

While Timerman is clearly not a full libertarian (he supported military government to stop the “free-lance” terrorism, only to become the victim of “official” terrorism; he seems to treat his new home country of Israel as incapable of the very things he suffered and deplores, when in fact the Israeli government has committed its own outrages, as well as supporting dictatorships in South America and, in southern Lebanon, supporting Major Hadaad, a public admirer of Adolf Hitler), he offers us valuable insights into the working of statism and the totalitarian mindset. For example, in a state-dominated economy like Argentina’s, one of the most powerful weapons against a free press is the denial of advertising from the state enterprises that make up most of the economy, a crippling weapon that was used against Timerman’s own outspoken and courageously critical newspaper, *La Opinion*. Other insights are found throughout the book.

In short, we are in Jacobo Timerman’s debt for sharing his experiences with us in the hope that we may put a stop to such barbarity, once and for all. This time, let us hope the silence is overcome by the human courage to oppose wickedness, and let us be a part of that courage.

Foreign Policy from page 10

ed, supports the belief that war is an evil and that no long time good results from it.”

Leonard Read, founder of the Foundation for Economic Education, protested the Korean War with his passionate “Conscience on the Battlefield” (newly re-issued by FEE):

Force! Coercion! Violence!
Forever, it seems, people proposing force as a means to eliminate force! . . . To fight evil with evil is only to make evil general. To contend against involuntary action by involuntary action is only to make involuntary action general . . . There is enduring strength only in free men. When the truth of this is learned to the point of its becoming a profound faith, then — only then — will mass murders be removed from the agenda of men.

Frank Chodorov, a disciple of Albert Jay Nock, sought to channel this outrage against war and militarism into practical action. His passion rivaled any Vietnam protester:

Those of us who try to retain some modicum of sanity will be scorned by our erstwhile friends, spit upon, persecuted, imprisoned . . . We must steel ourselves for the inevitable. Every day we must repeat to ourselves as a liturgy, the truth that war is caused by the conditions that bring about poverty; that no war is justified; that no war benefits the people; that war is an instrument whereby the haves increase their hold on the have-nots; that war destroys liberty. We must train our minds, as an athlete trains his body, against the inevitable conflict with the powerful propaganda that will be used to destroy our sanity. Now, before it is too late, we must

learn to think peace in the midst of war.

Chodorov’s view can be seen as a synthesis of the anti-war views of his liberal forebears. His love of liberty and the free market fired his analysis of coercion, warfare, the state and militarism. He beckoned his readers to join him in the most noble of efforts:

If we will, we can still save ourselves the cost of empire building. We have only to square off against this propaganda, and to supplement rationality with a determination that, come what may, we will not lend ourselves, as individuals, to this new outrage against human dignity. We will not cooperate. We will urge non-cooperation upon our neighbors. We will resist, by counter-propaganda, every attempt to lead us to madness. Above all,

when the time comes, we will refuse to fight, choosing the self-respect of the prison camp to the ignominy of the battlefield. It is far nobler to clean a latrine than to kill a man for profit.

In sum, the policies of nonintervention, anti-militarism, anti-imperialism and peace are, theoretically and historically, integral parts of the libertarian philosophy.

(Many good works could be recommended for those interested in pursuing this subject. Among the best are *For a New Liberty*, by Murray Rothbard, especially chapter 14; *The Civilian and the Military*, by Arthur Ekcrich; *Not to the Swift*, by Justus Doenecke, and *In Search of Peace*, by F.A. Harper. You may order these books through the Libertarian Party Book Service. See next page.)

Sheldon Richman is chairman of the 1981 LP National Platform Committee.

Libertarian Party Book Service

Prisoner without a name, Cell without a number, Jacobo Timerman.
Reviewed in this issue. (hb., \$10.95)

The Civilian and the Military, Arthur Ekirch.
An in-depth and insightful history of the libertarian tradition of anti-militarism. Recommended. (pb., \$3.95)

Not to the Swift, Justus Doenecke.
Focuses on the opponents of the emerging cold war during the period 1943 to 1954. Shows that acceleration of the arms race and confrontation with the Soviet Union were not universally popular among American intellectual and political leaders. (pb., \$8.95)

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. (pamphlet, \$1.00)

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

Analysis of recent American foreign policy. Argues for a fundamental rethinking of foreign policy. Written by a leading analyst and primary foreign policy advisory to Ed Clark's 1980 presidential campaign. (pb., \$9.95)

The Draft: The Dynamics of Social Control, Milton Mueller.
Thorough examination of conscription, its purpose, its history, its impact. Argues that the draft is unnecessary to maintain national defense. (pamphlet, \$1.50)

Local Problems: Libertarian Solutions, William D. Burt.
In-depth treatment of local issues, focusing on municipal problems and libertarian, market solutions. Well documented and highly recommended for community activists and local candidates. (pb., \$5.00)

Rent Control: Myths and Realities, ed. by Walter Block and Edgar Olsen.
This study demolishes the case for rent control, demonstrating with sound logic and documentation that rent control leads to deteriorating neighborhoods and housing shortages. (pb., \$7.95)

Earth's Resources, Robert J. Smith.
Presents the case that conservation and environmentalism are more compatible with libertarianism than with statism. A pathbreaking work. (pb., \$5.00)

Educating the Worker Citizen, Joel Spring.
A prominent educational historian documents the domination of the American educational system by a government seeking to produce conformity and perpetuation of its own control. Important for understanding the way government has shaped social institutions. (pb., \$10.00)

The Regulation of Medical Care: Is the Price Too High?, John C. Goodman.
Reviewed in this issue. Demonstrates that the medical profession enjoys numerous legal privileges which raise the price of medical care and increase the incomes of doctors. Argues for a free market in medical care. (pb., \$5.00)

Race and Economics, Thomas Sowell.
Brilliant economist analyzes the effects of government intervention into racial relations, arguing that it leads to conflict and stagnation. (pb., \$11.00)

Strategic Disengagement and World Peace: Toward A Non-Interventionist American Foreign Policy, Earl C. Ravenal.
Two essays discussing the limitations on American world power and the need to diminish U.S. involvement around the world and the means by which the threat of nuclear war can be reduced. (pb., \$2.00)

Political Philosophy

A New Beginning, Ed Clark.
Systematic and readable overview of libertarianism with specific applications to important public policy areas. Written by 1980 Libertarian presidential candidate. Highly recommended. (pb., \$5.95)

A New Dawn for America, Roger L. MacBride.
Introductory exposition of libertarianism with more emphasis on abstract libertarianism and less analysis of public policy than *A New Beginning*. Written by 1976 Libertarian presidential candidate. Excellent introduction. (pb., \$9.95)

For A New Liberty, Murray N. Rothbard.
In-depth presentation of libertarianism by a leading libertarian scholar. Includes libertarian heritage, philosophy, economic analysis, public policy, and strategy for achieving liberty. (pb., \$6.95)

In Search of Peace, F. A. Harper.
This eloquent pamphlet argues that force and coercion are inappropriate means to achieve social goals. (pamphlet, \$1.00)

Conscience on the Battlefield, Leonard Read.
Set in the form of a dialogue between a dying soldier and his conscience, this brief pamphlet discusses the nature of freedom and responsibility. Written in 1951 during the Korean War by a veteran of World War I and reprinted with a new introduction in 1981. (pamphlet, \$1.00)

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. (pb., \$11.95)

The Law, Frederic Bastiat.
Classic polemic against statism by nineteenth century French libertarian economist. Dated but excellent. (hb., \$2.50, pb., \$1.00)

No Treason, Lysander Spooner.
Written by a great libertarian abolitionist of the nineteenth century, this work argues clearly and persuasively that one is not bound by all of the dictates of government, but that government must be judged by the standards applicable to all. Focuses on constitutional arguments. (pb., \$2.00)

Vices Are Not Crimes, Lysander Spooner.
Written by a prominent constitutional lawyer, this book systematically demolishes the pretensions of "moral reformers" to regulate voluntary conduct. Distinguishes between immoral conduct that should be illegal (aggression) and that which should not be regulated by law. (pb., \$3.95)

Fugitive Essays, Frank Chodorov.
Collection of essays by a libertarian journalist of the 1940's and 50's. Cogently and consistently makes the case for peace and freedom. (pb., \$4.50)

Economics

Economics in One Lesson, Henry Hazlitt.
Readable introduction to an often difficult subject. Intended to help the reader understand the effects of government economic policy. (pb., \$4.95)

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, \$2.00)

Man, Economy, and State, Murray N. Rothbard.
One of the great economic treatises of our time, this work provides a tour through economic science from first principles to applied economic policy. A masterful work; often times difficult to read. (pb., \$10.00/hb., \$30.00)

Power and Market: Government and the Economy, Murray N. Rothbard.
An extension of *Man, Economy, and State* that applies economic analysis to government intervention, arguing that intervention leads to monopoly, unemployment, and poverty. Presents a convincing case for the market. (pb., \$4.95/hb., \$15.00)

Techniques for Change

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

The Political Campaign Handbook, Arnold Steinberg.
Political Campaign Management, Arnold Steinberg.
These two books provide an exhaustive guide to campaign management. Recommended reading for Libertarian candidates and campaign managers. (*The Political Campaign Handbook*: hb., \$21.95/*Political Campaign Management*: hb., \$23.95)

How to Win Votes, Edward Costikyan.
A well-written and up-to-date manual by a top political adviser to New York City's Democratic mayor Edward Koch. Stresses opinion polling, TV ads, and mobilizing the non-voter, and pays particular attention to the importance of issues. (hb., \$12.95)

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Tax Cutting from page 6

total income would have to pay a higher tax than the two-earner couple. This is true to a lesser extent under the Reagan proposal of deductions. The New Right has made it clear that it would rather raise taxes for single taxpayers than lower taxes for two-earner families, believing that to do so "would induce mothers who are now at home caring for their children to enter the labor force."

The best widely supported tax proposal currently in Congress is not Reagan's watered down and complex package but a reasonably simple income tax indexation proposal introduced by Willis Gradison (R-Ohio) with 131 co-sponsors: H.R. 247.

The best of the tax "cut" proposals, the original 10-10-10 Kemp-Roth, would, given double-digit inflation, likely have only kept taxes level as a fraction of real income for three years, but then would have introduced indexation.

Congress has not raised income tax rates explicitly since World War II. Instead it has allowed a combination of increased wealth, inflation, and progressive rates to generate huge increases in revenue. Even though real income quit growing for average workers in the late sixties, inflation has made it possible for the government to seize more and more of their income.

Tax "cuts," more or less of the sort now likely to emerge from Congress, given Reagan's apparent abandonment of the supply-side theology, have been passed in 1965, 1967, 1971, 1975, 1976, 1977 and 1978 with no real change in the nature of what was being perpetuated through deficits and inflation.

Tax rate indexation, which was the "secret weapon" in the original Kemp-Roth, would force Congress to treat taxpayers much in the same way it now treats spending interests. Increases in expenditures, at least in real terms, would force Congress to explicitly raise taxes — something it has not done in years.

H.R. 247 would adjust personal income tax rates to inflation by indexing the bracket amount and the personal exemption to the Consumer Price Index.

Tax rate indexing would moderate the government's vested interest in maintaining inflation by reducing the windfall revenues brought in by "taxation." By forcing explicit votes on spending increases, it would help expose the politicians for what they are — tools of various spending interests.

Jule R. Herbert, Jr. is President of the National Taxpayers Legal Fund and a member of the Libertarian National Committee.

Convention from page 8

tional Chair, the National Director, the Chair of the Constitution and Bylaws Committee (Bill White), Richard Winger, and an appointee of each of the three candidates for National Chair.

All of the candidates for National Chair were happy to give their views on this topic, and were interested in hearing more evidence and arguments for other positions. They indicated that their views on whether to hold the next presidential nominating convention in 1983 or 1984 were not etched in stone.

O'Keefe from page 24

push significant government-reducing measures through legislatures and city councils, but it can be done.

Whatever means are available for passing education tax credits, Libertarians have an active role to play. Libertarian Party groups can join or lead groups promoting tax credit initiatives. Libertarian candidates can promote credits during their campaigns, and elected Libertarians can introduce appropriate legislation. An example is being set in the District of Columbia, where the D.C. Libertarian Party and individual Libertarians are assisting the non-partisan Committee for Improved Education in petitioning to place a \$1,200 educational tax credit proposal on the November ballot.

In conclusion, control over education is a fundamental pillar of government control over society. We can't wait until we virtually have a free society to eliminate government control of education — or else we'll never get there.

We can't eliminate government control of education today or tomorrow — unfortunately — government is too powerful.

What we must do is to fight continually to completely separate the state from education. We must make this a basic part of our program to eliminate government coercion from society. We should fight to reduce direct government control over education, and we should fight to reduce the taxes which support this control — until we have eliminated them both, and created the free environment necessary for voluntary, diverse, and efficient educational alternatives.

Region 18 from page 16

MLP activists Jim and Sue Poulin are recruiting candidates and campaign coordinators for each state senatorial district.

The Massachusetts LP has begun a fundraising drive for the 1982 gubernatorial campaign. 2½% of the vote in 1982 will give the LP permanent ballot status in Massachusetts.

The Maine Libertarian Party will be represented at state fairs this summer, including the largest state fair in Maine, the Kennebec County State Fair on September 24-26.

Charles Jacques received 7% of the vote in his Libertarian campaign for Portland City Council (at large) on May 3.

North Carolina First State Back on Ballot!

by Craig Franklin

On June 30, the Libertarian Party of North Carolina filed more than 10,000 valid signatures of registered North Carolina voters with the State Board of Elections to regain ballot status. The filing climaxed a ballot drive that began last November and insured success by collecting 15,500 signatures. North Carolina is thus the first state Libertarian Party to regain ballot status since the 1980 election. (We lost ballot status by failing to get 10% of the vote for President or Governor.) Ballot status is now assured through 1984.

LPNC Vice Chair Naudeen Beek organized the ballot drive and began before the election by preparing petition forms and having them approved by the Board of Elections. "We knew that the legislature would change the ballot access law when they met in the spring—because of John Anderson," reported Ms. Beek, "So we decided to get back on before they made the job harder." Her prediction was right on target: in April, the legislature changed the law to require petition signers to *change* their registration to the new party. However, timely testimony by Libertarian Carl Wagner (and the hint of a lawsuit, since by then the party had collected more than 10,000 signatures) caused the legislature to postpone the implementation date for the new law to July 1.

With the deadline looming, and with the very difficult new requirements, the ballot drive went into high gear. Up to that point, it had been the lonely province of Tim Spong, who had started in November and who collected 9,000 signatures! (Tim was a rock. If you want a reliable petitioner, give him a call.) Craig Springer took two weeks off work and collected another 1500. He also trained his friend Ed Honeycutt who got 1100. Steven Beek got 500. We also received help from Gary Marcus, Ron DeMillo, and Andy Fertig.

Volunteers Bobby Emory, Carl Wagner, Lanelle Prochnow, Howard Wilson, Will Ferrell, Marsha Ambler, and many others accounted for the remaining signatures. Everyone helped a little. Those who couldn't give time gave money.

1981 was a marked improvement over previous ballot drives. In 1976, the MacBride campaign came in and did nearly everything. In 1978, the LP of North Carolina did half and National did half—because ballot status was good through 1980. In 1981, we did it all by ourselves—our own money and (mostly) our own people. That's progress.

We learned a few things, too: people signed more readily this year—they had heard of Ed Clark and the Libertarian Party. Some had even voted for us. Since it was close to the 1980 election, fewer had changed their addresses since last registering to vote. Also, without time pressure, we were more careful. The net result of these factors was a validity rate exceeding 80%! This contrasts with 1978, when the validity rate was only 67%. Our advice to other state parties: *START NOW!* You'll save time, effort, and money. Also, they may change the law on you: new ballot access legislation is now under consideration or has passed in 13 states. In the case of North Carolina, the new law means that only the three largest parties will be on the ballot in 1984, instead of the six that were on in 1980 (the Big Three plus Anderson, Citizens, and the Socialist Workers Party), unless one of the minor parties wins an expensive lawsuit. This is unfair, but it is definitely good for us—we'll get *all* of the protest votes. As Dick Randolph is fond of saying, "There's nothing to it except to do it!" The Activist Corollary is "Do it NOW!"

Craig Franklin is a Libertarian National Committee representative from North Carolina.

Libertarians Improve in Special Elections

Special congressional elections were held in Maryland and Michigan in May. In Maryland, Libertarian Tom Mathers gained 1.2% of the vote. Ed Clark had gained .8% of the vote in the same district last November. Michigan Libertarian Bette Erwin polled 1.5%, an improvement over the .8% by the Libertarian congressional candidate in November.

In both of these districts, and in Philadelphia's Third District, (see "Dorn" article on page 11) Libertarian activity had been limited until late in 1980. But each of the three campaigns has led to expanded activity and organization in the areas.

The most significant part of either of these races was the legal victory in Maryland. Mathers was placed on the ballot only because of the hard work

of a team of Libertarian attorneys. Robert Booze, Steve Fielder, and Paul Kunberger laid the groundwork for a victory in U.S. District court. The victory could have important implications for future law suits against the restrictive Maryland election laws.

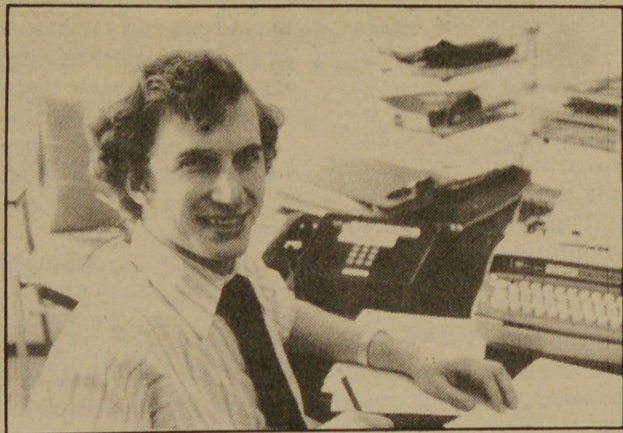
Also, it could help lead to legal victories in other states, and even to better treatment of the LP by election officials. Already Emil Franzi has reported that the newsletter of the Pima County, (Tucson) Arizona Election Board had a cover story on the Libertarian Party vs. Maryland case last month. The article outlined the hardnosed position taken by the Libertarians in the Maryland case, implying that the obstruction Libertarians faced from Maryland election officials might not be the right way to deal with us.

Libertarian Party NEWS

Jay Hilgartner: An Appreciation

While in the Air Force, Jay Hilgartner lived in Alaska, a state that now boasts Libertarians in city council, mayoral and state legislative offices. But Hilgartner's first exposure to libertarianism and the Libertarian Party occurred at a geographically and politically distant location — Washington, D.C. After one and a half years of college, while working nights in the emergency room at Washington's Sibley Hospital, Hilgartner walked into the 1976 national convention of the Libertarian Party, held at the Capitol Hilton in Washington, D.C., just "because it looked interesting."

In June of 1977, Jay volunteered to help staff the old Libertarian Party national headquarters office on "P" Street, N.W. After helping ship material orders for a week, Jay was asked if he would work full-time for the LP as the coordinator of the Young Libertarian Alliance. Jay wanted to keep his hospital job, and turned down the offer, but continued to volunteer part of each day, doing most of the LP's shipping and working with libertarian student groups when he had time.



Jay Hilgartner

In November of 1977, Jay finally accepted the offer made by national director Robert Meier to become a regular paid staff person. Working part time, Jay continued to do shipping and some libertarian campus work. In January of 1978 he began a full-time job with the LP, doing much the same activity. In the summer of 1978, Jay and summer intern Leda Cosmides greatly expanded the support services offered to YLA chapters. Banners, organizing manuals and a national YLA newsletter were among the resources made available.

The emergence of libertarian student groups unrelated to the Libertarian Party and severe Federal Election Commission regulation of political parties moved the Libertarian National Committee to end funding for the Young Libertarian Alliance. Jay continued to do the hard, daily work of the office, such as shipping material orders.

Politics produced new tasks for Jay. He was involved in the early

ballot drives to get the Libertarian Party and its presidential candidate on the ballot in North Carolina in 1978. He also did an extended tour as a petitioner for Ed Clark in Nebraska in 1979. Jay also helped Tom Palmer, then Eastern Director of Students for a Libertarian Society, organize the Committee Against Registration and the Draft and mobilize an anti-draft rally at the Capitol in April, 1979. Hilgartner testified against the draft before a Congressional committee on behalf of the LP, and moderated a panel on the topic of the draft at the 1979 Libertarian National Convention in September.

Not neglecting his own back yard, Jay was the chair of the Libertarian Party of the District of Columbia when it ran its first candidate, Marion Williams. Williams' race for Advisory Neighborhood Commission narrowly missed victory. Jay was also instrumental in getting libertarians in the D.C. area involved in the Washington area Coalition Against Registration and the Draft.

From January to May in 1980, Hilgartner was the editor of *Libertarian News*. In May, Michael Burch

became the new publications director for the LNC, allowing Jay to become assistant director of research for the Clark for President Campaign. Jay provided much of the research behind the Clark White Papers and Issue Papers, and he authored the Clark Issue Paper on nuclear missile systems.

Early in 1981, Jay was again editor of *Libertarian News*. He recently left the LNC for a laboratory job, and to pursue his formal education. Since leaving, he has written articles for syndication to the state party newsletters. Jay lives with his wife, Cindy Ingham, who he met when they both worked at Libertarian Party national headquarters. Jay is doing research on the nuclear pacifism movement in Europe, and will publish an article on the subject later this year. This fall, Jay will enroll at George Mason University, in Vienna, Virginia, to study in the Undergraduate Program in Austrian Economics. Best of luck, Jay!

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These coins will be available at the Tenth Anniversary Convention in Denver. Price will be \$25 per coin — perhaps higher, if the cost of silver increases more rapidly than expected.

You may reserve up to five coins in advance, however, at a guaranteed price of only \$22.50 apiece, by sending advance payment prior to July 4th. You will be sent an order confirmation, and your coins will be waiting for you at the convention. If you are not attending the convention, we will send your coins to you after the event; there is a handling and shipping charge of \$2.50 per coin for this service, which effectively offsets the advance order discount.

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IMPORTANT NOTE: Coin orders are being processed through the LP/10 convention headquarters, for accounting purposes (15% of the receipts from sale of these coins goes to LP/10). Checks must be made out to NUMISMATIC RARITIES, however. Do not combine your coin order with your convention registration!

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Clark from page 2

come about when the state LP's have greater confidence in the National Party's abilities, particularly when it comes to paying off its debt. I think that LP fund-raising in general needs considerably more creativity than has been shown. We need to do more than simply send out finance letters to known givers asking for more money because we need it. I propose specific fund-raising drives for specific projects for which the money raised is allocated accordingly.

3. *Internal Education Program:* We are, in some parts of the country, acquiring new members almost faster than we can absorb them. Many of them joined because they liked some of our ideas, but they are unfamiliar with many other aspects of Libertarianism and with our solutions to many problems. We need to do more than just give them a platform to read. We must supply materials and direction to state and local organizations for de-centralized internal education programs which will help local groups to teach new Libertarians what we are and why.

4. *Publicity And Media Relations:* Libertarians have had great success at the local level, with some success at the national level. I believe that the only way for the Libertarian Party to attract the attention of the national network media is for the LP to become so strong at the local level that it can no longer be ignored. I think that one governor in Alaska would give us more media coverage ultimately in Washington and Los Angeles than all the news conferences, press releases, and national position papers imaginable ever could. I believe that for now the National Committee needs to spend far more time teaching local LP's how to garner local coverage than it does trying to figure out how to get Dan Rather to pay attention.

5. *National Headquarters And Staff:* Many people on the staff have worked long and hard to aid local organizations and carry on the business of the national party. What they need is more specific direction from the NatCom and the Chair, who must in turn receive that direction not from each other but from the state and local organizations. I plan to be a full-time Chair and will visit National Headquarters often and carry to the staff the needs of those around the country. I believe that the LP must be run in a business-like manner and propose that we institute a set of written job specifications for each employee of the National Committee.

The above is just an outline of some of the things I propose. The most important thing I think I can give to the Libertarian Party is unification. Along with our fantastic growth has come a growth in factionalism. Too many Libertarians are spending too much time and effort at

continued in column 4, this page

Guida from page 2

full-time volunteer at national headquarters for two months during the campaign, and am presently National Membership Chair of the Libertarian Party. My organizational experience is heaviest in the areas of fundraising (I organized the raising of \$16,000 in three weeks to inaugurate the Maryland ballot access drive), ballot access, and working with volunteer activists.

I own and operate a marine construction firm in Annapolis, Maryland—less than an hour away from party headquarters in Washington, D.C. This point is significant because it means I am available at virtually any time to personally assist in handling the work done at headquarters.

The Role of the Chair and the National Party: The National Chair will inevitably become a spokesperson for the Libertarian Party and should be capable, at a moment's notice, of relating our principles to major issues. We must continue to develop a unique, coherent Libertarian approach which ties together our views on the economy, civil liberties, and foreign policy. We must take particular care to distinguish ourselves from the rhetorically pro-free market policies of the Reagan administration, and we can do this by explaining our views in terms of a comprehensive package, rather than isolated issues.

Being an articulate spokesperson means little if there is no organization to speak for, so building the Libertarian Party in a "nuts-and-bolts" sense is an equally high priority. I believe the only true way to build an organization is to remove all obstacles to effective activism at all levels. Whether "grassroots" or "top-down," every successful action, anywhere and at any level, helps activity in other places and at other levels.

Specific Proposals: I pledge to implement the programs described briefly below:

1. *Winnable Races.* National should help focus resources on Libertarian campaigns which have a realistic prospect for victory in 1982, particularly Dick Randolph's race for Governor of Alaska.

2. *Permanent Ballot Status.* We should assign high priority to qualifying candidates and running credible races in states where we can get permanent ballot status in 1982.

3. *Fundraising.* We can raise enough money both to pay our debts and to fund important programs by developing a permanent national finance structure which is decentralized in nature and rewards participants at every level.

4. *Candidates School.* For 1982 and beyond, National should offer a concrete, intensive program to help Libertarian candidates learn successful campaign techniques which have

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Mason from page 2

forthright discussion and consultation with activists and party leaders throughout the country, while maintaining and enhancing party unity. The role of Chair is critical in developing a consensus, and that person should be well-based in all aspects of party leadership and activism.

I have just completed my second term as State Chair of the Colorado party. Prior to that I held various positions on the party's Board of Directors. I have been directly involved in much of the activist work that is so necessary for our success. I have petitioned in three elections and for a dozen candidates. I have published and edited a state party newspaper. I have raised funds in person, on the telephone, and by direct mail. I have organized and participated in campaigns for public office, and during my two campaigns for public office, I addressed a multitude of audiences and did dozens of television, radio, and print interviews.

During my term as State Chair, I successfully organized a petition drive that placed Ed Clark on the Colorado ballot seven months earlier than in 1972 and 1976, and — six months later — another drive that placed a full slate of Libertarian congressional candidates on the ballot. Both drives were accomplished with no financial or professional assistance from outside the state.

During my term, with the help of many individuals, the Colorado party opened a permanent headquarters and financed it fully through a monthly pledge system. Our membership and contributors quadrupled, and I have encouraged and undertaken the development of a dozen county affiliates. In that capacity, I have resolved differences between local affiliates and the state party and between individual members, in a way that has encouraged participation by all parties concerned. Throughout my term, the state party has operated on a sound financial basis, generating revenues with a series of well-conceived and successful fund-raising efforts.

I am thoroughly familiar with the role of state parties and activists and the unique challenges involved in chairing Libertarian Party organizations. I have always expressed my own opinions and ideas, but have remained open to and willing to work with differing opinions and personalities.

As a candidate for public office, I have learned how to answer the hard questions and present our principles, our programs, and our proposals to the public. I know first-hand the commitment, the anxieties, and the rewards of running for office as a Libertarian candidate.

As the only candidate who has been a member of the Libertarian National Committee, I know how it works — how it succeeds and where it fails —

continued in column 4, this page

Clark from column 1

tacking other Libertarians. We need to resolve our internal differences, many of which are legitimate, without resorting to rancor or personal attack. We need to utilize the talents of all Libertarians regardless of their individual ideological or political differences. We must learn to respect our own diversity. As your National Chair I assure you I would be deeply committed to that goal. If you have any questions, or would like more material, please contact me at: Friends of Alicia Clark, P.O. Box 11, Tucson, AZ 85702; or Alicia Clark, 3445 Monterey Rd., San Marino, CA 91108 (213) 796-8231.

Guida from column 2

worked in the past.

5. *Media Contact Program.* This will set specific goals to distribute news releases and hold news conferences on a firm schedule, to improve the quality and quantity of our media coverage.

6. *Local Activist "Blueprint".* This will be a written record of successful local party activity, compiled to guide activists who are trying to start and maintain new local party organizations.

7. *Newsletter Promotion.* This is to encourage and facilitate the exchange of party newsletters—and useful ideas—among state and local party activists in every state.

8. *LP Film.* We've needed a short introductory film on the LP for years. I'll see that one gets produced and distributed.

Space limitations make it impossible to describe my policies and programs at greater length, including my ideas on the proper relationship between the Party and presidential campaigns. I'll be pleased to send you a copy of my detailed campaign statement. Write to me at: 1566 Bay Head Road, Annapolis, MD 21401 or call me at (301) 757-4797.

Mason from column 3

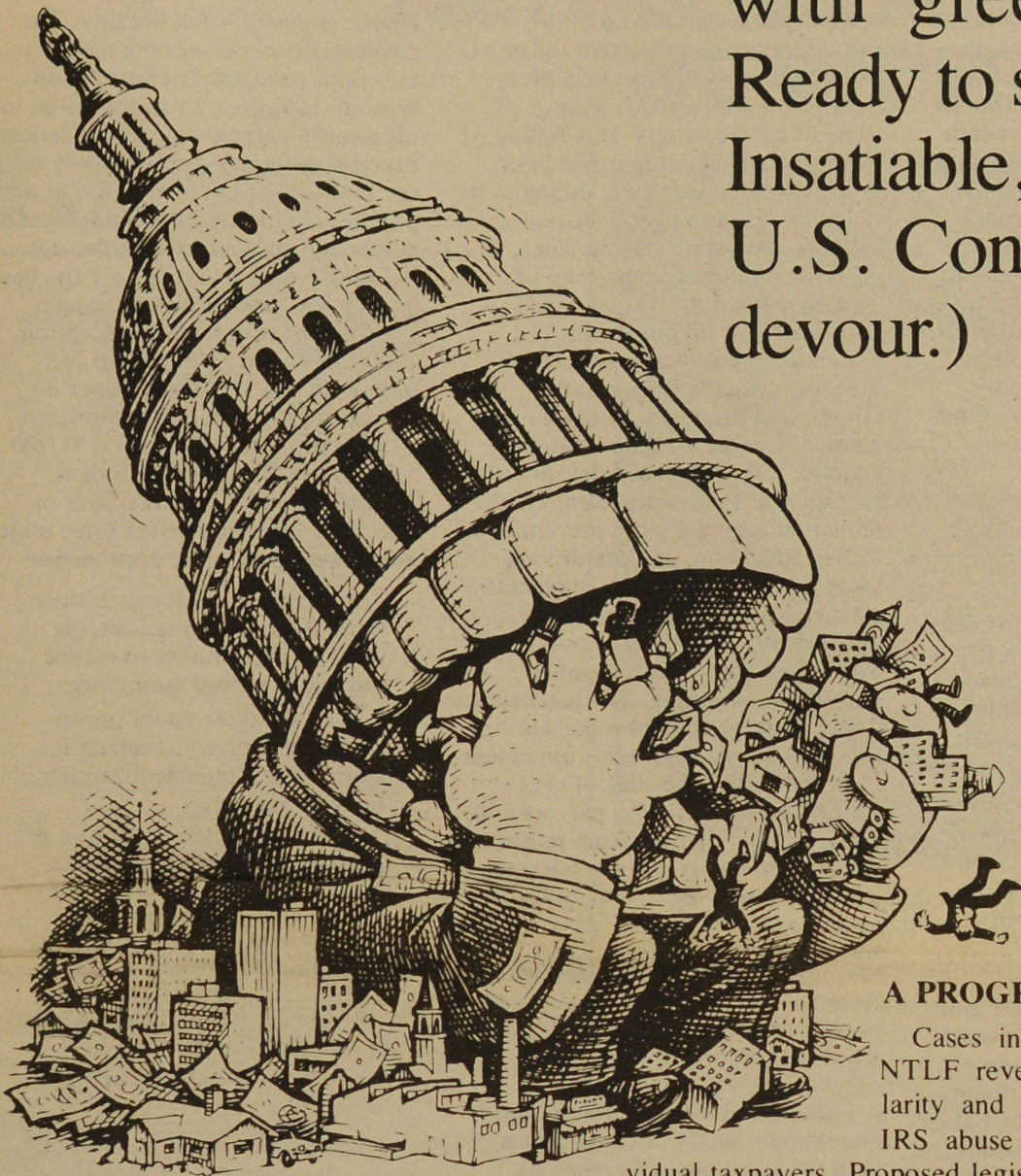
and I believe that my four years of experience on the LNC can help make it work better.

This is the kind of experience that I believe is critical in a National Chair. This is the kind of experience that can foster an open and fruitful discussion of the questions before us. This is the kind of experience that can help forge a unified grass roots political movement dedicated to Liberty in our lifetimes.

I ask for your support in my campaign and your vote in Denver. With your help and your resolve, we can seize the opportunities before us.

If you have any questions or need any further information, please get in touch with my campaign manager: Bill Evers, P.O. Box 4030, Stanford, CA 94305, (415) 326-1624, or me at: 186 S. Emerson St., Denver, CO 80209.

vo·ra·cious(vo-ra'-shəs) *adj.*, 1. Eating with greediness; ravenous. 2. Ready to swallow up or engulf. 3. Insatiable, especially as applied to U.S. Congress. (Latin, *vorare*, to devour.)



It's true.

Yes, it has become a common observation that the spending and taxing practices of Congress are out of control. This is dangerous both to your pocketbook and your freedom.

Over 75 percent of the public believes that cuts in government spending are possible and would make a major contribution to an improved economy. While others talk, we're doing something about it.

A PHILOSOPHY.

The National Taxpayers Legal Fund was founded in 1973 to protect the civil liberties of taxpayers threatened by government taxing, spending, and regulatory policies.

We believe that it is important to challenge the all-too-common notion that taxpayers exist merely to serve the government. We reject the idea that the civil liberties and property rights of taxpayers can be ignored when the time comes to pay for all the programs dreamed up by bureaucrats and special interests.

The rights to own property, contract freely, and retain profits are fundamental human rights jeopardized by a centralized, overgrown government.

A PROGRAM.

Cases in the files of NTLF reveal the regularity and frequency of IRS abuse against individual taxpayers. Proposed legislation known as the "Taxpayers Bill of Rights" is the major reform effort to protect the constitutional rights of taxpaying Americans. NTLF research has focused congressional and public awareness on the urgent need for this protection.

The Project on Military Procurement. About 30% of next year's federal budget will go to the Pentagon. Much of it will be misspent or wasted. Yet the Department of Defense is considered by many to be exempt from public scrutiny. NTLF's Project on Military Procurement has shown the cost overruns and ineptitude at the Defense Department to be a national scandal, endangering the legitimate defense interests of the country.

The relationship between the Pentagon and contractors in the defense industry is scrutinized by the Project and brought to public attention, as is the impact of military spending on the economy, taxes, and peace.

The Banking Study Project. NTLF conducts a continuing investigation of the influence of

multinational banks on American foreign policy. The International Monetary Fund and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation illustrate the capacity of the banking community to transfer its liabilities onto the hapless taxpayer.

We are initiating research projects on election law reform, alternatives to the bankruptcy of Social Security, and fundamental changes in the federal income tax system.

NTLF is involved in a wide range of issues because we are convinced that fraud, waste, and regulatory excess in government are themselves violations of taxpayer rights. You can get involved by becoming a sponsor of the National Taxpayers Legal Fund. Your contribution is tax-deductible.

National Taxpayers Legal Fund
201 Massachusetts Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

- Send me more information about NTLF.
- Sign me up as an NTLF sponsor. I enclose \$25 or more so please send me *Tax Action Report* every month.

Name _____

Address _____

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Find out what's *really* going on in Congress. Dial NTLF's *Congress Watch*. (202) 546-9696. Updates on Congressional activity.

Bergland from page 27

staff doesn't believe in it and know it backwards and forwards. Second is the development and nurturing of a cadre of hard-core activists. We must create opportunities for full-time commitment for the torch bearers of our radicalism. Libertarianism is radical. It will prevail only if libertarians are radical too.

Electoral Politics. I see two primary goals here also. Campaigning is an *educational* endeavor. A candidate can reach ready made audiences and teach them the benefits of freedom — for them. Those who like what they hear are prospects to become activists and supporters. But the message they hear must be principled and hard-core. In the political marketplace, product differentiation is absolutely necessary. People will see no reason to get involved with a party that doesn't promise something radically different than the Demopublicans.

Second is the prospect of putting libertarians in office. We know this is possible. But we must determine what can be accomplished by shooting for various types of offices. What can a libertarian do in each type of office? Can we afford to go all out to elect a city councilperson and, due to lack of resources, pass up other races in that locality? It is necessary to develop criteria for selecting races and candidates, to set realistic goals, and to develop criteria for assessing performance after each campaign. It is further necessary to develop plans and goals for L.P. officeholders and to develop criteria for assessing their performance in office. Each state and local L.P. group should have an ongoing program to deal with such subjects.

Setting Priorities. Businesses maximize profits by using resources efficiently to produce the greatest return. A political party must decide what its "return" is in order to assess whether it is operating profitably. Unlike the Dems and Reps, the L.P. cannot point to officeholders or, realistically, even votes as dispositive criteria. How can we know whether we are using our scarce resources efficiently?

The answer to that question will be found in the answers to the following questions. First, what real world events in what categories will tell us our society is moving in a libertarian direction *as a result of our efforts*. Second, to which issues, projects, coalitions, etc. should we allocate our resources in order to cause those events.

A vigorous debate of these two questions by libertarians of good will should give us a guide to principled, effective action in the foreseeable future.

Conclusion. Nobody said it would be easy. Revolutions seldom are. But,

no matter the burdens of being an L.P. activist, officer, candidate, etc., I have been continuously refreshed and energized upon reflecting that I want passionately to live in freedom and that the Libertarian Party is making a substantial contribution to the achievement of that glorious condition. Even though I will no longer be National Chair, I intend to continue to contribute my energies to the L.P. and the cause it represents. I urge all of you to support the person elected as my successor, as you have so generously supported my work. God knows, he or she will need it.

Thank you, my friends, for everything. I will see you in Denver.

O'Keefe from page 27

still recognize these implications. The federal government's Secretary of Education, Terrell H. Bell, when asked recently whether schools have an obligation to teach values, said:

Yes. If you ask, "Whose values do you teach?" I would say we need to stay away from areas of religion. We have a set of values in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution and our body of law. They embody patriotism . . .

Patriotism, as used here, and in the public school system, means love of the *government*, not of the country.

If you have any remaining doubts about the effect of compulsory public schooling on the struggle to promote a free society, you need only to look at what direct impact the system has on children and parents today.

Compulsion lies at the heart of the public school system — compulsory attendance for a legislated number of days and hours, to study a legislated basic curriculum, to meet legislated standards, all financed by compulsory taxation. What are children taught by all of this? That they are not competent to be consulted on what is best for them. That even their parents are not responsible enough to be involved in decisions about their education. That the benevolent bureaucrats of the state are the people who are responsible for their welfare — they have stepped in to guarantee the "right" to an "education".

Even if an attempt were somehow made to "teach" independent thought within such a system, it would be something of a joke — running against the foundations of the system itself.

It should be clear that state control of education is a formidable obstacle which Libertarians must eliminate as rapidly as possible. Fortunately, it is not as formidable as its creators and controllers have wished it to be. Bureaucratic organization is inherently inefficient. The desire for independence is strong in many people. These two factors are combining to greatly weaken the compulsory public

school system in America.

The public school system today is widely acknowledged to be a great failure — even by the standards of some of its supporters. It is failing to educate many children in the basic skills. Consequently, it is failing in its "goal" of creating good citizens for the corporate-state system. The government doesn't especially like this — it wants citizens who can read instructions and fill out forms.

Public schools have also become breeding grounds for vandalism, other crimes, and drug use. Discipline problems — caused by monotonous courses, inflexible schedules, and the requirement that even violent children remain in school — are preventing effective education, and are driving away the better teachers. Bureaucratic state control is causing costs to rise dramatically, even while both performance and enrollment in public schools are declining. The inefficiency of government control is presenting Libertarians with a serious opportunity to roll back state control over education. Increasingly, parents and children are switching from public to private schools. Here, much less state control is exercised — but still, many government regulations apply. During the last two years, more than 2,500 new private schools were opened in America. These include low-cost ghetto schools, Christian schools, non-religious alternative schools, and others.

Parents and other taxpayers have increasingly shown their displeasure with the public school system by voting against property tax increases — or better yet, voting for dramatic property tax cuts — as with the 1978 Proposition 13 in California, or 1980's Proposition 2½ in Massachusetts. Of course, libertarians support these tax cuts, even apart from their effect on education.

Promising proposals which deal directly with the education problem have been educational vouchers, tuition tax credits, and educational tax credits.

There are important differences between these various types of proposals. A "voucher" system would grant parents a certificate for each child, which could be used to "pay" for schooling at any "educational institution." The problems with this proposal are that it allows the state to set standards for institutions to be eligible for vouchers, and it leaves the tax system intact. The state would handle all of the money destined for voucher use. It is debatable whether a voucher system would reduce overall government control at all. It might even lead to an increase, with more controls being spread over "private" schools.

Tuition tax credits are an improvement over vouchers, but they have run into successful Constitutional challenges, and they retain some of the limitations of the voucher system. A "tax credit" is a 100% credit

against a person's tax liability. The government never sees the money in question, so taxpayer control is increased. However, "tuition" is an unnecessarily narrow type of educational expense, generally applying only to the fees for formal instruction at a private school. Much defining would still be left in the hands of the state.

Educational tax credits are the best avenue for Libertarians to reduce government control over education. 1980 Libertarian presidential candidate Ed Clark's White Paper on Education promoted this approach. Clark's proposal called for a \$1,200 maximum tax credit per student, whether related to the taxpayer or not. This approach offers some major advantages over other approaches:

- a.) Because credits aren't confined to parents, it allows the poor an opportunity to escape the public school monopoly;
- b.) Taxpayers retain possession of the money, keeping it from being channeled through the government;
- c.) The broadest definition is allowed for "educational expenses" covered by the credit — it can cover regular tuition or fees, plus non-institutional educational alternatives. Examples include equivalency examinations and preparation for them, home-study courses and work-study programs, among others.

There are several ways to implement education tax credits. They can be made to apply to federal, state, or local taxes. In some cities and states, initiative and referendum measures can be placed on the ballot by any large group of voters. These laws offer the best means for the passage of radical tax credit measures. In other places, legislation must be passed by a government body. It takes an overwhelming tide of public opinion to

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Libertarian Party NEWS

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WHEN THE DOLLAR IS WORTH NOTHING, WHAT WILL YOUR RETIREMENT INCOME BE WORTH?

1 ■ Unmasking the Great Retirement Hoax.

Americans tend to be trusting people. When government leaders, employers and union officials all assure us over and over again that our financial preparations for retirement are adequate, we assume that it must be true.

Well, don't believe it! *We've all been victims of a gigantic hoax*—and it's about time someone blew the lid off the whole incredible mess.

The Social Security system is on the verge of bankruptcy. Newspaper headlines regularly announce pension fund problems. Insurance policies, savings accounts, stocks, real estate and other investments are ravaged by inflation and taxes.

If you're depending on any of these sources to provide you with a retirement income, you're in for the shock of your life. Prudent, reasonable people who made what they thought were ample preparations for their retirement years are now barely managing to stay afloat. *And it's going to get a lot worse!*

This is what we call The Great Retirement Hoax: telling people that Social Security or dollar-denominated investments will guarantee their financial security in the years ahead.

The truth isn't always pleasant to hear. But you're better off knowing the facts. That way, you can take action to protect yourself while there's still time.

2 ■ ANNOUNCING "The Swiss Franc Retirement Plan."

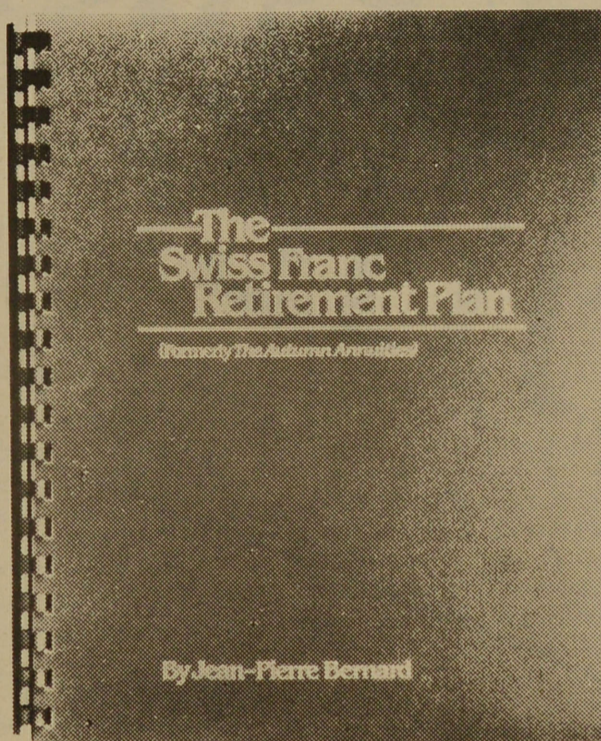
Fortunately, *there is a solution: Swiss franc annuities.* A life income guaranteed you by a Swiss insurance company—and paid to you not in depreciating American dollars but in strong, stable Swiss francs.

In the Spring of 1970, two men retired. Both began receiving life incomes of \$1,000 a month. Today, one man's monthly income is still \$1,000—but it's worth only \$647 in purchasing power. Meanwhile, the other man's monthly income has *more than doubled*—to \$2,150. And his purchasing power is correspondingly greater.

Why the difference? The second man bought a Swiss annuity policy. His life income is paid in Swiss francs—which he converts to dollars as each payment is made.

Here are some of the advantages of The Swiss Franc Retirement Plan:

- The Swiss franc is the world's strongest currency.
- Swiss franc annuities keep you well ahead of inflation.
- Their dividends alone can raise your life income by 10 to 15 percent.
- Of all Swiss franc investments, annuities offer *the highest safe yield.*
- The policy you purchase can begin paying immediately—or payments can be deferred until you retire.



- If you wish, you may select a policy that covers your beneficiary as well.
- You are exempt from all Swiss taxes.
- There is no U.S. financial reporting requirements for annuities or insurance contracts.
- You *diversify* a portion of your assets *internationally*—an important hedge in these uncertain times.
- No medical exam is required.
- *And the income is guaranteed as long as you live—in Swiss francs!*

3 ■ The stability of Switzerland is behind you.

Switzerland's reputation for financial stability and integrity spans more than two centuries. Many Swiss insurance companies have been in business for more than 100 years—and *not one has ever failed.* They are all governed by the world's strictest insurance regulations and the same privacy and confidentiality laws that apply to Swiss bank accounts.

But is the Swiss Franc Retirement Plan *legal*? Absolutely! There are no U.S. laws whatsoever that prohibit Americans from investing their funds in a Swiss annuity. And neither is there anything "unpatriotic" about protecting yourself and your family from the destruction our government has wrought upon the dollar. Self-defense is more than your *right*—it's your *obligation.*

4 ■ The next step.

Will your insurance broker help you set up a Swiss Franc Retirement Plan? Not likely. He probably knows little or nothing about the subject.

But now there's an authoritative book that tells you everything you need to know. It's called *The*

Swiss Franc Retirement Plan.

Simply, clearly, in step-by-step "how-to" language, *The Swiss Franc Retirement Plan* spells out:

- Exactly what Swiss franc annuities are and how they work.
- The kinds of annuities available.
- How to obtain a policy tailored specifically for your needs.
- How to receive payments.
- Names and addresses of Swiss insurance companies.
- Forms you can tear out and mail to receive information and quotations from each company.
- Valuable charts and tables.
- A sample policy and application.
- And much more.

In short, *The Swiss Franc Retirement Plan* is the complete, comprehensive guide to Swiss franc annuities. It was researched and written by Jean-Pierre Bernard, a Swiss financial writer with many years' experience in this area.

5 ■ Unconditional money-back guarantee.

Here's what *Harry Browne*, best-selling financial writer and advisor, says about Swiss franc annuities in his classic *Complete Guide to Swiss Banks*:

"If there's runaway inflation in the U.S., all life insurance contracts and annuities would become nearly worthless. Since the Swiss franc is independent of the dollar, it isn't likely that hyper-inflation in the U.S. would spread to Switzerland. The Swiss contracts would hold their value."

To order your copy of *The Swiss Franc Retirement Plan*, just send a check or money order for \$19.95 to Kephart Communications, Inc., Dept. G139, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314. The price includes postage and is tax-deductible. If you're dissatisfied with the book for any reason, simply return it within three weeks for a full and prompt refund.

When the U.S. dollar is worth nothing, what will your retirement income be worth?

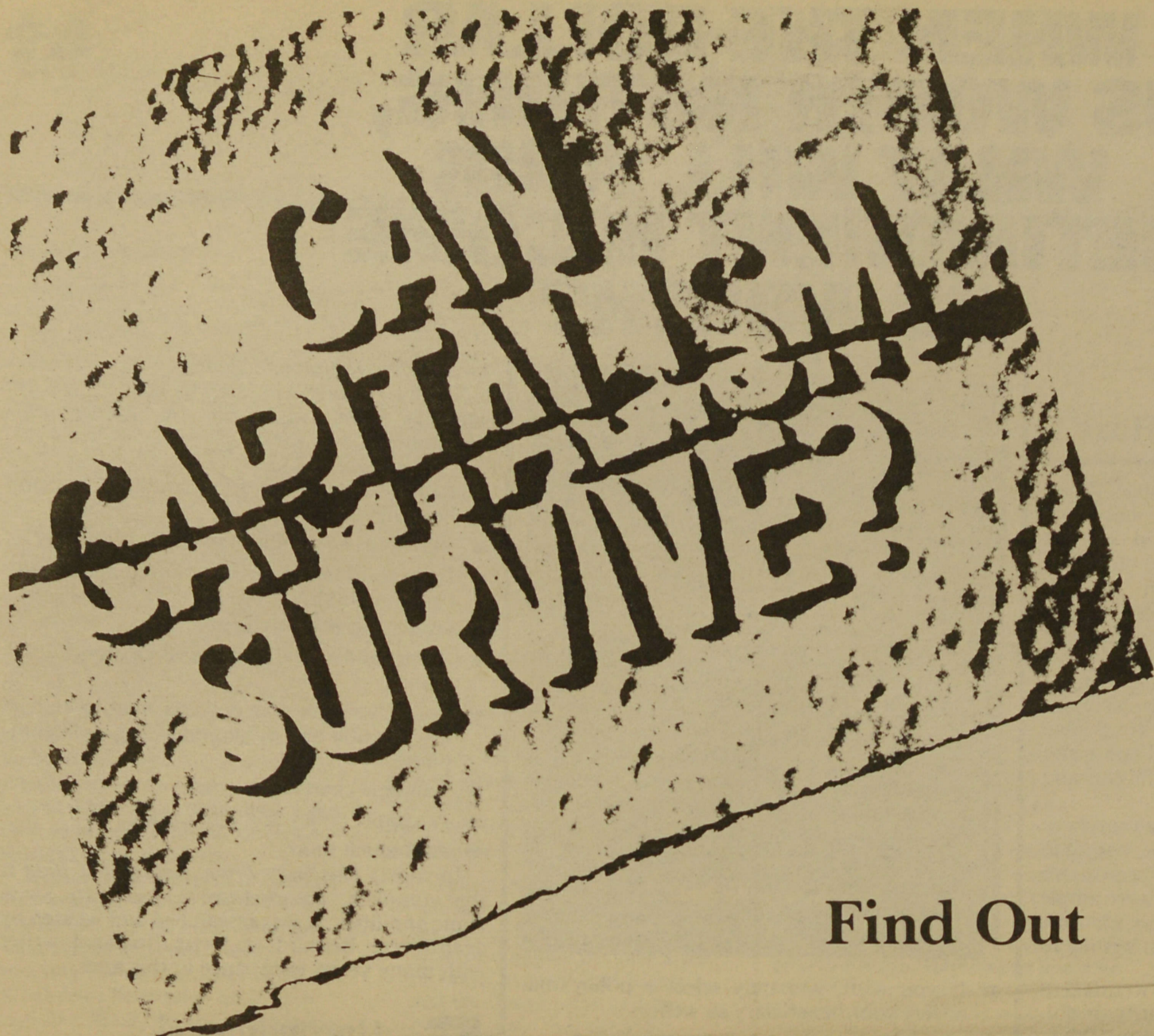
It's worth thinking about. And isn't \$19.95 a small investment when your future financial security is at stake? Take the first step towards establishing your own Swiss Franc Retirement Plan. Order this important book today.

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Perspective

From The Chair

by David P. Bergland

This is my last column as L.P. National Chair. I will resist the temptation to thank by name the zillion or so people who made my four year tenure memorable (at least to me). This space is better used to share with you some thoughts and concerns about where we've been and where we're going.

The L.P. is ten years old. It began in 1971 with the idea that the libertarian movement needed a political entity to use to educate the public toward freedom and its promise of a better world.

It is long past time for us to identify and examine the L.P.'s purpose and the premises on which the L.P. is based. This political party grew out of a "libertarian movement" and it continues to be but one entity in a broader movement. What does that movement aim to do?

I contend that the only legitimate purpose of the L.P., or any other group calling itself "libertarian," is to work toward the creation of a free, i.e. libertarian, society. Not some unattainable Utopia, but a society in which the dominant principle is respect for the rights of all persons and where the institutions of social action perform their functions consistently with that principle. Thus, the primary standard by which to judge the actions of any organization, such as the L.P., is whether those actions will help or hurt the long-run prospects for creating a free society. (In our present context we must think in terms of the long-run; there surely is no magic formula for overnight freedom.)

How does the performance of the L.P. (more particularly L.P. activists) in its first 10 years stand up to this standard? There is good news and bad news.

There were 500 L.P. candidates in 1980. But, that was a small fraction of the total number of elections. Continued growth is needed to maintain the L.P.'s credibility as a viable vehicle for freedom. But, growth means an increasing need for internal education in order to maintain a principled direction. Running candidates in many elections has value, but it can result in wasting scarce resources if the districts and the candidates are not carefully selected. Too often the question of what good can be accomplished, and what it will cost, is not addressed before plunging ahead willy-nilly into electoral politics.

The L.P. presidential ticket was on the ballot in 50 states in 1980. All states have Libertarian Party organizations. One quarter of the states have achieved permanent ballot status. But, the 1980 presidential vote total disappointed many activists and it is clear that we all have much to learn about effective political campaigning, if our goals are to educate the electorate and produce respectable vote totals.

So what now? In my view our overall strategy must be: To persuade as many influential people as possible to accept and ultimately support libertarianism as the best possible state of affairs.

Why this as a strategy? If most people want freedom, society will reflect that. What most people want is the result of what a relatively few influential persons say they should want. Directing our attention primarily toward the presently influential (and those who will be in the future) gives us maximum leverage for our limited resources.

Everything else falls in the realm of *tactics*, i.e., the art of employing available means to accomplish one's ends. The L.P. and all of its components are the available resources. So, let us address some tactical considerations.

External Operations. In the past our outreach and recruiting efforts have largely been of the "billboard" variety. Broadcast the message and those who like it will come to us. It's time we became more personally involved. Identify prospects and go to them. Then follow up to close the sale when some interest is shown.

This will require that we get to know those people out there. What are their interests, desires and concerns? They will respond to libertarianism only if we show how it responds to their needs. This is the way to develop constituencies and coalitions, temporary or long term. But it requires spending some time in the real world with real people. It can't be done from the ivory tower, TV, or even a speaker's platform. The simplest tactic is to become the friend of the leader(s) of a target group.

Internal Operations. I see two important elements here. Internal educational programs in libertarian principles and political activism must be continuous and pervasive. We can't sell libertarianism if our sales

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From The Director

by Eric O'Keefe

The following is the text of a speech delivered by Eric O'Keefe at the Libertarian Party of Wisconsin convention on June 3.

My topic today is "Education." This can be a much broader subject than what is usually implied in discussions of "education." As Dr. Murray Rothbard points out in his essay *Education, Free and Compulsory*, "The entire process of growing up, or developing all the facets of man's personality, is his *education*. The term of education is not limited to a person's formal schooling." However, as Rothbard also points out, children need formal instruction, especially to learn the basic tools which are necessary for much subsequent learning — reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The serious education crisis in America today involves the area of formal instruction. This is no coincidence. This is the type of education of which government has seized control. And, of course, they have expanded beyond the basic subjects of formal instruction, in an effort to have a greater influence over the children. Government control of education is the "education crisis" which Libertarians face. We face it on two important levels.

As *individuals*, Libertarian parents and students have their educational options restricted and controlled by the state, while the rest of us are directly burdened by taxes to sustain the public school system.

As a *Party* and a *movement*, Libertarians are faced with a paradox: freeing the educational system from state control is a basic part of our goal of creating a free society — but how can we create a free society without first removing control over the education of young, impressionable people from the hands of the state?

It is no coincidence that we face this paradox. Those people most interested in controlling societies — in inculcating support for their ideologies or viewpoints and stifling independent thought and criticism — have recognized for centuries the importance of controlling education to further their goal of controlling society.

The *explicit* desire to mold society has been behind the formation and expansion of the public school system. This has been true from the beginning of compulsory state education at the behest of leaders like Luther and Calvin in the 1500's, through the

development of the first thorough public school system in the militaristic Prussian state, and the 19th Century spread of compulsory public education in America. A typical view of an early American educationist was quoted in Rothbard's essay on education. The founder of the public school system in North Carolina, Archibald Murphy, outlined a system of state schools as follows:

... all the children will be taught in them ... in these schools the precepts of morality and religion should be inculcated, and habits of subordination and obedience be formed ... Their parents know not how to instruct them ... The state, in the warmth of her affection and solicitude for their welfare must take charge of those children and place them in school where their minds can be enlightened and their hearts can be trained to virtue.

But we don't need to be thoroughly familiar with the history of public education to understand its implications. The 19th Century classical liberal Herbert Spencer expressed well the ideas which must lie behind government education:

For what is meant by saying that a government ought to educate the people? Why should they be educated? What is the education for? Clearly to fit the people for social life — to make them good citizens. And who is to say that they are good citizens? The government: there is no other judge. And who is to say how these good citizens may be made? The government: there is no other judge. Hence the proposition is convertible into this — a government ought to mould children into good citizens. It must first form itself a definite conception of a pattern citizen; and having done this, must elaborate such a system of discipline as seems best calculated to produce citizens after that pattern. This system of discipline it is bound to enforce to the uttermost. For if it does otherwise, it allows men to become different from what in its judgement they should become, and therefore fails in that duty it is charged to fulfill.

Promoters of government schooling
continued on page 24

Taking Liberties

by Scott Olmsted

Taketh It Away, Uncle Sam

Few people know that the IRS pays for information that leads to the collection of additional taxes. In 1980 over 7000 "bounty hunters" snatched on friends, relatives, or employers they suspected of cheating on their taxes in hopes of receiving up to 10% of the extra IRS revenue as a reward. While only some 400 actually received rewards, over \$13 million extra was collected. But those receiving awards had better be careful. The IRS regards that as—you guessed it—taxable income. What the IRS giveth, the IRS taketh away.

—CBS Radio News
April 15, 1981

Can Politicians Be Classified as Invertebrates?

The State Fish and Game Commission, wishing to classify two varieties of butterflies as endangered species but lacking jurisdiction over the insects, has lumped them into a fish category.

The solution was devised by a bureaucrat who applied some twisted logic to reason that if butterflies are invertebrates (creatures without backbones) and some fish are invertebrates, then insects can be considered fish and can be protected by the endangered species act.

—San Francisco Chronicle
April 25, 1981

Talk About Grade Inflation. . .

San Francisco school officials announced with pleasure yesterday that only 12 percent of the district's high school seniors failed to pass a basic ninth-grade-level skills test required for graduation.

Fred Leonard, San Francisco associate superintendent for instruction, said the district was pleased with the results because state officials expect 24 percent of California seniors to fail the test. Results from other districts are not yet known.

—San Francisco Chronicle
April 24, 1981

Especially If It's Offered By A Serpent

The lifting of the Bamboo Curtain has caused new problems for China, including the necessity of protecting hotel staff from seductive foreigners and imported pornography, the *Beijing Daily* said yesterday.

The official newspaper told of an unsuspecting attendant cleaning up a room in the Beijing Hotel when a foreign woman pulled the drapes and started to "tempt and corrupt him."

It said the young man left the room right away and told his bosses about the attempted seduction.

Indoctrination had once again triumphed over the evil foreigner.

"This is a result of the Beijing Hotel's determined anti-depravity

education among its staff," the newspaper said. The Beijing Hotel has instructed its staff on the "five don'ts":

- Don't pursue the bourgeois life-style
- Don't pick up small things discarded by foreigners
- Don't take small advantages, and hand over everything found
- Don't look at unhealthy publications left open or thrown away by foreign guests
- Don't eat the guests' food

The idea, the newspaper said, is to emulate the late Chairman Mao Zedong, who once instructed his troops: "Don't eat even a single apple of the masses."

—San Francisco Chronicle
May 28, 1981

Oh, What A Relief

President Reagan's Social Security salvation program will undergo "a lot of compromises," Senator Robert Dole, R-Kan., predicted yesterday.

He also said, "I would guess that those who are going to turn 62 in the next few years probably don't have too much to worry about."

—San Francisco Chronicle
May 18, 1981

Ballot Drives Start in Montana, Indiana, and Utah

The Libertarian Parties in Montana, Indiana, and Utah are starting their drives for 1982 ballot status early this summer. Each party could wait until 1982 to start, but they're following the strategy of the successful North Carolina party.

The LP in Indiana first gained statewide ballot status less than a year ago. They're experienced and much better organized now, and they're ready to tackle the ballot access laws for what they hope will be the last time. State chair and ballot drive coordinator Kevin Grant reports that a law already on the books *quadruples* the already challenging requirements both to gain (with signatures) and to keep (with votes) ballot status. It will take effect *after* the 1982 election.

However, after a successful ballot drive in 1981, a statewide candidate in 1982 can secure permanent ballot status by gaining a minimum of about 60% of the number of votes Ed Clark gained there in 1980. A mailing to help fund the effort has been sent and Grant hopes to complete a two month ballot drive by September 1st. 1980's Indiana ballot drive took six months and collected about 16,000 signatures to clear the 7,000 valid signature requirement.

Montana ballot drive coordinator and state chair Duncan Scott has sent out a fundraising letter to help pay for the 1981 ballot drive. As in Indiana, the goal is for a two month drive, starting July 1st. This will be even more difficult than in Indiana, because nearly 10,000 valid signatures have to be gathered from a smaller number of voters. Fortunately, a bill authored by Libertarians was passed in Montana this year. It amended the election code to make these 10,000 signatures place the entire party — and all of its candidates — on the ballot, instead of just a statewide candidate.

Consequently, Scott expects more than thirty Libertarians to seek federal, state, or local office in Montana in 1982. Included will be Troy City Council member Mike Tanchek, who received 41% of the vote in a state legislative contest in 1980.

In Utah, state chair Steve Trotter reports that work has started on a relatively easy drive for ballot status. The LP should have the 500 valid signatures needed by the end of August.

The above is a picture of a new poster available from headquarters. (See order form on page 17.) Actual color is a slightly darker blue. Actual size is 30" by 11".

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