



**★** They're outnumbered and outgunned — but they won't back down. In the State House in Concord, New Hampshire (from left to right): State Representatives Andy Borsa, Calvin Warburton, Finlay Rothhaus, and Libertarian House Leader Don Gorman keep up the fight for lower taxes and greater personal freedom

### **Battling 99 to One Odds And Winning Respect!**

hey made up only 1% of the 400-member House of Representatives, but during their first full year in office together, four Libertarian Party legislators in New Hampshire earned the respect of their adversaries while fighting boldly for their pro-freedom cause.

party up there," said Don Gorman, Libertarian House Leader. "Nobody up there was telling the truth — except for the four guys in the Libertarian Caucus."

The four Libertarians were swept into office in the 1992 tide of political discontent, becoming the first third party legislators elected in NH in three generations.

Crashing the once exclusive "club" of Republicans and Democrats along with Gorman were fellow Libertarians Calvin

Warburton, Finlay Rothhaus, and Andy Borsa. But despite being outnumbered 396 to four — and in spite of their blunt pro-liberty message — the principled and plucky Libertarian delegation won praise from even their staunchest political enemies.

"Libertarians speak an important and thoughtful message of lower taxes and less government," said Republican Governor Steve Merrill. "The Libertarians know what they believe, and are willing to fight for their beliefs."

From the other side of the aisle came praise from Democrat State Rep. Peter Burling: "We [Democrats] appreciate their dedication to personal liberties."

In view of its small size, the four-man Libertarian delegation had an extraordinary impact on the floor of the House. A typical example was when they challenged Republican-supported tax increases, like a proposed hike in the marriage license fee.

"I was advised several times that we would be "The Republicans and Democrats had one big embarrassed, humiliated, and should drop our chal-

lenge," said Gorman. "Of course, we did lose. But when four people can bring 160 votes along with them, I have to consider that a moral victory!"

The delegation also filed and fought for a number of resolutely Libertarian bills despite buzz-saw opposition from the other

Their proposed legislation included a bill to allow towns to grant property tax abatements to citizens who sent their chil-

dren to private schools; a bill to restrict the power of police to seize personal property in drug-related cases; and a bill to allow the recall of public officials by disgruntled voters.

But even the stinging defeat of most of their bills didn't cause the Libertarians to retreat. What kept them going in the face of overwhelming odds?

A unique mission, suggested Gorman.

"The Republicans and Democrats — they're the pre-Libertarians," he said. "They need to be educated. We are here to teach. We say, 'Look, this country was founded on these principles, and this is what went wrong.' That's what we do in the House."

::::: LEGISLATIVE

news

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# **Not Left**

### Where Do **Libertarians Fit?**

ow can we better understand what's happening in American politics? The media and the politicians continue to limit themselves to the meaningless old labels "left" and "right," or liberal and conservative.

What does this mean?

Nothing! It doesn't mean anything. Try to use it and confusion results. Let's examine why

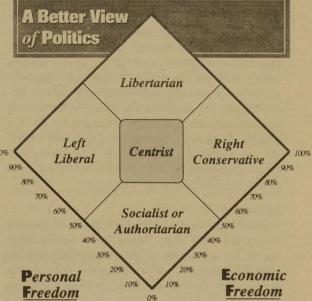
Left-wingers reputedly promote things like free speech and personal liberties. Right-wingers reputedly promote things like free enterprise and private property. Each also supposedly dislikes what the other promotes. But what about the person who calls for a high degree of both personal liberty and free enterprise? What about one who thinks we already have too much personal liberty and too much freedom in economic affairs? No place for either of them on the L-R lines. They can't both be in the middle, because they are complete opposites.

Hitler, the fascists, and other military rulers are called "right-wing" dictators. Stalin, the communists, and socialists are called "left-wing" dictators. Who wants to be anywhere close to any of those monsters?

The lesson is clear. The left-right line and the old labels are not worth much. Americans need a new way of looking at politics.

### A new political map

A political map must explain something. Our map (Continued on page 2)



## LIBERTARIANISM

The Libertarian Party is America's third largest political party. Millions of Americans have cast votes for its candidates in the years since 1971 when it was founded. Yet, people still are curious about the Party's basic philosophy. Libertarianism is the political philosophy which guides the Libertarian Party. It is the same philosophy, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, which guided the American revolution

On this page are statements from three libertarians about that philosophy and what it means to them. We thought you might find what they have to say an interesting way to understand libertarianism.

We must prevent an unresponsive government from devastating our future quality of life.



### DAVID M. HANSEN

Over the years, my awareness and eventual criticism of our Federal Government has steadily increased...but why? I love my country and live a wonderful life, but have come to realize more and more that our top-heavy Federal Government should be streamlined.

As a kid in suburban Seattle, outdoor sports of all kinds interested me. A degree in Geography in 1976 preceded work in commercial building construction, contracting, and real estate sales in the Pacific Northwest and Hawaii. With a quest for adventure, I became a shipboard technician with N.O.A.A. In 1981, I came ashore and worked in shipbuilding for three years, before the lure of high technology inspired me to turn to the computer business.

In 1985 I founded a Special Event Promotion company in Southern California which is now focusing on telecommunications.

Oil painting, photography and "aggressive" conversation seem to satisfy my creativity; while high technology is keeping my logical left brain satisfied. Obviously, I'm a guy who doesn't appreciate being restricted by anything or anyone at any time!

Libertarians have a philosophy that makes sense to me. Human rights, freedom of choice, and social responsibility are three ideals that both Republicans and Democrats abuse.

As an active officer with the Optimists, Toastmasters, and 3D Media Technologies, I believe professional, social, and charity organizations can assume responsibility for many of the functions our government manages poorly.

As a technology buff, I'm quite aware that given the dramatic and unpremust prevent an unresponsive government from devastating our future quality

Freedom of speech and media will insure that our private organizations will compete fairly to provide Americans with goods and services. Present mass communications also reduce the risk of unjust aggression by keeping Americans informed on foreign policy.

Unregulated free enterprise, democracy and a free press will guarantee our children an excellent tomorrow, responsive to their requirements.

We, as a nation of equal individuals, do not need a big government to control our lives.



SUE KALIL

I am the owner of a computer services business and have two step-children, three dogs, two birds and a cat.

After graduating from college with a B.A. in Liberal Arts, I intended to get a teaching credential but joined the Peace Corps instead. My assignment was Ivory Coast, West Africa, where I taught basic health and sanitation to the women of the villages. Life was pretty simple in those villages; people worked together for the good of the village.

My fundamental values are similar to values I found in the small African villages: Truth, Honesty, Preservation of the Family and Equal Rights for every-

I was not terribly unhappy with our government or our system. Of course, there were things I didn't agree with, e.g., having no control of where my tax dollars were being spent, unnecessary involvement in other countries' affairs and, especially, the very ineffectual and ineffficient way the government "pro-

dictable changes that lie before us, we ronmental hazards such as the spraying of pesticides and coastal oil spills.

> My husband and I were invited to a seminar where these issues and many more were discussed informally over coffee. The Libertarian philosophy was explored from many angles and seemed to have logical answers for the issues bothering me.

> It was really so very basic: by simply respecting the individual rights of others, not attempting to impose one's own values on others, pursuing one's own goals with truth and honesty, then we, as a nation of equal individuals, do not need a big government to control our

This would mean I could send my children to schools of my choice, my earned dollars would be spent where I saw a need, and I could count on myself and other injured parties to react to environmental dangers...I would have much more control over my life.

I realized during and after the seminar that I was more unhappy with the way my country and my personal life were being run by an impersonal government than I had thought. I am glad that I went and I am glad there is a Libertarian philosophy and that I can openly subscribe to it.

Libertarianism: a philosophy based on the principles of individualism, selfresponsibility.



KAREN ALLARD

### WHAT'S IMPORTANT?

What's important to you? Are you and your family important? Do you want to live in a safe and clean environment? Is it important to you to be a good neighbor and have enough money to pay your bills?

Because these things are so importects" us from pollution and other envi- tant to me — that is why I became a Libertarian!

For me, being a Libertarian not only means involvement in a political movement, but it is also a life style that reflects the Libertarian philosophy; a philosophy based on the principles of individualism, self-reliance, and responsibility.

As a Libertarian, I first consider myself an individual who wants to live without the interference of others, to take care of myself and my family, to keep my earnings, to live in a peaceful world, and to give these same rights to every other individual.

Next, I consider myself a good parent with an obligation I share with my husband to care for our 3 year old son, Gregg. As a Libertarian parent, there are many special values I want to teach a child. A child, who is an individual, not property, should be treated with respect; the same respect an adult wishes to receive from others.

I am teaching Gregg to be responsible and to know the consequences (positive and negative) of his actions, selfrespect and respect for others, what it means to own something and how to care for it, and self-reliance. These values I believe will help him become a wellbalanced, confident, productive, and independent-thinking individual.

Thirdly, I am a neighbor. To be a Libertarian neighbor means not interfering with or bothering my neighbors, not trespassing or littering on other's property (this includes my pets), and expecting the same of my neighbors. I also voluntarily help out in my neighborhood when there is a need.

And lastly, I consider myself an individual in my community. As a Libertarian community member, I am concerned about the environment and am involved with voluntary charitable causes. It is also important for me to inform elected officials of the Libertarian philosophy, help Libertarian candidates, and support measures that will reduce taxes, regulations, and increase personal freedom.

I am concerned about the future for all of us. The government has become too large, too expensive, and too intrusive into our personal and business lives. To protect what is important to me, I will continue to work within the Libertarian Party to help achieve a prosperous, peaceful and happy life.

Karen Allard is a former State Chair of the Libertarian Party of Washington. She works as a Registered Nurse.

### Where Do The Libertarians Fit?

(Continued from Page 1)

explains how much liberty a person or a group advocates. In other words, how much do they want you to control your life or, conversely, how much do they want the government to control you.

The map shows advocacy of liberty in two dimensions: personal liberty and economic liberty. A score close to 100 in either dimension indicates that one prefers a high degree of liberty. A score closer to the 0 indicates that one prefers less liberty and more government control. Personal liberty covers the decisions you make in the more private aspects of your life: Decisions about what to eat, drink, read or smoke, how you dress, your leisure activities, with whom you associate, sleep or marry. Economic liberty covers the decisions you make in the area of business, commerce, investments, taxpaying, etc. The map shows there are four basic political types: liberals, conservatives, authoritarians and libertarians. Political scientists estimate that Americans are about equally divided among the four types.

### Liberals

Liberals advocate a fairly high degree of personal liberty but want to put heavy limits on economic liberty. It's as if they think you are an OK person when engaged in personal and private matters, but, as soon as you go to work or start thinking about improving your financial condition, you become a greedy monster who must be controlled.

"...you should be the one to decide about your life and the government should leave you alone."

### See Where You Fit. Page 11.

Liberals will argue passionately for freedom of speech, unless you are a businessman trying to sell something. Commercial speech should be controlled, they say, along with all other commercial activities. How to spend your earnings should be decided by the state through heavy taxes and distribution to people they think deserve it more than you.

### Conservatives

Conservatives advocate a fairly high degree of economic liberty but want to put heavy limits on personal liberty. It's as if they think you are an OK person when working at making a living, but, when it comes to your private life, you are an irresponsible sinner who will ruin yourself unless big brother government keeps you under tight control.

Conservatives will argue passionately for your right to plan for your future and keep your earnings, unless your business is something they disapprove, such as sex, pornography or marijuana. They are the first to declare that the personal freedom of young men must be sacrificed to fight wars in distant lands.

### **Authoritarians**

Authoritarians think people are no good. Whether you are doing personal things or out in the business world, they believe you will lie, cheat, steal, make yourself and other miserable and otherwise cause trouble. Therefore, they say, we must have an all powerful government to supervise all your activities from cradle to grave.

Authoritarian dictatorships are much the same throughout history. Government owns or controls all property and economic activity. No dissent is allowed. How the people work, live together and try to survive are all subject to bureaucratic whim. The result is famine, torture, slave labor camps, economic stagnation and refugees fleeing as best they can.

### Libertarians

Some people think you are OK (not perfect, but OK) 24 hours a day. It doesn't matter whether you are engaged in private affairs or economic activity. Libertarians say that so long as you deal with other people peacefully and honestly, and are willing to take responsibility for your decisions, you should be the one to decide about your life and the government should leave you alone.

Libertarians believe that in a society which places a high value on both personal liberty and economic liberty, more people will have more opportunity to succeed at making the kind of life they want for themselves and their loved ones.

THE CREATIVE PROCESS

### Roots of the Libertarian Party

How does a new political party get started?

Americans are brought up on the idea of a "two party system." Election laws in most states (laws passed by Republican and Democrat legislators) create nearly insurmountable legal obstacles for political newcomers. Although most people claim to distrust politicians, in recent elections almost every incumbent was re-elected. "Third parties" and their candidates are ignored by the press and TV

In spite of the extremely long odds against them, from time to time, groups of people who believe the electorate deserves a wider range of choices in politics will make the attempt to offer such a choice.

In recent years, the Libertarian Party has been the greatest success story of this kind. Since its beginning in 1971, the Libertarian Party has grown to be America's third largest party. Its strength and support are approximately equal to that of all other alternative parties combined. Here's how it all began.



#### DAVID F. NOLAN

David F. Nolan is an advertising executive in Southern California. He is one of a small group who founded the Libertarian Party in 1971. Mr. Nolan also did the original theoretical work which is the basis for the political map on page 2 of this paper.

# "In The

really. If Nixon hadn't so badly betrayed the principles the Republican Party claimed to stand for, there probably wouldn't be a Libertarian Party today. In 1964, when I was a student at MIT, I became very involved in Barry Goldwater's Presidential campaign. I had just finished reading Atlas Shrugged, and much of what Goldwater was saying struck a responsive chord. (Later, I learned that most of Barry's best material was written by Karl Hess, now the editor of Libertarian Party NEWS!) Drawn into the Republican Party by the Goldwater campaign, I stayed on in the mistaken belief that the GOP was - more or less - the party of

In 1971, that myth, too, was shattered. Throughout the Spring and Summer of '71, five of us who were unhappy with the way things were going in the Republican party began talking idly about leaving the GOP and starting a new party. The idea seemed far-fetched, and perhaps not really necessary. Maybe things would get better. We met once, in July, to talk about the idea more seriously, and reached no firm conclusions. A second meeting was set for Sunday, August 15. As fate would have it, that was the day that Richard Nixon went on national television and announced that he was demonetizing the dollar and imposing wage-price controls. So much for the myth of the GOP as champions of the free market! Our hardy band of dissidents gathered in front of the TV in my suburban Denver apartment was appalled and outraged. That settled it! A new political party, dedicated to the uncompromising de-

I had some stationery printed up, with the heading "Committee To Organize A Libertarian Party," and did a mailing to a couple of hundred people who had bought buttons or stickers from me, or whom I knew through YRs and YAF. Ads were placed in various newsletters and the still-tiny Reason, seeking other like-minded individuals. Our original group of five, now expanded to eight, continued to meet throughout the fall of 1971. We decided that if we received 100 favorable responses by the end of the year, we'd go ahead with the launch.

Luke Zell, in Colorado Springs, and determined that we had the necessary support. And on that day, we voted to drop the words "Committee to Organize" from our letterhead. The Libertarian Party was born!

# Beginning..."

It was all Richard Nixon's fault,

individual liberty.

Like many other young laissez faire advocates, I became active in the Young Republicans and the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). At the 1967 YAF convention in Pittsburgh, an embryonic network of libertarians was formed. The election of Richard Nixon in 1968 quickly dissolved the illusion that the GOP really stood for liberty, however. As Nixon's first term wore on, it be came increasingly evident that the hallmarks of his administration were lying and spying, suppression of dissent, "enemies lists," and all the other trappings of an authoritarian regime. The Kent State shootings in the Spring of 1970 starkly revealed the extent of the administration's hostility to civil liberties. Still, many of us thought, the Republicans are pretty good on economic freedom — better, at least, than the overtly socialistic Democrats.

fense of individual liberty, was needed NOW!

On December 11, 1971, we met at the home of

### **GIVE ME LIBERTY**

~ NOT EQUALITY! ~

By Richard Benjamin Boddie, Esq.

"That's an interesting concept coming from a black guy!" Yes, it is, and that comment has been said to me on numerous occasions.

Frankly, almost forty years of my life had passed before I was even faintly aware that "equality" and "liberty" are not synonyms. In fact, the two concepts virtually exclude each other in practice. But, like so many, I learned and accepted the misconception as a result of my early environment.

I was born in Elmira, New York on October 19, 1938 (the day I became a libertarian), a second child. I was the first son of Africamerican parents. My father was, and still is, a third generation Baptist minister and my mother was, and remains, a full time mother.

**Equality: a False Belief** 

The persuasive thought of the times and my environ-

ment was collectivist, altruistic, group, and even tribal, considering our cultural heritage. Fortunately, the idea of individuality was not prohibited in our household. However, outside sociological influences of the government schools, the Black Church and collectivist politics developed a false belief that "equality" was the solution to almost every secular problem faced by "colored people", the country and even the world.

The Black Church then, as now, was rooted in some sort of tribal collectivism where the "chief" or pastor controlled the "throng." This naturally led most to believe

that other paternalistic institutions, such as government, were compassionate allies on this road toward equality

**Finding Black Heroes** 

I am forever thankful for that small light of individualism that was fostered in my home, allowing me to eventually pierce the darkness of the equality dogma. Men like Charles Drew, the discoverer of blood plasma, Benjamin Banneker, the surveyor who mapped out the District of Columbia, and Booker T. Washington, an advocate of self help, spawned my individualism from my Africamerican cultural perspective.

Early influences such as the Boy Scouts (individual skills), the Declaration of Independence (self government), jazz (free form) and traditional gospel music (structured group), made lasting impressions. The nature of track and field (individual) allowed me to excel, while traditional team sports were not too important to me. Clearly, I was marching to a different drummer than my ethnic counterparts.

**Liberty Versus Equality** 

Liberty and equality are profoundly different. Consider these words by Erik von Kuehneit-Leddihn, writing in The Freeman:" ... freedom and equality do not mix, they practically exclude each other. Equality doesn't exist in nature and therefore can be established only by force. He who wants geographic equality has to dynamite mountains and fill up the valleys. To get a hedge of even height one has to apply pruning shears. To achieve equal scholastic levels in school one would have to pressure certain students into extra hard work while holding back others.

I've found it virtually impossible to see liberty or freedom as anything but the opposite of equality or egalitarianism. Perhaps my law school experience developed my skill in searching for "the issue" in order to develop answers to critical questions, such as liberty, freedom and democracy.

(Time to lighten up. Here's a humorous definition of democracy: two wolves and one sheep voting on what to have for breakfast.)

**Socialist Education** 

I regretfully found political science, my major at Bucknell, economics and most law courses at Syracuse totally opposed to the basic tenets of individual liberty. During my formal "education", Marxism and other leftist variations dominated academia. But reality has proven socialism a failure at allowing people true lib-

erty. As Murray Rothbard said: "Socialism is dead, from the neck up." For a time, socialism was the triumph of a bad idea over reality. Fortunately, reality always wins in the long

H.L. Mencken exposed politicians for me, describing an election as "the advance auction of stolen goods." Scores of others who expounded clearly, rationally and consistently opened my mind to the distinction between true liberty and the false promise of equality. As Mark Twain stated, "I will

never allow my schooling to interfere with my educa-

**Sharing Libertarianism** 

My ability to share the freedom philosophy effectively is a result of keeping it simple. When asked any question which involves human interaction, I ask myself: "Is it voluntary?" If so, it's cool! If not, I am

From Frederic Bastiat and David Bergland (Libertarian Party 1984 Presidential Candidate) I learned that government has but one legitimate function: to defend an individual when his or her rights are being violated. The rights are life, liberty and property, granted not by government, but by "the Creator." Thus, all other functions of government are not legitimate and today, in many instances, they are immoral—all based on the not-so-subtle attempt to seize honestly acquired property or wealth from those to whom it belongs and hand it over to others with no proper claim to it.

Little Need for Government

I've also learned, that most of what government does is unnecessary and only gets in the way of people in the private sector who do a better job providing "government" services. During the 1984 election campaign, David Bergland frequently posed two questions to his questioners: (1) Must these services be provided by government employees? (2) Must these services be paid for with tax dollars? The answer to both questions, in every case I've examined closely, is: NO!

Now, I ask: must we accept the present egalitarian, collectivist, socialist, fascist, welfare-warfare state imposed upon us by Democrats and Republicans? I hope your answer, like mine, is: HELL NO!

The idea that equality, enforced by government, can be achieved is as hopeless as the idea that centrally planned socialist economies can ever satisfy the needs of their people for food and consumer goods. The harder governments try to reach even well intentioned goals with force, the less they accomplish and the less liberty is left to the people.

Two hundred years ago, Benjamin Franklin observed: "Thosewho would give up liberty for security will eventually have neither." That is surely a lesson for today. So, as for me, GIVE ME LIBERTY ...!!



DICK BODDIE

Dick Boddie has been actively involved with libertarian causes for almost a decade. In 1984, he was Field Coordinator and Aide to David Bergland, the Liber-

tarian Party's presidential candidate. Mr. Boddie is a graduate of Bucknell University and Syracuse University College of Law. He is President of The Motivators, a professional speakers bureau and consulting firm in Huntington Beach, California.

# Solving Problems THE LIBERTARIAN WAY

Libertarians are often asked how they would deal with a variety of social and economic problems. The short answer is: *let the people involved take the lead*. Let's respect them and their ability to work effectively on their own problems. In all cases, we should seek to replace the use of government force with voluntary cooperation as the means to achieving practical solutions to our problems.

### **Guns & Crime**

Libertarians, like other Americans, want to be able to walk city streets safely and be secure in their homes. We also want our Constitutional rights protected, to guard against the erosion of our civil liberties. In particular, Libertarians want to see all people treated equally under the law, as our Constitution requires. America's millions of gun owners are people too.

Law-abiding, responsible citizens do not and should not need to ask anyone's permission or approval to engage in a peaceful activity. Gun ownership, by itself, harms no other person and cannot morally justify criminal penalties.

#### **Constitutional Rights**

America's founders fought the Revolutionary War to throw off British tyranny. Most of the revolutionaries owned and used their own guns in that war. After the war, in 1789, the 13 American States adopted the Constitution, creating the federal government. Before

ratifying the Constitution, the people demanded a Bill of Rights to prevent our government from depriving them of their liberties as the British had done.

One of the most important protections we have against government tyranny is that we are presumed innocent of any crime until proven guilty, before a jury, in a proper trial.

But, gun control advocates would declare all gun owners guilty without trial, simply for owning guns, although millions of them have never used their guns to harm another person. Such blanket condemnation is immoral, unfair and contrary to the principles on which America was founded.

### **The Prohibition Lesson**

Gun control advocates are much like the prohibitionists of the early 20th Century. By making liquor illegal, they spawned organized crime, caused bloody, violent turf wars and corrupted the criminal justice system. Today's war on drugs has exactly the same results.

Prohibition didn't stop liquor use; the drug laws can't stop drug use. Making gun ownership illegal will not stop gun ownership.

The primary victim of these misguided efforts is the honest citizen whose civil rights are trampled as frustrated legislators and police tighten the screws.

Banning guns will make guns more expensive and give organized crime a great opportunity to make profits in a new black market for weapons. Street violence will increase in new turf wars. Criminals will not give up their guns. But, many law abiding citizens

### will, leaving them defenseless against armed bandits. The Right Of Self Defense

Libertarians agree with the majority of Americans who believe they have the right to decide how best to protect themselves, their families and their property. Millions of Americans have guns in their homes and sleep more comfortably because of it. Studies show that where gun ownership is illegal, residential burglaries are higher. A man with a gun in his home is no threat to you if you aren't breaking into it.

The police do not provide security in your home, your business or the street. They show up after the crime to take reports and do detective work. The poorer the neighborhood, the riskier it is for peaceful residents.

Only an armed citizenry can be present in sufficient numbers to prevent or deter violent crime before it starts, or to reduce its spread. Interviews with convicted felons indicate that fear of the armed citizen

significantly deters crime. A criminal is more likely to be driven off from a particular crime by an armed victim than to be convicted and imprisoned for it. Thus, widespread gun ownership will make neighborhoods safer.

Foolish politicians and police now seek to ban semiautomatic "assault rifles." They ignore the fact that only honest citizens will comply; criminals will still have them.

Such a ban will only increase the criminals' ability to victimize the innocent.

#### The Solution: Personal Responsibility

Guns are not the problem. They are inanimate objects. Gun control advocates talk as if guns could act on their own, as if human beings cannot control them, so the uncontrollable guns must be banished.

Let us put the responsibility where it belongs, on the owner and user of the gun. If he or she acts responsibly, without attacking others or causing injury negligently, no crime or harm has been done. Leave them in peace.

But, if a person commits a crime with a gun, then impose the severest penalties for the injury done to the victim. Similarly, hold the negligent gun user fully liable for all harm his negligence does to others.

Rather than banning guns, the politicians and the police should encourage gun ownership, as well as education and training programs.

A responsible, well-armed and trained citizenry is the best protection against domestic crime and the threat of foreign invasion. America's founders knew that. It is still true today.

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Libertarians want every able bodied person to be able to find work, to be self supporting. We also want the compassion all Americans share for the sick and disabled to mean something, to be effective.

The first step toward helping the poor and unemployed is to repeal all the laws and regulations which get in the way of people who want to work.

Minimum wage laws cause massive unemployment among the poorly educated, unskilled young, particularly minorities. Economists point out that nearly one-third of black teenagers are unemployed primarily due to the minimum wage law. Federal labor laws prevent people from producing certain products in their homes. Zoning laws prevent people from working at home. In Houston, which does not have zoning, the greatest opposition to zoning comes from poor people who run small businesses from their homes. Licensing and other regulations prevent people from offering their services as taxi drivers, hair dressers, nurses and in hundreds of other lines of work.

### **Day Care**

Consider the mother who offers to care for the children of other working mothers in her home. She will run afoul of zoning, building, business, health,

welfare and who knows what other regulations. An effective, voluntary community solution will be shut down.

We must realize that the practical effect of all these laws regulating business is to stifle small business and employment opportunity. If we want to help the poor go to work, we must be willing to repeal all such laws. **Privatizing Welfare** 

Private charity works. Government welfare doesn't. In his 1984 book, Losing Ground: American Social Policy 1950 to 1980, Charles Murrary reviewed all the major federal welfare programs and demonstrated that the groups they were supposed to help were worse off than before the government got involved. The people who benefit most from those programs are the well educated middle class folks who run them. Most of the welfare tax dollars go to welfare workers. So they naturally have an incentive to keep expanding the government welfare plantation. People on welfare are given a similar incentive to stay on rather than go to work and lose the benefits.

Government welfare is demeaning and intrusive. Recipients lose their right of privacy and tend to become apathetic and dependent.

# **LIBERTARIAN PERSONALITY**

"...Dedication to individual responsibility and a profound belief that all social arrangements can be and should be voluntary."

KARL HESS



Karl Hess lives in West Virginia. He is now Editor Emeritus of the Libertarian Party's newspaper, **Libertarian Party News.** 

Although I was a socialist at age 15, when I left school and went to work in radio journalism, I had become a conservative by age 17 when I was assistant city editor of a major metropolitan daily newspaper in Washington, DC.

As a conservative, I helped Bill Buckley start *National Review*, was assistant to the president of a major conglomerate, and wrote for Dwight Eisenhower, Jerry Ford, and Richard Nixon. Later, during the 1964 presidential campaign, I was chief speech writer for the Republican Party candidate, Barry Goldwater. Attracted by the independence, localism, and anti-government stance of the Black Panthers and the so-called anarchist faction of Students for a Democratic Society, I worked closely with them during the hectic Sixties.

My older son, meanwhile, had become active in Young Americans for Freedom—another conservative group that I helped get started. Soon, however, he and I could see that the conservative position was too closely allied to the state, to which it looked to assure order in society at home and abroad.

My son and I were instrumental in a rebellion within Young Americans for Freedom that found a substantial portion of its members leaving to make clear their opposition to collectivism (even the conservative, nationalistic version).

These rebels were called anarchists and formed an important part of the then emerging libertarian movement.

The values they share with libertarians generally are dedication to individual responsibility and a profound belief that all social arrangements can be and should be voluntary. They oppose the use of or threat of violence to achieve social, political, or economic aims. It is their belief that all state power is maintained in the long run by at least tacit threats of violence.

The Libertarian Party, an organized, American part of the worldwide libertarian movement, is devoted to what I call defensive politics—running candidates for office or trying to influence laws in ways which will increase individual liberty and responsibility and decrease the arbitrary powers of governmental bureaucracies.

Members of the Libertarian Party, like those in the broader libertarian movement, take different positions on many issues even though they agree on fundamental principles.

For anyone who wants to work for their own economic and social liberation, particularly close to where they live, the Libertarian Party is a network of informational support and intellectual resources in which all who work for freedom can share thoughts, experience and efforts.

There are thousands of private charitable institutions and groups like the churches and temples, United Way, Red Cross and others which do a much better job of helping those who need it. Their overhead costs averages a low 10% of what they distribute to the poor. They tend to be much closer to the people and better understand the actual problems and how to solve them. Private charities are more concerned with helping people become self sufficient.

### **Saving Taxes**

Government welfare costs hundreds of billions of tax dollars every year. Private charities raise over \$100 billion per year in money and services from contributors who give voluntarily. If government were to get out of the charity business, taxes could be cut dramatically. That would help the economy and create jobs. Working people would have bigger paychecks every week. With the reforms suggested here, we would all be in a better position to exercise our compassion helping those we choose to help, working with other people in our own communities on real problems close to home. It wouldn't be a perfect solution to everyone's problems, but it would clearly improve on the mess the government has made.

# WORKING FOR FAIR ELECTIONS

By Paul Jacob

As Americans, we cherish the democratic process and our constitutional liberties. Recently in China, Poland, and the Soviet Union men and women faced great odds to struggle for similar freedom. Our ability to vote and affect our government serves as a powerful example to people throughout the world.

But here at home this crucial freedom is severely diminished by ballot access laws that make it unfairly expensive, difficult, or even impossible, for third party and independent candidates to get on the ballot and compete for your vote.

**Arbitrary and Punitive** 

These ballot access restrictions are arbitrary and punitive. In Florida, new parties are required to register over 350,000 voters in their party to gain ballot status. A political party cannot keep ballot status in Alabama until it polls over 20% of the vote for President. To qualify a new party in every state would require over 1.5 million signatures or voter registrations.

Every individual should have the right to run for office with the label of any political party he or she chooses or as an independent. Fairness and the very meaning of democracy demand no less.

Meaningless Choices

The right to vote is meaningless if there is no choice of candidates for whom to vote. In 1988, over 1/3 of state legislative races and over 1/6 of U.S. Congressional races had only one candidate running. In many populous states — Massachusetts, Texas and Florida for instance — over 1/2 of the legislators were elected with no one on the ballot against them.

Every individual should have the right to run for office with the label of any political party he or she chooses or as an independent. Fairness and the very meaning of democracy demand no less.

There is too often simply no real choice. We desperately need the competition that new parties bring to the political arena.

Value of Third Parties

Third parties are full of new ideas shunned by the two major parties who merely chase after the latest opinion poll majority. "Political scientists who have studied political parties invariably agree that the system cannot operate if the voters are denied an opportunity to form new parties, when the old ones both fail to represent them," acknowledges election law scholar Richard Winger. "If it were impossible for the voters to organize new parties, then the two major parties would tend to become more and more like each other—each one striving to occupy the bland middle ground, and fearful of any bold new proposals."

Lincoln: 3d Party Candidate

In 1840, when neither of the dominant major parties of the day, the Democrats and the Whigs, would take a stand against slavery, the Liberty Party was formed. In 1848, the Liberty Party was reorganized as the Free-Soil Party, and again in 1854 it was reorganized as the Republican Party, which six years later elected Lincoln to the presidency.

Under today's ballot restrictions you might not be able to vote for an Abe Lincoln because, as a third party candidate, he wouldn't be able to get on the ballot in a number of states.

**Stifling Competition** 

The so-called "two party system" was not the vision of the Constitution's framers. "Originally, there were no ballot access restrictions whatsoever in the U.S.—no petitions, no filing fees, no loyalty oaths, no declarations of candidacy," according to Mr. Winger.

However, since the 1930s, state legislatures have been dramatically raising barriers to ballot access for new political parties. In 1980, it cost Congressman John Anderson over \$6 million dollars to get on every state ballot as an independent presidential candidate. Too often new parties cannot afford to pay this outrageous "poll tax."

The Crowded Ballot Myth

Some legislators argue that easing ballot access restrictions will clog the ballot with too many candidates. But this has been proven to be a myth. The very slightest ballot access requirements will block non-serious candidates from running.

In Florida, a very tough ballot access state where the Libertarian Party collected 94,000 signatures to put Ron Paul on the ballot for President in 1988 as an independent, there were 4 presidential candidates listed. In the easiest states — Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana — where only paperwork or a small fee is required, there were respectively 5, 6 and 6 presidential candidates on the ballot. Clearly, no ballots were clogged. (continued next column)

### **DRUGS and CRIME**

### Should We Re-Legalize Drugs?

Libertarians, like most Americans, demand to be safe at home and on the streets. Libertarians would like all Americans to be healthy and free of drug dependence. But drug laws don't help, they make things worse.

The professional politicians scramble to make names for themselves as tough anti-drug warriors, while the experts agree that the "war on drugs" has been lost, and could never be won. The tragic victims of that war are your personal liberty and its companion, responsibility. It's time to consider the re-legalization of drugs.

#### The Lessons Of Prohibition

In the 1920s, alcohol was made illegal by Prohibition. The result: Organized Crime. The streets became battlegrounds as criminals rushed to supply the de-

mand for liquor. They bought off law enforcement and judges. Adulterated booze blinded and killed people. Civil rights were trampled in the hopeless attempt to keep people from drinking.

When the American people saw what Prohibition was doing to them, they supported its repeal. When they succeeded, most states legalized liquor and the criminal gangs were out of the liquor business.

Today's war on drugs is a re-run of Prohibition. Approximately 40 million Americans are occasional, peaceful users

of some illegal drug. They are no threat to anyone. They are not going to stop. The laws don't, and can't, stop drug use.

• Organized Crime Profits

Whenever there is great demand for a product and government makes it illegal, a black market always appears to supply the demand. The price of the product rises dramatically and the opportunity for huge profits is obvious. Criminal gangs love the situation, they make millions. They kill other drug dealers, along with innocent people caught in the crossfire, to protect their territory. They corrupt police and courts. Pushers sell adulterated dope and experimental drugs, causing injury and death. And because drugs are illegal, their victims have no recourse.

• Crime Increases

Half the cost of law enforcement and prisons is squandered on drug related crime. Of all drug users, a relative few are addicts who commit crimes daily to supply artificially expensive habits. They are the robbers, car thieves and burglars who make our homes and streets unsafe.

• An American Police State

Civil liberties suffer. We are all "suspects", subject to random urine tests, highway check points and spying into our personal finances. Your property can be seized without trial, if the police merely claim you got it with drug profits. Doing business with cash makes you a suspect. America is becoming a police state because of the war on drugs.

America Can Handle Legal Drugs

Today's illegal drugs were legal before 1914. Cocaine was even found in the original Coca-Cola recipe. Americans had few problems with cocaine, opium, heroin or marijuana. Drugs were inexpensive; crime was low. Most users handled their drug of choice and lived normal, productive lives. Addicts out of control

were a tiny minority.

The first laws prohibiting drugs were racist in origin — to prevent Chinese laborers from using opium and to prevent blacks and Hispanics from using cocaine and marijuana. That was unjust and unfair to make criminals of peaceful drug users today.

Some Americans will always use alcohol, tobacco, marijuana or other drugs. Most are not addicts, they are social drinkers or occasional users. Legal drugs would be inexpensive, so even addicts could support their habits with honest work, rather

than by crime. Organized crime would be deprived of its profits. The police could return to protecting us from real criminals; and there would be room enough in existing prisons for them.

**Try Personal Responsibility** 

It's time to re-legalize drugs and let people take responsibility for themselves. Drug abuse is a tragedy and a sickness. Criminal laws only drive the problem underground and put money in the pockets of the criminal class. With drugs legal, compassionate people could do more to educate and rehabilitate drug users who seek help. Drugs should be legal. Individuals have the right to decide for themselves what to put in their bodies, so long as they take responsibility for their actions.

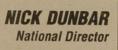
From the Mayor of Baltimore, Kurt Schmoke, to conservative writer and TV personality, William F. Buckley, Jr., leading Americans are now calling for repeal of America's repressive and ineffective drug laws. The Libertarian Party urges you to join in this effort to make our streets safer and our liberties more

WORKING FOR YOUR LIBERTY

• LIBERTARIAN PARTY HEADQUARTERS STAFF •

The Libertarian Party National Headquarters is in Washington, DC. Its primary job is to provide support services for the Libertarian Party affiliates in each state. That's more than a full time job for our staffers, commit-

ted libertarians all. Meet Nick Dunbar, the Libertarian Party's National Director.





Perhaps it's a bit immodest to believe what I'm doing will have any historical importance. Nonetheless, I like to think I'm contributing to the legacy of human liberty, following in the footsteps of our country's founders and building upon their works.

Before taking on the Director position here, I was a Front Office Supervisor for a 489 room Holiday Inn. I learned first hand the importance of a responsive customer service program. No organization can expect to

grow through the '90s without giving individualized customer service the highest priority. It is my highest priority while I hold this office.

I first called myself a Libertarian in November, 1982 after discovering the freedom philosophy while researching a college term paper on "economic justice." Instead of regurgitating the drivel I got from my professors, I wanted an answer which made sense. I found it in Robert Ringer's book, Restoring The American Dream

I studied libertarianism extensively in the summer of 1982 and was pleased to discover that a Libertarian was running for a State House seat in my district in Florida. Unfortunately, I had difficulty making contact. I have made it my mission to ensure that no American has difficulty making contact with the Libertarian Party anywhere.

Our office is not big. We don't have lots of staff or fancy computers to keep track of intricate details. We do have commitment. Commitment to the freedom pilosophy and commitment to you. Call us, we're here to help.

Crushing the Newcomers

The essential difference between states that have restrictive ballot laws and those that do not is the enormous time, money and manpower that must be spent just to get on the ballot and be able to run for office. This is money and energy not available to run TV ads or campaign effectively to gain the attention of the voters.

Competition and open access is not only good for

consumers in the economic arena, it is also good for consumers (voters) in the political marketplace. Competition in politics means new ideas and better choices.

Libertarians are working in a number of states lobbying legislatures for fairer, more reasonable ballot access. Nothing is more crucial to the future of the Libertarian Party or the American democratic system.

### EDUCATION:

### TOO IMPORTANT FOR GOVERNMENT WORK

### A Libertarian Educator Looks at American Schooling

By Don Ernsberger

The underlying problem in U.S. education today has little to do with budgets, salaries, test scores or textbooks. The problem, simply put, is that our culture, including our national and local governments, looks at education as something done TO young people, not something that people do.

This important distinction can be traced back to the roots of the "public" education movement, beginning in the 19th century. It can be seen today in the support of parents and business for compulsory government schooling. Most Americans think of "education" as a slice of time (from age 5 to 18) where young people are transported to a place (the school) where they are trained, filled, tested and certified with a package of academic and social skills. In this way, they are prepared to earn a living and perform as citizens.

For the past 20 years I have been a teacher in a "good school" in suburban Philadelphia. Seventy percent of its graduates go on to college and advanced training. I have seen the impact of "public education" on the youth it is meant to serve. As a libertarian, I have fought a

sometimes lonely battle against "assembly line education" and the "education is something we do TO kids" nature of public schools.

#### **Students are Prisoners**

In this affluent school, half the students feel they are prisoners in a system they hate. In inner city schools, it's about 80%. Government educators have created a variety of devices to control the dissatisfac-

One device is to offer sports and athletic programs to bribe students to endure boring academic classes. "Just maintain a C in English and math and you can stay on the football team."

Another device is the creation of classes to entertain or fill up the day: baby care, know your car, wood shop, typing, driver education, etc. A favorite third approach is the tech school and co-op education where the student gets a few watered down academic classes and job training of the sort previously provided in industrial apprenticeships.

### **Passive Education**

### **Bureaucracy and Politics**

prisoners of the "education process" until of legal age. Government schools fail to truly educate large masses of our youth because government, employing both coercion and politics, inevitably strangles the intended recipient with red tape, uniformity, compulsion, bureaucracy and politics.

Each year, I try to generate a feeling in my own students that when they enter my room, they leave "public education" in the hallway. They can think for themselves and educate themselves. My classroom, nicknamed "the cave" (from Plato's allegory), is a small room with a large conference table in the middle with a 360 degree mural of ancient Athens surrounding the students, piled with books and drawings and filled with debate, discussion and thinking.

#### School as Parent Substitute

Unfortunately, many Americans see schools as a substitute for parental and business responsibilities. Business interests want the taxpayer to pay the cost of industrial training and job skills. Many parents see school as big brother baby sitter. Social reformers see

public school as a testing ground for building their kind of better citizen.

But business, parents and social reformers are beginning to see that the schools are not doing the job they expected, let alone producing creative, thinking, challenging minds.

#### **Improving Education**

To cure the mess in education we must make schools and educators compete for students and their parents; we must decentralize and deinstitution-

All over the nation, parents are sensing that something is deadly wrong with the process of education done TO young

people. They are demanding change. In some states, education "voucher" systems are bringing competition into education. There is a move toward "choice", allowing students to attend any school in a system, which also makes schools compete and increases parental power. In many places, private industry has given up on public schools as trainers of skilled workers and we are seeing a return to apprenticeship.

In all these developments you will find libertarians active in promoting a return of education to the private sector and you will find individualists promoting education as an exhilarating and sublime activity for all

As a teacher for two decades, I have been able to find a room and create a "think place" for my students within the bureaucracy and red tape of government schooling. In the future, we can hope that the bureaucracy will wither away to allow the growth of education as the private and personal experience it should be for all people.



DON **ERNSBERGER** 

Don Ernsberger is an educator in Philadelphia. He has been active in the Libertarian movement since 1969 when he cofounded the Society for Individual Liberty. Don is a former member of the Libertarian Party National Committee.

#### LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT ORIGINS:

### INTERNATIONAL **SOCIETY FOR** INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

In the fall of 1969, the student political movement in the U.S. underwent a series of dramatic changes which forever altered the ideological landscape in American youth politics. That summer both major college based political activist groups, one from the right and one from the left, were shaken and split by internal division.

On the right was the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), the nation's leading conservative/free enterprise college organization. It included some who saw "freedom" as individual liberty and consequently rejected, not only government economic planning, but state control of personal liberties as well. The other group saw "freedom" as patriotism and traditional western values upheld by law. YAF had college chapters active against the draft and in support of legalization of marijuana, while other chapters supported the war in Vietnam and censorship on campus of "communist" professors.

On the left, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was undergoing a similar split. The nation's largest left activist campus organization split between traditional Marxist central planning elements and decentralist/free life style champions who rejected topdown authority. SDS was increasingly split over tactics for fighting the VietNam war and their visions of a better world.

In the summer and fall of 1969, in St. Louis and Ann Arbor respectively, these groups from the right and left met in convention and split into traditional and libertarian factions. From this came the first explicitly "national" libertarian organization — The Society For Individual Liberty (SIL).

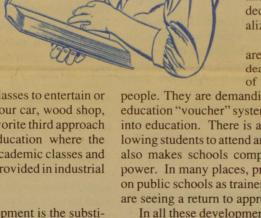
Since 1969, SIL activities have been a vital part of the Libertarian movement. SIL has sponsored more than one dozen regional conferences since the first East Coast conference in 1969. All the most highly regarded libertarian economists, political thinkers and academics have spoken at these conferences. Many leading libertarian activists first learned of the movement at an SIL conference.

The first SIL project to achieve national publicity for the new libertarian movement was "Census Resistance 70" which opposed the penalties attached to the U.S. Census. The term "libertarian" began to appear in newspapers, magazines and on TV.

SIL originated "National Tax Protest Day", now a fixture every April 15th with most libertarian clubs. SIL also sponsored "Anti-Draft Day" in 1973 to oppose continuation of the draft past its set expiration date. In 1979, SIL was in the forefront of groups fighting draft registration. Building on the theme "The American Revolution Betrayed," SIL was the only libertarian group actively involved in the Bi-Centennial Celebration in 1976. SIL's film, "We Won't Be Fooled Again," has been shown hundreds of times by local libertarians.

In 1989 SIL merged with Libertarian International to become the International Society for Individual Liberty. The combined organization will continue to hold conferences (now world wide), distribute literature and work toward freedom in our time,

For information on ISIL, its publications and ideas, contact ISIL National Office at 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102



Perhaps the most tragic development is the substitution of passive education in the very courses which should stimulate thinking skill development, creativity and mental focus. Our youth culture is increasingly passive mentally, relying on TV, movies and music. Now the schools are using these devices to replace reading. "We just finished our Shakespeare unit", I heard one student say, "we watched a video of Hamlet, saw the movie, MacBeth, and listened to a recording of

Compulsory attendance laws say that youth are

### LIBERTARIAN PARTY CAMPUS OUTREACH

The Libertarian Party is at work to develop campus libertarian clubs. Twenty years ago at the birth of the modern libertarian movement, the central focus of activism was on campus-holding debates and protest marches, presenting speakers and literature tables, and participating in student causes.

Five major efforts constitute Libertarian Party Campus Outreach.

First: The names of all college campus activists have been assembled to foster communication among student libertarians across the country. Additionally, libertarians living near college campuses are being readied to help new student groups.

Second: Outreach literature is being produced to flood campuses with libertarian issue papers and information. Libertarian educational groups have already committed to provide the literature.

Third: Newspaper advertisements have been designed and are available to libertarian campus organizations to be run in campus newspapers. The ads are attractive and hard hitting, and give local contact names.

Fourth: Experienced veterans of libertarian college activism are touring college campuses. They bring advice and assistance on preparing literature tables, presenting speakers and debates, and producing

Fifth: The Libertarian Party is committed to raising the funds necessary to make the project a success. Hundreds of libertarians have already contributed to finance this project.

If you are the kind of individual who wants to make things happen on your campus, if you want to join a growing number of students who believe in and want to speak out for individual rights, contact the Libertarian Party National Headquarters about the campus outreach program.

Developing a widespread network of Libertarian Party affiliates across the nation is vital. With the help of the Party's Campus Outreach, we will see a resurgence of the university libertarian activism that marked the birth of our modern movement twenty years ago.

### WHY THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY?



Many Americans wonder about "third" parties. They ask why anyone would want to add to our "two party system." The Libertarian Party was formed because the old, established parties were no different in principle and were clearly on the wrong track. For several decades, the politicians in Washington and our state capitals have led us away from the principles of individual liberty and personal responsibility which are the only sound foundation for a just, humane and abundant so

Americans want, and deserve, a political system which respects them as unique individuals; a system which respects them as people who can make their own plans, who can take responsibility for themselves, who are compassionate, who can, and will, solve their own problems if allowed to do so. The Libertarian Party is working to redirect America toward a better future. It is working for everyone's liberty, on every issue, every day



ALICIA GARCIA CLARK

For me, to be a libertarian is to be in harmony with my own nature. It is just the way I am.

Alicia Clark was the National Chair of the Libertarian Party from 1981 to 1983. She is married to Ed Clark, the Libertarian Party's 1980 Presidential Candidate.

### **TONIE NATHAN**

"The women who flocked to our party wanted the responsibility, respect and op-portunity that a free society offers, not a place on a gravy train.'

Tonie Nathan made history as the first woman to receive an Electoral College vote in a U.S. presidential election."(Twelve years before Geraldine Fer-

In 1972, she was on the very first Libertarian Party presidential ticket as the candidate for Vice-President. Her running mate was John Hospers. One highly principled Republican elector cast his electoral vote for the Hospers-Nathan ticket. That man was Roger MacBride, the Libertarian Party standard

Ms. Nathan is a public relations consultant in Eugene, Oregon.

#### **POLITICAL PIONEER**

When Roger MacBride phoned to tell me I was about to become the first woman in U.S. history to get an Electoral College vote, I was highly elated-not because of the unique honor about to be bestowed on me, but because I thought it marvelous that a woman campaigning for laissez-faire capitalism would get that kind of lasting recognition.

How nice, I thought, that it is I, and not some Marxist-Leninist woman, who stands forever in the history books against the mobilization of the socialist forces the Women's Movement is promoting. For, at that time, many women were demanding that government guarantee them an equal share of everything—pay, position, power and privilege and were perfectly willing to exchange their past dependence on their families for even greater dependence on the State.

Little did they see they were playing the male power game by demanding their "fair share". Little did they appreciate the uniqueness of each individual, of whatever sex, and the importance of freedom as the environment in which every individual can best flourish.

But the Libertarians saw it. And the women who flocked to our party wanted the responsibility, respect and opportunity that a free society offers, not a place on a gravy train. We saw ourselves as individuals with varying assets that could strengthen a party whose members truly believed in individual rights, admired initiative and guts, respected integrity, expected responsible and ethical behavior from others, and whose candidates were willing to fight for the principles they believed in.

### **Fighting for Ideas**

Indeed, Libertarians always seem to be fighting for ideas that pragmatic politicians of other parties choke on. But then, we're a party that values courage, candor and consistency while the other parties value handsome hucksters, hyperbole and hand-me-down ideas.

And so, today, as in 1972, I am still proud of my electoral vote. I am proud that the LP has grown in stature, in resourcefulness and in strength and capability. I am proud that John Hospers and I carried the first banner and that that banner is still as meaningful as it was then. I am proud that I can still read the speech with which I opened my first press conference and not take back a word. I'm proud that I belong to a party that sticks to its principles.

percent of the total fee. For full details, call or write the Libertarian Party.



### PAUL JACOB & DAUGHTER JESSICA

I became a libertarian because I care — about people and about freedom.

The history of this country has always interested me. We're unique in our tradition of individual freedom and strictly limited government.

I believe our freedom is the most valuable asset we possess and we must protect it. And not simply against foreign invasion, we also must guard against powerful politicians and special interests here in America who

would sacrifice our freedom and safety for their own greed and power.

Our "foundfathers" warned us not to trust government. I grew up watching Vietnam and Watergate on TV: both are good examples that our founding fathers were right.

"Where is it written in the Constitution 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 wickedness of government may engage it?" -Daniel Webster 1814

In 1980, then-President Jimmy Carter began a program of registration for the military draft. Less than 10 years after the draft was used to drag young men to the horror of Vietnam, the politicians again wanted power over our lives.

I said no. I spoke out against draft registration and refused to register. Due to my vocal opposition to the draft, I was prosecuted and imprisoned for 6 months.

Throughout my struggle against registration and the draft, the Libertarian Party stood with me. The Libertarian Party believes in voluntarism and opposes the draft or any form of mandatory national service. In fact, each year on January 27th, the Libertarian Party celebrates Volunteer Day — the anniversary of the end of the draft in 1973!

I joined the Libertarian Party for the very same reason I resisted the draft. I want to check Big Government and preserve our liberties. I believe in political action to further freedom. As Edmund Burke said, "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men

#### WHY AM I A LIBERTARIAN?

To this question I always answer with another question: How could I not be a libertarian?

I was born and grew up in Veracruz, Mexico. My grandmother, my father and my mother always taught us, my brothers, my sister and me, to be self sufficient. They taught us this is the only way to live as a free individual, to be proud of yourself and to be happy with whatever you can achieve.

Since I was very young my main desire was to get everything I wanted all by myself, not to depend on anybody else. This is the way to be free to choose, to be free to live the way I wanted, to be free to do what I wanted. I wanted to travel but I knew I had to wait until I could pay for it. I wanted to buy my own car, to have my own house but I wanted to do it myself. I didn't want my father's or my brother's or my husband's money to do it. I found this is my greatest pleasure as an individual

I never looked at government as the way to get anything. The government doesn't produce a thing. It takes money by force from one group to give it to others, making them dependent on government forever, making them lazy, docile and limited slaves. This is absolutely terrible.

I grew up knowing government was my enemy. It was going to be in my way as I tried to reach what I wanted to get in a very honest way: a job, a successful career, savings. And it is getting worse, destroying people's businesses, making more and more poor people, killing our young people in faraway wars, trying to tell us how we have to live our lives, where we have to live, with whom we must do business, what to produce, to whom to sell our products, etc.

I didn't have a name tag to describe what I was, I was myself. I didn't want to be involved in politics (in Mexico this is an even dirtier word than in the United States) even when I was invited by the PRI to run for office and was "promised" that I would win.

When I read Atlas Shrugged and The Fountainhead in 1971, I found out what I was, I found that I had been a libertarian all my life, and I loved it. My father taught me the libertarian way, my mother and grandmother too, even though they never used the word.

I am not an intellectual, I didn't find libertarianism in the books, I didn't change from one set of ideas to another. For me, to be a libertarian is to be in harmony with my own nature. I don't reason very much about it, it is just the way I am.

I support all kinds of libertarian organizations, the Libertarian Party is only one of them. I couldn't live without helping the ideas I love so much, the ideas that can help all individuals to reach their maximum capacity, to be self sufficient, to be proud of themselves and to be happy.

to: 1528 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 543-1988.

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### LIBERTARIANS CARE

Many Libertarians are concerned about the homeless and hungry. And they do what they can to help. The Libertarian Party of New Hampshire highlighted some examples in **Libertarian Lines**.

# Libertarians in New Hampshire ...build homes for the poor...

One Libertarian helps solve the housing shortage with sweat and "high ideals"

Government "just isn't working" when it comes to building houses for the poor, said member Paul Siegler, so he took matters into his own hands. As a member of Merrimack Habitat for Humanity, Siegler has been building and rehabilitating homes for low-income families for three years.

Everybody benefits," said Siegler.
"You get a good feeling when you do
it, and they get a new house."

The Merrimack chapter is just one of more than a thousand chapters of Habitat for Humanity. The purpose of the international organization, said Siegler, "is to do away with substandard and nonexistent housing for those people who are above the extreme poverty level."

"We use volunteer labor, we use donated materials, and we used donated funding," said Siegler. The group accepts no government money, he said.

In the coming year, Siegler said Merrimack Habitat will finish building one house, winterize another, rehabilitate one, and build two new homes - and "expand



Paul Siegler, LPNH member and Habitat for Humanity volunteer

from there."

Habitat does charge the residents a nominal mortgage - Siegler said \$150 a month is typical - and the money is used to fund more construction projects. "Payment are recycled," he said.

In addition to being on the board of directors of Habitat, Siegler also does plenty of the sweaty, hands-on work required to build the houses -" pounding nails, pouring concrete, painting walls, raising roofs; just about everything," he said. In the past year, he estimated he's volun-

teered 60 to 100 hours.

#### A lot of good feeling

Siegler said his work with Habitat ties in very well with his Libertarian philosophy. "It is being done privately, with no coercion, with a lot of good feeling. To my mind, this is the Libertarian principle working as it should."

It is that spirit of cooperation and accomplishment that still delights Siegler even after three years with Habitat. "The problem is being solved with so little money and with such high ideals," he said.

### ...and hold 'really successful' food drive

The Libertarian Party of New Hampshire wrapped up its firstever food drive with the delivery of more than 160 pounds of food and 18 boxes of clothing to the New Horizons soup kitchen and homeless shelter in Manchester in February.

"The people who worked there thanked us a thousand times," said Joe Richer, who coordinated the drive and helped with the dropoff. "They said they would put the food and clothes to good use."

The Libertarian Party of New Hampshire collected canned food items at the January and February monthly meetings, and easily exceeded the stated goal of 100 pounds of food.

### **Good cooperation**

"I felt we were really success

ful, "said Richer. "I feel good knowing the whole thing worked, and the level of cooperation of the membership."

Libertarian Party of New Hampshire member John



LPNH members John Elsnau, Joe Richner, and Greg Fridholm stand by the large pile of food and clothing they delivered to the New Horizons homeless shelter.

Elsnau, who works as a volunteer at the New Horizons shelter, agreed.

"It's an example of Libertarians practicing what they preach."

# Health Care and Health Costs

Health care is far too important to trust to the government.

That simple statement may sound extraordinary, but it is quite true. What can be more important to each of us than the continuing health of ourselves and our loved ones? Yet over the past decades we have increasingly allowed our government to have a greater and greater involvement in our health care. Perhaps this might make sense if the government had a strong record for achievement in this area. Unfortunately, the opposite is true.

The Food and Drug Administration has a dismal record. The time required to approve new drugs and treatments for use by doctors is far too long. Many patients suffer or die while bureaucrats cause long delays. Terminally ill patients who have no other hope are routinely denied experimental drugs which may have a beneficial effect on their condition. Only the wealthy can afford to travel abroad to obtain treatment denied here.

Increasing subsidies for health care, including Medicare and Medicaid, have resulted in skyrocketing medical costs and extensive fraud. Our government has failed to recognize that providing services at low or no cost can only lead to an over utilization of scarce medical resources and force the dramatic rise in medical costs which we have all experienced. It is no coincidence that the explosion in medical costs occurred at the same time that government involvement in health care grew.

Among those who do not understand the problem, there is a growing cry for more government involvement in medicine. Surely, throwing more oil on the fire cannot put it out! We advocate the following immediate actions to return to a period of affordable, quality health care:

- 1. Return decision making regarding medication and treatment to patients and health care professionals. Eliminate government interference in these important decisions.
- 2. Return all medical research to the private sector where scarce resources can be focused on lifesaving results rather than bureaucracy.
- 3. End government medical insurance and subsidy programs. Return these functions to private insurance companies and charitable organizations.

### ARE LIBERTARIANS RELIGIOUS PEOPLE?

Libertarianism includes a personal attitude of tolerance for the beliefs, the life styles, the customs of other people. Libertarians applaud and support the principles adopted by the founders of America in the First Amendment to the Constitution regarding religion. Government shall place no limits on the free exercise of religion, nor shall government do anything to establish a state religion or favor one religion over another.

Libertarians come in all shapes, colors, sizes and have a full range of religious and non-religious views. We like it that way. Tolerance for our differences makes our world more interesting and rewarding.

### **Teaching Libertarianism**

One way to learn about libertarian ideas is with the Advocates for Self Government. Advocates is a non-profit, educational organization which offers seminars all around the country about self-government, about the combination of responsibility and tolerance. They explore the benefits of self-government: abundance which springs from responsible economic behavior and harmony derived from tolerance of others.

In Advocates' seminars the leader provides reading material about Libertarianism. Seminar group members meet together once a week for several weeks to discuss the material and explore the ideas. Seminars are held at breakfast or over dessert. Five or more participants get to talk together about their political ideas and explore the new thoughts stimulated by the reading.

Other programs sponsored by the Advocates include

Operation Politically Homeless, training programs for developing communication skills and national meetings. A wide range of materials, printed and on audio and video tape, is available to help seminar leaders and participants.

Quizzes like the one on page eleven of this paper are the keystone of Operation Politically Homeless. People attending fairs and festivals are offered the quiz and a chance to find out where they fit on the political chart. Many become aware that the traditional political parties do not represent their ideas, that they are homeless when it comes to politics. Then they are offered the opportunity to learn about libertarianism.

You can contact Advocates for Self-Government at 3955 Pleasantdale Road, Suite 106 A, Atlanta, GA 30340. Phone: (404) 417-1304, (800) 932-1776.



Carole Ann Rand

Carole Ann Rand is president of the Advocates for Self-Government, a tax-exempt educational organization founded in 1985. The Advocates conduct seminars about libertarian ideas and help libertarians become better communicators of the freedom philosophy.

### WHY DO LIBERTARIANS SUPPORT THE FREE MARKET?

Libertarians hold that people have the right to deal with one another in any peaceful, voluntary and honest manner. It doesn't matter whether the people involved are Americans or live in other countries. The principle is the same. Libertarians advocate the free market because it is the only economic system compatible with individual rights. It also happens to be the most productive economic system by far

#### What is the "free market?"

A "free market" simply describes what goes on among people who recognize and respect each others rights. They produce and buy and sell, or give, all kinds of goods and services to each other. No one is forced to deal with another, or to deal at all.

No one is prevented by law from dealing with others who wish to deal. There are no laws against capitalistic acts among consenting adults.

The rules of law which make a free market possible are the basic libertarian rules of property law. What you acquire by producing it, or trading peacefully and honestly for it, belongs to you. Whatever you own, you have the right to decide what is to be done with it. Robbery, theft, fraud, embezzlement or destruction of another's property is illegal.

#### Free Markets Produce More

When these are the rules of the game for everyone, all people produce more and the standard of living for everyone goes up rapidly. This makes sense. If you know that your earnings and property are secure from thieves or expropriation by government, you work harder because you or your family will get the benefit.

A brief look at history and today's world shows that people do better under economic freedom. In the United States, most economic activity was free of government regulation until the 20th century. The constitution established "free trade" among the states so that goods, people and capital could move freely. America boomed, growing from what today would be called "third world" conditions to the most prosperous of all during the 19th century.

People flocked to America for the economic opportunity. With massive immigration, we prospered even more, because few economic barriers existed. After World War II, Germany was divided. West Germany adopted a largely free market approach; East Germany adopted a controlled economy. West Germany's economic development was called a miracle. East Germany's lack of prosperity and freedom was symbolized by the Berlin Wall.

In the Orient, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and others adopted free market approaches and have prospered, challenging America for economic front runner. Communist China has stagnated economically. Its rulers allow some private enterprise so the people can feed themselves.

Throughout the world, the people clamor for economic freedom. If the political rulers do not give it to them, they take it by creating underground economies or fleeing to freer countries. It is the underground (illegal, but market) economy which keeps the people alive. Many socialist governments, led by the Soviet Union, now realize that central economic planning invariably ends in disaster and that free markets produce what the

### people want and need.

#### What about imports?

Some Americans fear that allowing foreigners to sell their goods here will hurt us. Economic science and experience for 200 years show that free trade improves the welfare of all and that preventing free trade does injury to all.

What if California could prevent businesses in other states from selling in California? No doubt, California companies would have laws passed so only they could sell within California. California consumers would pay higher prices and be deprived of many goods not produced there. People in other states would lose jobs because what they produce would have fewer

And that is why the founding fathers established interstate free trade in the Constitution.

Trade barriers have the same effect as a natural disaster. If a huge earthquake were to close the Los Angeles and San Francisco harbors, the cost of bringing goods into the country would rise dramatically. Producers and consumers would suffer. We would all seek ways to solve the problem and bring those costs

Tariffs, quotas and other trade barriers are simply man made increases in the cost of bringing goods into the country. Both sellers and buyers suffer. Only the government benefits. Fortunately, all we have to do to eliminate these man made disasters is repeal the laws that cause them.

Restrictions on imports do not save jobs, they cause loss of jobs. Why? Here's an example.

If less expensive foreign steel is kept out, some American steel workers may keep jobs they would otherwise lose. However, in every industry which uses

steel, some jobs will be lost. Think of all the industries which use steel. Every company will have to pay more for steel and less for labor. Layoffs will follow. Every product they make will cost more to consumers, who will have less to spend on other products. So the workers who make those other products will also lose jobs. Economic studies of this question show that

#### What About Monopolies?

00

'Monopoly" refers to one producer of a product who can raise his price without fear of competition, or to a cartel (a group) attempting the same thing.

almost two jobs are lost for every one saved by trade

There never has been a successful attempt to monopolize over any significant product line, geographical area or time without some government interference to protect the monopolist from competition.

In a free market, anyone who wanted to could try to compete with a potential monopolist or cartel. Anytime a company is making high profits, others will eagerly come into the same business to make profits too. This added competition drives prices down and the consumers benefit. Monopoly doesn't work if there are no legal barriers to competition.

Anti-trust laws and other regulation of business were not instituted at the request of the public. Big businesses asked for regulation to protect themselves from competition from new, small companies. Today, every proposal to deregulate is opposed by the large companies and applauded by the little companies who know they will have a better chance in a free, openly competitive marketplace.

Anyone who wants to fight monopolies should call for repeal of all laws which create them, like the law making it a crime to compete with the Post Office.

### **DEFENDING AMERICANS** IN AMERICA



The basic justification for our federal government is national defense: providing Americans and their property in America security against the risk that some foreign power might attack. Fortunately, the risk of such an attack is fairly small. Unfortunately, we are paying unecessarily huge amounts in the name of defense. The federal government should work to provide security for us at the lowest possible cost, in a way which does not undermine our domestic economic productivity or violate our civil rights.

### **Assessing the Risk**

There simply is no likelihood of a conventional armed attack against the U.S. Look at the map. No one is foolish enough to try invading the U.S. and they would be defeated quickly if they did. (This is one reason libertarians support the right to own firearms. Armed citizens defending a homeland are the toughest opponents.)

The risk of a Soviet nuclear attack is the more pressing problem, but even that is declining as arms reduction negotiations proceed at their current record pace.

### **Huge Military Budget**

U.S. military spending is over \$300 billion per year. Rather than defending America, the bulk of this pays for defending other countries. People in Western Europe and Japan pay less for their own defense than American taxpayers pay to defend them. The U.S. has many thousands of nuclear weapons more than needed to deter a Soviet first strike, yet we spend billions every year building more.

### **Dangerous Adventurism**

U.S. military intervention in Central America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East has not made Americans more secure. In fact, Americans are less secure, because U.S. military policy has made us more enemies than friends, making all Americans targets of terrorism.

American military adventurism routinely results in unnecessary bloodshed without producing positive results. The United States should rely less on military force and threats and more on negotiation and trade to establish harmonious international relationships.

### **Policy Proposals**

The Libertarian Party proposes the following initial steps to improve the security of Americans and reduce the costs of defense.

- 1. Notify allies that they must plan for their own defense needs and take responsibility for paying for them. Provide allies with a timetable for the return of American military personnel home to defend America.
  - 2. Negotiate arms reduction agreements which do not compromise our national defense.
- 3. Adopt a policy that Americans who travel abroad and companies which invest abroad do so at their own risk and are subject to the laws and customs of other countries while abroad. The U.S. will no longer use gunboat diplomacy on their behalf at taxpayers' expense.
- 4. Reject the "Reagan Doctrine," which engages the U.S. around the globe and risks the security of all Americans by increasing the possibility that the U.S. will become embroiled in a foreign civil war.

### LIBERTY TODAY

A Publication of the Libertarian Party

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### RON PAUL

### 1988 LIBERTARIAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SPEAKS OUT

Ron Paul, 1988 Libertarian Presidential Candidate, was elected four times to the U.S. Congress from Houston, Texas as a Republican. As a member of the Banking Committee, he worked to establish a gold standard and curb the Federal Reserve. He was House sponsor of the U.S. Gold Commission and co-author of its minority report: *The Case for Gold*.

For his uncompromising advocacy of liberty, Congressman Paul won awards from the National Taxpayers Union (for the most pro-taxpayer record ever), the Council for a Competitive Economy, the Mises Institute, and the American Economic Council.

Ron Paul graduated from Duke University Medical School and was a flight surgeon in the U.S. Air Force. He practices medicine in Lake Jackson, Texas where he lives with his wife, Carol. Ron and Carol have five children and five grand-children.

In January, 1987 Ron Paul wrote a letter to the National Chairman of the Republican Party, explaining why he found it necessary to resign from the party which he had served in Congress. Following are some excerpts from that letter.

### WHY I RESIGNED FROM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

By Ron Paul

"In 1976 I was impressed with Ronald Reagan's program and was one of the four Members of Congress who endorsed his candidacy. In 1980, unlike other Republican office holders in Texas, I again supported our President in his efforts.

"Since 1981, however,...Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party have given us skyrocketing deficits, and, astoundingly a doubled national debt. How is it that the party of balanced budgets, with control of the White House and the Senate, accumulated red ink greater than all previous administrations put together?

"Tax revenues are up 59% since 1980. Because of economic growth? No. During Carter's four years, we had growth of 37.2%; Reagan's five years have given us 30.7%. The new revenues are due to four gigantic Republican tax increases since 1981.

"All Republicans rightly chastised Carter for his \$38 billion deficit. But they ignore or even defend deficits of \$220 billion, as government spending has grown 10.4% per year since Reagan took office, while the federal payroll has zoomed by a quarter of a million

There is no credibility left for the Republican Party as a force to reduce the size of government.



bureaucrats

"...Even worse, big government has been legitimated in a way the Democrats never could have accomplished. It was tragic to listen to Ronald Reagan on the 1986 campaign trail bragging about his high spending on farm subsidies, welfare, warfare, etc. in his futile effort to hold on to control of the Senate.

"...Reagan's foreign aid expenditures exceed Eisenhower's. Kennedy's, Nixon's, Ford's, and Carter's put together. Foreign intervention has exploded since 1980. Only an end to military welfare for foreign governments plus a curtailment of our unconstitutional commitments abroad will enable us really to defend ourselves and solve our financial problems.

"Candidate Reagan in 1980 correctly opposed draft registration. Yet, when he had the chance to abolish it, he reneged, as he did on his pledge to abolish the Departments of Education and Energy....

"Under the guise of attacking drug use and money laundering, the Republican Adminiatration has systematically attacked personal and financial privacy. The effect has been to victimize innocent Americans who wish to conduct their private lives without government snooping.

"Under Reagan, the IRS has grown bigger, richer, more powerful, and more arrogant. ...

"Knowing this administration's record, I wasn't surprised by its Libyan disinformation campaign, Israeli-Iranian arms-for-hostages swap, or illegal funding of the Contras. ...

"I want to totally disassociate myself from the policies that have given us unprecedented deficits, massive monetary inflation, indiscriminate military spending, an irrational and unconstitutional foreign policy, zooming foregn aid, the exaltation of international banking, and the attack on our personal liberties and privacy.

"...There is no credibility left for the Republican party as a force to reduce the size of government. That is the message of the Reagan Years.

"I conclude that one must look to other avenues if a successful effort is ever achieved in reversing America's direction.

Sincerely,

Ron Paul

Ron Paul Former Member of Congress"

#### **OUR BEST EXPORTS:**



Libertarians believe that free markets and constitutional democracy have so much more appeal to all people than Marxism, that the best foreign policy is one which allows the private export of those ideas rather than the clumsy violence of military intervention. People in different countries seem to get along quite well because they have so much to offer each other. It is governments which create international tension and war by preventing the peaceful interaction of people

**DEMOCRACY** 

The best policy is as Jefferson stated it: "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all peoples, entangling alliances with none."

through trade and travel.

People have the right to engage in peaceful and honest trade. That principle applies regardless of the products or services exchanged and regardless of political boundaries. The right to trade should not be abridged whether people live on the same street, in different states or in different countries.

Not only should the right to trade be respected, it is the most practical way. Everyone benefits when trade is free. The more producers, sellers and buyers in any market, the more competition, the more is produced and the better things are for all consumers. One of the keys to historically high living standards in the U.S. is that the Constitution allows no trade barriers between the states.

Free trade promotes international peace. When people are improving their conditions through trade, they don't want their governments to interrupt them with war. When trade is cut off with embargoes, high tariffs and quotas, the likelihood of war increases. World War II was preceded by a "trade war" which spread the 1930s depression world wide and created conditions leading to Hitler's rise to power in Germany and to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

The best things to do to improve economic opportunity for all people, and to spread the idea of a free society abroad, is for the U.S. government to remove all of its barriers to trade between Americans and people of other cultures. As oppressed people under socialist governments become consumers of capitalist goods, they inevitably want to know more about the freedoms associated with the production of such goods in such abundance.

Free markets and free politics are inseparable. That is a message no dictatorship can suppress once the people have a taste of blue jeans, rock and roll, fax machines and the discussion which inevitably follows.

It is free international trade which will bury Marxism in a tide of consumerism and democracy.

### **ANSWERS TO QUIZ**

(See **Political I.Q.** quiz on page 11) 1. 3 (Libertarian, Republican, Democratic Party)

- 2. Grand Old Party
- 3. The Libertarian Party... The Party of Principle.
- 4. The Libertarian Party is the third largest and fastest growing.
- 5. Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution of 1787, Bill of Rights.
- 6. All three
- 7. All three
- 8. Both. The size of government, taxes, and restrictions of individual rights have grown dramatically under both Republican and Democratic administrations
- The Libertarian Party is the only one that consistently supports and defends the American heritage of freedom and the rights of the individual.
- 10. 40% or more.
- 11. None. They both represent big government, high taxes, and restriction of individual rights.
- 12. Over 50% of America's registered voters fail to vote in most elections. Of these who do vote, only 5% actually study the candidates and issues. The remainder vote out of habit.
- 13. Virtually all of them. Working together, the Republicans and Democrats have enacted into law almost every programmatic plank on economic policy in the 1928 national platform of the Socialist party.

### **Privatizing Public Services**

### TAXES: THE CRUELEST BURDEN

If you don't pay taxes "voluntarily", your property may be seized and you may be imprisoned. Your earnings and property are taken by force if you don't "cooperate." If you or I, or a group of us, were to do this, it would be called stealing, or extortion. If it is wrong for private citizens to steal from others, it is wrong when the government does it.

**Taxation Destroys Jobs** 

When taxation takes money or property from private citizens and transfers it to bureaucrats, economic productivity declines. Employers cannot expand, businesses fail, and jobs are lost. We have seen this repeatedly, particularly during the past 70 years since the federal income tax was introduced. Even successful businesses must still pass on the cost of taxes to consumers. Everyone loses except the government.

Remember, the government is only many people providing a variety of services. People in the private sector provide similar services for less. Whether it's education, fire protection, security, detective work, insurance, road maintenance, package delivery, or whatever, if private companies are allowed to do it, they do it cheaper and better than government. And they are paid voluntarily by willing consumers.

Better Service; Lower Cost

We can go a long way toward cutting taxes to nothing at all by simply allowing private businesses to replace government operations which already have private competitors. The list might include the Postal Service, power plants, railroads, regulatory agencies, welfare departments, airports and many others. The approach is to privatize as many government functions as possible and sell other assets which are not needed for government's basic function of protecting our rights. The libertarian goal is to set working people free of the tyranny of taxes and tax collectors because we believe people will live better the more that voluntary cooperation replaces force in all human relationships.

It may be a long time before all taxes are eliminated, perhaps never, but the closer we come to that goal, the better off all Americans will be.

### **Immigration: FREEDOM TO CROSS** INTERNATIONAL BORDERS

An international boundary does not change the fact that all people have the same rights, regardless of where they were born or where they live.

Every human being has the right to travel peacefully wherever he or she may desire to go, provided it is done at his or her own expense and without violating the rights of other individuals.

Put it on a personal level. Would it be right for you to stand at the California/Mexico border with a gun and threaten to shoot anyone crossing the border in either direction? Of course not. Nor is it proper for the U.S. government to do so.

Immigration barriers only create problems. Economic studies of immigration show that most immigrants only want to visit, work for short periods, and return home. But making every border crossing excessively expensive, by making it illegal, induces them to stay much longer. It works like the drug laws; a violent underground immigration market comes into being. Good people are victimized by violent criminals who have nothing to fear because the "illegals" avoid the authorities.

If our southern border were treated like our open northern border, the relationships between Americans and Central Americans would be more like the productive, harmonious relationships we have with the Canadians.

The fear that immigrants will take jobs away from Americans is completely refuted by the facts. Economic studies show that in the cities with many immigrants, legal and illegal, the economy is improved and employment levels are high. If we look at America's history, we see that high levels of immigration have been accompanied by a rising standard of living.

America was once respected around the world as a symbol of peace and freedom—a land of opportunity. People voted with their feet. They left political oppression and poverty behind to come here to breath free and make the most of their chance. We should return to the proud tradition of welcoming all who would join us, wishing them well, and allowing them to earn their way.

### **What's Your Political I.Q.?**

(Answers are on Page 10)

1. QUESTION: How many political parties have nominated candidates for President of the U.S. in every presidential election since 1970?

\_\_1 \_\_2 \_\_3 \_\_4 \_\_5 \_\_More than 5
2. QUESTION: The Republican Party is commonly re-

ferred to as the GOP. What does GOP stand for? Government of the People \_\_ Grand Old Party

Good Old Politics \_\_ Government of Power

3. QUESTION: The Statue of Liberty is the symbol of which national party?

Populist \_\_ Libertarian \_\_ Socialist Republican \_\_ Democratic Party

4. QUESTION: Which is the third largest political party in the United States?

Workers League \_\_ Libertarian \_\_ Socialist Communist \_\_ Republican \_\_ Democratic Party

5. QUESTION: Which are considered the three most important documents that outline the founding of American government? (choose three)

Declaration of Independence \_\_ Federalist Papers

U.S. Constitution of 1787 \_\_ Northwest Ordinance Bill of Rights \_\_ Monroe Doctrine \_\_ Magna Carta 6. QUESTION: Which of the following best describes the Civil and Economic policies of the Democratic Party?

7. QUESTION: Which is the following best describes the Civil and Economic policies of the Republican Party? Moderate \_\_ Liberal \_\_ Conservative \_\_ All Three

8. QUESTION: Based on past political performances, which party best represents: big government, high taxation, restriction of individual rights?

Democratic Party \_\_ Republican \_\_ Both 9. QUESTION: Which party best represents the principles

of freedom and individual rights?

Republican \_\_ New Alliance \_\_ Libertarian

Socialist \_\_ American Independent

Democratic Party

10. QUESTION: The average American citizen is forced to pay what percentage of their annual wages in taxes? 10% \_\_ 20% \_\_ 30% \_\_ 40% or more

11. OUESTION: How much difference is there between the political philosophies of the Republican and Democratic parties?

\_\_Quite a lot \_\_ Some \_\_ None \_\_ Little

12. QUESTION: If you vote, do you vote out of habit or do you study the candidates, issues and the record of the

Don't vote Habit Study

13. QUESTION: How many economic policies of the American Socialist party has U.S. government adopted? \_\_ 3 \_\_ 8 \_\_ None \_\_ All of them

### PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT:

### Private Property vs Bureaucracy



veryone wants to protect the environment from air pollution, water pollution and damage from toxic wastes. We all want clean air and water for ourselves and a livable environment for wildlife.

All over the world, government bureaucracies, like our Environmental Protection Agency, have taken over the job of protecting the environment. The results are not encouraging. Bad air chokes city dwellers.

Lakes, rivers and underground water supplies are fouled by industrial wastes. Fish, marine mammals, water fowl and other birds are in jeopardy. The bureaucratic approach doesn't seem to work very well. Rather than protecting the environment well, its primary products seem to be strangling regulation, endless litigation, political favoritism and, as always, a huge tax bill.

The main reason we have pollution is because our governments have eliminated private property rights in water and fail to use them in dealing with air pollution.

Reliance on Private Property

There is a better way: reliance on private property rights and traditional legal remedies. The reason is simple. When people and companies invest their hard earned money in property, they take care of it. Government officials tend to be more interested in looking out for their own political future by doing favors for the politically powerful.

People are less concerned about dumping trash into public property, including water, because they don't own it. Just compare any public park or beach, to your own back yard.

Pollution is a Trespass

PERSONAL FREEDOM

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Pollution is a trespass. It involves one person or company removing trash from his property and dumping it on other peoples' property without their consent. The free market system is grounded in property rights. So, a polluter would be guilty of trespass on another's property and would be ordered by a court to stop polluting and to pay money damages for any injury

Most pollution occurs in surface water, under-

ground water and air. Governments own the water and haven't protected it. Where private ownership of water is allowed, private owners are motivated to stop water polluters, just as you would be motivated to stop your neighbor who was dumping trash in your yard. When private property rights are clearly defined, when it is clear who owns what, people are more likely to peacefully settle disputes over where to dump the trash.

Air pollution involves trash light enough to be

carried in the air from its source to other people's property. In a true free market system, you would be able to sue any person who was a source of air pollution which invaded your property, including your body. In such a system, the development of technologies for identifying sources of pollution would proceed more quickly.

**Private Legal Remedies** 

Today, private citizens cannot sue to correct most pollution problems. The subject has been taken over by the Environmental Protection Agency and

similar state bureaucracies. The problem has been politicized. So the people with the most political clout tend to get their way. Many of them are the polluters. Indeed, some of the worst offenders are government operations like power plants, sewage treatment facilities and landfills for rubbish. The political nature of the process slows down the development of more efficient methods for dealing with polluting material.

Further, the bureaucratic approach invariably passes a large part of the cost on to taxpayers. Polluting industries are allowed to continue (for political reasons) and the rest of us bear the cost in the form of a fouled environment. Every business should bear all the costs of making its operations clean and non-polluting. Under the current bureaucratic system, the taxpayers are forced to pay to clean up the mess rather than making the businesses or property owners involved take responsibility

Anyone concerned about protecting the environment should be working to replace bureaucratic controls with a free market, private property based system. This would not solve all the problems overnight, but it would give property owners and taxpayers more con-

### WHERE DO YOU STAND?

### Whose decision should it be?

NOT GOV'T ECONOMIC FREEDOM

	DECISION	SUKE	DECIDES		DECISION	SURE	DECIDES
e an explicit film?		1		Accept a particular wage?	-		
ear a seat belt or helmet?				Hire a minority worker?	1	1000	
opt a child?				Invest in something risky?	-	100	1
ve a baby?				Insure your car?	10		
n a handgun?				Purchase American products?			
ke time to pray?		1466		Deliver letters?			
ivel to certain countries?				Hold a lottery?			
lp the needy?	100000	A TO	The same	Contribute to the defense of a			
e marijuana?		-	-	foreign country			
ear a swimsuit?	-	1000	-	Play cards for money?		1	
al a swillisuit:		-		Hire an unlicensed contractor?		1	1000
FREE PROPERTY		1	and the				
unt Check Marks	-10			Count Check Marks	x10	x5	0
altiply by	x10	x5	x0	Multiply by Add multiplied totals for your	XIU	XS	x0
d multiplied totals for your RSONAL FREEDOM TOTAL				ECONOMIC FREEDOM TOTAL			
RSONAL FREEDOM TOTAL	-	-	_	ECONOMIC PREEDOM TOTAL	-	-	-
FIND YOUR POSIT  After you finish the quiz, find political map. Mark your sco PERSONAL FREEDOM sca ECONOMIC FREEDOM sca From your marked scores, fol the diagonal lines up and tow the center, to the point where they meet.  Example:  Economic Freedom score 65, Personal Freedom score 70,	d your hoores on the le and ale. How ard		Libera		*	e RIGI	-п
locates at point "E" on map.				on solo of			

### AMERICA'S LIBERTARIAN HERITAGE

**Declaration of Independence** 

Nothing better states the libertarian view of government's proper role than the Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson. Although we use different language today, the principles guiding how people ought to deal with each other have not changed since 1776. They are eternal truths. Let's examine how they apply today.

All people are created equal; where rights are concerned, there are no inferior nor superior human beings. Laws, and governments which create laws, must recognize that all people have the same rights and treat them equally.

Each individual human being has rights, many of them. Some of the more important ones are the right to life, the right to liberty, and the right to seek happiness. In other words, each of us has the right to do anything which is peaceful and honest, to acquire property and use it according to our own values. We also have the duty to respect the right of all others to do the same.

Political governments should act to secure people's rights. Government is a tool. People and their rights come first, government second. Government has no authority or just power, Jefferson said, unless granted by the people, by the consent of the governed. Those running the government are agents of the citizens, not their masters.

When any government begins acting in ways harmful to the people and their rights, it is proper for the people to take steps to change that government, or even get rid of it entirely, and to replace it with a system which will protect them better.

Each of us has the duty to be vigilant against government abuse of its power, to speak out, to take action to correct abuses, so that all Americans live in abundance and harmony, without fear of government tyranny.



Constitution and Bill of Rights

The U.S. Constitution created our federal government. The Americans who fought the Revolutionary War against British tyranny knew very well how dangerous government is, how those in power always seek to increase their power over the citizens. Consequently, they tried tobe sure that the new national government would have strictly limited powers.

To protect their rights against possible government abuse, the people demanded a Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the Constitution. The Bill of Rights was to keep the new national government from interfering in the areas of their lives most precious and sacred to them.

There are to be no limits placed on freedom of speech or the press. No limits on freedom of assembly or political expression. The government cannot limit your religious activity or try to set up a state religion.

The right to own firearms is not to be abridged.

You have the right to be secure in your person, house and effects. The government cannot subject you to unreasonable searches or seizures; no search warrant can be issued without probable cause and it must identify what is to be searched and seized.

The government cannot deprive you of life, liberty or property without due process of law. If the govern-

ment must take property for a public use, it must pay the owner just compensation.

If charged with a crime, you are entitled to a speedy and public jury trial. You cannot be forced to testify against yourself in a criminal case. You are entitled to confront the witnesses against you and to be represented by legal counsel. There shall not be excessive bail nor cruel and unusual punishments.

The Ninth and Tenth Amendments are strong statements that the people have many rights not referred to in the Bill of Rights and that the government should not infringe upon those either. They make it clear that the federal government was intended to have only those powers clearly granted to it by the Constitution.

#### **Return to Libertarian Roots**

Libertarians agree with America's founders about the relationship of the people to government. The people have all the rights. Government is merely a tool to protect people and their rights from criminals and foreign attackers.

Unfortunately, since the late 19th century, America's political leaders have turned away from the country's libertarian beginnings. They have led us away from the principles of individual liberty and personal responsibility, the only sound foundation for a just, humane and abundant society. The results have been nearly a century of involvement in war, increasingly burdensome taxes and explosive growth of government, poking its nose into everything we do.

Although America continues to be a symbol of freedom and opportunity for people in the third world and under communist dictatorship, it has major problems which cannot be solved by government because, more often than not, government is their cause. It is time to return to our libertarian roots to chart the course for America's future.

# AMERICA'S LIBERTARIAN FUTURE Your kind of World...

What kind of future do you want? What do you want to leave to your children and grandchildren? It's easy to complain. Most Americans complain about high taxes, government too much in their business and private affairs, how hard it is to get ahead, fear of nuclear war, etc.

Rather than complaining, let's imagine the world we'd like to have for ourselves and our loved ones.

Planning and Security

All of us would be free to plan and to work hard building a future, to be responsible and mind our own business. We would be secure from inflation and wild economic swings, able to save and invest without fear that new taxes or government intervention might disrupt our plans. Each of us could spend on what we think is important and invest according to our own values. The less government does, the lower your taxes, the more stable your world, the lower the threat that your children will be taken to fight in foreign wars.

We would be secure from crimes against ourselves and our property. Law enforcers would protect us instead of harassing peaceful citizens for their life styles or views. And the threat that our children might be taken to fight in some foreign war would fade.

### Freedom to Fly or Fail

Many prefer a more exciting life, with thrills and risk. Wild and crazy people have rights too! Life cannot be made risk free. Hundreds of laws try to reduce risk by protecting us from ourselves, but succeed only in restricting liberty. Let the free spirits among us fly higher, run faster, innovate, experiment, go for the gusto and have fun. Let anyone succeed to the utmost, or fail, and try again.

Let's repeal every law which says you can't do what you want to do just because you might harm yourself. Let's make life easier for everyone by cutting red tape, regulations and bureaucracy. Let's be more tolerant of those who come at life differently.

### **Compassion that Works**

Most Americans are compassionate and concerned. Some have even turned to government to force others to support those they wanted to help. It hasn't worked. Compassion at the point of a gun never will.

Let's learn from the voluntary groups who are so much better than government at helping the needy. Hundreds of billions of dollars saved by getting government (and bureaucrats) out of the charity business would be available for each of us to do more to help, especially in our own communities where we can see what needs to be done.

what needs to be done.

To help the homeless, let's repeal rent control and zoning laws which discourage building low cost homes and apartments. Repeal building codes and regulations





which add thousands of dollars to the cost of new homes.

To help the unemployed, repeal minimum wage laws and other regulations which make it too costly for small businesses to hire poorly educated, inexperienced workers

To help the poorly educated, get government out of education. Half of our state and local taxes go to public schools, yet 20 to 40 percent of teenagers lack basic skills. Private schools do a better job at about half the cost. We would have competition in education, with parents and students in control. Students would choose the schools they wanted to attend. Those who paid for private schooling would get tax credits and laws limit-

ing home schooling would fall. Education would improve for everyone and taxes would drop, so each family would have more to spend on the education it thinks best for its own children.

### Freedom to Innovate

Some of us are thinkers, scientists, innovators, idea people. Liberty for such people is absolutely necessary if America is to meet new challenges in a world-wide economy.

Nothing should restrict the development of new technologies, new ways to grow and build, new medicines, medical treatments, information transfers, trade in technology, or ways to improve people's lives. Let's repeal every law that prevents people from peacefully and honestly exchanging goods, services, information or ideas. To solve pollution and environmental problems, the AIDS crisis, world hunger and many other problems, the scientists and innovators must have an open field, free of political and legal obstacles.

Not Utopia, Just Better

Libertarian proposals cannot create Utopia, that perfect world where everyone has everything they want and nothing ever goes wrong. No political party or ideas can create Utopia.

But, as libertarian ideas continue to influence social, economic and political events in America, things will get better. More people will have a better chance to make their own plans, based on their own values, and to succeed with those plans. It will bring us closer to a world of tolerance, peace, harmony and abundance for all peoples. That won't be Utopia, but it will be a considerable improvement over what the tired, old political parties have been doing to us.

### **Membership Application** & Information Request

☐ I want to become a member of the Libertarian Party. As a member, I will receive a free membership card and two complimentary issues of the monthly *Libertarian Party News*. I understand that members oppose the initiation of force to achieve political or social goals.

(Signature: required for membership only)

- ☐ Enclosed is \$25. I would like to subscribe to Libertarian Party News for one year (12 issues). With my paid subscription, I will receive a free bonus copy of the 104 page quality paperback, Libertarianism In One Lesson (a \$7.95 value).
- ☐ Enclosed is \$3. Please send me a full information packet.

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