LP Candidates Achieve High Visibility In 1974

Led by the highly-visible senatorial candidacy of Kathleen Harroff in Ohio, Libertarian Party candidates and LPers running as independents throughout the nation generated millions of publicities for libertarian ideas over the past several months. While election results were mixed in terms of vote objectives, virtually all LP campaigns received more news coverage than had been anticipated.

Harroff received 79,400 votes in Ohio to finish third behind Democrat James Rhodes and Republican Ralph Perk. Her hardhitting, no compromise campaign enabled her to finish ahead of the independent on the ballot, who was associated with the conservative American Party.

Harroff netted 7,152 votes in his race against the incumbent Democrat in Louisiana’s 7th Congressional district. That was 11% of the total vote cast. This is the highest percentage ever received by an LP candidate for national office.

In other productive campaigns, past Washington National gubernatorial candidate Richard Dyment garnered 3% of the vote in a three-way race for the 37th legislative district seat. Dyment had received very good publicity with Barron’s percentage vote reportedly being sufficient to guarantee the LP a place on the ballot in 1976.

Media Coverage

Undoubtedly the most successful campaign in the country in terms of media coverage was that of New York gubernatorial candidate Jerry Tuccille. The Tuccille campaign was written up in all major New York newspapers and was responsible for the two distinctively syndicated columns in the Washington Post.

His vote total, while falling disappointingly short of the 50,000 objective, nonetheless broke the magic 10,000 barrier which no minor party had been able to do in the last gubernatorial election. At press time election officials were still unable to give final results but it appears that Tuccille received approximately 10,000 votes which means he has once again outpolled all of the left wing minor parties.

Gary Greenberg, who actively worked on the campaign, cited the very poor ballot position the FLPHP had in most areas of the state (often in the extreme lower right hand corner) as a major reason for the lower than expected voted total. “Even so,” said Greenberg, “name recognition of the Libertarian Party is not only better here than in New York now. I feel we have laid the groundwork for a very respectable vote in the presidential campaign in 76.”

Bureaucratic Harassment

In the other most publicized LP race in New York, Sandy Cohen received 1.2% of the vote against incumbent Hamilton Fish and Democrat Nick Angell. Cohen suffered from adverse publicity toward the end of his 22-month campaign as state and local bureaucrats challenged the legality of a campaign poster outside of his headquarters and a lottery he held to raise money.

Not content with damaging Cohen’s vote total, the bureaucrats are now claiming he broke the minimum wage law by paying youngsters $1.00 an hour for campaign work. Cohen ran a tireless campaign which featured a continuous stream of news releases which outlined libertarian solutions to the problems of the day.

In other New York races Guy Rigs received about 1.2% of the vote in his race for the state assembly. Three LP candidates who were also on the Conservative line, Virginia Walker, Alan LePage and Mary Jo Wanzer, received 6.3%, 3.6% and 5.0%, respectively. All were candidates for (Please turn to page 7)
From The Chair

Activists Must Seize Initiative

Ed Crane

If the libertarian political movement is to succeed, it must become a grass roots movement of activists. Roughly speaking there are probably 1,000,000 individuals in the United States who thoroughly understand, believe in, and can articulate the libertarian philosophy. Approximately 5% of them are dues paying members of the Libertarian Party, of those, 500 party members about 10%, or 500, are what could properly be termed activists.

The publicity that the LP has generated in recent months (documented elsewhere in the LP NEWS) is largely due to the work of those activists. And don’t underestimate the importance of that publicity. This is because publicity for the LP is remarkably high, given our present size and financial resources.

The groundwork for future growth has been laboriously laid by a very small percentage of libertarians who have made the decision to commit a portion of their time and effort to publicizing the radical idea that is liberty.

My purpose in this article is to speak to what I believe are thousands of libertarians who are willing to work but who don’t know what to do or where to begin or (2) have assumed that a massive political LP machine is already at work.

Speaking to point two first, let me assure you that there is not a single state or county LP organization in the country that cannot productively put to use any money or time you might offer. If you haven’t been asked to lend a hand in your area it doesn’t mean that there is nothing to do. It probably means that there is a need for leadership to get things organized and moving. I suggest you take the initiative.

Things To Do

If you make the decision to become an activist here are some things you can do today to get moving:

1. Phone a telephone number under the name of the Libertarian Party is listed in your area. It is possible that there are still LP members with no telephone number. Many people have not become involved with the LP simply because they had no means of contacting us after hearing about us. A mechanical phone answering device is a relatively inexpensive means of solving this problem.

There are many ways to obtain free publicity for our ideas, ranging from demonstrations to editorial replies on television or radio. In Los Angeles, the Libertarian Party has replied to dozens of editorials in the past year, exposing millions of people to libertarian ideas. Charlie Barr, a member of the LP and chairman of the Libertarian Alternative (a group of LP and non-LP people who devote their efforts to editorial replies) was the only opponent of an L.A. rapid transit bond measure to challenge the issue in the media — and rapid transit was defeated.

Read or listen to an editorial that smacks of (and must do) make an effort to reply to it. If you’re camera shy tell a libertarian who isn’t what you heard.

Letters To Editor

Another area where we can make an impact is in letters to editors of newspapers and magazines. I make it a practice to write one whenever I read something that is particularly oxymoronic. The number of libertarian letters published will be a function of the number written so don’t just complain about the news, write to the editor and let him or her know what you’re thinking.

Editor (Term)

The general Libertarian or other state organization in your area is being organized by the national LP but there is no reason why they shouldn’t be organized at the state and city levels. There are numerous organizations looking for interesting speakers and we can gain important forums by making ourselves available.

Ex-convict member Bob Meier of Illinois has been averaging 10 speeches a month to civic organizations in the Chicago area. I’ve been speaking to business groups, the League of Women Voters, and even high school classes since becoming Chairman. People are looking for an alternative to the disastrous current state of affairs.

The main thing is to get LP literature out as many times as possible. Don’t wait for others to do it — it might never get done.

Supper Groups

Of growing popularity in a number of cities around the country is a Libertarian Supper Club (or some such name) where a group of libertarians gather once a month to hear a speaker after dinner at a restaurant. These meetings are good opportunities to introduce non-libertarians to the movement.

Also, don’t underestimate the value of writing to your Congressman, Senator, or other elected official. They are sensitive to the mail they receive — primarily because they don’t have problems. They are the ones that have some means of determining what will keep the troops back home happy. Do the thinking for your “representative” before he can do it for you.

If for any reason you are not in a position to get actively involved in LP activities remember that there are hundreds of people who are. What is holding back many activists is a lack of finances. I urge you to contribute whatever you think you can afford to your local, state or national LP. The national operation is capable of getting out the most press releases, the most literature and more publicity but for a lack of money. Our office and part-time staff costs close to $1,000 a month to maintain and we urgently need contributions to help keep things going.

Invest your time and money in liberty — while there’s still time to do it. The LP Party is composed of a people who want to grow if the membership base we have now, takes it upon themselves to become self-starting activists.

Thoughts Of An Editor

Mobilize Middle Classes On Issues

Bill Evers

After the 1974 elections, several burning questions face the libertarian movement and especially its organizationally most advanced sector—the Libertarian Party.

One is the question of organizational aims. To whom are libertarian activists communicating our stands on issues and our overall principles? Whom are we trying to mobilize?

A second question is learning the best way to benefit from the experiences of thousands of individual libertarian activists spread across the United States (and increasingly across the world).

A third question is what sort of response we should expect from the people we try to reach. Are we expecting immediate large vote totals and vastly enlarged libertarian organization? Are we expecting large numbers of people to work in business and law. This is too narrow a social base. We ultimately have to bring the mass of the population with us in setting up a society of total liberty.

Decentralized Form

The libertarian movement and the LP are both decentralized organizations. The LP has no formal mechanism for getting a resolution on the spot utilizing their knowledge of the locale in which they operate.

We must take our political philosophy and apply it to current problems. We must have an accurate historical knowledge of how the current situation came into being.

Each of us must have a broad intellectual-type familiarity with the political arena in which he or she is operating. Each of us must learn from vast amounts of day-to-day practical political work. An organizer must learn to deal with the problems encountered elsewhere in the country as well as from his or her own work.

We may be the focal point of a movement in a given locale has the best information on what groups are ripe for libertarian ideas. But such an effort cannot be taken for granted. I would expect to grow in mind our ultimate goal of mass support.

Middle Classes

We want to set up a situation in which the bulk of the broad middle strata of society is involved in political action (including students, professionals, and service employees, clerks, the industrial proletariat, employees in light industry, small businessmen, shopkeepers, regularly employed skilled laborers, non-corporate farmers, butchers, bakers, and candle-stick makers) will turn to the organized libertarian movement if they lose faith in the existing political system.

The goal of a libertarian society is everything: the size of the movement, the number of votes we get in the important elections as well as to the ultimate goal. They are important only in so far as they serve that goal. Such an involvement in providing education and reforms that expand the sphere of liberty. Votes and serious political elections should be "organized" as a principled force to be reckoned with and listened to. But since our goal has a much broader purpose, we must begin getting people to pull the lever for LP candidates, electoral setbacks and successes are not be-all and end-all for us.

(Please turn to page 8)
It now appears a better-than-even bet that the two-party system as we have known it in this country is on the verge of collapse.

For strong words? Perhaps, but let us examine the evidence provided by the recent " wideside" elections and their aftermath.

Item One. The GOP, perennially the second party, has lost in the two-party system, now holds fewer seats in the U.S. House of Representatives than it has at any time since 1956-1958, a two-year period following the Goldwater disaster of 1964.

Moreover, the G.O.P. did not do as badly as it could have; indeed, its losses were not unusual for the party historically dependent on the president's party usually loses seats in midterm, however, that is a fair number of seats originally due to go to his party in the previous election; this is the so-called "coat-tail" effect. The G.O.P. did lose, however, even though they had not made significant gains in '72. Thus, the loss was not without precedents, and strongly indicative that the American people have had it with the G.O.P.

Item Two. This year's elections saw a stronger showing by independent and third-party candidates than has been seen for a long time. The two major parties were, as always, split along fairly diverse lines as New York, Florida, Massachusetts, and Nebraska, respectively. In Indiana, Senator Daniel B. Smoot pulled 12% of the vote in each case, the independent candidates, both in Indiana and Nebraska, outperformed that of Big Brotherin government in general, and, of course, the two-unit system of the election of James Longley, an independent, to the Governor's post in Maine.

Item Three. The talk of a Reaganite-Buckleyite third party, to be formed by elite House, the response to the two-party system as we have known it in this country is on the verge of collapse.

Possibly, a corresponding breakup and diversification will take place to the Left. The result would be a true multi-party system. Within such a system, as many as 10% of the American electorate would not be one of the significant parties. Likewise, perhaps 5%

1) There is a slim chance that nobody will be able to mount an effective opposition to the Democrats, and that the 1976 elections will wind up with one a party system.

2) It was this possibility I discussed in the March-April L.P. NEWS, in a column comparing with the American Independent Party and the likely Reaganite Conservative Party.

First, the election results. By and large, candidates did not do as well as they should have. Three of our promising Conservative candidates -- farm candidates generally, how Karl Bray, Bob Steinman and Sandy Cohen did very disappointingly, doing less than 1% each of the respective races. In Karl's case, this was due largely to an IRS smear-attack a few days before the election; in Miller, Ohio, 60%.

The only one defeated in the general election was Landgrebe, who made a thorough showing of himself by his "unfriendly loyalty to Nixon" speeches during the Watergate mess. We should shed few tears at his passing.

The greatest loss, of course, is H.R. Carnahan, who, to the delight of his contemporaries in the House like a seven-foot giant in a tribe of midgets. Carnahan lost to Ross for re-election, at the age of 75, but his departure will be a great loss to the fledgling fusion of the right.

The third "top topper" who won't be back in Carnahan, who was defeated by a liberal in the Democratic primary, as of press time, it appears that the liberal was in turn defeated by Republican-reform candidate Mr. Skelly; his margin of victory (if it holds up) was less than 50 votes. The Louisiana L.P. worked actively in Moore's campaign. Who says libertarians can't make the difference?

Other semi-libertarian candidates supported by L.P. groups (not on an ideological basis) did not fare as well. Clyde Lewis (a former State Liberty American-Republican) and his running mate in Louisiana, were completely out of the running. In Alaska, as did Bob Smith (Steve Symms 1972 candidate for Senate) and Shuster in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Indiana, Ohio, 60%; Johnson, Colorado, 60%; Bob's third party, largely because his campaign was sabotaged from within by a quasi-libertarian acquaintance who had a dog in the fight. Bob, I don't know what happened to Sandy. On the other hand, Jerry Millett received 11% in his Congressional race in Louisiana (congratulations, Jerry!), which shows what we can do under favorable circumstances. On balance, I think we can fairly say that we can expect an average "draw" of perhaps 5% the vote in Congressional-level races.

At lower levels, our support level is proportionately lower. For example, we got 1.5% in a state legislature race in Washington, with Rich Dyment pulling nearly 50% in another district, while the legislative candidates in New York mostly ran in the 3%-6% range. In statewide races, our support level drops to about the 2% range. Kar Haroff got nearly 3% in her Ohio Senatorial race (and, at 80,000 votes, was our numerical top-scorder); Jerry Tuccille appears to have gotten less than 1% statewide in New York (final figures unavailable). If we accept the figures of 10% for a local race, 5% for a Congressional race, or 1% for a Governor's race, a figure of 1% in a Presidential election seems plausible; that would be about 800,000 votes in '76.

These figures, however, are based on the assumption that the various wing splinter groups (who might draw 250,000 between them), but how do we measure, against the conventional competitors for the role of "major opposition party" -- the American Independent Party and the Reagan-Buckley conservatives?

The American/Independent Party's principal candidate, Mr. Gross, is unknown at the moment. Its candidates did surprisingly well this election, pulling in the 15% range in many races. The AP's weaknesses are internal factionalism (there are, in effect, two competing parties, both with names American Party and American Independent Party) and a tendency toward a "closed" organization, where the AP public receive and greatly narrows its potential appeal. In sum, I believe we have a viable organization going to become much more influential than it is now. In 1976, we should be able to run them a good race, in terms of drawing votes in the Presidential election -- even assuming the two factions can agree on a single ticket. If they split their efforts, we should outpoll both factions' tickets.

A Reagan-Buckley Conservative Party would be a far stronger contender. I think such a party could pull 15% to 30% of the vote in a Presidential election, and could win a number of seats. Our greatest strength, mostly by holding onto seats now held by Republicans, is that it would change their (party label). A Conservative Congress would have the advantages of access to big names and big money.

If poll does not add up? In my estimation, it adds up to about a 25% chance that if we move to a non-partisan system, our support level drops to about the 2% range. Kah Haroff got nearly 3% in her Ohio Senatorial race (and, at 80,000 votes, was our numerical top-scorder); Jerry Tuccille appears to have gotten less than 1% statewide in New York (final figures unavailable). If we accept the figures of 10% for a local race, 5% for a Congressional race, or 1% for a Governor's race, a figure of 1% in a Presidential election seems plausible; that would be about 800,000 votes in '76.

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State Parties Hold Conventions . . .

A few months ago, in our first expanded coverage of news from the state parties mainly consisted of a few mimeographed sheets and a handful of letters. Now, a short time later, many more organizations have sprung up around the country, and our news sources now include conference and varied professional-looking newsletters and press releases. Congratulations to all the state organizations for their continued growth. Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, and Oregon now have state organizations officially affiliated to the national party.

Below is a summary of the recent activities from the state parties:

ALASKA

In an interview in the Sept. 30 Anchorage Daily Times, local LP congressional candidate Paul Beaud said that the new party was thinking to local issues. Beaud said the problems associated with the Alaska pipeline exist "because government is buying Alaska land instead of throwing it open to individuals and letting them decide if the company is paying enough to cross it." His solution to the controversy over the pipeline and fishery is to establish private rights to the fishery. This would make the owners want to construct and maintain a fish barrier to obtain the maximum yield from their resource.

ARIZONA

The state LP has two addresses, in Tucson and Phoenix. "A Night With the Libertarians" was a recent presentation in Phoenix, featuring talks by National Chairman Ed Conne and author George H. Smith, gold investor Carol Sue Kellem, and a candidate for Arizona Secretary of State.

Also in Arizona, the Phoenix area can now boast of two branches of the party, the West Valley and the East Valley Libertarians.

ARKANSAS

Organization is growing, with the recent adoption of Rules and a Platform by the state. Little Rock-based Franklin Sanders reports good connections with the press and concludes that "there is a real future here for the LP."

CALIFORNIA

Party activities centered primarily on the campaigns of John Hospers and the other LP candidates, and the response to their activities around the state generated a great deal of interest, support, and new recruits. Hospers wrote an article on the LP in the September issue of Coast magazine. Other good news includes favorable coverage and a "Libertarian Hotline" in the San Diego area, and a radio show appearance in Bakersfield by LP national secretary Bill Westmiller.

Corey Casanova, the Peace & Freedom Party ballot candidate for state controller who was endorsed by the state LP executive committee, received the second highest vote total among Peace & Freedom candidates and helped to guarantee that party's continued position on the state ballot.

His campaign and that of Peace & Freedom gubernatorial candidate Richard Keathley were aided by libertarians.

LP activist June Genis has announced her candidacy for the Palo Alto school board.

COLORADO

The State Convention took place in Denver on December 7 and 8. Plans were made for a membership drive, candidate development in 1976, and the establishment of Libertarian Alternatives on the campuses and a Libertarian Speakers Bureau. Speakers at the convention included Dr. James Martin, author of Men Against the State, and tax resistor Karl Brat.

FLORIDA

The Libertarian Institute for a Free Economy sponsored an all day seminar in November with guest speaker David Friedman. The LP of South Florida developed a recruitment brochure explaining libertarian principles, and a libertarian bookstore.

GEORGIA

Regular meetings of the LP have produced letter-writing campaigns to all daily newspapers in Georgia, and the Atlanta Journal (Continued on page 3.)

HAWAII

"Full," the newsletter of the Hawaii LP is expanding and improving its format, and continues its crusade against philosophical impurities among conservative groups.

ILLINOIS

The 1974 Conference was held December 7 in Chicago, with featured speaker Roger MacBride. LPers in DuPage County organized active opposition to federal funding of the local Housing Authority. Their activities included speaking at the County Board and a broadcast rebuttal to a radio editorial which had favored funding.

INDIANA

November 3 was the date of the Indiana LP founding convention in Indianapolis. Business included approving a constitution and the election of officers. In addition, a public relations workshop is being organized, including letters to newspapers and radio and TV editors.

KENTUCKY

"Libertarian Front," the LP newsletter, is expanding to include analysis pieces, research articles, and the monitoring of state legislators, along with updated reports on national legislation.

LOUISIANA

Party members are exuberant over the showing of Jeremy Millett in his race for U.S. Congress. Millett garnered 11% of the vote, with his highest support coming from colleges and urban areas.

A New Orleans LP newsletter, "Liberte," has started publishing as of November, including news, announcements, and a libertarian booklist. One of its mottoes: "Now is the time for all libertarians to stop talking to themselves." Amen.

MASSACHUSETTS

The LP in this state has been extremely active as their newsletter, "Massachusetts Liberty," indicates. There have been numerous meetings and conferences in the area, and the newsletter contains many well-written and well-reasoned articles on issues of the day.

MICHIGAN

The annual convention in Ann Arbor featured Fran Youngstein, former candidate for mayor of New York, as the guest speaker. Over 50 libertarians were in attendance. Much publicity has been generated around the Michigan LP, and electoral activities have included the campaigns of two candidates for the state legislature.

MINNESOTA

Recent issues of "The Reasonable Answere," the state LP newsletter, have devoted considerable attention to the campaign of Richard Kleinow for Governor and Claudia Jensen for Lieutenant Governor. Kleinow reports receiving over 2,000 votes.

Recent activities have included a booth at the State Fair and the organization of new LP committees: Tax Protest, and Gun Control Protest. These committees are organizing effectively to get their message across.

Local LP affiliates are being set up in Winona, St. Cloud, and Brainerd.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

LP activists have been busy this summer organizing conventions and worked for several candidates. John O'Brien was supported in his unsuccessful bid for the Republican congressional nomination from New Hampshire's first district. He authorized a write-in effort for Rockingham County Commissioner. O'Brien's campaign for commissioner focused on the idea of limiting the activities of the office to a very strict construction of its proper sphere.

Arthur W. Ketcham, editor of the state LP newsletter and state LP vice chair, was attempting to secure a democratic nomination for representative to the lower house of the state legislature from Lincoln County (Hollinsboro area). In his open letter of thanks to his district's Democrats, Ketcham pointed out that the existing Representatives of the U.S. most palatable to libertarians were Jefferson and Jordan.

Two other candidates endorsed by the LP were independents running for seats in the New Hampshire House. They were William Horan (Ward III, Manchester), who favored privatizing the University of New Hampshire, and Nelson Pryor (Ward II, Berlin), who is a vigorous opponent of federal land use planning, who were favored by the Democratic primary who decided to stay in the race as independents.

University of New Hampshire student Carl Gage, a libertarian, won the Republican nomination for representative to the lower house from Exeter.

A campus libertarian organization is in the process of formation at Dartmouth.

NEW JERSEY

Tom Palven, independent libertarian candidate for U.S. House of Representatives from the state's third district, received newspaper coverage in the two stories in the Freehold Colonial News (circulation: 27,750). Palven, said his aim was "to freeze government, not the economy."

He pointed out that "only government, through its Federal Reserve System, can print paper dollars. Rising prices are the result of the government's creating money out of thin air, and that's no different than counterfeiting."

To privatize the educational system, Palven suggests a voucher plan, with the value of the voucher being reduced each year.

Jersey libertarians were active as well in the congressional campaign of LP candidate Bob Steiner which suffered adverse publicity in its closing weeks.

NEW MEXICO

A recent state convention resulted in a new LP organization for New Mexico. According to Chairman David Pearson, the major objectives are to help the individual cope with upcoming political and economic problems, and to plant the seeds of libertarian thought in society.

NEW YORK

The news from the New York LP centers on the various campaign efforts of Jerry Tuccille and fourteen other Libertarian candidates for lower office. Some of them were able to be
LETTERS TO EDITOR

York Post (circ., 626,713), for example, said that the LP was "a party which tends to defy easy ideological characterization."

The Post also wrote that of the minor party candidates, "only Jerry Tuccille, a whiz at staging publicity stunts, has gotten any recognition ... Tuccille is even stealing votes from Gov. Wilson."

A Troy Times N.Y. newspaper hit another note that was often struck in press coverage — the LP's consistency and lack of opportunism. The paper said that Tuccille came across as "a man of principles rather than a pragmatist."

The Washington Post's conservative columnist George F. Will praised Tuccille's intelligent approach. There were several articles in the LP's local newspapers that were critical of the LP's campaign efforts, but most of these were written by sympathetic journalists.

In the second round of the LP's campaign, the party's candidates faced heated opposition from the established political parties. The LP's candidates were forced to campaign door-to-door and to appeal to the voters directly. The LP's candidates were often met with hostility, but they continued to campaign until the end.

The LP's campaign efforts were praised by libertarians and sympathizers, but the party did not win any significant victories. The LP's candidates lost most of the elections they ran in, but they did manage to attract a significant number of votes in some districts. The LP's candidates were often criticized for their lack of practical experience, but they continued to campaign with determination and enthusiasm.

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CONSPIRATORS PLOT SPREAD OF HUMAN LIBERTY

Libertarian Intellectuals Influence Climate of Opinion In Countries Around Globe

By William R. HAVENER

Those who discard out-of-hand the conspiracy theory of political and social change have been startled of late to discover that they attended a recent conference held in England, that is last week in London, at which Karl, Max, and the others gathered. The audience consisted of international bankers, Jews, politicians, intellectuals, writers, professors, students, and a few scientists who would challenge the-radical premises of State power.

The conference lasted for decades, and many, perhaps surprisingly, not an insignificant degree of success.

Among them was an astonishing number of the nobles that libertarians have learned to associate, more or less consistently, with the movement for political liberty. Bob Stowe (Editor of Barron's), Roy Childe, Milton and David Friedman, Ernst von der Linde, F. A. Hayek, W. H. Hutt, Roger Lea MacCracken, Dr. Fritz M. M. Manne, Ed McDowell (a writer for The Wall Street Journal), Donald Mitchell (Chairman of Homestead Insurers, and former regent of the University of California), James Meade (author of "Migrant").

The conference was held on theirhosted that week; a major part of the worldwide movement would surely have perished.

But not to worry: for equally impressive was the list of members of the Mont Pelerin Society, whose meeting this was, who did not happen to attend, which includes: Armen Alchian, Martin Anderson, Peter Bauer (author of "Dissent on Development"), Robert Bork ("Professor at Yale Law, currently Solicitor-General of the U.S."). Karl Brandt, Yale Brozen, William Buckley, Glenn Campbell (director, The Hoover Institution), Ronald Coase, Harold Demsetz, Arthur Diamond, Ludwig Erhard, Krystof Haberler, Henry Hazlitt, Israel Kirzner, Paul McCracken, Mary Bennett Peter, William Popper, Henry Regeury, Jacques Ruff, Helmut Schoeck, (editor of "Economic Sermons"), G. S. Smid and Sudha Shenoy. And among deceased members can be tallied F. A. Harper, belonging to the Mont Pelerin Society; but her intellectual influence there is nonetheless considerable, to judge from the frequency with which her works came up in discussion.

The inspiring thing is how influential many of these persons are, if not Friedrich Hayek, for instance, far from being a forgotten and discredited old fog, shares this year's Nobel Prize in economics with Gunnar Myrdal (one can hardly wait to see what this acceptance of a new legitimacy for these articulate and distinguished foils: pointed comments at twenty races?).

Indeed, in a maestoso grace last month the New York Times featured an essay by Hayek on its Op Ed page, and if The Times thinks him both newly and fit enough (Shudder! Are there any limits, indeed, for one's esteem, then of course you know it must be so!)

Manifold Contributions

The manifold public contributions of Biebl, Brandi, Buckley, Director, "Libertarian Leonie McCracken, von Mises, Popper, Rothbard, Regeury, Ruffy, Stiger et al. need, of course, no elaboration by me. No minor theorists, nor petty publicists, these!

The conference itself lasted a week. In the mornings, with sessions in the mornings, afternoons and evenings; opening and closing banquets; conferences; and an excursion to the Flemish medieval city of Bruges, where a dinner was served to the fanfare of trumpets in the medieval city hall.

Bruno Leonie, Ludwig von Mises and Wilhelm Roepke.

A truly virtual of those prominently opposed to the centralization of power by government are either members of the organization or have cordial relations with the Mont Pelerin Society. For instance, Irving Kristol, editor of The Public Interest, and former editor of Commentary, whilst not a member, gave the keynote address at the twenty-third anniversary meeting of the Society. And Krist, Joseph, a leading financial Whig in England, and Ronald Reagan both paid considerable attention to Milton Friedman.

Predictable Exception

A predictable but also a predictable exception, however, is Ayn Rand (and her close associates), none of whom libertarians have targeted these groups for abuse, harassment, and deprivation of egos.

This bizarre interpretation of the libertarian position went unexplained by the conference, but was challenged by the Libertarian Party National Chairman Ed Crane in a letter appearing in the November Newsweek. Better late than never, and all that, but Cran's rebuttal is insufficient to counter the damage done by such slandered wording.

As in Von Hoffman's column, Newsweek perhaps buttressed the point that libertarianism is distinguished by its consistency, in opposition to the half-baked popular libertarianism, which do well to think twice before saying they agree with conservatives on economic questions.

The second article, by Jeffrey Hart, "The Rise of Gasoline," attempts to establish the point that the policies of some of the great oil companies are economic in a semiautonomous manner. Meanwhile, the second major controversy in the area of oil is the failure of the Fourth Oil Cartel of OPEC to limit its production of oil, thus keeping prices high and profits high.

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CIVIL LIBERTY ~ ECONOMIC FREEDOM

LIBERTARIAN PARTY

Von Hoffman, Newsweek Cover LP

(Continued from front page)

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F.A. Hayek Explores Conditions For Free Society

University of Chicago Press, 1973

Volume I: "Rules and Order," 184 p., $7.95

In this first volume of a projected three volume work, F.A. Hayek addresses himself to the task which he first comprehensively undertook in his Constitution of Liberty. The task is to explore the necessary and sufficient conditions for a libertarian society, under a limited government. Hayek has recently been awarded the Nobel Prize in economics for his work in the field involving the relationship between social and economic institutions.

This volume is principally concerned with the distinction between two types of law: (1) the rules of just conduct, and (2) the rules of social organization. The former we recognize as the common law, and the second as the traffic laws, for example.

Hayek begins the book with first a discussion of two opposing philosophical approaches to social theory; the "constructivist-rationalist" mistake which underlies all socialists and behaviorist theories, and then traces the intellectual history of the opposite, organic-theoretical law and society from ancient Greece to modern social science.

His task is to examine exactly what is meant by the concept of "A Government of Laws, not of Men," from the writings of the earliest political philosophers, through the theorists who inspired the American constitution and the best writers in the classical liberal tradition of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The central discussion of the work revolves around the differences between two kinds of order, which he provisionally labels "Made" (taxi) and "Grown" (cosmos). Within the latter, he distinguishes between the laws of physics, and those which conduct (nomos). The level of scholarship which Hayek brings to this analysis is impressive. The book may well be a landmark in the history of ideas.

The spontaneous order and regularity of institutions such as language, or the process of the free market, have their "natural order" counterpart in law as well. Even the modern anarcho-capitalist writers, such as Murray Rothbard, refer to this "natural law" basis for a society without the state.

In this volume Hayek is laying the framework for his next two volumes. The next will be an examination of the idea of order, for which the examination of the system of limited government.

Hayek points out that the notion of the division of power between executive, legislative, and judicial was supposed to limit the state but has failed primarily because the legislatures given authority both to manage the organization of government and to formalize by statute new "rules of just conduct." This has led to the spurious expansion of the "power of the purse" to include the belief that Congress can authorize wage and price controls for all sectors of the economy. His attacks on these ideas will not appear until later in 1976. We very much regret the delay.

—Joe Cobb

Execomm Plans 1975 Convention

Twenty-two of the twenty-five member national Executive Committee of the Libertarian Party assembled in Washington, D.C. over the Thanksgiving weekend to discuss recent events and plan for the coming year. An additional thirty on-lookers were present at the meeting which lasted all Saturday morning through late afternoon Sunday.

The purpose of the meeting was a spirited discussion on where to hold the 1975 national convention. Four cities—New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and San Mateo (Calif.), submitted to the committee a location for the convention which will feature nomination of the LP candidates for president and vice president as well as election of the New Party officers and drafting of a new platform.

San Mateo was eliminated first, then Chicago and on a vote of 12:10 New York was selected over Los Angeles. Ed Clark, chairman of the LP of California, presented the Los Angeles proposal, and FLP Chairperson Ray Strong spoke on behalf of the New York party.

The convention will be held August 28–September 1 at the Statler Hilton Hotel. State delegate representation at the convention will be based on state membership. Of the 15 states, 12 are represented.

A major portion of the meeting was devoted to the 1976 presidential campaign. The task of what can be done to improve our impact in '76. A Presidential Committee was approved and Gary Greenberg of New York was appointed Chairman.

Greenberg, former campaign manager for Pau Youngquist's 1973 mayoral race, will work with Karl Bray of Utah and Eric Garris of California in developing a national campaign organization that will be able to go to work immediately upon the selection of the LP candidates and major state candidates.

Candidates Generate Publicity In New Areas

(Continued from front page)

state assembly.

Contempt Of Court

In Utah, national Executive committee member Karl Bray was the subject of a pre-election attack by the IRS that resulted in a contempt-of-court conviction which was well publicized in Utah papers. Bray had refused to provide the records of a company he formed shortly that had conducted a write-in campaign and had taken out a full-page ad challenging the Constitutionality of Nixon's wage and price controls.

Bray received only 1400 votes as a result of the publicity, after having scored 9% in the LP primary. Karl Bray has already announced his candidacy for the U.S. Senate in 1976. In addition, 20 other Utah LPers have reportedly declared their intention to run for office in 1976.

Yet another victim of adverse publicity was congressional candidate Bob Steiner in New Jersey. Steiner was involved in a personal fracas that was well publicized in his district. He polled about 1000 votes.

Vast Majority

The vast majority of publicity was very good, however. In California, for example, LP write-in candidates John Harrison (governor), Dave Bergland (attorney general), Bill White (U.S. Senate) and Bill Susel (lieutenant governor) campaigned vigorously up and down the state, successfully overcoming the barriers to media coverage that are not being on the ballot.

While final results are not yet available it appears that Hoopers got several hundred votes, or roughly twenty the number of write-ins he received in his presidential race in California in 1972. Likewise, Taylor, the LPC candidate for Treasurer, was also active during the campaign.

Carl Bray and Paul Beard were at the meeting and they commented on their new offices for CONLIB. A Washington, D.C. LP liaison office was established at the meeting.

Another high priority write-in campaign was conducted by Paul Board in Alaska. He received between 200 and 300 votes for Congress and the campaign resulted in dozens of new members for the ALP. In Minnesota, Ken Wessel and Claudia Jensen, running for governor and lieutenant governor respectively, garnered about 1800 votes.

Outside The Party

Numerous libertarian and libertarian-leaning candidates ran for office as Republicans or Democrats in '74 with varying degree of success. In Idaho, Bob Smith, a former aide to Steve Symms, ran a strong race against incumbent Senator Frank Church. Smith, who is credited with influencing Symms in a libertarian direction, received 33.7% of the vote.

Hensin Moore may have been elected to Congress in Louisiana as a Republican. The vote was being disputed at press time. Moore is reported to have strong libertarian position and supports all the candidates in his district. In New Hampshire, Art Ketchen, the LP state vice chairperson, received 47% of the vote in his contest for the state legislature. He ran as a Democrat after narrowly losing in the Republican primary. Jack O'Brien ran as an independent in New Hampshire for House representing 17% of the vote. In Colorado, 8% of the vote. O'Brien was a volunteer supporter of the LP during the campaign.

In Oklahoma, Mickey Edwards had libertarian support and wound up with 17% of the vote for Congress in Oklahoma City. He ran as a Republican.
World News Notes For Libertarians

ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT: It costs an average of $3150 per piece for each bill introduced in the California state legislature—that's for printing, filing, and other clerical procedures. The total cost for all the paper work has run to $51 million.

CASEY JONES, CALL YOUR OFFICE: Officials of AMTRAK have spent over $750,000 in the past 16 months on the fare to cities serviced by AMTRAK trains. AMTRAK's deficit for fiscal 1975 is projected at $215 million.

Railroad collisions are up 23% from 1972, and derailments are up 34% over the same period. Hey, since nationalization works so well, let's take over the oil industry...

KEEPING THINGS UNDER CONTROL: The government of Chile has banned the movie "Fiddler on the Roof." And the Federal Communications Commission is being petitioned to ban the song "Ping Pong" on the radio, because of derogatory references to the Chinese community. Richard Nixon has been banned from all future drama productions on the government-controlled British Broadcasting Corporation because he called Winston Churchill a "mass-murderer.

CONSENSUS POLITICS: The record for voter turnout as well as uniform voting goes to North Korea, where 100% of the voters cast 100% of their votes for the Workers Party of Korea in 1962.

The previous record had been in Albania, also in 1962, where all but seven eligible voters went to the polls, and all but forty bystanders voted for the popular favorite, the Albanian Party of Labor.

FOLLOW THOSE FOOTSTEPS: A Federal district judge in Chicago sentenced a pacifist anarchist to a five-year prison term for sabotaging the Selective Service System. His reasoning: "This court cannot cast its lot with anarchy. I would feel derelict in my duty if I did not impose a penalty to serve as a deterrent to those who think they would follow in this defendant's footsteps."

LAW AND ORDER: A women in the Los Angeles area who had babysat in her home for seven years, closed her operation when authorities discovered it and pronounced it illegal. Her clients were primarily low-income mothers who worked at night, and many of them have since gone on welfare in order to afford higher, legal babysitting rates.

DEATH AND TAXES: A man in Milwaukee who has been dead two years was finally cleared of IRS charges that he owed back taxes. The judge in the case agreed that the man's "crime" was paying his medical expenses before he paid his back taxes. But the judge thought this was not unreasonable under the circumstances.

BACKBone OF OUR ECONOMY: The National Federation of Independent Business has enthusiastically praised a recent federal program which provides $1.1 billion for loans to small businesses.

(Continued from page 2)

Suppose many of us suspected a month or two ago that the federal government would eventually impose mandatory gasoline rationing. We might have picked this up from reading newspaper articles, from TV and newspaper editors urging the President to "do something." From the pronouncements of Democratic politicians and the Ford regime's Energy Administration bureaucrats. Our hunch might even be wrong; such evaluation is an art, not a science.

Under the circumstances, we might have done well (especially with more members, more income, and increased division of labor, but even in our present condition) to review and analyze the economic work (from M. A. Adelman to D. T. Aramietano) and the historical work (from Gerald Nash to Harvey O'Connor) that exists on the petroleum industry.

From these we would cul information, possibly for a research report to be sent to local libertarian groups or possibly for future press releases.

At the same time, we would search for ideas on how to dramatize the libertarian position on the issue, and we would investigate what groups might be susceptible to our message (service station owners, taxi drivers, automobile commuters, independent truckers?) This model of seizing upon issues can be applied to other local and national issues.

Must Not Escape

We must not let issues escape us. Libertarians are still kicking themselves for not being in the leadership of anti-draft activities during the 1960s. The current influence of Liberty Lobby in the tax rebellion shows that libertarians could again make the mistakes of letting leadership pass to others on a perfect issue.

Furthermore, we must remain alert to keep a balance of civil liberties and economic liberty issues in our repertoire.

What is needed are vivid expositions of what government officials and those who have influence with them are doing at present in all problem areas. We need as well pamphlets, informed political candidates, radio-TV replies, protest marches, and letters to the editors of local papers.

Internally, we need a regular vehicle for sharing the organizational experience of a geographically scattered movement. The LP's organizers' bulletin, Action, may help to fill this void.

All this and more is necessary to raise the political consciousness of the population — to make it aware of and favorable toward libertarian solutions to current crises and our overall goal of a free society.

Why bother? A one-man business now 100 hours a year just to fulfill federal reporting requirements, according to the Office of Management and Budget.

BUREAUCRATIC ASTIGMATISM: Under California state law, it's illegal for an optical company to advertise its prices for eyes and contact lenses. One optical service was held in contempt of court for advertising: "Until the courts determine your right to know what our low price is, visit or phone your nearest Opti-Cal office."

GRASPING THE SITUATION: New York Mayor Abraham Beame is arguing that his city's subway fare should be subsidized, rather than increased, because subsidies are anti-inflationary. You see, subway fares are included in the consumer price index, but taxes aren't, so if we raise taxes, no one will notice, and there won't be any inflation. You don't understand that?

THERE'S ALWAYS A SILVER LINING: After the Supreme Court ruled that the transportation of turkeys was not subject to regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the average price of shipping them fell 33%. The real turkey is the Interstate Commerce Commission.

PORNOGRAPHY RECORD: In New York State, Gov. Malcolm Wilson criticized Democratic lieutenant governor candidate Mary Anne Krupka for voting against a tough antipornography bill. She told the voters she believed in freedom of speech. She won; he lost. Nassau County District Attorney William Cahn had a television ad in which he stood in front of a dirty book shop and stated that he had "kept the garbage out of Nassau because we're parents, not prudes." He lost decisively.

COUNTERFEITING FOR FUN & PROFIT: A recent Federal Reserve Board study cited rising food prices as a major cause of inflation. As the hits in the San Diego Libertarian Alternative have noted, "That's like the Mafia issuing a report citing rising theft insurance claims as a major cause of crime."

CRYING OF LOT 49: The U.S. Postal Service's new $850 million bulk mail system will cause a package sent from El Paso to Midland Texas (about 300 miles) to travel 1794 miles (A package mailed from Pensacola to Panama City, Florida (103 miles away) will travel via New Orleans, Memphis, and Jacksonville.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY: The Supreme Court overruled a lower court decision which had held that it was a legitimate exercise of their religion for Quakers to oppose withholding-taxes that finance the Vietnam war. The high court cited a law barring courts from restraining tax collection.

INTERIOR DECORATION: The Department of the Interior, under past secretaries Udall and Hickel, spent $6 million to find out that the main recreation in the U.S. is picnicking.

The Libertarian Party News
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