

"Liberty is the only thing you LIBERTY ODYAN

cannot have unless you are willing to give it to others' -William Allen White

LIBERTARIAN PARTY • 1-800-682-1776 • MCI MAIL 345-5647

The Bill of Rights Protecting Our Freedom for 200 years

Two hundred years ago the young American nation adopted the Bill of Rights. Early Americans knew that government too easily encroaches upon individual freedom and so enacted "Thou shalt nots" as the first ten amendments to the Constitution.

The Bill of Rights has shielded our precious freedoms of speech and the press, of assembly and political expression, of religion. It has guaranteed that we can be secure in our persons and our homes and has protected life, liberty and property. You may read more about this heritage of freedom on page twelve.

The freedoms Americans have enjoyed because of the Bill of Rights are the foundation of the richness of life that is ours today. That freedom has been the magnet which attracted people from Europe, Africa, Asia — from the whole rest of the world — to come here so that they could live without oppression, enjoy the fruits of their labor and build better lives for themselves and their

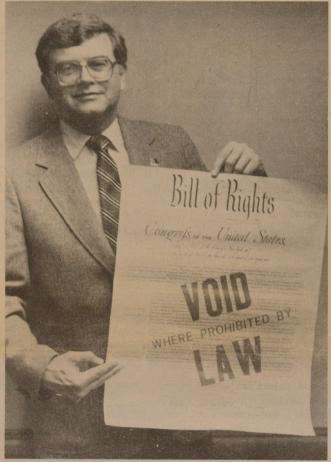
Those same freedoms inspire people around the globe who reject dictators and oppressive governments. The political map has been redrawn during these past few years by those seeking greater personal and economic free-

So Libertarians celebrate this anniversary of our Bill of Rights. It is the most important institutional safeguard of our liberty. We have needed it and we have benefited from it.

DEFENDING THE **BILL OF RIGHTS**

Many attacks are being made upon our rights. In recent years the Congress and some state legislatures, under pressure from a variety of special interest groups or acting in haste in the face of one or another proclaimed "crisis," have passed laws that threaten the freedoms protected by the Bill of Rights. The 'War on Drugs', for example, has spawned the kinds of searches and seizures the founders of this nation rightly sought to bar. Further incursions are discussed and proposed "for the common good."

Libertarians believe that the common good can ONLY be served by preserving the rights guaranteed by the Bill, all of them. We believe that all of them are essential and that the entire Bill of Rights must be the Bill of Rights, 1-202-543-1988.



Libertarian Party National Chair David Walter holds a copy of the Bill of Rights (as amended by today's politicians and judges.)

maintained.

Thus, in this anniversary year we not only celebrate the Bill of Rights, but also protest attacks upon it and

Throughout this anniversary year, Libertarians will engage in educational campaigns, community observances and political action for both celebration and defense of the Bill of Rights. The culmination will be a rally on the steps of the Supreme Court on December 15, the anniversary day of ratification of the Bill of Rights.

Brochures, bumper stickers, buttons and an organizing manual are among the materials available. All who support the Bill of Rights and wish to join in its defense are encouraged to contact the Committee for

LIBERTARIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE 1528 Pennsylvania Ave. SE Washington, DC 20003 (800) 682-1776

NON-PROFIT ORG. U.S. POSTAGE PAID Washington, DC Permit No. 3136

NOT LEFT NOT RIGHT NOT CENTER

Where Do the **Libertarians Fit?**

How 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

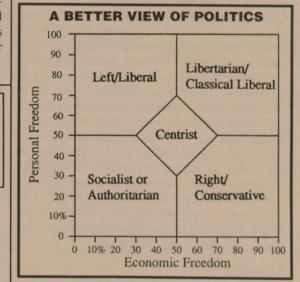
But what about the person who calls for a high degree of both personal liberties and free enterprise? What about one who thinks we already have too much personal liberty and too much freedom in economic affairs? No place for either of them on the L-R line. They can't both be in the middle, because they 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 from devastating our future quality



DAVID M.

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 unpre-

dictable changes that lie before us, we ronmental hazards such as the spraying must 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 "protects" us from pollution and other enviof 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, selfreliance and responsibility.



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 important 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

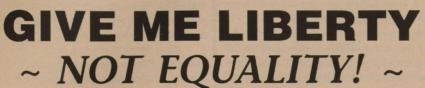
How does a new political party get started?

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 peopleclaim 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 be-

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.



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-

DICK BODDIE

Dick Boddie has

been actively in-

volved with libertarian

causes for almost a

decade. In 1984, he

was Field Coordina-

tor 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.

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 run.

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

Twain stated, "I will never allow my schooling to interfere with my education."

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 opposed.

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 im-



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 Beginning..."

It was all Richard Nixon's fault,

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 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.

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 defense of individual liberty, was needed NOW!

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, seek ing 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.

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

posed 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...!!

Solving Problems THE LIBERTARIAN

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

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

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

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 negli-

gently, no crime or harm has been done. Leave them in 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.

must be banished.

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

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

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.

Helping The Poor

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

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.

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, just as it is 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.

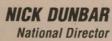
Try Personal Responsibility

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 secure.

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, committed 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 dissatisfaction.

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

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 Julius Ceasar."

Bureaucracy and Politics

Compulsory attendance laws say that youth are

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 deinstitutionalize.

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 people to enjoy.

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 co-founded the Society for Individual Liberty. Don is a former member of the Libertarian Party National Committee.

LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT ORIGINS:

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 top-down 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



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.

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

<u>Third</u>: 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 newsletters.

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.

The Libertarian Party: 20 Years of History

The Libertarian Party is the third largest political party in the United States. Millions of Americans have voted for Libertarian Party candidates in past elections throughout the country, despite the fact that many state governments place every imaginable roadblock in our path in order to keep our candidates off the ballot and deprive voters of a real choice.

Libertarians believe the answer to America's political problems is the same commitment to freedom that earned America its greatness: a free-market economy and the abundance and prosperity it brings; a dedication to civil liberties and personal freedom that marks this country above all others; and a foreign policy of non-intervention, peace, and free trade as prescribed by America's founders.

What began with a small group of activists in Colorado has, in 20 short years, become America's third largest political party. We are proud of our heritage and the progress we have made in these last 20 years.

And the best is yet to come!

1971:

Libertarian Party is founded Dec. 11, in the home of David Nolan. Disillusioned Republicans, Democrats, and political newcomers hope to create an alternative to the old

1972:

First national convention held in June in Denver, CO. John Hospers, a philosophy professor at the University of Southern California, is nominated as presidential candi-

vice presidential candidate Tonie Nathan becomes the first woman in U.S. history to receive an electoral vote.

1975:

National convention in New York City. Roger MacBride is nominated as the LP's presidential candidate, David Bergland as his running mate.

1976:

MacBride achieves ballot status in 32 states, and receives over 170,000 votes.

1978:

Ed Clark receives 5 percent of the vote in his race for governor of California.

Dick Randolph of Alaska becomes the first elected Libertarian state legislator.

1979:

Presidential nominating convention held in Los Angeles. Ed Clark and David Koch named as presidential and vice presidential

Permanent ballot status achieved in California as more than 80,000 voters register Libertarian.

1980:

Ed Clark appears on the ballot in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Guam, and receives almost one million votes. His campaign runs extensive national television ads and offers many Americans their first

look at what the LP has to offer. Many in the media recognize the LP for the first time as a serious political force.

Dick Randolph is re-elected to Alaska

Ken Fanning, also running as a Libertarian, is elected to Alaska legislature.

1982:

Louisiana congressional candidate James Agnew receives 23 percent of the vote.

Alaska gubernatorial candidate Dick Randolph receives 15 percent of the vote. Arizona gubernatorial candidate Sam

Steiger receives 5 percent of the vote.

1983:

David Bergland is nominated in New York City as the LP's presidential candidate. Jim Lewis is his running mate.

1984:

On the ballot in 39 states, David Bergland and Jim Lewis come in third in the race for president for the first time in the LP's history.

Bergland publishes Libertarianism in One Lesson, a campaign book that eventually sells over 75,000 copies, and is still used by the LP today as an introductory text.

Andre Marrou becomes the third Libertarian elected to the Alaska legislature.

Libertarians are elected to 11 more local offices around the country.

1986:

More than 200 candidates across the United States receive 2.9 million votes.

Ray Cullen, candidate for treasurer in California, gets 570,000 votes, largest vote total ever for a third party candidate in California.

1987:

Doug Anderson is elected elections com-

missioner in Denver.
Libertarians are elected to every seat on the city council in Big Water, Utah.
Former U.S. Congressman Ron Paul re-

signs from the Republican Party and joins the

Seattle convention nominates Ron Paul for president and Andre Marrou for vice president.

1988:

Ron Paul, on the ballot in 46 states and the District of Columbia, comes in third, receiving more than 430,000 votes nationwide—almost twice the total of any other "third" party.

1990:

Approximately two million people vote for LP candidates.

Election Day is "Double Digit Day," as numerous LP candidates for U.S. Congress and state house draw percentage numbers in teens, twenties, and the legislature condidate.

New Mexico state legislature candidate Illa Mae Bolton gets 31 percent of the vote.

California congressional candidate Joe Shea receives 27 percent of the vote. A 5 percent vote for New Hampshire gubernatorial candidate Miriam Luce qualifies LP of New Hampshire as an official party

More than 440,000 Texans vote for Court of Criminal Appeals candidate Carol Caul. More Libertarian candidates win elec-

tion in local races—city council, school board, etc..

New Hampshire state legislators Calvin Warburton and Finlay Rothhaus resign from the Republican Party and join the LP.

Chicago nominating convention names Andre Marrou and Nancy Lord as presidential/vice presidential ticket.

In New Hampshire's presidential primary election Andre Marrou beats incumbent President George Bush in Dixville Notch, the town whose voters always vote first in the nation. Marrou receives 11 votes to Bush's nine. LP presidential ticket appears on all 50 state ballots. Over 750 Libertarians seek elective office across the country.

Libertarian	Party M	lembership		\$1,000 \$500 \$250	or \$100/month or \$50/month or \$25/month	Life Benefactor Patron Sponsor
Name		want to join the Libertarian Party as a		\$100	or \$10/month	Sustaining
Address		onal member and receive LP NEWS. I wish in the category indicated $\Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow$		\$25 Payment e	enclosed	Subscribing
Telephone: Day Even	ing the i	ereby certify that I do not believe in or advoc initiation of force as a means of achieving tical or social goals."	ate (N	Make check	payable to Libertarian	Party)
Employer Occup	ation Sign	nature(required for membership only)	Ac	ct. #		
GOVERNMENT MAI		Yes! I want to help support the national	Sig	gnature		
The United States Post to notify you that LP Ni of \$25 per year is included uses. The Internal requires u "contributions are n	EWS subscription cost ad in your membership Revenue Service s to print	ertarian Party with a contribution of: 25 \$50 \$100 \$250 \$	n the ar	mount indicent each m		erty Pledge News
on all fund-rai Federal Election Co us to ask for your empi	sing appeals.	want to subscribe to LP NEWS only.) Pleas	se charge m	eminder notice each m ny credit card (number ation on automatic che	above).
LIBERTARIAN N	ATIONAL HEADQU	JARTERS • 1528 Pennsylvania Av	e., SE	Washi	ington, DC 20003	3

Libertarian Party Program

Adopted by the Libertarian National Committee August 23, 1992

PREAMBLE

Libertarians believe that each of us should be allowed to plan his or her own future. We believe that individuals have the right to deal with their own problems. This can be done individually or by working with others in a peaceful and honest way. We reject the initiation of force by anyone, including government.

Today our government uses force, or the threat of force, to achieve most of its goals. Repeated failures by our government have shown us that this is not a practical approach. As Libertarians, we also believe that this use of force is immoral.

Libertarians seek a world in which voluntary cooperation replaces force in human relationships. We recognize that such a world cannot be achieved overnight. We have identified several important issues which are topics currently in the political spotlight. In each case, we believe there are substantial changes that could be made to move toward our goal—replacing aggression and force with peace and cooperation.

Toward that end, we offer the following Program.



UNEMPLOYMENT

Millions of Americans who are willing and able to work are unemployed. Republicans and Democrats argue over band-aids like extending unemployment benefits and creating make-work government jobs. Meanwhile, they ignore the major cause of unemployment: their own policies. When government officials inflate the supply of money, when they give special privileges to banks, and when they try to plan the economy, they cause cycles of boom and bust—cycles that misdirect investors, destroy healthy companies, and put workers out of work.

Some politicians propose that the government should guarantee a job to every American. Other politicians believe a national industrial policy will put people to work. The Soviet Union tried these policies for decades. The result was national bankruptcy and widespread poverty. Why should we make the same mistakes that the Soviets made?

The only cure for unemployment is a real job. The only effective way to create real jobs is to have a strong economy

The Democrats and Republicans have destroyed jobs by:

- taking money consumers and businesses would otherwise use to purchase goods and services,
- taking money individuals and companies would otherwise use for investment,
- subsidizing foreign governments, foreign businesses, and foreign citizens,
- financing their massive budget deficit with borrowed money that otherwise could be used for business expansion and job creation,
- smothering workers, business people, and investors with endless regulations and bloated bureaucracy, and
 - restricting commerce and trade.

Each year, our government takes over \$200 billion in taxes from American consumers and businesses to subsidize foreign governments, foreign companies, and foreign citizens. The U.S. provides foreign countries free defense, direct military aid, direct economic aid, guaranteed loans, and other subsidies

too numerous to list. Our government is sending your hard earned dollars to many of our fiercest competitors. This puts businesses here at a competitive disadvantage.

The U.S. corporate income tax discourages the flow of capital into America to open and expand businesses and create new jobs. Companies that pay lower taxes can produce goods and services at a lower cost and be more competitive in world markets. Companies that pay higher taxes have to pass those extra costs on to someone—usually their customers. This raises prices for American consumers and helps price American goods out of foreign markets. The result is lost jobs at home.

More jobs are lost because of useless regulations and bureaucratic mandates. Large companies must devote resources to comply with each new regulation instead of becoming more competitive, expanding, and creating new jobs. Small businesses, which generate the vast majority of new jobs, frequently cannot afford to comply. They go out of business and unemployment rises.

The free flow of goods and services is a major source of employment in a market economy. Anything which restricts trade, either within a country or between countries, contributes to unemployment. Democrats and Republicans may talk about eliminating subsidies, trade barriers, and tariffs, but they haven't done it. The current U.S. policy of subsidizing agriculture, limiting imports, and erecting countless other barriers to trade is the exact opposite of the free trade position that our government claims to support.

To enable Americans to find jobs, we must do everything in our power to give workers, and the companies they work for, the ability to compete in world markets. The Libertarian Party supports five major initiatives to achieve this goal:

- Phase out all direct and indirect subsidies to foreign nations, foreign companies, and foreign citizens
- Eliminate the double taxation of corporate profits.
- Eliminate regulations and mandates that make companies less competitive and cost jobs.
- Unilaterally end all domestic subsidy programs, trade barriers, and tariffs.
- End government economic meddling that results in depressions and recessions that destroy jobs.



EDUCATION

Public schools are supposed to provide a good education for our children. More often than not, they don't. Each year public schools graduate more and more students who are unable to read, write, or do basic arithmetic. Our children's talents are wasted because we continue to trust politicians to do this important job. Politicians have had decades to fix these problems, and they haven't been able to do so.

In recent years, government involvement in education has grown rapidly. At the same time, the quality of the education offered to most public school students has gone down. We are finding, as with so many other government efforts, that throwing more money or more regulations at this problem does not fix it. The best way to end the crisis in education is to deal with the main cause—government involvement.

The politicians who run the public schools have created new regulations and mandated new programs. These are imposed on local schools. We have more bureaucracy and less innovation. We have more red tape and less creativity. More resources are spent on

these matters. The cost of education goes up. The quality of education goes down.

Many public schools have become dangerous places for our children. The news is filled with reports of drug use, rapes, assaults, and murders in our schools. It's difficult to expect a child to learn in a place where the child does not feel safe. Yet most families have no choice but to send their children to the local public school, no matter how dangerous.

It's no surprise that poor children suffer the most under the current system. Wealthy parents can afford to send their children to better or safer schools. Poor parents have no choice. Their children generally end up in the schools with the worst problems. These children end up at a public school, which is obligated to accept every local student, even those who are not interested in learning or who have a reputation for being disruptive or dangerous. The current system traps poor children in poor schools. This is just one reason that many parents have given up hope that their children will escape the poverty they have known.

To solve a crisis, you must recognize and eliminate its cause. The crisis in education is no different. The most important step is to end government control of education. We must move toward a system where parents have good, safe, affordable choices for educating their children.

To transfer control of education from bureaucrats to parents and teachers and encourage alternatives to the public school monopoly, the Libertarian Party would:

- Support a true market in education—one in which parents and students would not be stuck with a bad local school, because they could choose another.
- Implement measures such as tax credits so that parents will have the financial ability to choose among
- Provide financial incentives for businesses to help fund schools and for individuals to support students other than their own children.
- Eliminate the U.S. Department of Education, which spends billions on education and educates no one. The growth of this agency and its numerous regulations is a major reason for runaway costs in American schools.



POLITICAL CORRUPTION

Americans of all backgrounds are sick and tired of the growing problem of political corruption and abuse. Every day more and more examples of the abuse of power by elected and appointed officials hit the newsstands. These problems are epidemic in both the Democratic and the Republican parties.

The House Bank—set up with bipartisan support—was supposed to be a convenient way for busy congressmen to cash their paychecks. What it turned out to be was a scam for many congressmen—a way to write bad checks often totalling more than a congressman's pay. If you or I did this at our local bank, we would be subject to criminal prosecution and fines in most states. Why should congressmen allow themselves to do something wrong? Should we be surprised that a group of people who cannot balance their own checkbooks cannot balance our national budget?

Both parties in Congress have voted to give themselves dozens of special privileges—everything continued on next page

Libertarian Party Program

continued from previous page

from free airport parking to health clubs to cheap haircuts to passing laws that do not apply to them. How different is this from the way that kings, queens, and dictators make demands of their citizens while they do what they please?

Both the Democrats and the Republicans vote to use our tax dollars to pay for their election campaigns and their conventions. Tens of millions of taxpayer dollars are used for this every four years. They use our money for **their** purposes so that they don't have to use their own. Isn't it time that members of Congress pay their own bills instead of making us pay them?

Then, to make it harder to challenge their power, both parties have cooperated in enacting laws in almost every state that make it very difficult and extremely expensive for any other candidate to get on the ballot. Even billionaire Ross Perot has commented that the law in most states makes it difficult to get on the election ballot. If the business of Congress were anything other than politics, people would be calling for Congress and its members to be subject to antitrust laws to prevent their monopoly from being abused ever again. Congress has done a good job to make sure that the laws they write to rule over others don't apply to Congress or its members!

And to add insult to injury, Congress has had no problem finding the time or spending the money to give themselves a big, fat raise. Wouldn't you love it if you only had to vote "yes" to get a huge raise whenever you wanted one! If nothing else, doesn't this make it clear that members of Congress see themselves as a special, privileged class?

Libertarians believe that elected officials should not hide behind special privileges that exempt them from the rules they impose on the people who elect them. Libertarians believe that elected officials do not deserve and should not have any rights or privileges that are different from those of any other citizen. We support:

- Elimination of special rights and privileges for elected or appointed government officials.
- Revision of any law or regulation that exempts the government or its officials from compliance.
- Ending government funding of any political party or candidate.
- Revision of state and federal laws to enable all candidates for elective office to be included on election ballots.



HEALTH CARE AND HEALTH COSTS

During childhood, most of us learned that if a little bit of something is bad, a lot is usually worse. Regrettably, most Republican and Democratic politicians haven't learned this simple lesson. Congress has 535 members who have submitted over 600 proposals for some form of socialized medicine (known as "national health care") or national health insurance. They are tripping over each other to solve a problem that they helped cause!

The most common reason given for further government involvement in health care is the rapidly growing cost of these services. While medical costs certainly have risen rapidly, it is necessary to understand the reasons for the cost increases before proposing any solution. Among these reasons are:

- Advancement of new technologies, many of which are expensive to develop and to provide to patients.
- Expansion of federal and state regulation of medical services, which has led to skyrocketing costs.

Examples of such regulations include certificates of need, hospital licensure, and Medicaid reimbursement policies.

- · Growth of fraud in federal and state programs.
- State-mandated insurance benefits, which drive up the cost of insurance by forcing employers to provide unwanted and unneeded frills.
- Food and Drug Administration drug approval procedures, which cost consumers about \$200 million for each new drug while failing to assure drug safety.
- The government-sponsored licensing monopoly that requires physician services when others (e.g. midwives, nurses, optometrists, and pharmacists) could perform as well and at a much lower cost to the patient.
- Tax policy that encourages employers, rather than their employees, to make health care choices. This discourages individuals from acting as informed consumers of health insurance or health care.

All but one of these factors involve an action taken by the government which results in increased prices for health care.

It is clear that national health care or national health insurance will not address any of the sources of price increases:

- If we want to have new technology available, someone has to pay the price to develop and provide it. Passing a law cannot reduce these costs. It can only affect who pays for them. The Pentagon has taught us that the government is a horrible purchasing agent!
- Adding new government programs will not address the cost increases which have resulted from prior government programs. If anything, it is another step in the wrong direction, and it is certain to increase costs.
- If the government cannot control Medicare and Medicaid fraud **today**, it is foolish to think that it could cope with the same issues more effectively under a nationwide program covering everyone.
- State mandates will not be eliminated when the government controls health care. Federal control means that all health services will be provided subject to federal regulations and mandates.
- National health care will in no way eliminate the current regulations and requirements for introduction of a new drug.

A little bit of government involvement in the health care industry brought increased problems. Greater involvement brought about the current mess. Expanding the role of government involvement further is clearly the path to disaster. We believe that a government-operated health care system would have the efficiency of the Post Office, the cost-effectiveness of the Pentagon, and the compassion of the Internal Revenue Service. If you doubt this, then we suggest you look north to Canada where the Canadian national health program has people dying while they wait for rationed health services!

The Libertarian Party advocates reversing direction and getting the government completely out of the health care business.



VIOLENCE, CRIME, AND DRUGS

As violent crime increases, each of us grows concerned. We should feel safe and secure, but our government has failed to protect us.

Violent crime continues to increase in this country. We must devote more resources to finding and prosecuting people who commit violent crimes such as murder, rape, assault, and arson. Unfortunately, we

cannot, because so many resources go to a battle we cannot win—the "war on drugs."

Drug dealers, not drug users, commit most violent crimes associated with drugs. The "war on drugs" drives up drug prices, which attracts more people to the drug trade. When potential profit increases, drug dealers resort to greater extremes, including violence. They fight each other and law enforcement officials to defend their very profitable turf. Occasionally they kill innocent bystanders in the crossfire. Those few crimes committed by drug users also are a result of artificially high drug prices. Desperate drug addicts commit more and more robberies to keep up with the increasing cost of their habits.

We know from past experience how to solve this problem. During Prohibition, when alcohol was banned, violence increased from turf wars between bootleggers. When Prohibition ended, so did the violence related to bootlegging. The per capita murder rate decreased for nine consecutive years after the end of Prohibition.

Do we hear about alcohol distributors having a shootout on the street today? Of course not! Why? Because there is no reason to commit violent crimes when operating a legal business. While those addicted to alcohol certainly suffer, at least they don't have to steal to support their habit. People addicted to alcohol don't rob houses because they can obtain enough money through other means, be it a job or panhandling.

Earlier this century, drugs were legal in the United States. If the importation, sale, and use of drugs were legal again, open competition would eliminate the extreme profitability of drug dealing. The violence of drug dealing would cease because dealers would no longer have the economic incentive to commit violent crimes. We can expect the end of drug prohibition to lead to the same decrease in violent crime we experienced after the end of alcohol Prohibition.

Illegal drugs are no different than the legal drugs called alcohol and tobacco. Some illegal drugs may be harmful to the mind or body, just like alcohol and tobacco. Some are addictive, just like alcohol and tobacco. If these drugs were made legal, as they once were, the government would not be encouraging their use, just as the government does not encourage alcohol or tobacco use, even though they are legal.

Over 500,000 Americans die each year as a result of using alcohol, tobacco, and other legal and illegal drugs. Alcohol and tobacco combined account for almost 95 percent of the total. Another 4 percent come from overdoses of legal drugs. Even though millions of Americans use illegal drugs every year (over 26 million in 1990 according to the government), these drugs are responsible for only about 1 percent of these deaths. If banning drugs to protect people from themselves makes sense, it makes more sense to ban alcohol and tobacco. Yet there is no call for such a ban, because Prohibition has already failed, as would a ban on tobacco. When will the government learn that all attempts at prohibition will fail in a free society?

The Libertarian Party recognizes that if people in a free society want a product—be it whiskey, cigarettes, Valium(R), marijuana, or cocaine—they will find a way to get it, whether or not it is legal. We do not endorse drug use. We do not encourage drug use. We do, however, support relegalization of all drugs. We realize that government action in a free country cannot stop drug use. Legalization will eliminate drug-related violent crime and will, therefore, help reduce our crime problem.

The Libertarian Party also recognizes that resources devoted to the "war on drugs" could better be used to fight other crimes such as murder, rape, theft, and fraud. As long as billions of dollars are spent on a battle we cannot win, we will have inadequate resources to fight these other battles that we **must** win.

Copies of the Libertarian Party Program are available from the LP national headquarters, 1528 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

SUGGESTED READINGS

(* indicates introductory non-fiction works)

Introductory Politics

Frederic Bastiat, The Law (*) Frederic Bastiat, The Law (*)
David Bergland, Libertarianism in One Lesson (*);
America's Libertarian Heritage (*)
Maurice Cranston, What Are Human Rights? (*)
Garet Garrett, The People's Pottage (*)
F.A. Hayek, The Road to Serfdom (*)
Rose Wilder Lane, The Discovery of Freedom (*)
H. L. Mencken, A Mencken Chrestomathy (*)
P. J. O'Rourke, A Parliament of Whores (*)
C. Northcote Parkinson, The Law and the Profits (*)
Isabel B. Paterson, God of the Machine (*)
Avn Rand. Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal (*) Ayn Rand, Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal (*) Leonard Read, Anything That's Peaceful (*) Robert Ringer, Restoring the American Dream (*) Murray Rothbard, For a New Liberty (*)

Classics of Political Thought Before the 20th Century

Lord Acton, Essays on Freedom & Power Benjamin Constant, The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns

Auberon Herbert, The Right & Wrong of Compulsion by the

Wilhelm von Humboldt, The Limits of State Action Thomas Jefferson, Declaration of Independence (*)
John Locke, Two Treatises of Government John Stuart Mill, On Liberty (*) John Milton, Areopagitica Tom Paine, The Rights of Man Herbert Spencer, Social Statics; Man vs. the State (*) Lysander Spooner, No Treason

20th-Century Classics of Political Thought

Henry David Thoreau, Civil Disobedience (*)

Isaiah Berlin, Four Essays on Liberty James M. Buchanan & Gordon Tullock, The Calculus of Consent

F. A. Hayek, The Constitution of Liberty Ludwig von Mises, Liberalism Albert Jay Nock, Our Enemy the State (*) Michael Novak, The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism (*) Robert Nozick, Anarchy, State, & Utopia Karl R. Popper, *The Open Society & Its Enemies* Murray N. Rothbard, *The Ethics of Liberty*

Economics, Economic History & Economic Policy

D. T. Armentano, Antitrust Policy: The Case for Repeal Frederic Bastiat, Economic Sophisms (*) P. T. Bauer, Dissent on Development James Bovard, The Farm Fiasco Milton Friedman, Free to Choose (*); Capitalism and

F. A. Hayek, Ed., Capitalism & the Historians Henry Hazlitt, Economics in One Lesson (*) George W. Hilton, Federal Transit Subsidies; Amtrak George W. Hilton, Federal Transit Subsidies; Amirak
Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism
Ludwig von Mises, Human Action; Planning for Freedom(*)
Llewellyn Rockwell, Ed., The Free Market Reader (*);
Economics of Liberty (*)
Murray Rothbard, Man, Economy & State; Power &
Market, What Has Government Done to Our Money? (*)
Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations
Michael A. Walker, Ed., Rent Control: A Popular Paradox

Privatization

Randall Fitzgerald, When Government Goes Private Robert W. Poole Jr., Cutting Back City Hall (*)

History of Economic Thought

Alejandro A. Chafuen, Christians for Freedom: Late-Scholastic Economics

Israel Kirzner, The Economic Point of View Tod G. Buchholz, New Ideas from Dead Economists (*)

Why Marxism & Socialism **Are Wrong**

M. M. Bober, Karl Marx's Interpretation of History David Conway, A Farewell to Marx (*) Lesek Kolakowski, Main Currents of Marxism Tibor R. Machan, Ed., The Main Debate Ludwig von Mises, Theory and History Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*J. L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy;* Political Messianism

Robert C. Tucker, The Marxian Revolutionary Idea; Philosophy & Myth in Karl Marx

What's Wrong with **Socialist Economics**

Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk, Karl Marx and the Close of His Henry Hazlitt, Time Will Run Back (*)

Trygve Hoff, Economic Calculation in the Socialist Society Ludwig von Mises, Socialism Paul Craig Roberts & Matthew A. Stephenson, Marx's

Theory of Exchange, Alienation & Crisis

Foreign Trade

Jagdish Bhagwati, Protectionism James Bovard, The Fair Trade Fraud Henry George, Protection or Free Trade Joan Kennedy Taylor, Ed., Free Trade: The Necessary Foundation for World Peace (*)



Foreign Policy and National Defense

Steven E. Ambrose, Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938 (*) James Bamford, The Puzzle Palace Ted Galen Carpenter, Ed., America Entangled: The

Persian Gulf Crisis & Its Consequences Theodore Draper, A Very Thin Line: The Iran-Contra

Fred Kaplan, The Wizards of Armageddon Jonathan Kwitny, Endless Enemies Seymour Melman, The Permanent War Economy John Prados, Presidents' Secret Wars

America and American History

Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution

Robert A. Caro, The Power Broker: Robert Moses & the Fall of New York, The Years of Lyndon Johnson Arthur A. Ekrich Jr., The Decline of American Liberalism (*) Paul Fussell, Wartime

Robert Higgs, Crisis & Leviathan Murray N. Rothbard, Conceived in Liberty Thomas Sowell, Ethnic America Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America

Perspectives on the World and People

Paul Johnson, Modern Times: The World from the Twenties to the Nineties (*)

Francis Kendall & Leon Louw, After Apartheid: The Solution for South Africa

Thomas Gale Moore, Privatization Now or Else: The Impending Failure of Democracy and Freedom in Central

Walter Williams, South Africa's War Against Capitalism

Social Policy

Walter Block, Defending the Undefendable (*) Clint Bolick, Unfinished Business: A Civil Rights Strategy for America's Third Century, Changing Course: Civil Rights at the Crossroads

Henry Hazlitt, The Conquest of Poverty (*) Michael Levin, Feminism & Freedom

Wendy McElroy, Ed., Freedom, Feminism & the State Charles Murray, Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980, In Pursuit of Happiness & Good Government Ellen Frankel Paul, Equity & Gender: The Comparable Worth Debate

Joseph Peden & Fred Glahe, Eds., The American Family & the State

Helmut Schoeck, Envy
Julian L. Simon, The Ultimate Resource; The Economic
Consequences of Immigration
Thomas Sowell, Civil Rights: Rhetoric or Reality?; The
Economics of Race

William Graham Sumner, What Social Classes Owe to

Each Other (*) William Tucker, The Excluded Americans: Homelessness & Housing Policies

Gordon Tullock, Welfare for the Well-To-Do (*) Walter Williams, The State Against Blacks (*) S. David Young, The Rule of Experts: Occupational Licensing in America

Drug Policy

David Boaz, Ed., The Crisis in Drug Prohibition (*) Ronald Hamowy, Ed., Dealing with Drugs Melvin B. Krauss & Edward P. Lazear, Eds., Searching for Alternatives: Drug-Control Policy in the United States Thomas S. Szasz, Ceremonial Chemistry Steven Wisotsky, Beyond the War on Drugs

Education

John E. Chubb & Terry M. Moe, Politics, Markets & Myron Lieberman, Beyond Public Education

Health Care

John C. Goodman, Twenty Myths About National Health Insurance (*) Ronald Hamowy, Canadian Medicine Sam Pelzman, Regulation of Pharmaceutical Innovation

Land Use &

The Human Environment

Terry Anderson & Donald R. Leal, Free Market Environmentalism (*) Walter Block, Ed., Economics & the Environment: A

Bernard Siegan, Land Use Without Zoning Richard L. Stroup & John Baden, Natural Resources

Law and Legal History

Clint Bolick, Grass-Roots Tyranny David Bumham, A Law Unto Itself: Power, Politics & the

Jonathan Emord, Freedom, Technology, & the First

Richard A. Epstein, Takings: Private Property & the Power of Eminent Domain, A Theory of Strict Liability, Forbidden Grounds: The Case Against Employment Discrimination Laws

Henry Mark Holzer, Sweet Land of Liberty (*) Harry Kalven, Jr., A Worthy Tradition: Freedom of Speech

Stephen Macedo, The New Right Versus the Constitution Felix Morley, Freedom & Federalism

Roger Pilon, Ed., Flag-Burning, Discrimination & the Right to Do Wrong: Two Debates

Lysander Spooner, *An Essay on the Trial by Jury* Ralph K. Winter, Jr. & John R. Bolton, *Campaign Finance* & Political Freedom

Religion

Walter Block, The U.S. Bishops & their Critics - & Irving Hexham, Eds., Religion, Economics, & Social

Geoffrey Brennan, & Kenneth Elzinga, Eds., Morality of the Market: Religious & Economic Perspectives & Donald E. Shaw, Eds., Theology, Third World Development & Economic Justice

Leonard W. Levy, The Establishment Clause: Religion and the First Amendment Ronald Nash, Poverty and Wealth: The Christian Debate

over Capitalism (*) Ed Nelson & James Singleton, Lessons from Louisville:

Observations on Christianity & Confrontation Michael Novak, Free Persons & the Common Good

Right to Bear Arms

Stephen P. Halbrook, That Every Man Be Armed, A Right to Bear Arms Don B. Kates Jr., Ed., Restricting Handguns (*); Firearms

Gary Kleck, Point Blank: Guns & Violence in America

Social Change

Timothy Garton Ash, The Uses of Adversity: Essays on the Fate of Central Europe
Richard Ashcraft, Revolutionary Politics & Locke's Two
Treatises of Government

Fire Foner, Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War Norman Gash, Politics in the Age of Peel Joseph Hamburger, James Mill & the Art of Revolution

Aileen S. Kraditor, Means & Ends in American Abolition-ism: Garrison & His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850

Pauline Maier, From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals & the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776 John Morley, On Compromise Robert V. Remini, Martin van Buren & the Making of the

Democratic Party

Peter Stansky, Gladstone: A Progress in Politics

Classic Fiction & Drama

Charlotte Bronte, Shirley Elizabeth Gaskell, North & South Heinrich von Kleist, Michael Kohlhaas Alessandro Manzoni, *The Betrothed* William Shakespeare, *Richard II* Sophocles, Antigone Stendhal, The Red & the Black

Contemporary Fiction

Cameron Hawley, Cash McCall; Executive Suite Ken Kesey, One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest, Sometimes a Great Notion

Jonathan Lynn & Anthony Jay, Eds., The Complete Yes,
Minister, The Complete Yes, Prime Minister
Ayn Rand, The Fountainhead, Atlas Shrugged Nevil Shute, On the Beach; Round the Bend, A Town Like

Leonard Wibberley, The Mouse That Roared

Science Fiction

Robert Heinlein, The Moon is a Harsh Mistress James Hogan, Mirror Maze; Voyage from Yesteryear Ira Levin, This Perfect Day C.S. Lewis, That Hideous Strength George Orwell, 1984 Ayn Rand, Anthem H.F. Saint, Memoirs of an Invisible Man L. Neil Smith, The Probability Broach Melinda M. Snodgrass, Circuit, Circuit Breaker, Final Circuit Vernor Vinge, The Peace War, True Names

Children's Literature

Natalie S. Carlson, *The Family under the Bridge* Rebecca Caudill, *Tree of Freedom* Paul Galdone, Illus., The Little Red Hen Donald Hall, Ox-Cart Man Robert Heinlein, Between Planets; Red Planet, The Rolling Stones, Starman Jones Madeleine L'Engle, A Wrinkle in Time Jean Merrill, The Pushcart War O. T. Nelson, The Girl Who Owned a City Kate Seredy, The Singing Tree
Dr. Seuss, Yertle the Turtle; The Butter Battle Book, Thidwick the Big-Hearted Moose Isaac Bashevis Singer, The Fools of Chelm & Their History T. H. White, The Once & Future King, The Book of Merlyn Laura Ingalls Wilder, The Little House Stories

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 society.

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 opportunity 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 hearer in 1976.

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.

☐ \$100 Sustaining*



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 "founding fathers" 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 to do nothing."

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.

Membership Application

achieve political or socia	ll goals.
(Signature: required for 1	membership)
LIFE MEMBERSHI	P: ☐ \$1,000 Life Benefactor*
Libertarian Party includes will also receive a comp	SHIP: A one-year membership in the U.S. 12 issues of LP News. Note: <i>New</i> members limentary copy of <i>Libertarianism In One</i> nd—an excellent introduction.
□ \$500 Patron*	□ \$25 subscribing

I want to support the efforts of the Libertarian Party by becoming

*These are premium membership categories and bring with them assorted benefits not accorded less expensive memberships. These membership categories can also be purchased with a monthly pledge of ten percent of the total fee. For full details, call or write the Libertarian Party.

Address	
City	STZIP
Phone (h)	(w)
Electronic Mail Address	ses:
☐ Expanded information ☐ Libertarianism In On	ne Lesson (\$8)
☐ Payment enclosed	\$
☐ Bill my: ☐ VISA	☐ MasterCard Exp. date

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 first-ever 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 they preach.



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 MARKE

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. 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 customers.

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 back down.

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 almost two jobs are lost for every one saved by trade

What About Monopolies?

"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.

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

A Publication of the Libertarian Party

Managing Editor Toni L. Black

Contributors

David M. Hansen, Sue Kalil, Karen Allard, David Nolan, Dick Boddie, Don Ernsberger, Tonie Nathan, Alicia G. Clark, Paul Jacob, Karl Hess, Ron Paul, I. Dean Ahmad, Ted Brown, Bruce LaGasse, David Bergland, Bill Winter

Karen Lessard, Image Productions, Fullerton, CA; Lee Connelly, The Printed Image, Buena Park, CA; David Bill, Results Publishing Company, Clemson, SC

Mailing Address Libertarian Party

1528 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003

Telephone 1-202-543-1988

MCI Mail: 345-5647 • CompuServe: 76177,2310

Liberty Today is published by the Libertarian Party. Permission is hereby proper credit and Liberty Today and the Libertarian Party are referenced as the

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

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 grandchildren.

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

"...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 through trade and travel.

DEMOCRACY

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

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
- 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 adminis-
- 9. 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

Better Service; Lower Cost

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.

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

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 referred 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?
- Moderate __ Liberal __ Conservative __ All Three 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. QUESTION: 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
- 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

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?

- PERSONAL FREEDOM	MY	NOT	GOV'T	ECONOMIC FREEDOM	MY	NOT	GOVT
See an explicit film? Wear a seat belt or helmet? Adopt a child? Have a baby? Own a handgun? Take time to pray? Travel to certain countries? Help the needy? Use marijuana? Wear a swimsuit?	DECISION	SURE	DECIDES	Accept a particular wage? Hire a minority worker? Invest in something risky? Insure your car? Purchase American products? Deliver letters? Hold a lottery? Contribute to the defense of a foreign country Play cards for money? Hire an unlicensed contractor?	DECISION	SURE	DECIDES
Count Check Marks Multiply by Add multiplied totals for your PERSONAL FREEDOM TOTAL	x10	x5	x 0	Count Check Marks Multiply by Add multiplied totals for your ECONOMIC FREEDOM TOTAL	x10	x5	x 0
				^			

FIND YOUR POSITION:	
After you finish the quiz, find your home on the	XXX
political map. Mark your scores on the	\wedge
PERSONAL FREEDOM scale and	Libertarian
ECONOMIC FREEDOM scale.	\times \times \times \times \times
From your marked scores, follow	XEXXXX
the diagonal lines up and toward	XXXXX
the center to the point	XXXXX
where they meet	Centrist Conservative
LEFT 3	-X-X-X-X-X-RIGHT
	XXXXXXX
	XXXXX
2 18	XXXXX
راه ۵	XXXXX X
Ta is	Authoritarian
Example:	XXXXX
Example:	of XXX
Economic Freedom score 65,	al X /a no
Personal Freedom score 70,	10 10 10°
Example: Economic Freedom score 65, Personal Freedom score 70, locates at point "E" on map.	Authoritarian 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
	, 00 00

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.

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

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.

Address	
City	ST Zip
hone (h)	(w)
OTAL ENCLOSED	\$
Payment enclosed	
Bill my:	
□ VISA □ Mast	ercard Exp. date
Acct #	
Signature	

1528 PENNSYLVANIA AVE.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

(202) 543-1988