

CLARK PRESIDENT

August 22, 1980

Ray Cunningham
Chairman
Chris Hocker
National Coordinator
Edward H. Crane III
Communications Director
Eric O'Keefe
Director of State Organization
David D. Boaz
Research Director
Kristina Herbert
Headquarters Manager
Dale Curtis Hogue
Finance Director
Tom G. Palmer
Assistant Communications Director
Jay Hilgartner
Assistant Research Director
Marion Williams
Field Coordinator
Fredrika Strandfeldt
Field Coordinator
John Ball
Field Coordinator
Gillian Jewell
Director of Computer Operations
Anita S. Anderson
Administrative Assistant

MEMO

TO: Clark and Libertarian State Chairs and Key People

FROM: Chris Hocker, National Coordinator

SUBJECT: Alternative '80 - the National Clark for President Celebration

This is your first notice of an extremely important, exciting, and memorable event which will take place on Sunday, September 28. This is the "Alternative '80" celebration to which thousands of people will be invited, from all over the country. In order to make this event happen successfully, we need your full support and help.

"Alternative '80" is a combination media event and fundraiser which consists of the following:

1. A two-hour program at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles which features the candidates, celebrities, and live entertainment in a first-class production to benefit the Clark for President campaign.
2. The simultaneous broadcast of this program to over 50 locations around the country via satellite cable television.
3. Gatherings of Libertarians and their friends and associates in these locations to watch and actually participate in the celebration.

It works this way: There is a satellite cable television channel which goes to dozens of Holiday Inns around the country, and which can hook up to other locations, mainly hotels, in other cities. In addition, the broadcast will go to anyone who happens to have a hookup to that particular cable station. The Holiday Inns and other hotels provide giant viewing screens in meeting rooms for this purpose.

This is not a brand-new program: many national companies use the same format to have national sales meetings, etc., in order to reach a maximum number of people without incurring enormous expense getting them all to one location. But this is the first time this has ever been used for a political campaign.

Essentially, "Alternative '80" takes the place of a Libertarian National Convention this year, and it has several advantages: It can reach literally thousands of people all at once; it requires virtually

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no direct expense on the part of the attendees; and it's a unique opportunity for individual Libertarians to bring their families, friends, neighbors, associates, and everyone who might have an interest in the Clark campaign to come and get a feel for what the campaign and the Libertarian Party is all about.

The event itself, at the Century Plaza, will begin at 11 AM, Pacific Daylight Time; it will be broadcast live, meaning that times will vary according to time zones. There will be appearances by Ed Clark, David Koch, members of the campaign staff, and several bona fide celebrities. The event itself will be produced by the same people who ran the 1979 National Convention in Los Angeles.

In each location where the screening of the celebration takes place, local Libertarians are free to build their own programs around the telecast, and are encouraged to invite Libertarian luminaries and other celebrities on their own. The type of program you put on - whether there is food, drink, entertainment, etc. - is up to you.

Admission to the local screenings should be free. Libertarians in the area should raise the money required to put on the event. The whole point is to make it as easy and as inexpensive as possible for everyone to watch and participate in the celebration. National will supply some of the necessary materials for each location, and will be distributing instructions, suggestions, and "Celebration Kits" to the people responsible for the success of the the celebration in each location.

Internal Publicity: National is mailing notices of "Alternative '80" to a list of at least 50,000 people, and direct mail notices and invitations will be sent to Libertarians at least three times.

The key ingredient to maximinzing turnout is telephone follow-up, and we therefore need as many people as possible who are willing to call lists of Libertarians in their areas and invite them to come to the event. It is completely possible to attract a total of 10,000 people nationwide - that's an average of 200 per location - to the celebration, but this can only be done if direct personal invitations are there to support our direct mail efforts.

Local people are encouraged to use direct mail, too, to send to Libertarians who aren't on National's lists. The National Invitations will show the complete list of times and locations; but the local invitations can specify the time and location for that particular area, as well as give the details of that individual program.

External Publicity: We want to make this a major media event, with coverage from the national news media, to prove beyond question that the Libertarian Party and the Clark campaign is a growing national movement, and we will be conducting our external publicity efforts with this goal in mind. Local Libertarians should supplement these efforts by notifying the news media in their areas, and by publicizing the local screening of the celebration. For example, National will produce quarter-page newspaper advertisements to notify the general public about the

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event, which local people can use in their newspapers if they raise the money to do it.

Fundraising: "Alternative '80" is the single biggest opportunity to do concentrated fundraising we've ever had, and we want to take advantage of it. The program of the event itself will be interspersed with appeals from fundraisers at the local screenings.

Interaction: We want to maximize the interaction between the live event and the gatherings at each location, and we will have immediate contact by telephone between Los Angeles and the locations. That way, anything of interest or significance happening in a particular location can be broadcast to the national celebration as a whole

National Headquarters is in the process of identifying and recruiting individuals to be responsible for the success of the celebration in each location. I hope you will be willing to participate in the success of this important event in any way you can.

Final Word: Apart from the media exposure this event can create, and apart from the fundraising opportunity it gives us, there's one other tremendously important aspect of "Alternative '80." That is creating a real feeling of community and togetherness among all Libertarians who are involved ... a sense that this is a truly national effort, working toward a common goal. We don't often get a chance to gather our movement together all at one time, and to share in each other's success. There's no question that "Alternative '80" is being planned on a very ambitious scale, and will require a lot of effort from a lot of people to bring it off right. But, in the same way, there's no question that this celebration can be a resounding, memorable success. I hope you'll help it succeed as much as you can.

A Vote for Ed Clark

If you're part of the voting half of the adult population, you might want to think about giving the Libertarian party and its candidate, Ed Clark, a vote this autumn. Notice the order of the suggestion—Libertarian party first, name of candidate second. The emphasis is not on the candidate, with the name of his party almost as an afterthought.

A person without any party is someone without any outside discipline, without a set of principles shared with an even amorphously defined body of persons. This year we even have a major candidate who makes a virtue of having no party. To select John Anderson means to make a judgment on the man and the man alone, something that's not easy to do for the tens of millions who haven't had the pleasure of meeting the gentleman.

Not that you can be sure that a candidate, once elected, will adhere to what appear to be his party's guidelines and principles. Behold Jimmy Carter administering the hard money policies associated with the Republicans, as we saw Richard Nixon administering the price controls and budget deficit policies associated with the Democrats.

Nevertheless, while the major parties do represent tendencies, sentiments, and prejudices which make them somewhat distinguishable from each other, you must turn to the Libertarians to find a party that dominates and disciplines its candidate. Ed Clark, the non-charismatic Los Angeles lawyer of almost bureaucratic demeanor, did not capture the Libertarians as Ronald Reagan has seized the Republicans and Carter holds the Democrats.

Libertarians only nominate fellow Libertarians, so the party itself, this amalgam of strains and traditions in American life and politics, deserves looking into, if for no other reason than libertarianism is the only political philosophy to catch the imagination of younger people in the past few years. From a handful of persons in 1972, the party has grown to 5,000 or 6,000—or perhaps even more—loyal activists who have learned the lessons of persistence and organization. Without much of an assist from the mass media, Libertarians have evangelized and organized successfully enough to place Clark's name on the ballot in every state. This is one of the more important reasons for voting for him if you want to make an effective protest. Barry Commoner, worthy man that he is, will be on so few ballots this November it will be mathematically impossible for him to roll up the significant protest vote within Clark's reach.

How have the Libertarians been able to attract people? Who joins? Although most Libertarians, but not all, are ferocious, Adam Smithian free marketeers, the party doesn't attract big corporate money. The notable exception is the Koch (pronounced Coke) family of Wichita, Kansas. The Kochs operate one of America's largest privately held corporations (last year's gross has been estimated at around four billion dollars) and one of the Koch family members is run-

ning on the ticket with Clark. But generally American capitalism has held aloof from the party, which on first inspection seems undeviatingly committed to creating the social and political conditions business says it must have to thrive.

However, since Libertarians are unalterably opposed to such practices as subsidizing nuclear energy or limiting electric companies' liability when they have Three Mile Island-type accidents, most big business sorts quickly decide that this isn't the kind of government the corporations want. Repeal of these laws would also mean repeal of the laws protecting polluters from damage suits, which would make it much more difficult for outfits like Occidental Petroleum's Hooker Chemical to commit a Love Canal without having to pay heavy real and punitive damages. In the board rooms, they know EPA regulation is much gentler.

The people who join the Libertarian party often are second-generation, college-trained younger people who believe all that stuff about the meritocracy. For them libertarianism is the way to keep life's race honest. This is the class that is convinced that they as individuals can do the job, any job; that they can found the business, provide the product, and do all that needs doing if they get the chance and if the tax man doesn't steal the rewards when they do.

But there is also a libertarianism of the left. It is composed of people who still honor the goals of the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the Great Society but who need no more convincing that in the practical realm they can't be reached through the expensive Washington-centered bureaucracies characteristic of our era's failed liberalism. The Libertarian left doesn't dispute the neoconservative analysis of what went wrong, but does disagree about what to do about it.

Instead of collapsing into the arms of General Electric while taking wild walks on the supply side, the Libertarian left is as unwilling to live under the rule of centralized corporate power as of centralized government power. Instead, this new left is embracing a mixture of old ideas, of Jefferson and Kropotkin, a vision which sees the non-coercive Libertarian society as the rich, brown ground for cooperative and commune, for building distributive justice from the ground up instead of praying for its administration from the top down through the Department of Human Resources, or whatever ungainly social work title they've given Patricia Harris's reorganized department.

Primitive capitalists and anarcho-syndicalists are able to bed down side by side in the Libertarian party because both share the goal of the voluntary society where, unregimented, un-uniform, and uncentralized, there is room and freedom for competing systems and values. All this may sound a trifle romantic and impractical; however, a political party that shares a dream is less likely to lose its way entirely. With electoral success, should it ever come, there will be full opportunity to trim away ideals and cave in to necessity. Don't be frightened by Libertarian idealism but by the lack of it among the standard brand politicians.

A society that puts a premium on individual liberty is one that must forgo an adventuresome foreign policy. There's no need to take seriously Reagan's arm-flapping about government being too big, since the foreign policy he promises us assures that the status quo cannot be altered fundamentally. A society that is permanently mobilized on a semiwar status is unavoidably one dominated, regulated, and run by a highly centralized national government.

The Republican critique of Carter's military expenditures has dwelt on the assertion that we are spending something like five percent of our GNP for war when 10 to 15 percent is needed to keep pace with the Russians. How in hell are you going to get the government off our necks if 15 percent of all the wealth, of everything that is made or done, goes right off the top to the Pentagon, before one pothole is repaired, one social security check is sent, the content of one trash can is collected? Moreover, this kind of effort requires stockpiling and allocating raw materials, allocating economic priorities for war production, and, of course, allocating labor through the Selective Service System.

If we are going to make the Persian Gulf the first line of defense, as both Carter and Reagan want, then there will be no significant tax reduction, no diminution in bureaucracy, no change other than the one we've been experiencing these past 10 years, namely the very gradual but very real downward sloping of most people's standard of living. We can have our two-and-a-half war navy, but what Reagan doesn't realize is that he was telling the truth back in those days when he used to say, as he no longer does, that there is no such thing as a free lunch. We can have 10 more atomic powered aircraft carriers, but the housing industry will stay in the doldrums.

The Libertarian party isn't pacifist; it believes in the armed defense of the United States—and if the phrase means anything, that is defending the 50 states of the Union. It does not mean straddling the globe and laboring to keep up the armed might needed to give law to the planet. Many Libertarians do not understand why

the European Common Market countries can't defend themselves against the Russians. Taken together they are wealthier, more technologically advanced, and as numerous as we are.

By the same token, as long as the Japanese spend one percent of their gross national product on war, as long as they can invest their ingenuity and inventiveness in civilian production while we spend 10 times as much of our GNP on the perfection of ever more exquisite bombs, we are going to prefer Sonys. It's a great arrangement; we lose money making cannons and they sell us Toyotas. This is not 1950 when we had to underwrite all the expenses. A Libertarian foreign policy would understand mutual security as truly mutual, with all who benefit paying their share of the costs.

The economic benefits in escaping the waste of another couple of trillion dollars are self-evident. But there are other pluses in the Libertarian approach to foreign affairs. In addition to avoiding serio-comedies like the Tehran vaudeville show, a foreign policy stand-down gives us a much better chance at restricting institutions like the CIA. As long as we live in a state of perpetual belligerence, the CIA cannot be tamed, nor can the other civil liberty abuses that arise from national security activities. There are no civil liberties in wartime, so if you keep the society on a wartime footing, you are asking for the buggers to test LSD in your coffee. They can't help it. In war, the state, the collectivity, is more important than you, a mere person, one of the millions whose death is regarded as "an acceptable loss." Compared to that, what's wrong with reading your mail or bugging your phone? That is why to Libertarians no safeguards are practical; the society must be demobilized and that can be done only by an overdue change in policy.

With demobilization and the elimination of the government's intrusive spying comes the possibility of repealing the more irksome, socially restrictive legislation on sex and drugs. It is astonishing that in the same year the *Wall Street Journal* is carrying front page articles noting that marijuana is now a major cash crop in several agricultural states, when the damned stuff is absolutely ubiquitous, none of the major candidates or their parties have the moxie to say, "I bow to the popular will, I respect the right of the individual to break his chromosomes and make an idiot of himself; and, if elected, I will ask Congress to stop smoking it and start legalizing it." Who knows, we might begin to experiment with the repeal of the truancy laws as at length America tries to replace a worthless system of urban public education with one that might teach the children.

A lot of Libertarians have a theological conviction that a free market and fair, unfettered competition will produce an equitable distribution of the goodies; they think that God has so contrived human nature that the unseen hand will turn out to be an equal opportunity employer. Perhaps it will, but you needn't believe it to

vote Libertarian. As mentioned above, a rather wide variety of communitarians who have no such belief support the Libertarian party. But, New Harmony aside, the choice this fall is between moving in a free market direction or having the economy planned by the people and interests around Ronald Reagan or those around Jimmy Carter.

We have seen Carter pass his massively retrogressive social security tax increases and capital gains tax decreases in order to manipulate the economy, that is, to make it behave according to plan, albeit a fumbled and poorly constructed one. Reagan makes no bones either about his belief in the use of taxation in order to run the economy as his groups think it should be run. But is either of them to be entrusted with this function? Every time Jimmy Carter talks about a partnership of government, business, labor, and "the public interest," whoever that lady is, I shudder. Likewise

when similar phrases tumble, more smoothly I grant you, from the Californian's lips. (Anderson is omitted here since he is a computer composite of Carter/Reagan commissioned by the three television networks and Time, Inc. as a standby political hologram to be used in case disillusionment with the others should grow into a serious public mental health problem.)

If the dear, good Michael Harrington and his fellow socialist castrati in the Democratic party had power, we could debate the merits of planning that is at least intended to be for the people, even if not by them, as against the non-planning of the Libertarians. The Libertarian way is preferable when the choice is intervention in the economy for Chrysler, US Steel, Westinghouse, and many dozens more. And don't be fooled by the excuse that we did it only to save the jobs. They never save the jobs. There is no *quid pro quo*, as the Chrysler affair demonstrates. They got the billion and a half and then laid off the people anyway.

As matters stand now, the election this fall will be determined by whether there are more people who hate Carter than who fear Reagan or vice versa. Whichever way that turns out, your vote, while it may be emotionally satisfying, isn't going to influence anything. The signal you're sending is, "I like it, I love it, I want more of the same."

That's why a Libertarian vote isn't a wasted vote. Mr. Clark is not going to win, but the larger the vote he gets the more powerful the constraints put on the man who does. Fifteen million votes for Clark is 15 million people who say "I'm mad as hell and I won't take it anymore," but who're also saying "you've spent quite enough on bombs, thank you, and you've enriched your friends past all obligation and decency, and now you must stop."

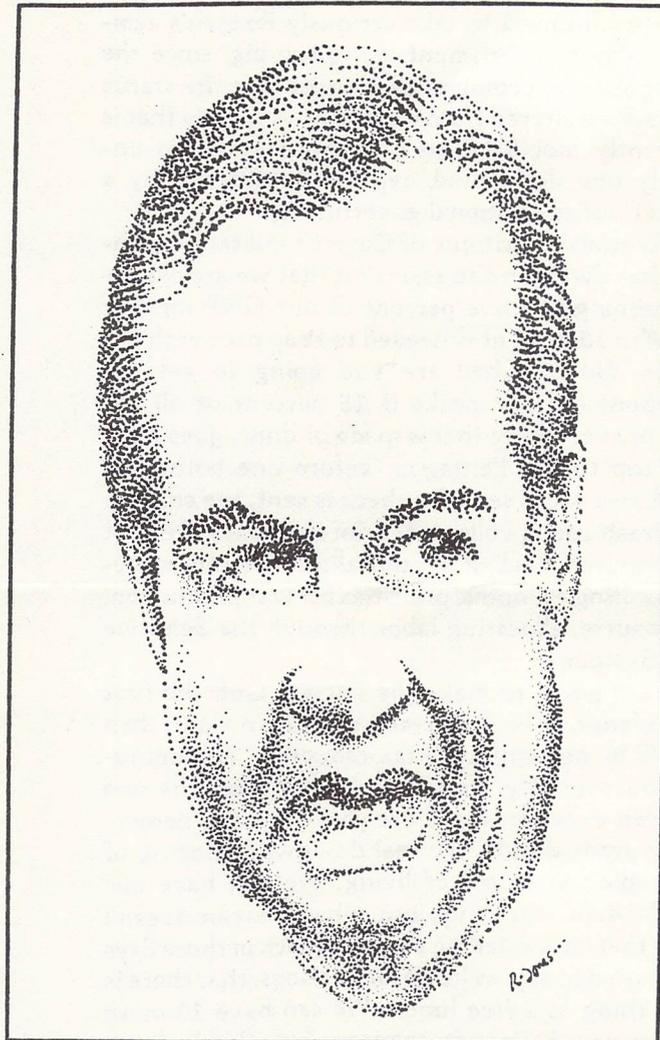
When the bishop of Autun, Talleyrand, observed that politics is the art of the possible, he had in mind the actions of princes and lords, but in a democracy citizens too should practice the arts of possibility. With that in mind, read the Libertarian platform, and accept that you can't agree with all of it. But you can agree with a lot of it, particularly the life and death part of it. Compare that to the major platforms which you and I and everyone else can agree with *in toto* since they are so vacuously abstract.

That's why the major power groupings are nonpartisan or bipartisan. Carter or Reagan, or, if they're just too revolting, give Anderson the vote, the swanky people's hero. As long as you vote for one of the three, you're ratifying what's been done, reaffirming it and giving legitimacy to what will follow.

But a vote for Clark is something else again. It carries a message for now and a threat for the future.

Nicholas von Hoffman

Nicholas von Hoffman is a syndicated columnist.



drawing of Ed Clark by Roger Jones