

# Libertarian NEWS

January February 1981

A Publication of the Libertarian National Committee

## Clark-Koch Top 900,000

### LP Picks Up Three Seats in Alaska

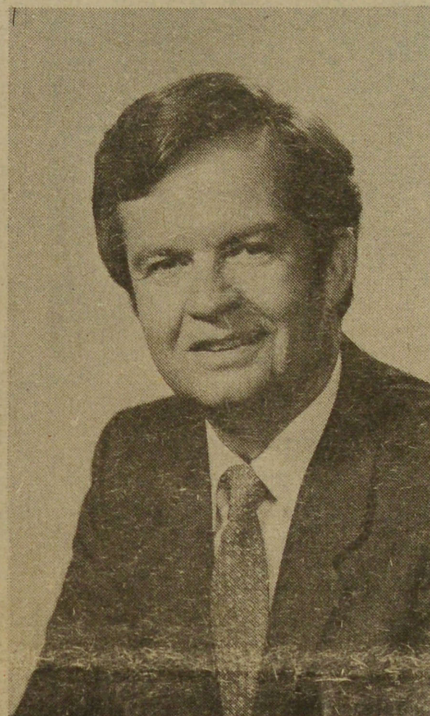
Months of hard work and intense preparation by thousands of Libertarian activists across the country paid off on November 4th with the Libertarian presidential ticket of Ed Clark and David Koch garnering 921,000 votes nationwide. In related election returns, three Libertarians were elected to major public offices in Alaska and the LP emerged with ballot status in twelve states.

Clark's vote total becomes more impressive when voter turnout is taken into effect. According to an official vote count released by the Federal Election Commission on January 5, 1981, the voter turnout in last November's Presidential election was the lowest in 32 years, with only 53.95 of the eligible voters casting ballots. Thus while Clark had more than five times the vote of Libertarian presidential candidate Roger MacBride in 1976 — MacBride received 173,000 votes — he received those votes from among a proportionally smaller section of the electorate.

Clark also surpassed the 1976 Independent candidacy of former

Minnesota Sen. Eugene McCarthy, who entered that race with considerably more money and name recognition than Clark. Clark's performance in 1980 prompted veteran political columnists Germond and Witcover to write, "...in terms of what they (the Libertarian Party) set out to do, they have to be considered one of the modest political success stories of 1980. The goal was, and is, no less than to establish a real third party movement in the country, and his (Clark's) success in winning more than 900,000 votes was the best of a no-name candidate in this century."

The success of the Clark campaign goes considerably beyond vote totals and percentages however. One of the most significant achievements of the campaign was the establishment of Libertarian organizations in states that previously had none and the strengthening and broadening of party organizations in states that were already established. Chris Hocker, the National Coordinator of the Clark for President campaign, told *Libertarian News*, "We produced real, working organizations in virtually every state — getting



people actively involved in campaign work by helping with ballot drives, with scheduling candidate appearances, and by literature distribution. We significantly increased our membership and contributor rolls as a result and brought in thousands of first class activists, who had previously never worked for the party, as well. These new organizations and activists together with our pre-existing organizations and activists, represent the vanguard of the real grassroots political activity that will increasingly dominate party activities."

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## LNC Kicks Off Membership Drive

The Libertarian National Committee has formally announced a major joint effort by the state and national Libertarian Parties to substantially increase party membership. Incoming LNC National Director Eric O'Keefe told *Libertarian News*, "The membership drive is our highest priority project at this time. It's a great way of reaching out to the thousands of new people who expressed support of and interest in the ideas of the Libertarian Party as a result of the 1980 presidential and state races. This is their party

and we want to welcome them as members."

O'Keefe stressed the importance of party membership to both potential members as well as to the state and national parties. "Membership in the LP is significant to both members and the party. Aside from the obvious benefits that come from party membership — discounts on libertarian books and literature, a subscription to *Libertarian News* and the like — joining the LP represents a personal commitment to the ideals of libertarianism."

"Membership in the LP benefits the party as well," O'Keefe continued. "The pledges of new members give us urgently needed funds to finance the wide range of projects required to bring the message of libertarianism to a wide audience. These new membership dollars will pay for

state/national outreach efforts and improvements in our literature that will enable us to meet the Republicans and Democrats on equal ground in future electoral contests."

Kent Guida, LNC Membership Chairman, emphasized that party membership also gives members a voice in determining the future course of the LP. Guida explained,

"Membership in the national LP is the primary basis for delegate selection to the Libertarian national convention this August in Denver. The more national members a state has the greater will be their voice. It's as simple as that."

The membership drive, slated for January and February, will consist primarily of direct mail and telephone solicitation of more than 60,000

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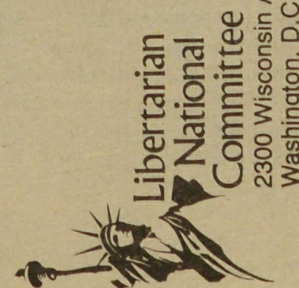
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The Clark campaign also increased the fundraising capabilities of the Libertarian Party. As a result of the Clark campaign's television ads, direct mail, and other fundraising activities, the active contributor base tripled from approximately 7,500 to over 25,000. The massive fundraising efforts by the Clark campaign also provided LP leadership with both a great deal of knowledge about the most effective means of raising money, in addition to giving the party a pool of experienced fundraisers to draw on in the future.

It was in the area of media and media relations that the Clark campaign experienced some of its greatest triumphs, and paradoxically, its most frustrating disappointments. While the campaign received only a few minutes of coverage from network television news media, the campaign did score notable successes with journalists in print media. From Tom Wicker of the *New York Times*, to David Broder of the *Washington Post*, seasoned political analysts consistently gave the Clark campaign good grades on the skill with which they presented their candidate and his party's ideas to the public. From the campaign's media kit to its series of White Papers to the daily press releases, journalists were both impressed with, and more importantly, reported favorably on the Clark campaign. Assistant Communications Director for the Clark campaign, Tom Palmer, told *Libertarian News*, "With the CFP campaign we established good contacts with about every political reporter of note. In 1980 we laid a solid foundation for the party to continue to receive respectful attention from the media."

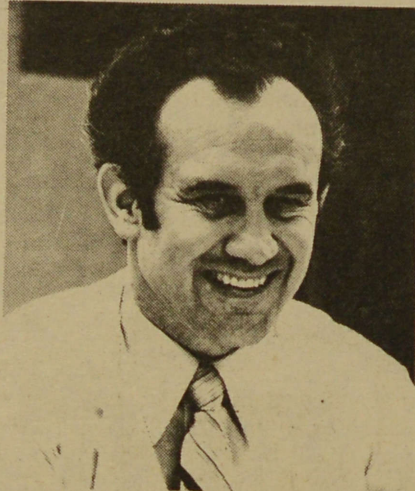
Perhaps the greatest impact on the public from the Clark campaign came from the 47 five minute prime time network television advertisements. The ads, which consistently rated high in the Nielsen ratings, gave millions of Americans their first glimpse of Libertarianism and created an enthusiastic response. "The ad featuring the Statue of Liberty served to concretize and firmly fix in people's minds what the Libertarian Party is all about. The ads generated not only thousands of serious inquiries about the party and its candidate but generated thousands of dollars in contributions as well," Palmer noted.

The highpoints of other Libertarian activity were many.

Having attained ballot status in every state in the union for the first time in its history, the Libertarian Party retained ballot status in twelve. The party now has ballot status for 1982 in Alabama, California, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Michigan, Nevada, Oregon, South Carolina, and Wisconsin, as well as having presidential ballot status in Alaska and New Mexico. The amount of money saved on future ballot drives

in these states has been estimated at upwards of \$100,000.

In Alaska three Libertarians won public offices. Libertarian State Rep. Dick Randolph was resoundingly re-elected to a second term with 11,000 votes. Randolph placed first in a pack of 18 candidates that competed for Fairbanks' six state representative seats. Randolph won reelection with the greatest number of votes of any state representative elected to the



State Rep. Dick Randolph

Alaskan legislature this year. Randolph told *Libertarian News*, "There is little question that my reelection by such a significant margin represents public approval of our ideals and policies. We expect to carry on the fight with even more success this year."

Joining Randolph in the state legislature is Libertarian Ken Fanning. Fanning, a professional guide, hunter, and trapper, placed fourth among the six victors in the Fairbanks race. A veteran Libertarian activist, Fanning is expected to play a dominant role in the "Tundra Rebellion", Alaska's own version of the Sagebrush rebellion taking place in the lower 48. He looks forward to the contest of returning Alaska's land, over 90 percent of which is federally owned, to the people of Alaska.

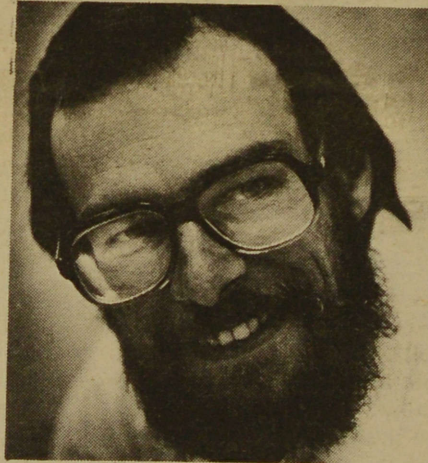
Another victorious Alaskan Libertarian is Stan Thompson, who was elected mayor of Kenai Borough. Thompson, a long-time Libertarian activist, served as one of the co-sponsors of Randolph's tax repeal initiative, which eventually induced the recalcitrant state legislature to repeal personal income taxes. Thompson ran in a non-partisan, special election to fill the remaining year of the three year term of office. Thompson, who won the seat with 62 percent, is viewed as a runaway favorite for reelection a year from now. Lew Beyer, LP Alaska State Chair, said, "Stan's win in Kenai is a big step forward for the party in this state. The Kenai Borough is a huge area with a number of large cities and is an area where we have never really had a toe-hold. Now with Stan we do."

Other of the 500 Libertarian candidates scored notable successes in

the elections. Across the country Libertarian candidates displayed a marked increase in their average percentage of the vote. Where it was commonplace for an LP candidate to pull very few votes in 1976 and 1978, LP candidates in 1980 consistently drew higher and, in some cases, outstandingly higher percentages than they had in the past.

A major instance of increased political clout for the LP is the dramatic rise in the number of races where Libertarians were the balance of power. In three states — Arkansas, Massachusetts, and Tennessee — Clark's percentage proved to be greater than the difference between Carter and Reagan.

Libertarians were also the balance of power in three U. S. Senate races. Fred Esser's spirited and articulate campaign in Arizona was significantly greater than the difference between incumbent Barry Goldwater's (R) victory over Democrat Bill Schultz. Esser's campaign stressed the issue of registration and the draft, and found a sympathetic audience among Arizonans who were obviously tired of Goldwater's rampant militarism.



State Rep. Ken Fanning

Libertarian Larry Fullmer was the balance of power in his high-profile race against incumbent Sen. Frank Church (D) and Republican Rep. Steve Symms for Idaho's Senate seat. Fullmer, who continually lashed out at the "bankrupt economic policies of Church," and the "dangerous hawkishness of Symms", met with a warm welcome from the Idaho media, and was given an hour of air time on public television to expand his views before a state-wide audience.

Tarheel Libertarian Rick Pasotto proved to be the balance of power in one of the closest, upset Senate races of this year. One term Democratic incumbent Robert Morgan was turned out of office by New Right Republican John East and again a Libertarian's vote total was greater than the difference between the two. Pasotto campaigned extensively around the state, introducing thousands of voters to the message of Libertarianism for the first time.

Libertarian candidates in other congressional and state races

continued to provide the balance of power. In California, for example, Libertarians held balance of power status in five assembly districts and one state senate race. LNC National Director Eric O'Keefe said, "Having obtained balance of power in many races, races where we decidedly effected the outcome, it is now necessary for us to become a measurably strong and politically independent factor in future races, where we can place ourselves on equal terms with Republicans and Democrats."

Libertarian candidates distinguished themselves not only in contests where they were the balance of power. In many races Libertarians captured a significant percentage of the popular vote.

Four Senate races were remarkable for the size of the vote given to Libertarians. Both Bud Shasteen in Hawaii and Tonie Nathan in Oregon took 4 percent of the vote in their respective Senate bids. Shasteen's lively campaign zeroed-in on three term Democratic incumbent Daniel Inouye's erratic and often contradictory voting record in the Senate. Nathan likewise made hay with liberal Republican Bob Packwood's voting history, often forcing Packwood to reverse his public statements about his supposed principles. Nathan got high marks from reporters in Oregon for her feisty style in the debates and on the stump.

In Nevada Libertarian Senate candidate Al Hacker captured 3 percent of the vote against incumbent Paul Laxalt (R) and Democrat Mary Gojack. Like Nathan, Fullmer, and many other Libertarian candidates, Hacker was singled out by the media

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people who have contributed to or expressed interest in the LP, who read libertarian periodicals, as well as current and lapsed members.

The massive effort between the national and state LP's is being coordinated by new Finance Vice-Chairman Bob Thompson. Thompson said, "One additional benefit of the project has been the spirit of cooperation between the national and state offices. Almost without exception, the response has been positive and enthusiastic."

A membership form and reply envelope are included in this issue of *Libertarian News*. Among other things, membership in the LP includes one year of *Libertarian News*, book discounts offered through the Libertarian Party Book Service, activist bulletins, and voting privileges within the party. Call your state chair (see directory in this issue) to find out about additional membership benefits in your state or to find out how you can help in membership recruiting.



"The truly conservative critique of contemporary American society is that there is too much freedom."

George Will  
Conservative columnist and prominent Reagan supporter

Richard J. Whalen, a senior adviser to Ronald Reagan, calls the presidential election "one of the true watershed elections of this century." Some people are rejoicing in the belief that they have a friend of freedom in the White House. No doubt some advocates of a free economy and sound money are relieved that this alleged fellow traveler defeated the disastrous Jimmy Carter.

Leaving aside the issue of the dubious mandate (Reagan was elected by slightly over half of the 52.9 percent who voted), is there any reason to celebrate? Can we expect Ronald Reagan to cut government spending, cut taxes, end monetary expansion, allow for gold or other commodity monies, deregulate and decontrol?

One of the striking political lessons of the past 20 years is that government growth accelerates regardless of the party in power. Nixon and Ford strapped new controls and regulations on the economy and presided over record budgets and deficits. Republicans have not shown they are different from Democrats. So the question about Reagan almost answers itself. While the future cannot be known, Reagan's record as governor, his campaign rhetoric and even his post-election statements should lead no one to believe the United States is headed into a libertarian watershed.

More likely the next four years will bring some market-style rhetoric, a legion of task forces to study problems, regulatory fine-tuning, perhaps a slight slowing of the growth of taxes and little else on the "good" side. On the bad side, we are likely to see high spending, higher inflation, new controls and an economy that sinks deeper in the muck.

One thing in particular will make this result worse under Reagan than it would have been under Carter: Reagan will grind down the economy in the name of "free enterprise." In the process, he will devalue free-market arguments and discredit true advocates of laissez faire. At the end of Reagan's term, the American people will be told that freedom was tried and failed. At the very least this couldn't have happened under Jimmy Carter.

The handwriting has been on the wall for some time. Even before Reagan made the so-called Great Leap to the "Center" for the general

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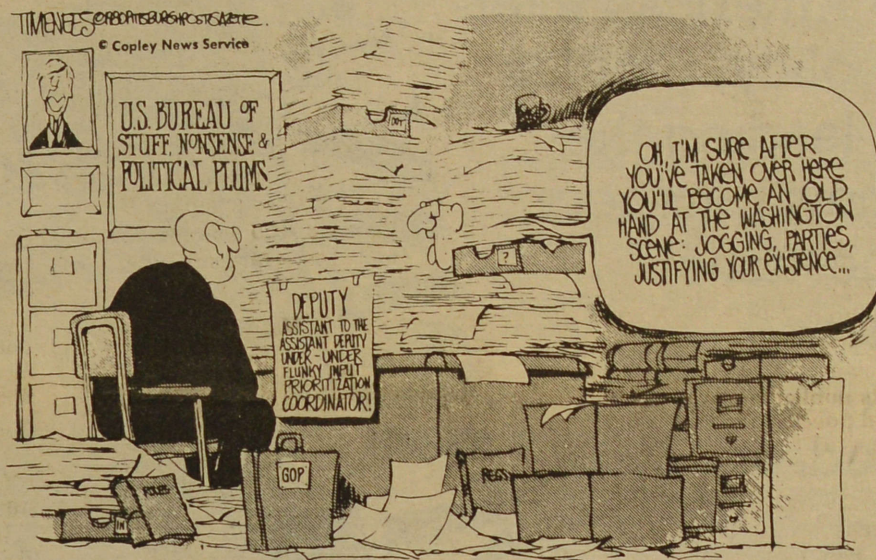
## POLITICS AS USUAL: The Reagan Administration

by Sheldon Richman

election, he revealed that his pro-free-enterprise tone was tone only. To understand this situation, you have to realize that Reagan and the Republican Party take the federal monstrosity as a given on the landscape. Their references to free

government's relationship to the economy, he insisted he would not. Yet the establishment of a free economy and sound money require just such changes.

Reagan goes even further than *Read's Law*; he fails to act on the



enterprise are always in the context of the basic status quo. To the extent they seek somewhat freer markets, it is not out of justice, but because they presumably would minimize the threat to the established order.

During the campaign, Reagan and his aides sought to show that they are good conservatives (in the old European sense), that is, that they are not planning fundamental changes. Any changes they do make will be in that spirit.

In 1969, Leonard Read, president of the Foundation for Economic Education, formulated *Read's Law*: "No politician can fly higher in office than he flew getting there." In other words, if an alleged pro-free-enterpriser gets elected by "moderating" his views, there is no reason to expect him to implement his "real" views. It is not just that he doesn't actually believe them. More importantly, he built no constituency for them while running for office. After all, such basic changes require public support, which in turn requires education and knowledge. Not having provided that, the officeholder cannot be expected to propose or implement the changes.

Ronald Reagan clearly fits this category. Every time Jimmy Carter tried to portray him as someone who would radically change the

freedom philosophy even when he campaigns on it in some respects. An examination of Reagan's record in California and on the presidential campaign trail will demonstrate the point.

### Spending

In his campaigns for governor and president, Reagan spoke only of restraining spending — slowing the rate of growth. At one point in California, he promised to cut the state budget by 10 percent. What

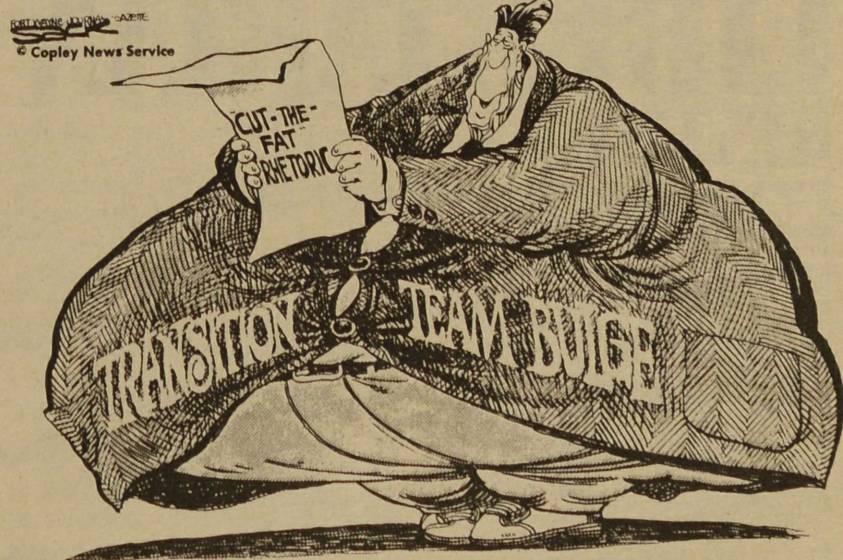
happened? In his first year, he increased spending 10 percent. His eight years as governor (1967-1975) brought the highest real spending growth in the state's history — 85 percent in constant dollars, 126 percent in inflationary dollars.

During his presidential campaign, Reagan's spending-cut talk started big, but ended up pitifully small, vague and irrelevant. "We are talking about reducing the growth of federal spending," said one of his more "free-market-oriented" advisers, Martin Anderson. "We are not talking about cuts in federal programs." Another top adviser cautioned, "We don't want to dismantle the government. We want a well-managed conservative welfare state." Charles Walker, another Reagan adviser, said Reagan aspires to hold spending growth by 1985 to 50 percent! No wonder Reagan economic adviser Alan Greenspan told *The Wall Street Journal* that, regarding economic policy, it didn't matter which candidate was elected.

Reagan has promised to cut only 2 percent (\$13 billion) from Carter's 1981 budget. Considering that the fiscal year will be one-third over by the time he takes office, even this meager aim may fail. Over five years, he's hoping to scrape 10 percent off the projected budget increase, but would settle for 7 percent. (The Senate Budget Committee projects the fiscal 1985 budget at \$920 billion; Reagan's "cut" would range from \$64 billion to \$92 billion.)

That's the optimistic view. Combined with this intention to slow the growth in spending is a massive program to increase military spending. Reagan favors the MX missile (\$30 billion to \$100 billion), pay increases, the B1 bomber and the neutron bomb. He wants to increase military spending 6 percent a year, bringing the 1985 defense budget to somewhere between \$270 billion and \$284 billion or about 6.1 percent of GNP. (The budget is currently \$154

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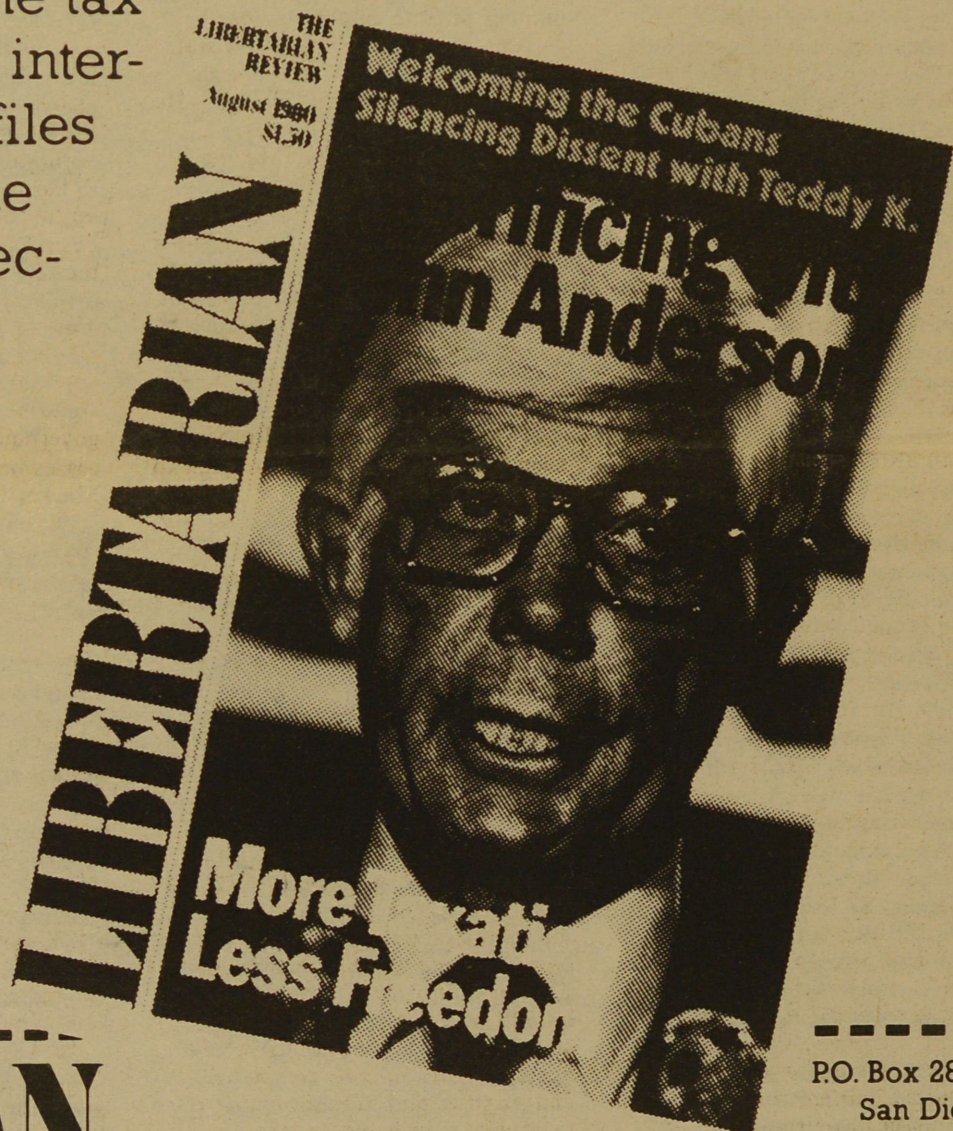




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billion)

Reagan has offered two solutions to the puzzle represented by his plan to maintain the welfare state, increase military spending *and* slow overall spending. He promises to cut waste and taxes.

The first can largely be discounted. What is waste and how much could it possibly account for? Private businesses can identify waste by examining their balance sheets, which depend on market prices for inputs and output. The government has no such standard. No market exists today for its "services." So it can't tell waste from efficiency. Moreover, there are no economic reasons why bureaucrats should not spend everything they get their hands on. Businessmen have incentives to cut money outlays: profits. What incentives can be offered to resistant bureaucrats?

Besides this, "waste" surely accounts for a minuscule amount next to "non-waste". If Reagan really wants to cut spending, he should forget the fat and go for the lean.

The likely outcome is that even the promised slow-down won't occur, as it did not in California. We should not be surprised to see spending *increases*.

#### Taxes

Reagan also hopes that tax cuts will solve his spending problem through "supply-side feedback." Clearly, he overstates and oversimplifies the old kernel of truth in supply-side theory, namely, that taxes are disincentives. But even if he is right that tax cuts will yield greater revenues to the government, how excited should one be at a plan to draw more resources out of the voluntary sector to benefit the coercive sector?

In California, Reagan presided over three major tax increases, including the largest single increase in the state's history, \$1 billion, in his first year. He increased income taxes from a maximum 7 percent to 11 percent, sales taxes from 4 to 6 percent, and greatly narrowed the tax brackets, hastening the taxpayers' rise through the structure. Reagan doubled the per-capita tax burden from \$224.64 to \$448.19, raised the corporation tax from 5.5 to 9 percent and bank taxes from 9.5 to 13 percent. Finally, though he boasts of \$5.5 billion in tax rebates, he increased taxes overall by \$21.3 billion, not counting inflation.

During the presidential campaign, Reagan pushed the Kemp-Roth tax-rate cut, though he backed off when he was charged with recklessness. Taking his best case, how reckless is Kemp-Roth? This plan to phase in a 30-percent tax-rate cut in three years would decrease government revenues by \$32 billion the first year. But revenues are due to increase automatically this year (inflation, oil-excise tax, Social Security) by \$86 billion. Kemp-Roth would leave in place a \$54 billion tax hike.

Reagan used to promise repeal of the misnamed "windfall-profits" tax, but no more. According to an aide, "He'll just need the bucks." Clearly, this euphoria about Reagan's cutting taxes and spending is inappropriate. Reagan made a good point in the campaign when he asked why it is bad for the people to spend their own money, but good for the government to do it. If he really believed that, he'd push for real and drastic tax cuts immediately.

#### The Bureaucracy

Along with these tax and spending promises, Reagan has promised to get the government off the backs of the American people. That's not what happened in California. Despite his anti-government campaign there, the number of state employees rose by 25 percent, and he created 73 new state councils, commissions and boards, costing \$12 million in 1974 alone. He created the California Energy Commission, remarkably like the Department of Energy he used to promise to abolish. He has also boasted of creating an agency similar to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration before OSHA was formed. Overall, the bureaucracy grew almost 22 percent. If he couldn't tame the state apparatus, how far will he get at the federal level?

As Martin Anderson and others keep saying, Reagan does not plan to cut any programs. The DOE will remain, and the same is likely for the Department of Education. Carter's Synthetic Fuels Corp. will be allowed to operate at least throughout its first seven-year, \$20-billion phase. OSHA was pronounced untouchable in campaign labor material, as was Social Security, despite its ruinous effect on capital accumulation, taxpayers and retired people.

Exactly what will President Reagan remove from the people's backs?

#### Regulations

Throughout the campaign, Reagan denounced regulation, promising to unleash free enterprise. We've already seen that the regulatory bureaucracy grew in California and that Reagan backed off from his earlier bolder statements about abolishing federal agencies. He continues to say he'll end oil price and allocation controls (a process Carter began), though Whalen says, "Reagan probably won't try to abolish the Department of Energy after all, but he will surely streamline it."

This should demonstrate that his approach to regulation is disheartening. Despite the recently announced one-year moratorium on new regulation, (except emergencies) Reagan-watchers should understand his and his aides' attitudes about regulation. They do not oppose regulation on principle or because it is unjust. They don't propose to repeal regulations, merely "rationalize" them. Reagan's regulation task-force chairman is Murray Weidenbaum, whose contribution to the regulation debate

in his insistence on cost-benefit analyses. In other words, Weidenbaum favors regulations if he's convinced the benefits outweigh the costs.

Cost-benefit has two grave flaws: First, costs and benefits are subjective; they cannot be measured. A person can say he prefers A to B, but he cannot say *how much* so. Neither can interpersonal comparisons be made. So costs and benefits cannot be qualified, added or subtracted to render verdicts on regulations.

Even more importantly, costs and benefits fall on different persons. There are no "social costs" and "social benefits." That a regulation's benefits to one person are "greater" than the costs to another is no justification for imposing the costs on the latter. But this is a matter of justice, something that never enters the Reagan people's thinking on economic issues.

This suggests the perhaps startling notion that putting government on a business-like basis is a fiction, despite the fact that Reagan's people believe it's like running GM. It cannot be done in any sense because government is force and business is voluntary exchange. The only way it could be accomplished is to make government voluntary, but then it ceases being government.

#### Market Intervention

"Reindustrialization" is the new code-word for economic intervention; Reagan is no different here. Note that during the campaign he endorsed the bail-outs of Chrysler and New York City; he endorsed the trigger-price system to inhibit steel imports; he referred to Japanese auto imports as a problem and vowed to do something about them. He also endorsed price supports or import controls for farm products and textiles. He even came out for aid to the arts.

Moreover, he failed to support trucking deregulation and, in fact, worried that it could cause chaos in the industry. Later, the Teamsters Union endorsed him.

He has promised to support exports, though under *free* enterprise, government neither supports nor interferes with trade. Adviser Whalen says Reagan will creatively use tax cuts to "channel new investment into infant industries (with) high-risk" even though this means the government will skew the economy in directions *it* determines — to the detriment of consumers. The Reagan people fail to realize that tax credits and accelerated depreciation, while better than no tax cuts at all, are inferior to condition-free cuts because they induce producers to satisfy tax authorities rather than consumers.

The Republican Party, historically, is the party of the high tariff and protectionism. We can predict with near certainty that Reagan will support intervention to inhibit imports and encourage exports.

#### Inflation and Money

The foregoing is ominous in itself, but even more so in light of inflation. The increases in spending will widen the deficit, which will be monetized by the Federal Reserve System. Reagan could easily preside over a more aggravated inflation than Jimmy Carter.

Ronald Reagan is at least partly aware of the identity of monetary expansion and inflation, but this guarantees nothing. In May, he was concerned about the high interest rates that occurred when the Fed reduced monetary growth. In any event, he favors monetary growth as long as it is "in line with the economy's ability to increase its output...." This is a prescription for disaster. The real danger of inflation is not the rise in some arbitrary price index, but the shift in relative prices from injections of fiat money at particular points in the economy.

Even assuming the Fed could precisely peg expansion to economic "growth", which it cannot, "growth" is unmeasurable. Such a policy would skew the economy from its natural course and erect a market structure that would collapse when the expansion slows or stops. These changes would not show up in price indexes; the economy would be invisibly rotting at its core!

On the gold issue, again, Reagan has sometimes vaguely said hopeful things that he'll never do. He has also said, "I have to say I believe that it (gold) has to wait for some of these other things we've done first, more stabilization of the money value, the economy, inflation, before you could do this, because gold is kind of a wild card now." In other words, don't hold your breath.

Even if he does move on this, it will be unsatisfactory. He would probably favor a government-determined gold standard with a fixed exchange-rate. But the first law of politics is, "Everything the government touches it ruins." Same for gold. If the American people are ever to really free themselves from government manipulation of money, it will be through what F. A. Hayek calls "denationalization" — separation of money and state. How likely is Reagan to repeal legal-tender laws?

It is critical that hard-money advocates continually chide Reagan on this, demanding even that the government divest itself of gold to get it out into private ownership.

When we talk about money, we're talking about banking. A crucial sign about Reagan's commitment to a free economy is his relationship with establishment Republicans like George Schultz, Paul McCracken and William Simon. One anecdote will make the point. A few months ago, Congress was preparing to vote on a bill to increase the U. S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund to safeguard Third-World loans from certain American banks. George

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## DRAFT PUSH ACCELERATES

1981 promises to be a very tumultuous year for all concerned with the growing movement toward conscription and war. Throughout the government momentum is building to extend draft registration to classification, conscription, and national service. To effectively meet this assault on our freedom, anti-draft activists from across the country are meeting in Detroit on February 13-16, at a CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft) sponsored National Anti-Draft Conference, by far the most significant conference to date of the new anti-draft movement.

Beginning January 5, draft registration will once again become a permanent coercive institution in American society. All young men born in 1962 will be required to register with the Selective Service System during a 6 day period. From that point on each young man will be required to register within 30 days of his 18th birthday and to notify the government thereafter of any change in address. Failure to register and counseling against registration carries a fine of \$10,000 and/or 5 years in prison.

With little publicity, legislative and bureaucratic shufflings are laying the foundation for conscription in the near future. The \$27,137,000

approved for the Selective Service System (SSS) for FY 81 will fund the continued development of data processing capabilities for automatic registration as well as for keeping track of those already registered, training and recruitment of local draft board members, and planning for "alternative service" programs in the event of conscription. In its final defense authorization bill, the House Armed Services Committee noted "current manpower policies of the Department of Defense invite an early return to conscription..." and added, "Unless the Administration and Congress are willing to take steps in the area of defense manpower, the re-installation of conscription in peacetime appears inevitable."

The Senate Armed Services Committee called for going beyond registration to "a strong system of registration and classification during peacetime." Outgoing Defense Secretary Harold Brown stated, on December 16, that "at some point in the mid 1980s conscription may become necessary" due to a decline in the population of young men.

In September the Senate approved legislation creating a commission to study the feasibility of a national service program. The 25 member commission is required to submit its

findings, conclusions, and recommendations within 15 months.

To make matters worse, both the House and the Senate passed a bill doubling the number of reserve forces that the President can call up without declaring a national emergency to 100,000.

All of this combined with the situation in Poland, Afghanistan, and the Persian Gulf, U. S. military commitments throughout the world, the increasing inability of the super-powers to threaten or coerce other countries into submission, and the arrival of an at least vocally more militaristic administration, make the prospects for liberty and peace appear bleak in the near future.

Impediments to the drive for conscription are (1) the possibility that Reagan will abolish registration by Presidential proclamation, (2) two suits against the SSS — *Rostker vs. Goldberg* and *Wolman vs. U. S.*, and, most importantly, (3) the anti-draft movement.

Whether or not Reagan will abolish or retain Carter's registration program is anyone's guess. Columnist William Safire listed abolition of draft registration as one of the dramatic but "safe" moves that Reagan could make in his first weeks as President. In a letter to Senator Mark Hatfield last spring Reagan stated his opposition to the draft saying it was justified "only in the most severe national emergency". Pledges made by major party presidential candidates should be taken lightly, however, particularly

given Reagan's numerous pre- and post-election reversals on a number of his campaign stands. Certainly many of Reagan's closest advisors and cabinet appointees such as Allen, Van Cleave, and Haig are avid pro-draft militarists.

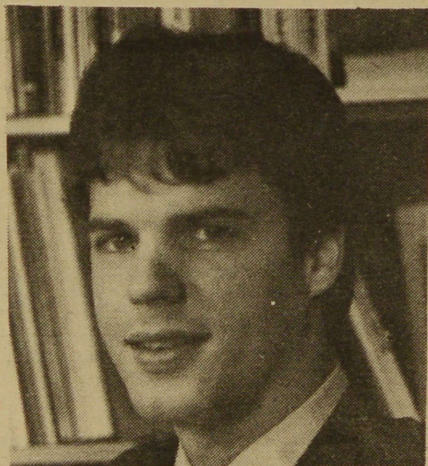
On the positive side there is the influence of anti-draft people in the new administration like Martin Anderson, Reagan's chief domestic advisor, as well as the fact that Reagan has already received some anti-draft pressure from Congress. Congressman Ron Paul (R-Tex.) sent Reagan a letter signed by 41 other Congressmen urging him to "reaffirm your position by publicly announcing your intention to cancel registration upon taking office, because a continuation of registration would be increasingly divisive would divert attention from your plans for improving the nation's defense capabilities, and would raise questions about the United States' intentions among potential adversaries and allies."

The Supreme Court has announced that it will hear *Rostker vs. Goldberg*, the suit challenging the constitutionality of an all male draft registration, in February. A decision is not expected until sometime in late spring or early summer. A decision in favor of Goldberg would do away with the current registration program and it would be up to Congress to enact draft registration for both men and women. Such legislation would likely receive strong opposition from  
*Draft, continued on page 18*

## O'KEEFE NAMED NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Among the many tasks accomplished at the December National Committee meeting in New Orleans was the selection of the LP's new National Director. The National Director is responsible for implementing party programs on a day to day basis. The person chosen for the job was Eric O'Keefe, formerly of Detroit, Michigan.

O'Keefe comes to the new job with a substantial background in political organizing. After being elected to the National Committee in 1979 as representative from Region 12, O'Keefe worked as a volunteer petition drive coordinator for six months. First, he coordinated Michigan's petition drive, which was quickly completed. After that, a long campaign was run to clear the second obstacle to ballot status in Michigan, a tough primary election. This campaign succeeded, and when the smoke cleared in November, Michigan emerged with one of the highest Clark vote totals in the country, and also became one of the twelve states that retained ballot status for future elections.



O'Keefe later went to Ohio to help finish the ballot drive, and then went to organize a ballot drive in Indiana. The drive succeeded, making Ed Clark the first Libertarian to have state-wide ballot status in Indiana. He then spent six weeks organizing and coordinating the successful effort to beat West Virginia's arcane ballot access requirements.

After the West Virginia drive, O'Keefe was hired by the Clark

campaign to be Director of State Organization. Continuing his work on coordinating ballot drives across the country, he also designed and managed the Clark campaign's ambitious literature distribution project. The program resulted in the printing and distributing of five million Clark brochures, including 55 different versions of the brochure "customized" for individual Libertarian candidates. O'Keefe developed a network of coordinators to recruit volunteers to distribute the brochures. O'Keefe said, "A political skills workshop put on by Carolyn Felton, Martin Buerger, Chris Hocker, Howie Rich, and me in Berkeley, California was a key factor in preparing many of our coordinators for their work. They returned to their states and did superb work in developing and expanding volunteer organizations."

O'Keefe has drawn up a detailed program of party activities for 1981. He told *Libertarian News*, "In order for the party to grow, the national office must undertake activities in two broad areas. We have to sustain and refine our National Headquarters operation. At the same time we must promote the rapid growth of vigorous state and local organizations." To this end O'Keefe intends to redirect the energies of the LP toward assisting

state and local parties. "The success of the Libertarian Party as a whole depends on the success of the state and local parties. The LP national office exists primarily to facilitate their growth," O'Keefe added.

Beginning in January, there are two other additions to the LP staff. Kristina Herbert, who was Headquarters Manager for the Clark campaign, has agreed to be Headquarters Manager for the LNC. Headquarters activity during the Clark campaign doubled several times during the last six months of the campaign, and Herbert made the adjustments necessary to keep things running smoothly. Her responsibilities with the LNC will include, among other things, supervising bookkeeping work, secretarial work, filing of government forms, membership and order processing, and responses to mail or telephone inquiries.

The other new staff member is Tom Palmer. Palmer, who was the Assistant Communications Director for the Clark campaign, recently came on board on a part time basis as the LNC's Communications Director. In this capacity he will work to maintain the good contacts with the national media which he established during the Clark campaign. He will also work with state organizations to help them locate media coordinators and gain regular media coverage.



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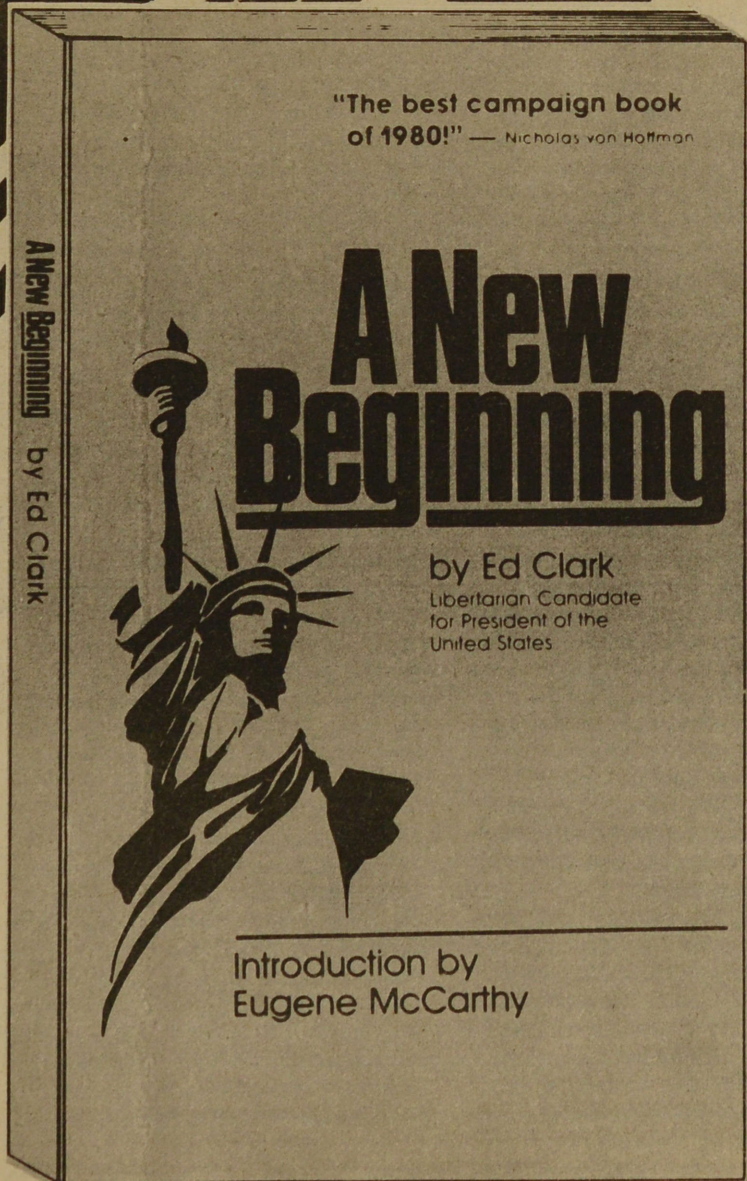
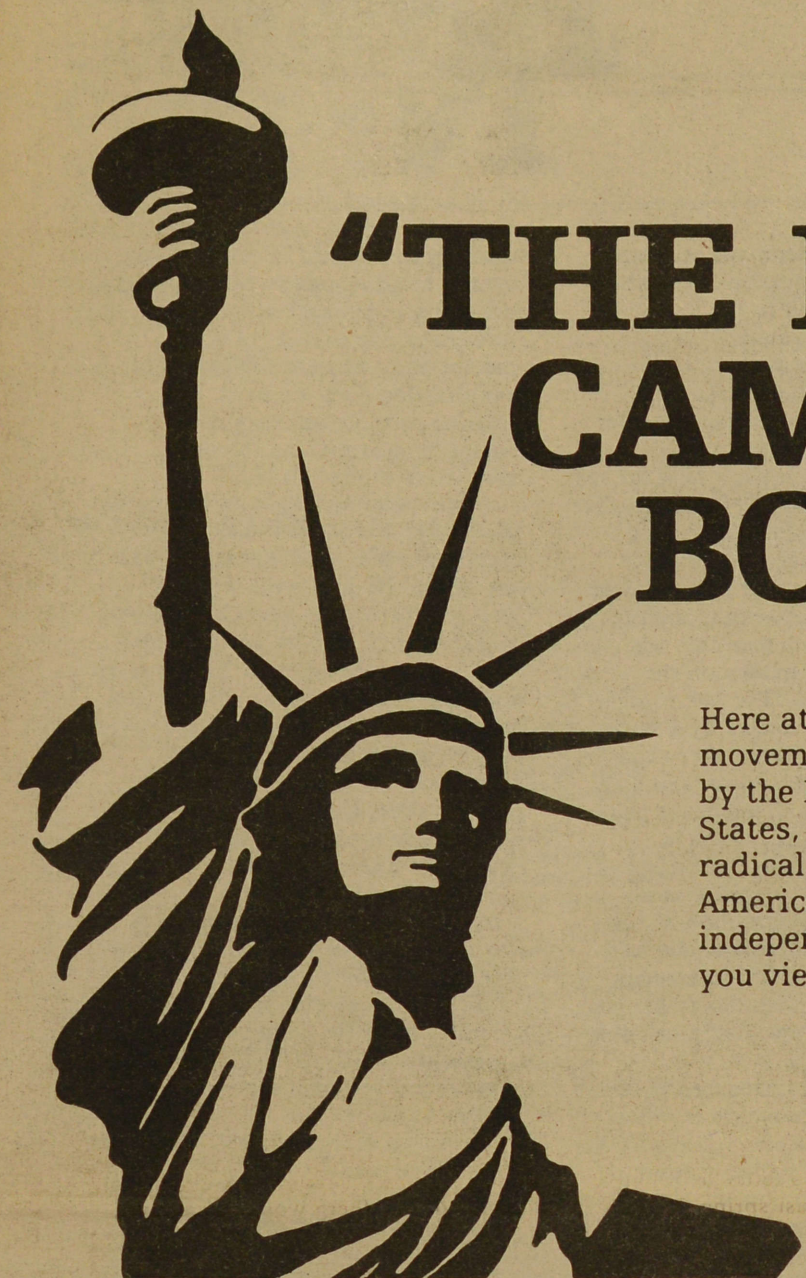
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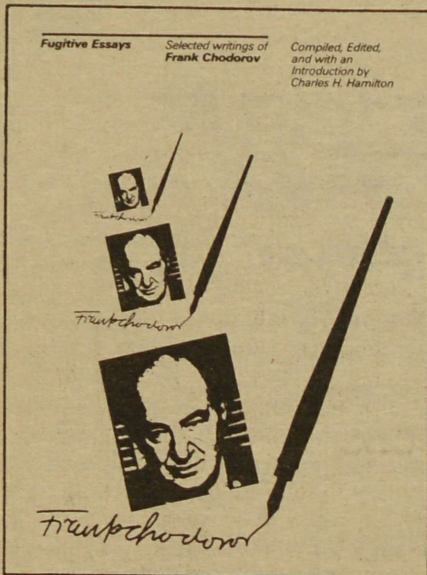
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## BOOKS FOR LIBERTARIANS:

## Chodorov Revisited



Frank Chodorov, *Fugitive Essays*.  
Charles H. Hamilton, ed.  
Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1980,  
416pp. (hb or pb) \$4.00/\$9.00

To appreciate the richness of the libertarian movement, one should become familiar with the pioneers of the modern fight for liberty. Especially heroic are those who persevered during the post-World-War-II dark age of the late 1940s and 1950s. This was the beginning of the Cold War and the Communist witch-hunts, when dissent was risky and any criticism of the state could land the critic before a Congressional committee.

The political landscape at this time was indeed dismal. Bipartisanship was the motto, and except for a few independent thinkers most people were swept along in the illiberal paranoia, which held that you fight totalitarianism with totalitarianism. In this miasma of war, conscription and power came a voice. This voice, combining a love of liberty with humor, suggested that the way to get communists out of the government was to abolish their jobs.

That voice belonged to Frank Chodorov, a modern-day pamphleteer of liberty. His writings were a veritable beacon in those dark times, but they shine even brighter today as the movement for liberty moves forward apace. Libertarians are indeed in the debt of Liberty Press and editor Charles Hamilton for making this marvelous collection of essays available so they can inspire other generations.

A disciple of Henry George and Albert Jay Nock, Chodorov inveighed against all manifestations of statism while writing for and/or editing the old *Freeman*, his own broadsheet of analysis, *Human Events*, the later *Freeman* and other publications. He passionately asserted the value of liberty, the free market, property, free trade and, most especially, peace. Chodorov ruthlessly sought out hypocrisy and smashed it to bits: from the "capitalists" who sought government subsidies and protection from competition, to the modern

liberals who undermined economic freedom, to the conservatives who would sacrifice all to the anticommunist crusade.

A short review cannot do this collection justice. At best, it can merely tantalize in hopes the reader will secure a copy forthwith. Chodorov loved to show how the self-proclaimed defenders of Americanism had much in common with their statist enemies, particularly the communists. He could find no sense in creating a liberty-eating monster at home to defeat another one, whether it was abroad or hidden on the college campuses. "The unhorsing of privilege can be effected by a revolt against political power *per se* and for that enterprise the people who make up the chambers of commerce show no passion," he once wrote in discussing the businessman's fear of communism. "They engage in no movement for the abolition of taxes, without which the state would fold up, and one is justified in assuming that they do not wish this to happen; the state has proven itself a valuable ally." (pp.174-175).

Chodorov was unabashed in his conviction that "taxation is robbery," and he held particular animus for the income tax — "The Revolution of 1913." He adroitly cut through all of the high-sounding defenses of taxation. As he wrote, "Taxation for social services hints at equitable trade. It suggests a *quid pro quo* a give-and-take, a relationship of justice. But, the essential condition of trade, that it be carried on willingly, is entirely absent from taxation; the very use of compulsion which taxation must resort to removes it from the field of commerce, puts it

squarely in the field of politics. Taxes cannot be compared to dues paid to a voluntary organization, for such services as one expects to obtain from membership, because the choice of withdrawing does not exist. In refusing to trade one may deny oneself a profit, but the only alternative to taxes is jail."

As eloquent and right as Chodorov is on these and other issues, he never topped himself when it came to war and peace. He lost favor with fair-weather libertarians when he opposed World War II, and he saw the Cold War, to paraphrase John T. Flynn, as a giant public-works project that had nothing whatever to do with the people's security. Knowing that liberty could not long endure in the garrison state, he refused to be silenced. He spoke from personal experience when he wrote,

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

*Chodorov, continued on page 19*

LNC Finance  
Committee  
Officers Appointed

Leslie Graves Key, Chairman of the Libertarian National Committee's Finance Committee, announced the appointment of the Finance Committee's executive officers at the December meeting of the National Committee in New Orleans. Key, who herself was appointed Chair of the Committee in August, said, "These officers are just the tip of what we hope will become a large, decentralized, national organization."

The three new officers are Bob Thompson, Vice Chair of the Committee, Kent Guida, Treasurer and Membership chair, and Linda Taylor, Secretary. Thompson, of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, is a former fundraiser for the Clark for President campaign and is currently coordinating the LNC membership drive. Guida, from Annapolis,

Maryland, was the leading fundraiser for the 1980 Maryland ballot drive, and was a fundraiser for the Clark for President campaign. Taylor has been the leading fundraiser for the Minnesota LP for the past year, and was the Clark for President Chair in Minnesota.

Key outlined for *Libertarian News* the purpose and goals of the Finance Committee. "The Finance Committee exists to keep the Libertarian Party solvent. The Finance Committee is composed of fundraisers and our job is strictly to raise money." Key continued, "We are attempting to establish fundraising as an on-going, continuing process. We want to provide the state and national parties with a stable cash flow that will enable them to do some solid planning for the future. In the past

they have relied on funding on a project-to-project basis which sometimes created a severe strain on their liquidity. We plan to avoid that in the future."

Under Key's direction the Finance Committee is assuming a different form. She explained, "Previously the committee was composed of only a few people who had an enormous number of responsibilities and tasks to perform. We want to change that. We plan to put together a broad-based committee with members in each state whose primary focus will be fundraising. The officers of the committee are there only to provide direction and to assist states in developing their own fundraising organizations. We want to provide them with the knowledge and advice that will make them independent and successful fundraisers."

The committee expects to devote the first quarter of 1981 to increasing the membership of the Libertarian Party. "In addition to actively seeking memberships from new contributors and those who expressed interest in the Clark campaign, we will begin investigating and mailing direct solicitations to the readers of

libertarian-oriented periodicals, asking them to become members of the LP," LNC membership chair Kent Guida told *Libertarian News*.

The committee also plans to restructure the basis on which money is given to the LP. Key said, "We hope to establish membership renewals and contributions to the LP on a monthly pledge basis, rather than relying on large sums of money given at only one point in the year. It makes the job of the national and state parties much easier if they can rely on getting steady amounts of money coming in. It greatly facilitates planning and insures that they won't make unrealistic budgets and then find they're unable to fund them."

LNC National Director Eric O'Keefe laid special emphasis on the activities of the Finance Committee. "The success of the committee's efforts in 1981 is crucial to the success of the LP in 1981. If we are to consolidate the gains we made in 1980 and move forward it is imperative that we be well funded. I urge anyone who has any interest in helping with this most important work to contact us at national headquarters."



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January 1981

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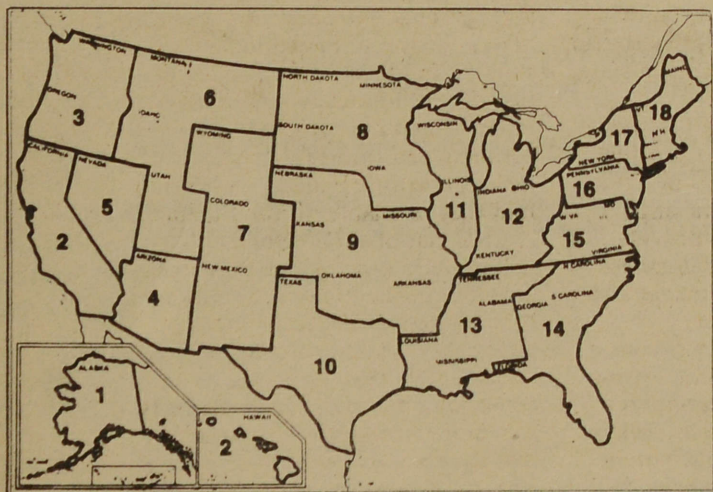
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**POLITICAL STRATEGIES:****Coalition or  
Constituency**

by Tom G. Palmer

As a campaign staffer for both the 1976 and 1980 Libertarian presidential campaigns, I would like to offer my assessment of the relative strategies employed by the two campaigns and their relevance for the future.

The strategic viewpoints which animated the campaigns were, respectively, what I choose to call the coalition and constituency strategies.

*The Coalition Strategy.* This concept calls for building a coalition, or working alliance, of groups who find themselves opposed to the specific activities or growth of government. Potential participants in such an anti-government power coalition would include such groups as taxpayers, gun owners, gay people, small business people, or marijuana smokers. Such people suffer, in one fashion or another, from the burdens of big government. Hence, this view maintains, they are natural allies in a movement against big government in general.

This was the strategic position that, to a large extent, motivated the MacBride for President campaign in 1976 and which has often been proposed as a path for the Libertarian movement to take in the 1980s. The problems with this strategy may now seem clear in hindsight, but they were not so obvious at the time of the MacBride campaign. As things turned out, most of the people who were attracted to the Libertarian Party during and after the 1976 campaign were not single issue voters but people who found the general message of libertarianism to be appealing.

The reasons for this seem clear. First, why should anyone whose primary concern is just one issue vote for or otherwise support the Libertarian Party? If their interest lies primarily in changing one policy of the state, then they are likely to be more successful by supporting those major party candidates who share their single concern and who have a greater chance of being elected and effecting short-term legislative impact. Such narrowly focused

political interests are unlikely to support the Libertarian Party as a means of achieving their ends until later in the party's evolution, when the party has shown greater electoral and legislative clout.

Not only is such a coalition of single interest groups unlikely to coalesce around a new party in its early stages, when it has few elected officials, but it is unlikely to provide the primary source of support for a non-statist party at any stage. The major weakness inherent in coalition politics is that members of single issue groups are by their nature narrowly focused. They are interested in one thing and one thing only. The LP, however, is concerned with effecting changes in public policy across the board. So while members of a gun group might be solidly behind us on their particular issue, they are more likely to take exception with us on a vast number of other issues like foreign policy, drugs, etc. Such a broad and sweeping goal as liberty, with its nearly infinite individual policy implications, is unlikely to provide the thread capable of holding together a diverse coalition whose members perceive their interests on issues other than the ones which drew them into a Libertarian coalition to be in jeopardy.

The coalition strategy, as tried out in the MacBride for President campaign, was unsuccessful. The MacBride campaign released a series of issue papers addressed to specific single interest groups, ran advertisements in magazines that catered to such groups, and made a special effort to reach out to such people. Generally, these efforts were unrewarded. Those people who were attracted to the Libertarian Party, while they may have been members of one (or more) of the specifically targeted groups, were attracted by a larger vision of liberty — for everyone, themselves as well as others. The issue papers and other devices intended for special interest groups turned out to be valuable, not as a means of recruiting such people, but as an articulate way of expressing the Libertarian approach for those who found it attractive or of political interest. They were successful only to the extent that they contributed to the constituency strategy.

*The Constituency Strategy.* This viewpoint calls for the creation of a broad-based constituency of people who are committed, in varying

degrees, to the goal of liberty full blown. Rather than attempting to put together a coalition of politically disparate single issue groups, the constituency strategy tries to create a *self aware* Libertarian constituency, one that is comprised of people who comprehend the thread of non-coercion and liberty that ties together Libertarian positions into a consistent and coherent program for political change.

A metaphor that may be useful for understanding constituency politics is that of a mountain. The higher up the mountain one ascends the greater the knowledge of or dedication to libertarianism. But a mountain is not merely a peak. It must have a base as well, a broad foundation on which the higher sections of the mountain rest. Individuals who come to compose the Libertarian constituency may rapidly ascend to the topmost plateau of dedicated Libertarian activism and understanding, or they may be content to remain in the larger group that forms the bedrock of the Libertarian movement. What is important is that they understand, to one degree or another, the broad sweep of Libertarian principles. They are a *self-aware* constituency for liberty.

How did the Clark campaign set out to create and broaden such a constituency? To begin with, one can't merely state the principles of libertarianism in their most abstract form and expect many people to flock to our banner. One must begin at a more concrete level, one that enables people to relate more readily to the things that concern them in their own lives.

Here one may run the risk of falling into the coalition pitfall. The trick is to combine a set of issues that will reflect the broader range of Libertarian positions and will make evident the Libertarian thread that ties together these otherwise apparently disparate and "ideologically cross-cutting" issues.

The two issues chosen by the Clark campaign were war and taxes. This does not, of course, mean that other issues were ignored or pushed into the background. Clark issued in-depth statements and white papers on such issues as women's rights, the MX missile, first amendment freedoms, housing, medical care, controlled substances, and many more. But more limited time and other resources dictates that one must economize and allocate these resources to their most productive uses.

Why taxes and foreign policy? Obviously the choice is not engraved in stone; they would be, for example, poor choices for a Libertarian race for state senate or some other non-federal office. But these issues are not only intimately connected (an interventionist foreign policy requires high taxes to support it, for example) but they are evidence of the bankruptcy of the liberal/conservative dichotomy. For years people who

chafe at high taxes have been told by the conservative politicians that they were on the other side of the political spectrum from those who oppose acts of foreign adventurism like the Vietnam War. And for years those who supported and voted for peace were told by liberal politicians that they were on the opposite side of the political spectrum from the anti-tax people. Yet to a very great extent these are the same people! And they are becoming less and less attached to the Democratic and Republican parties in which these politicians operate.

In the spring of 1980 the Clark campaign commissioned the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, N. J. to run a broad based poll on issues concerning the electorate. A poll of 1500 voters between the ages of 18 to 40, the age group least attached to the traditional two party system, showed that over sixty percent of those surveyed said they would be inclined to support a presidential candidate whose two major platform planks were significantly less foreign intervention and significant reductions in taxes. When they were asked if they might support such a candidate if he or she were running on a third-party ticket the number only declined to forty-five percent. That is a huge segment of the population, a massive potential constituency for the Libertarian Party. Of course, not all of these people voted for Ed Clark. But nearly a million did — in what was perceived to be a cliff-hanger of a presidential race — and this is just the start.

Those millions of people who supported Ed Clark and other Libertarian candidates in 1980 may not all be dyed-in-the-wool Libertarians. But they knew they were supporting something different, not just another bunch of politicians who promise the moon and then don't deliver. They were voting for freedom — across the board.

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If you are interested in becoming a member of either of these committees contact your regional representative or the national office.

Tom G. Palmer is the Communications Director for the Libertarian National Committee, and was formerly the Assistant Communications Director of the Clark for President Campaign.



## Freeing Up The System:

### The Libertarian Party's Promise for the Poor and Unemployed

by Ed Clark

The following article is excerpted from Ed Clark's 1980 campaign book *A New Beginning*.

In mid May, 1980, Miami's black community exploded in almost a week of bloody riots. Journalists everywhere were suddenly reminded of the nationwide riots of the late '60s, and of the Long Hot Summer of 1968. It became clear that twelve years of federal programs, under Democratic and Republican administrations alike, had *not* revitalized the inner cities, nor had they diminished poverty or eliminated racial disharmony. After decades of economic policies adopted by the Democrats and Republicans, the world's fastest growing economy has ground to a halt. Hundreds of billions of dollars have been wasted on social programs which have *not* helped the poor, but which instead have effectively kept them "in their place" — economically immobile and dependent. And meanwhile the government has sabotaged those elements of a free market economy which were once the best hope of all those who wanted a better way of life.

Who are the poor? They are elderly; they are women-headed families of small children; they are fathers shut out of the job market; they are unemployed teenagers. Almost half of them are black, and *most of these* live in our devastated ghetto areas, where almost 25 percent of the federal domestic budget was spent in 1979. Is all this money bringing hope?

Quite the contrary. In the aftermath of the riots in Miami, *Newsweek* asked blacks if they thought that life in America is improving for blacks, and found that the number of people optimistic about their futures had dropped by a third since 1969. Half of today's respondents think things are improving — but in 1969, 75 percent thought so.

At a rally on April 29 in front of New York Governor Hugh Carey's office in Albany, black speakers asked, not for more government programs, but instead for *freedom* from government controls, controls which they justifiably see as making their own progress nearly impossible. One of the speakers denounced politicians as "thieves who take everything from the people and just give us welfare to keep us down."

What have government programs done to eliminate poverty? Consider the record.

The income of all blacks relative to

whites reached its peak in 1969, a year before the federal government began insisting on the implementation of what UCLA economist Thomas Sowell calls "affirmative action mandatory quotas," and has declined ever since.

During roughly the same period, the income of families in our cities did not rise with inflation, although that of suburban families generally did. (There were more minority families, of course, in the cities than in the suburbs.) City income increased only by 57 percent; at the same time the Consumer Price Index went up 65 percent. This means that while the median family income in the central cities was 83 percent of that in the suburbs in 1969, eight years later it had fallen an average 4 percentage points. The proportion of black families with income below the poverty line was between 25 and 30 percent at the beginning of the past decade, and remains the same today. Despite considerable economic growth, poor people have been left behind.

And this is true despite the billions upon billions of dollars spent on "transfer" programs over the last decade — food stamps, rent subsidies, Medicaid — which have transferred money and services from taxpayers to the poor. In 1968 such programs totalled \$56.5 billion. Ten years later they had been increased to a staggering \$215.2 billion which, if it had actually gone to the poor, was enough to give more than \$25,000 to each poor family of four. Obviously, it didn't all go to the poor.

According to the Census Bureau, there were 25.4 million poor people in the country in 1968, and there were still 24.7 million poor in 1978. In 1965, 28 percent of our people were poor, by 1977, hundreds of billions spent to aid them had resulted in a reduction of this figure by a mere one percent, to 27 percent.

Why has this happened? Why have hundreds of billions of dollars ostensibly spent on the poor not eliminated poverty?

The answer may be that these programs are in fact not primarily designed to help the poor. They are a political tool, a source of jobs for welfare workers, and a method of social control of the poor. Professors Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, in their book *The Politics of Turmoil: Poverty, Race, & the*

*Urban Crisis*, write, "The social-welfare agencies were legislated in the name of the poor, but the poor were not their true clientele."

The welfare system is really operated by and for its own bureaucracy. "The bureaucracies manipulate the benefits and services on which their clients come to depend in such a way as to control their behavior," Piven and Cloward write. The poor, who are forced onto welfare because the government's economic policies have destroyed millions of jobs, are controlled, interrogated, bullied, stigmatized, and dominated by bureaucrats.

Piven and Cloward suggest that the Great Society programs were designed not to help the poor but to further the political goals of the national Democratic Party. The new agencies were a way of bringing the federal government into direct contact with ghetto blacks, avoiding the necessity of going through Republican governors or anti-black Democratic city governments. The new federal offices in the ghetto — operating as delinquency-prevention, mental health, antipoverty, or model-cities agencies — were a modern-day version of the old-style political machine. They offered help in getting welfare and other public services. They hired neighborhood leaders as "community workers" to distribute patronage like the old ward heelers. Thus, Piven and Cloward say, "the national administration was revivifying the traditional strategy of urban politics: offering jobs and services to build party loyalty." When Nixon took office, he tried to change some of the rules: making more of the money go through state governments, for example, where Republicans had more control. The purpose was the same: using federal funds in the political interest of the party in power.

Who benefits most from these policies? Not the poor, obviously — they're still poor. The real beneficiaries are the social workers, planners, and welfare bureaucrats, along with the politicians who profit from the new political machines. If they actually helped people get off welfare and get jobs, the bureaucrats wouldn't be needed any more, and the politicians would lose a source of votes. It is in the interests of the bureaucrats and politicians to keep people poor.

Sam Brown, head of the government's ACTION agency which is responsible for many of these programs ostensibly designed to help the poor, recently admitted that "Despite our best intentions the government programs we have supported have unwittingly made the poor dependent and created a new bureaucratic and expert elite that too often denies poor people the opportunity to help themselves." One may question whether this outcome was really accidental, as Brown says, but there can be no doubt that the

results are just as he says.

One major problem is that many regulators, bureaucrats, and social workers do not believe that poor people and neighborhood groups can solve their own problems. But for years Americans, including those in inner cities, have been finding their own solutions to community problems, without government help. Lately, however, government has often stepped in to outlaw these self-help activities.

In the mid-1960s Dr. Thomas Matthew, over the opposition of the New York City government, established a locally run hospital in the black section of Jamaica, Queens. He found, however, that public transportation there was inadequate for the patients and staff. Dr. Matthew purchased a few buses and established a regular, efficient, and successful bus service in Jamaica. The service was so successful that he established another line in Harlem. But Dr. Matthew did not have a city license to operate a bus service, and none was available. The city government went to court and shut down both bus lines.

A few years later Dr. Matthew and his colleagues took over an abandoned building in Harlem and established a low-cost hospital. The city government shut that down too, — it didn't meet regulations.

Another example: Black Philadelphians have had a long tradition of establishing their own nursing homes for the elderly, often under church auspices. Just a few years ago there were 25 such centers in Philadelphia's black neighborhoods. Then in 1974 the federal government adopted new nursing home regulations, setting up standards most of these facilities were unable to meet. As a result, almost all the nursing homes are now out of business.

In all these cases and more, government intervention has prevented people from solving their own problems. When Dr. Matthew was asked what the government could do to help blacks in New York, he replied, "Get out of our way, and let us try something."

But if we haven't healed the rift between black and white, or eliminated poverty, have we at least made strides toward providing the poor with what they need most — jobs? The fact is that Republican and Democratic programs have taken us in the opposite direction, sabotaging both jobs and those who need them.

Between 1967 and 1977, the black teenage population increased by 43 percent, while the white teenage population increased by only 18 percent. But during the same period, employment among white youth increased 29 percent, and only 7.7 percent among teenage blacks. In other words, there were more and more black kids, but jobs were going to their white counterparts. The *System*, continued on page 14



*System, continued from page 13*

August 1977 unemployment rate among black teenagers was more than 40 percent, as reported to President Carter in a report evaluating the results of his public jobs program, "a broad program to breathe life into urban centers where so many of the black unemployed live," according to the *New York Times*.

By the spring of 1979 the situation for minority youths was being compared to the depths of the Great Depression. Black leaders were beginning to believe that the unemployment rates, shocking as they were, didn't even begin to reflect the number of idle young blacks in ghettos across the country. The *New York Times* discovered that in the 18 to 24 age group, more black youths were in local jails than in all the Federal public jobs programs put together.

So the public jobs programs which the Republicans and Democrats have offered as a hope to minorities have not done a thing to ease the problem of minority teenage and youth unemployment.

Consider the disastrous effects of these policies. The politicians have given us ruinous taxation policies. These high taxes have confiscated the capital which businesses would otherwise have been able to use to expand and create jobs. This has destroyed potential jobs and kept new businesses from being able to compete with established businesses, which are better able to absorb the tax burden. Particularly high city taxes have made these problems more acute in the cities and have driven countless businesses out of Northern cities and the suburbs or the Sunbelt. Instead of lowering taxes, the politicians complain about declining employment in the cities and raise taxes yet again. The result has been fewer and fewer manufacturing jobs for the urban poor.

Regulations of every sort have hampered businesses in the cities and destroyed countless more jobs. Benjamin Hooks, now head of the NAACP, once bought a doughnut shop in Memphis from a man who had owned it for 25 years. "In those 25 years, they had passed all kinds of laws," he recalls, "You had to have separate rest rooms for men and women, you had to have ratproof walls and everything on God's earth. We were hit with all those regulations, and they cost us \$30,000. We had to close the shop." If an ambitious, gifted man like Ben Hooks couldn't survive the onslaught of regulations, what chance does the average aspiring entrepreneur have?

"It's obvious now," Hooks continued, "that nobody, but nobody, is buying into a decaying black ghetto except blacks themselves. So the effect of some regulations, (like those described above) is almost 100% to exclude blacks."

*System, continued on page 17*

*Reagan, continued from page 5*

Schultz wound up an innocuous speech on regulation before the House Republicans with a strong pitch for the bill. One member quoted him saying, "We cannot neglect the international banking institutions." Just recently, Reagan approved the appointment of banking establishmentarian A. W. Clausen of the Bank of America to head the World Bank.

How radical will Reagan be on the money issue with that kind of connection to the banking establishment?

Our immediate task is to prevent Reagan from discrediting real free-market advocates. Waiting four years, when the liberals announce that economic freedom had its chance, is a recipe for disaster. We must start now to point out the fiction that Ronald Reagan represents.

That's how the domestic scene looks right now. If you think that's scary, take a look at the foreign-policy side. As libertarians, we by nature favor peace, non-intervention abroad, disarmament, free trade and free immigration. We can safely say we won't see much of this under President Reagan.

I've already mentioned the increased military spending Reagan plans. This will not only impoverish the civilian economy, it will step up international tension and take us closer to war, regardless of how fervently Mr. Reagan in his heart wants peace. There has been a modicum of good news since the election. During the campaign, Reagan relied chiefly on New Right foreign-policy advisers — these are the button-pushers who look with glee to the future devastation of the Soviet Union, regardless of what that goal would mean for our lives, liberty and health. Since the election, these advisers have to some extent been displaced by the Nixon-Ford detentists, such as Henry Kissinger. This is not meant so much as praise of the Kissinger-types. But if we have to choose between the button-pushers and the detentists, I think you know which we should choose. (By the way — and this is a good sign — the New Rightists are rather peeved at whom Reagan is listening to.)

We shouldn't be complacent, however; Reagan still takes advice from New Rightist Richard Allen, who, despite his recent conciliatory tone, is still a cold-warrior. But we can't be too happy about the detentists either. One of their trademarks is the concept of "linkage," which means Soviet relations are treated holistically — everything relates to everything else. You want trade? Change your immigration policies, etc.

Aside from the obvious effect this policy has on the liberty of American citizens, it also heightens tensions between the countries. Indeed, as libertarian foreign-policy analyst Earl Ravenel points out, this is precisely

the time for de-linkage. Any measure to reduce tension should be pursued regardless of what else we don't like about the Soviets.

It's rather obvious that President Reagan will not do what needs to be done in this area: withdraw *all* forces from the Middle East, Europe and elsewhere; end all collective-security alliances; end all foreign aid and all barriers to trade and immigration, and end draft registration. You've probably noticed how far he's backed off that one.

There is a truly wierd idea going around these days that I hope Reagan does not share. It is the view that there is something dangerous about Japan and Europe making a separate peace with the Soviet Union. Concern has been expressed that in the wake of the Iran-Iraq war, Japan and West Germany are talking about buying oil from Russia in return for oil-producing technology. Russia already sells natural gas to the Germans via a pipeline. Negotiations to expand this are now going on.

How can this possibly be viewed as dangerous except by someone who sees the world through the spectacles of the American Empire? Trade binds the world in peaceful ways.

Individuals and groups who trade and benefit from each other are less likely to go to war and destroy the world.

Reagan and his advisers believe that all the problems in the world have their roots in the Kremlin; this is unfortunate. As long as they believe this, they will never be comfortable with policies — such as free trade — that lessen tensions. To them these will represent acquiescence, like the preacher who stops berating the drunk.

Make no mistake about it: the Soviet leaders are brutal tyrants who care nothing for liberty. But we cannot do anything about them; we cannot free the Soviet people or the people of Eastern Europe or the people of China (oh — I forgot, they're our friends now and don't need liberating). Our attempt to do so will destroy the world. And even if it didn't do that, it would enlarge the already monstrous Leviathan at home. Liberty can not survive in a garrison state. We will hasten the advent of freedom only by completing our libertarian revolution at home and letting the world see it.

The choice is elementary and ancient: Liberty, or an aggressive foreign policy to reform the world. We can't have both.

It was only after the election the conservatives won largely on the basis of their "anti-government" rhetoric (and the failures of Democratic interventionism) that conservatives have acknowledged this choice. Columnist George Will, a leading conservative intellectual and Reagan backer, recently stated "the truly conservative critique of contemporary American society is that there is too freedom — for abortionists, pornographers, businessmen trading

with the Soviet Union, young men exempt from conscription, to cite just four examples." Will went on to ask "how conservatives can reconcile their idea that government should do less, with their desire for the nation to play a more assertive role internationally, a role that may require, in addition to more weapons, more government activism in the management of international trade (of grains for example) and related facets of the domestic economy."

I saved the issue of civil liberties to the end, but not because it is least important. Obviously, everything I have discussed so far is a civil-liberties issue. The right to engage in trade, to use one's property in any peaceful fashion, is as much a matter of civil liberties as the right to be secure in one's chosen lifestyle. It's all the same thing. This artificial division of liberties only hinders understanding and serves the interests of liberty's opponents.

What to expect from Mr. Reagan.... I already noted his backslide on the draft — the premier civil liberties issue of the day. I will be delighted if he ends registration, but he seems not to be moving in that direction. Meanwhile young people will be subjected to fines and prison for not filling out a green-and-white card at the Post Office, a card that is a potential death warrant.

Reagan supports a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion — another blemish on his record. He is sympathetic to the so-called Moral Majority, which aims to use the state to enforce its particular view of morality.

Most ominous of all is the well-publicized Heritage Foundation report to Reagan recommending the unleashing of the FBI and CIA, a crack down on domestic radicals and the revival of Congress's internal security committees. I realize that Reagan need not accept the report, but he is close to the Heritage Foundation, and this bears close watch.

Just to chill you a bit, I'll quote from that evil report. The study advised Reagan to recognize "the reality of subversion and (to put) emphasis on the un-American nature of much so-called 'dissidence.'" It went on to say, "It is axiomatic that individual liberties are secondary to the requirement of national security and internal civil order."

My message to Mr. Reagan is that there is nothing *more* American than dissidence. It is those who hold mythical national security above liberty who are un-American.

The upshot is that the prospects for liberty in the next four years are not bright. They will produce countless opportunities for libertarians to enter public debate and win over people who love peace and liberty. But I see no reason to expect help from the state.

I'd like to be proved wrong.



Clark, continued from page 2

for his skill in debating, defining, and presenting the issues. In addition, LNC Chairman David Bergland succeeded in wresting 2 percent of the vote against California Sen. Alan Cranston (D) and Republican Paul Gann.

Libertarian congressional candidates also scored well in 1980. Catherine McDivitt got the highest percentage of any Libertarian seeking a federal office in her fight for the Texas 16th congressional district, polling 15 percent. McDivitt's campaign was run on a slender budget but had a considerable impact in the west Texas district. McDivitt said, "Our relations with the media were superb. In fact during the campaign I was easily on TV as often as my opponent, eight term Democratic incumbent Richard White." McDivitt continued, "We've set ourselves up to win a state representative race here in 1982."

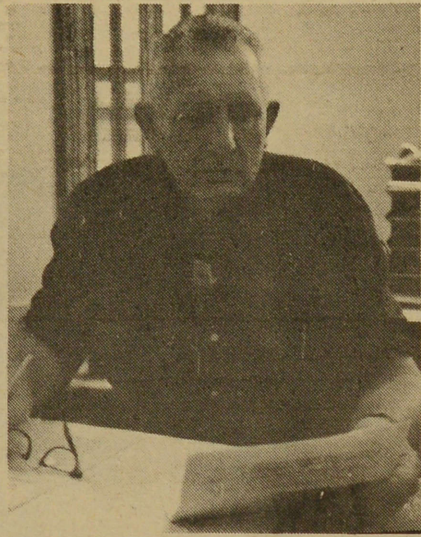
In Virginia two Libertarian congressional candidates did extremely well against great odds. In a four-way race for the state's 3rd congressional district, Libertarian Jim Turney received 6 percent of the vote. The 3rd district consists primarily of the city of Richmond, and Turney's main opponent was no less than the former mayor of Richmond Thomas Bliley (R), who won the contest. Libertarian Ken Morrison also picked up 10 percent in Virginia's coastal 2nd district against six term incumbent G. William Whitehurst.

In South Carolina's 5th congressional district Libertarian Thomas Campbell grabbed 13 percent against three term incumbent Ken Holland (D). Campbell's campaign was the first serious campaign ever mounted in the area and bodes well for future campaigning.

Hawaiian Libertarians can be grateful to congressional candidate Don Smith who ran for the state's 2nd district. Smith's tough campaign enabled Hawaii to retain its ballot status.

Two Libertarian congressional races deserve special mention. Bill Evers's three-way race for California's 12th congressional district proved that although hampered by a small budget, it's still possible to grab a sizeable percentage of votes. Evers, dubbed a "savy politico" by *Congressional Quarterly*, fought a tough race against two big spending opponents, incumbent Paul McCloskey (R) and Democrat Kirsten Olsen. The issues of registration and the draft were featured prominently in the race, as McCloskey is one of Congress' major advocates of enforced military service. Evers consistently rapped McCloskey and took 8 percent of the vote.

In California's 40th congressional district, Libertarian Dan Mahaffey equaled Evers' performance.



Mayor Stan Thompson

Mahaffey ran against incumbent Robert Badham (R) and Democrat Michael Dow. Both Mahaffey's opponents ran well-financed campaigns with hundreds of thousands of dollars supplied to them by outside special interest groups. Even so Mahaffey still managed to capture 8 percent of the vote in the heavily Republican district.

Some of the LP's most impressive results were achieved in state and local races. Libertarian Michael Tanchek came close to unseating his Democratic opponent in a race for Montana's 22nd state representative district. Tanchek lost the race by less than 600 votes and wound up with 41 percent. Tanchek, a member of the Troy City Council, is set up in a good position to take the seat in 1982 and urged other Libertarians to "gain experience and name recognition by running for office." Libertarian National Committee member Vivian Baures also proved her electoral mettle in her bid for the Jackson County, Oregon Treasurer's office. Baures, a Certified Public Accountant, brought expertise and skillful politicking to the race and captured 32 percent of the vote.

Libertarian political clout was also evidenced in four three-way state races as well. Arizona LP Chair Buck Crouch rolled up an impressive 19 percent in his race for the state's 10th state senate seat. Crouch ran an extensive and hard-hitting campaign that included massive literature distribution and door-to-door campaigning in the district. With the favorable response he received this time and his greatly increased name identification, Crouch also stands in a good position to run for office again.

Libertarian Roberta Rinehart racked up a solid 17 percent in California's 70th assembly district. In what was described by state journalists as one of the hottest races in the state, Rinehart continually displayed a coolness under fire. While her opponents vilified one another, Rinehart's clean and principled campaign drew praise from local media.

Libertarian National Committee member Ben Olson chalked up 14 percent in his race for Iowa's 47th state house seat. Olson's campaign featured media spots and stumping by the candidate across the large rural district.

Libertarian Mary Harris also got 14 percent of the vote in a three-way race for the Clark County Public Administrator's office in Nevada.

Chris Hocker summed up election year 1980 and its effect on the Libertarian Party, saying, "1980 marks a year of great advances for us. For the first time we had candidates in every state of the union. We racked up three solid electoral victories in Alaska that will provide a springboard for a serious

gubernatorial challenge there in 1982. We have ballot status in twelve states now and should have it easily in half the country going into 1984." Hocker continued, "Most importantly though is the vast increase in numbers and experience we gained this year. We now have hundreds of candidates across the country who have experienced the crucible of political contests and who are now in position to give serious opposition to their major party opponents. Millions of Americans came in contact with the Libertarian party this year as the result of our grassroots outreach, and as the other parties continue to offer the same unworkable solutions, we should find voters increasingly turning to us."

## ELECTION RESULTS

STATE	REAGAN	CARTER	ANDERSON	CLARK
ALABAMA	654,192	636,730	16,481	13,318
ALASKA	86,112	41,842	11,156	18,479
ARIZONA	529,688	246,843	76,952	18,784
ARKANSAS	403,164	398,041	22,468	8,970
CALIFORNIA	4,523,479	3,083,197	739,680	148,416
COLORADO	652,264	368,009	130,633	25,744
CONNECTICUT	677,210	541,732	171,807	8,570
DELAWARE	111,185	105,700	16,275	1,971
D.C.	23,313	130,231	16,131	1,826
FLORIDA	2,043,006	1,417,687	189,099	30,457
GEORGIA	654,168	890,955	36,055	15,627
HAWAII	130,112	135,879	32,021	3,269
IDAHO	290,699	110,192	27,058	8,425
ILLINOIS	2,358,094	1,981,413	346,754	38,939
INDIANA	1,255,656	844,197	111,639	19,627
IOWA	676,026	508,672	115,633	13,123
KANSAS	566,812	326,150	68,231	14,470
KENTUCKY	635,274	617,417	31,127	5,531
LOUISIANA	792,853	708,453	26,345	8,240
MAINE	238,522	220,974	53,327	5,119
MARYLAND	680,606	726,161	119,537	14,192
MASS.	1,056,223	1,053,800	382,539	22,038
MICHIGAN	1,915,225	1,661,532	275,223	41,597
MINNESOTA	873,268	954,173	174,997	31,593
MISSISSIPPI	441,089	429,281	12,036	5,465
MISSOURI	1,074,181	931,182	77,920	14,422
MONTANA	206,814	118,032	29,281	9,825
NEBRASKA	419,214	166,424	44,854	9,041
NEVADA	155,017	66,666	17,651	4,358
NEW HAMPS.	221,705	108,864	49,693	2,064
NEW JERSEY	1,546,557	1,147,364	234,632	20,652
NEW MEXICO	250,779	167,826	29,459	4,365
NEW YORK	2,893,831	2,728,372	467,801	52,648
N. CAROLINA	915,018	875,635	52,800	9,677
NORTH DAKOTA	193,695	79,189	23,640	3,743
OHIO	2,206,545	1,752,414	254,472	49,033
OKLAHOMA	695,570	402,026	38,284	13,828
OREGON	571,044	456,890	112,389	25,838
PENNSYLVANIA	2,261,872	1,937,540	292,921	33,263
RHODE ISLAND	154,793	198,342	59,819	2,458
S. CAROLINA	441,841	430,385	14,153	5,139
SOUTH DAKOTA	198,343	103,855	21,431	3,824
TENNESSEE	787,761	783,051	35,991	7,116
TEXAS	2,510,705	1,881,147	111,613	37,643
UTAH	439,687	124,265	30,269	7,138
VERMONT	94,628	81,952	31,761	1,900
VIRGINIA	989,609	752,174	95,418	12,821
WASHINGTON	865,244	650,193	185,073	29,213
W. VIRGINIA	334,206	367,482	31,655	4,331
WISCONSIN	1,088,845	981,584	160,657	29,135
WYOMING	110,700	49,427	12,072	4,514



# KNOWLEDGE

Sure, you're fired up with libertarian principles. They're logical, consistent, and just. A world based on them would be vastly better than what we have today.

But most people don't think in terms of principles. They're bogged down in the here and now. Try to convince them about liberty, and you're going to hear things like:

- "That sounds fine in theory, but it will never work in practice."
- "If the government didn't look out for air safety, there'd be planes dropping from the sky left and right."
- "If we hadn't had 200 years of public schooling, we'd be a nation of illiterates."
- "Surely you don't think private enterprise could provide police and fire protection!"

Can you answer questions like these? You could if you were a Reason reader. Each month Reason applies libertarian principles to the real world. Reason shows how government solutions fail, with specific, factual examples (like our exposé of the government's fraudulent figures on Social Security benefits). Reason shows how the free market and private entrepreneurs can provide creative, new solutions to people's problems (like our unique coverage of private, profit-making police and fire services). And Reason exposes the corruption that goes hand-in-hand with massive government (like our widely quoted story on the misuse of federal grants by Cesar Chavez's union).

It's knowledge like this—solid, factual, comprehensive—that can make you an effective communicator of libertarian ideas. And it's available each month in Reason.

Take advantage of the special half-price offer for readers of this publication. Subscribe today for just \$1.00 per month—50% off the \$2.00 cover price. Think of it—plenty of intellectual ammunition for just \$1.00, each and every month.



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Interbank No. (Master Charge) \_\_\_\_\_

Exp. Date \_\_\_\_\_



System, continued from page 14

The federal minimum wage law has destroyed hundreds of thousands of jobs for teenagers and minorities. The minimum wage law doesn't guarantee anyone a job at \$3.10 an hour; it just makes it illegal for him to take a job that pays less. So the worker who at the moment isn't worth \$3.10 an hour to an employer ends up with no job at all. Who is hurt most? Teenagers, of course, who haven't acquired many job skills. And especially minority teenagers, who have generally received a poor education in inner-city public schools.

But the minimum wage law doesn't only hurt teenagers. The teenager who can't get that first job soon becomes the young man or woman with no work experience, unable to get any job. And there will be unskilled adult workers who are not worth the minimum wage. So the potential employer decides to automate, or to hire one skilled worker instead of two or three unskilled workers, or to let his customers wait on themselves. Hundreds of thousands of jobs for the poor have been destroyed by this one piece of legislation — legislation framed by politicians who seem to think it's better to be on welfare than to hold down a low-paying job.

Professor Walter Williams, a Temple University economist with a special interest in minority problems, points out that black opportunities have in fact declined since the government made a commitment to improve the condition of minorities. In 1948, black teenage youth actually had a lower unemployment rate than whites of the same age. Dr. Williams is convinced that the tremendous rise in black unemployment is due to "the numerous laws that have the effect of reducing employment opportunities," and that the impact of minimum wage laws on black people is vastly underrated.

While the politicians have been driving people out of the labor market with minimum wage laws, preventing them from acquiring needed skills and experience, they have also been restricting employment opportunities by passing a blizzard of other laws, particularly licensing laws. Licensing laws limit entry into a profession, forcing potential workers to meet many cumbersome and often irrelevant criteria before they are licensed and allowed to work.

Someone may be perfectly competent in construction work, as in carpentry or plumbing, in cutting hair, in driving a taxi, or any one of a vast number of other occupations, but unless he or she can obtain a license, all these skills amount to nothing.

These laws are not designed to protect consumers. Rather they are framed by established interests to keep people out of the protected occupation, thus guaranteeing higher incomes for those who are already in the field.

And these laws have been growing

at an astonishing rate, effectively leaving those who cannot meet arcane licensing requirements without a means of earning a living. By 1900, there were licensing laws limiting working in only two professions; by 1952, nearly 80 professions required licenses; but by 1980, the number of licensed occupations had risen to a startling figure of more than 800. All these laws simply prevent people from working when they are perfectly capable of doing so. They are designed to shut people out of the economic system — to slam the door in the face of those who want to succeed.

Over the years, Republicans and Democrats also have been adding to state and federal regulation of industry and to national labor laws, which has further reduced competition, harming minorities in devastating ways. Professor Williams says, "Market-entry regulations are *political* acts that have made it increasingly difficult for the black underclass to enter the mainstream of American society."

And, of course, while these bipartisan policies have been steadily restricting the availability of private sector jobs for minorities, a succession of public jobs programs has been unable to replace these lost jobs. When the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Operation Mainstream failed to solve the problems of youth unemployment, the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 budgeted \$2 billion over two years. When that act expired, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) was passed in 1973, to train people for jobs at a cost of about \$4,000 per person.

But when the Carter Administration committed \$10 billion to public service jobs in 1977, claiming that these funds were especially aimed at "those most in need," primarily young blacks, the funds were administered by state and local governments which used the money instead to rehire personnel who had fallen victim to earlier payroll cuts — and untrained, inexperienced blacks were once again pushed aside.

Finally, there is the important area of housing. After more than 30 years of urban renewal programs, public housing programs, model cities programs, rent subsidies and rent controls, there is less housing for the poor than before these programs were begun. Urban renewal has destroyed three housing units for every one that was built, and over 70 percent of the families uprooted by this perverse program have been black.

Rent control laws have kept landlords from being able to make a profit on their buildings. Caught between rising taxes and virtually unchanging rents in a time of inflation, apartment owners find themselves unable to continue in business. They convert their buildings

to condominiums or simply abandon them. Seeing the poor prospects for rental housing, potential entrepreneurs do not build new apartments. Shortages of rental housing develop, and the poor — who cannot afford to move to other cities or to buy condominiums — are hurt worst. The liberal Swedish economist Assar Lindbeck has said, "Rent control is the most effective method known for destroying a city, except for bombing." Building regulations have also prevented the construction of new housing units. Within a few more years, this crisis is likely to get much worse — and neither Republicans nor Democrats have proposed any policies that would allow the crisis to be forcefully met.

The government programs fastened upon us by Republicans and Democrats at all levels of government have made the poor worse off, not better. They have managed to throw a few welfare bones at the disillusioned and oppressed victims of their policies. They have not only slammed the door on the future for many people, but have actually nailed the door of opportunity shut.

What can we do instead? What is the Libertarian alternative? Quite simply, we should free up the system.

We should free up the cities from the staggering burden of regulations and taxes. We should repeal rent control, zoning laws, and obsolete building codes, promoting the investment in new housing that the cities so desperately need. We should eliminate victimless crime laws, and put our police on the job of enforcing laws against crimes *with* victims, like mugging, robbery, rape, and murder — which are a blight on the lives of city dwellers, and especially those who live in our inner cities.

We should promote economic growth, which is the only hope of the poor for advancement and better lives in the future, by slashing taxes and deregulating the economy. Freeing our economy from government red tape and controls will find new investment flooding into the cities, new businesses being started by the less-well off, more jobs being created — meaningful jobs, not government make-work jobs which merely perpetuate the bureaucracies and lead to dead-ends for the poor.

We should begin to dismantle the welfare state, with its controls and regulations and manipulation, and make it possible for those now on welfare to make easier transitions into the labor market, ending the permanent cycle of dependency, subjugation, suspicion, and poverty.

We should abolish the minimum wage laws and licensing laws so that people can once again be free to compete and to work, so that no bureaucrat or politician backed by special interests can ever again stand between a human being and a chance to work for a living, bringing

with it the dignity of self-reliance, not the dehumanizing dependency of helpless poverty and unemployment.

We can take a first step in this direction by establishing "enterprise zones" in many cities. In urban areas with unemployment rates double the national average, we should eliminate all controls, restrictions, and taxes to encourage the establishment of businesses and creation of jobs. We should eliminate zoning restrictions and building codes, which prevent innovative and changing land use; rent controls, which lead to the abandonment of buildings; minimum-wage laws, which prevent the employment of those who need jobs most; and all sorts of business regulations, which interfere with production and make it very difficult to establish new, small businesses. We should suspend property and business taxes, and maybe even personal income and social security taxes.

In short, we should remove all the taxes and controls which prevent the establishment of businesses and destroy jobs. At the same time, no business in an enterprise zone should be eligible for any government subsidy, grant, loan, loan guarantee, or other financing. We want real productive businesses, not companies dependent on the government. All these conditions must be absolutely guaranteed for a specified period of time — at least ten years. Otherwise entrepreneurs will be unwilling to start businesses because they will fear that taxes and regulations might suddenly be reimposed.

An enterprise zone policy will restore the economic vitality of our inner cities. Businesses will be established, jobs will be created, buildings will be refurbished and rebuilt. Once again our inner cities will be thriving, bustling centers of activity. Perhaps the most important benefit will be moral: inner-city residents will know that their own efforts can accomplish something; they will be able to build their own communities. Our cities will have a future of jobs, production, and opportunity.

As Roy Fauntroy, a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told a Miami rally in June, 1980, "The issue is justice. The problem is government. And the solution is in the hands of the people here."

Our current policies have not worked. They have devastated the poor, whose confusion, helplessness, dependence and rage increase daily. We now have but one choice: either the poor will remain at the bottom of our society, without a future, without dreams, without hope — or we can free up the system, and set people free — to work, compete, build, plan, and live. That is the *only* way to solve the problem of poverty and stagnation in this country. We must turn our backs on the policies which have failed, and make a fresh start.



*Draft, continued from page 6*

conservatives who would object to the conscription of women. One possible "out" in such a case would be an alternative service program, such as compulsory national service, that would create a pool of conscripted men and women for the military to choose from. According to the ACLU, it is too early at this time to predict the outcome of the case.

The other suit, *Wolman vs. U. S.*, challenges the Selective Service's right to use Social Security numbers for draft registration. In late November a DC federal district court ruled that the SSS had no right to require Social Security numbers on draft registration cards. The government is appealing the decision and is asking for a stay on the ruling until the appeal has been decided. At this time a favorable ruling appears unlikely.

The CARD National Anti-Draft Conference on February 13 through 16 in Detroit will be the most important conference since the beginning of the new anti-draft movement two years ago because each registrant to the conference gets a vote on all major issues. It is crucial that libertarians attend. It is imperative that this conference produces a CARD statement of principles compatible with libertarianism. We must not allow the statement of principles to embrace support for coercive and counterproductive policies such as phony government "jobs programs". But with representatives from statist and socialist organizations attending there will be strong pressure to do just that. A laundry list of statist demands would be disastrous for the future effectiveness of the anti-draft movement. Only a strong libertarian contingent at the conference can supply the principled opposition necessary to maintain CARD as an effective coalition that *anyone* who opposes the draft, regardless of personal ideology, can participate in.

It is important for libertarian activists to learn the basic skills and strategy necessary for what appears to be a long battle ahead of us all. The conference will be held at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, February 13-16, and will cost \$1 for high school students and the unemployed, \$5 for college students, and \$10 for everyone else. The conference will have sessions on the "Principles of Unity of the Anti-Draft Movement" and on the "Future Actions of the Anti-Draft Movement", besides numerous workshops on organizing skills and tactic. Just send your name, address, and registration fee to CARD, 201 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Room 111, Washington, D. C. 20002. Be sure to specify that your check is for registration to the CARD anti-draft conference.

The draft is *the* peace and liberty issue of 1981. Registration and

conscription, for any reason, are contrary to individual rights in that they explicitly embrace the doctrine that human beings are property of the State. As Ed Clark wrote in *A New Beginning*, "The doctrine that the state has a kind of right of eminent domain over your body reaches its ultimate, logical conclusion in the draft. Twist and turn the matter as one may, I can see no way of refuting the fact that the draft is simply a form of involuntary servitude — which is to say, a form of slavery."

The issue here is not service to one's country, but government's right to compel individuals to serve the state — a concept completely rejected in America's founding documents the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. In the long tradition of American draft resistance, Daniel Webster in 1814 said it well when he asked, "Where is it written in the Constitution, in what article or section is it contained, that you may take children from their parents, and parents from their children, and compel them to fight the battles of any war, in which the folly or the wickedness of Government may engage it?"

As libertarians, we know that each person has a right to be free and that the only proper function of law is to protect people from aggression against life and property. But principles and ethics seem to have little value with many politicians who increasingly eye America's young people as mere resources for propping up a failed bipartisan foreign and domestic policy.

The fact is that the U. S. armed forces are geared today not so much to defend America but to defend foreign governments, many of which are authoritarian or are quite capable of defending themselves. It is this current bi-partisan policy, that the U. S. be prepared at all times to fight one and a half wars abroad (a major war in Europe and a "minor" one in Asia), that demands the bloated manpower requirements and defense budget. By what right were the lives and property of the American people pledged to defend foreign governments?

Western Europe, for example, in comparison with the Warsaw Pact has a greater population, twice the GNP, and far greater technological sophistication. West Germany and Japan have stronger economies than the United States. Yet the American people will be forced this year to spend some \$83 billion for the defense of Europe and \$25 billion for Asia. In addition some 300,000 American troops are stationed in Europe and Asia with many more in the U. S. specifically for deployment overseas.

An end to U. S. subsidization of Europe's and Asia's defense would ease tremendously the pressure on the All Volunteer Force. Prof. Earl Ravenel of Georgetown University

has estimated that a 1.25 million standing army would be more than adequate to defend the U. S. — an almost 40% cut in current manpower levels.

Cuts in the defense budget and an end to the U. S. subsidization of the defense of foreign governments would enable pay increases to be given to American armed forces personnel without any increase in taxes or the deficit.

Constant preparation for war overseas is detrimental to the freedom, prosperity, and security of our country. Rather than compromising our freedom through the draft, libertarians call for an end to the Selective Service System and to U. S. political and military intervention in other countries. We need a strong defense for America with a policy of non-intervention abroad, open borders, and free trade

of ideas and commerce with all the world.

How can you help in the fight against conscription and registration? First, you can make plans to attend the CARD National Anti-Draft Conference in Detroit. Everyone attending will receive needed advice on anti-draft organizing and a voice in the future direction of the movement. If you can't make it to the conference, get a friend to go or organize your local LP chapter to send representatives. Otherwise, get involved with your local anti-draft chapter. A list of CARD chapters is available from CARD headquarters.

We staled the introduction of registration. We made the draft a campaign issue. With persistent pressure, and with your continued help, we can stop conscription and open wide a much needed debate on current U. S. foreign policy.

## NATIONAL ANTI-DRAFT CONFERENCE

February 13-16, 1981  
Wayne State University  
Detroit, Michigan

Sponsored by CARD  
(Committee Against  
Registration and the Draft)

### Registration Form

Yes, I'd like to come. Enclosed is:

- \$10 fee  
 \$ 5 college students  
 \$ 1 high school students & unemployed  
 I will need a place to stay

No, I can't come, but I'd like to sponsor someone else.

Enclosed is \_\_\_\_\_.

Let us know if child care is required. \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to:  
Committee Against Registration  
and the Draft  
201 Massachusetts Ave. NE Room 111  
Washington, DC 20002



## Libertarian Letter of the Month

*Libertarian News will regularly run the best, published letter written by a Libertarian in the previous two months. All entries should be sent to the editor of Libertarian News.*

*The letter printed below ran in the December 10, 1980 Central Jersey Leader and was written by LP candidate Tom Palven.*

### **PALVEN'S LAW** says Editor:

During my Libertarian congressional campaign I was treated to a debate between my Democrat and Republican opponents as to who had introduced the most legislation in the Assembly and Congress. I have noted the costs of printing these bills, and the massive legal fees borne by taxpayers as various government agencies sue each other over their interpretation.

Beyond this are the enforcement costs of these new laws while government agencies find it difficult to enforce old laws against robbery and violent crime. There is also the paperwork and other compliance costs which are passed on to consumers, and the unforeseen counterproductive ramifications of new laws which allegedly need other new laws to correct.

Reflecting on this I have, God Forgive me, proposed a new law. This law states that "No problem is so large that it cannot be made larger by passing a new law."

Sincerely,  
Tom Palven

# Libertarian NEWS

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Layout by Another Color Inc., Washington, D.C. Printed at Newspaper Printers Inc., La Plata, Md.

Letters and inquiries should be addressed to *Libertarian News*, Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007. Unsolicited materials will be considered, but no liability for its handling or return will be assumed.

This issue of the *Libertarian News*, is being offered as a special introductory issue to the thousands of contributors and supporters of the Libertarian Party who are not members. If you are not a member and would like to enjoy a year's subscription to *Libertarian News* as well as the other benefits that come with party membership, please take the time now to fill out the coupon in the center of this issue and mail it today to the Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, D. C. 20007.

*Chodorov, continued from page 8*

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 midst of war. (p. 17)

Chodorov intently tried to teach his fellows that you can't combat bad ideas — such as communism — by killing people, especially distant peasants. Not only does this not refute the ideas, it installs them here because the war-making state cannot coexist with liberty at home. This was not just idle philosophizing for Chodorov; it was serious business:

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 counterpropaganda, 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. (p.334)

The writings of this inspiring, erudite individualist and lover of liberty are enthusiastically recommended.

*Chair, continued from page 20*

know from personal experience it is easy to get such speaking engagements. I also know that in each class I have addressed, there have been at least a few students who identified strongly with the libertarian message and were eager to become involved.

Other specific outreach programs are limited only by the imagination of those of us within the party. The Libertarian National Committee has developed and is working on a nationwide minority outreach program. Other suggestions are lunch groups and supper clubs which involve Libertarians getting together with social acquaintances on a basis of shared interests in other areas (such as business) with the added objective of introducing people to libertarians and libertarian thought in a low pressure, non-political context. Again, I know from personal experience that such activities have been highly productive in gaining LP activists.

Some things are obvious but need to be repeated from time to time. This organization will take the direction that its members want it to take. Unless LP activists seriously engage in discussions about ultimate goals and appropriate methods of achieving them, the organization will have no direction. At best it will wander and become ineffective as a vehicle for building a free society. I intend to do everything I can to prevent the LP from losing its effectiveness through lack of direction. I urge every reader to take up the discussion of strategy in your state party organizations and with your representatives on the Libertarian National Committee. My purpose in requesting this is so that at the National Convention in August 1981 in Denver we will all be better equipped to make the important policy decisions that will guide the LP during the eighties.

*O'Keefe continued from page 20*

liberty were long ago decisively defeated on the intellectual battlefield, but they have continued in implementing their programs, always increasing the size and powers of government. Now they are meeting with decisive failures in practice, as government control of society is proving increasingly disastrous. What we must do is create the organizations which will tell the voters what has caused these crises, and point out our solutions.

### **How to Become Active**

If you have not already done so, the first step you can take to help create the organization which will bring about a free society is to join the national Libertarian Party. Among other things, your membership will bring you a one year subscription to *Libertarian News*, a packet of Libertarian Party brochures, and a Libertarian Party Platform. You will also be able to receive our "Activist Bulletins," which detail ways to promote libertarianism. (Just request these when you send in your membership form.) In addition, your membership will increase your state's delegate allocation to our

national convention, increasing your own chance of becoming a delegate or alternate to the convention.

Most LP work is done at the state and local level, so you should join your state LP as well. With your state membership you will obtain a subscription to the state LP newsletter, and you will receive other updates and mailings from the state party.

You'll also have the chance to become a delegate to your state convention. To join your state party, use the directory in this *Libertarian News* to contact your state chair, or request a membership form when you send in your national membership. When you are contacting your state chair, be sure to ask when the state convention will be held. At these gatherings party policies are determined, speakers and workshops held, and delegates to the national convention are selected.

Your state chair can also put you in touch with people you can assist on important projects. Among the important things you can help on in the first quarter of 1981 are the joint state/national membership drive, and a joint state/national fundraising effort. You can also attend local libertarian meetings and participate in projects like running candidates for local municipal offices; presenting libertarian speakers before high school classes, luncheon clubs, and other groups; reading and discussing libertarian books; working with the media to obtain local coverage; working on mailings to groups of prospective supporters; and developing a network to write libertarian letters to newspaper editors. Success in these types of activities is the hallmark of our most successful party, the Alaska Libertarian Party. They're already reaping major rewards from their hard work of recent years, now that Dick Randolph's drive to repeal the state income tax has succeeded.

One of the most rewarding activities of the year for most libertarian activists will be a trip to the national convention, on August 28th to 30th in Denver, Colorado. This will be an opportunity to hear and speak with leading libertarian thinkers and activists from around the country. It's also a time to participate in charting the future course of the party. Mark your calendar now, and look for convention details in future issues of *Libertarian News*.

The main responsibility of National Headquarters is to provide materials and advice to assist state and local organizing, so please call or write with your requests and ideas. We can accomplish a tremendous amount in 1981, and the results of our efforts will show clearly in the 1982 elections and beyond.



# Libertarian NEWS Perspective

The Libertarian Party urgently needs to develop an explicit strategy for the future.

It is easy to point to the successes of the 1980 campaigns. We are all familiar with the achievements of this year by now: ballot status in all 50 states, the 500 candidates, the thousands of new contributions and campaign workers, and the vast increase in public awareness of the L.P. It is now time to begin asking some more fundamental questions, such as: "What have we been doing and why?" and "What are we going to do now?"

What do I mean by develop a strategy? I mean that it is necessary for us, as an organization, to remind ourselves of our ultimate goals and to make long-range plans on the basis of whether or not they are conducive to achieving those goals. It is clear that the one overriding goal that motivates the libertarian movement and the Libertarian Party is that of creating a free society.

The Libertarian Party is a tool. It is a means to an end, not an end in itself. How we use the LP organization as a tool to achieve a free society depends upon a great many underlying assumptions about ourselves, the viability of libertarian principles, and the thought processes and values of the rest of the people in our society who do not know much about us yet.

Many of the basic premises on which LP activists have been operating have been unstated or unexamined. It is time that such examination began. I would like to see all LP activists engaging in vigorous discussions about appropriate strategy for the future between now and the 1981 National Convention in Denver. At that

Two and one half million different people voted for at least one Libertarian candidate in 1980! This is double the 1978 vote, and represents a continuation of the phenomenal rate of growth which has characterized this young party since its beginning.

Equally important is the awareness and perception of the Libertarian Party among millions of Americans. Through the Clark for President campaign, and the five hundred other Libertarian campaigns, most Americans heard about Ed Clark and the Libertarian Party last year, and most of them correctly perceived Libertarian candidates as advocates of drastic tax cuts and a peaceful, non-interventionist foreign policy. Consistent and serious media coverage was received by our campaigns, as Libertarian views were brought into serious political articles and discussions with unprecedented frequency. Millions of brochures were distributed by our campaigns, and LP organizations were developed and

## FROM THE CHAIR Libertarian Party Strategy What Now?

David P. Bergland

convention we will be adopting the operational framework for the 1984 Presidential campaign and other campaigns.

To open the strategy discussions, let me make a few observations. In the 1978 and 1980 election campaigns a great many new people were recruited. Probably a majority of the activists in the party have been with us less than two years. How familiar are these people with the LP Statement of Principles, our platform, and writings of the standard libertarian authors? How comfortable with and committed to libertarian principles are they? I know what my own answers to the foregoing questions are. Too many of our present activists are too thin in their own libertarian education. Therefore, a high priority project in the immediate future must be internal education programs. If a substantial portion of our present activists are not well grounded in and committed to libertarian principles, then is there not a significant risk that the LP will move in unlibertarian directions.

I certainly do not suggest by the foregoing that our present activists have not been doing a good job. I have been greatly encouraged by what I have seen of most of them. Even so,

an objective assessment of our present strengths and weaknesses does lead to the conclusion that internal education must be high on our list of priorities.

One objective in the past has been to bring as many people as possible into the party. This is an appropriate objective for any political organization which hopes to influence the direction of society. How best to go about recruiting has not received nearly enough attention. There are at least two fundamental approaches to recruiting. One approach, which seems to have been the one employed by most LP campaigns, is to get the word out to as many people as possible that we exist and a little bit about what we stand for through media and public appearances. The unstated assumption in this approach is that people who find our message appealing will respond in some fashion and come on board. A fundamentally different approach would be for Libertarian activists to seek out others on a one-to-one basis and attempt to persuade them to support or join us. Obviously this is not an either/or situation. Both approaches can be used. The real issue is the setting of priorities. How can we best use our limited resources of money and personnel to achieve

the objectives we set?

The *substance* of the message presented for recruitment purposes is also crucial. In offering the Libertarian alternative to the public, is it more effective to be brutally explicit about Libertarian positions, even on the most sensitive issues, or is it better to divert attention from the radicalism of some of our stances?

Another set of questions might help answer the questions just raised. Depending on the substance of the message presented and the procedures used for presenting it, who is likely to come on board and why? In my own opinion, there are plenty of people "out there" who are damn close to being hard core libertarians already, but who have not discovered the LP yet. They should be the primary targets. If the libertarian message is not clear and well targeted, then we are more likely to attract people who may be somewhat disposed to us but who will probably never become the committed cadre that a powerful political movement requires. Worse, we will probably not attract as many of those who are already well disposed to libertarianism.

For the foregoing reasons, I believe it important to set a high priority on specific projects which are designed to attract and develop the persons who have a high probability of becoming life-long, committed libertarian activists. There are many possible programs for achieving this. Let me suggest one.

In every high school and college in the country there are classes being taught in political science, civics, government, economics, etc. It should be possible to have a libertarian speaker appear in every one of those classes at least once per semester. I

*Chair, continued on page 19*

## Building For The Future

Eric O'Keefe

expanded greatly in virtually every state.

While considering our successes in 1980, we need also to consider what has to be done in the future to continue our rate of growth. Something known to campaign experts for a long time is that most voters need to see repeated advertisements and news stories about a candidate in order to support him or her. Many voters also need to receive campaign literature and to see active supporters, or even to have friends who are vocal supporters of the candidate. Only a small

percentage of the voters will actively search out the candidates or parties with the best ideas. Such people are opinion leaders. The primary job of the Libertarian Party is to reach the remaining vast majority of voters, and to win their support.

To reach these voters requires advertising and one-on-one campaigning. Increased advertising requires more contributors, and most new contributors are drawn into activism by friends or organized volunteers. Increased one-on-one campaigning also depends on building our organization of volunteers. Therefore, our success in the 1980's

depends upon our success in building our organizations of contributors and volunteers, and this essential grass-roots work must be done continually.

The work of building a successful new political party is not one of leap-frogging from election year to election year, and lying idle in between. Instead, it is one of organizing and building persistently among supporters and other interested people between elections, while using the publicity of the election campaigns to reach out to new groups of voters.

Our vote totals, then, are primarily measures of success in our ongoing educational and organizational work. If we don't expand and develop our state and local parties in the next year and a half, we won't increase our vote totals much in 1982. To the extent that we multiply the size of our organizations, we'll multiply our vote totals.

All that is needed to reach our goal of a free society is persistent and extensive recruiting of contributors and volunteers. The opponents of

*O'Keefe, continued on page 19*