

Libertarian LP Party NEWS

JANUARY—FEBRUARY 1983

Libertarians Inject Fresh Ideas Into Debate on Social Security

Libertarians throughout the United States will be trying to inject some fresh ideas into the national Social Security debate during the week of January 31-February 6, proclaimed by the Libertarian Party as "Social Security Week."

Dr. Bruce Daniel of the California LP is coordinating the activities nationwide. Daniel is a dentist who has been active in the LP since 1974. He has been a Libertarian candidate three times, most recently for U.S. Congress in 1982.

Daniel said the object of the week, which was just getting underway at presstime, is to present the Libertarian alternative to the ideas presented by President Reagan's Social Security Commission and being debated in the U.S. Congress.

In mid-January, Reagan's Social Security Commission recommended increasing Social Security payroll taxes, forcing non-

profit organization employees and new federal employees into the system, taxing some Social Security benefits, and delaying this July's scheduled cost-of-living benefit increase. The commission also suggested that general revenues repay the Social Security system for free credit given to military personnel and that state and local employees be prohibited from withdrawing from the Social Security system.

Daniel said, "The thrust of this project is to publicize rather broadly the ideas documented by Peter Ferrara in his book, *Social Security: The Inherent Contradiction* and to bring intense pressure on congressmen across the country."

The Ferrara book was published by the Cato Institute. Ferrara also served as Ed Clark's major advisor on the issue of Social Security during the 1980 presidential campaign.

Daniel said local LP activists across the country will be picketing congressional offices, writing letters and placing phone calls to their congressmen, writing letters-to-the-editor, giving speeches to local groups and distributing flyers concerning the Libertarian alternative to Social Security. A parody of the Social Security card is also being distributed.

Daniel said he sees the Social Security issue as a very important one for the LP, because it combines several basic libertarian ideas: that individuals should be allowed to keep their money, that they are capable of taking care of themselves and planning for their own futures, and that the government is unable to provide for them.

Regional and local coordinators for the project are organizing activities in their areas, providing flyers, sample letters and speeches, and a variety of information concerning Social Security, including the Social Security white paper released in 1980 by the Clark for President campaign.

Daniel said that LP activists will concentrate their efforts during "Social Security Week;" however, the efforts will continue throughout congressional debate on the issue.

LP National Director Honey Lanham said the "Social Security Week" is one of

the LP's major nationally-coordinated activities aimed at publicizing a specific issue, along with the Tax Day protests (see page 7 about 1983 Tax Day plans). Lanham said activists in almost every state are participating in Social Security Week activities.

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From The Chair

Issue Campaigns Can Keep Libertarians Active in 1983

by Alicia Garcia Clark

Recently, during a national television show, I saw an individual interviewed about an idea he had been working on: tax credits for private education. He talked for 15 to 20 minutes, answered interesting, friendly questions, and was able to be positive and persuasive.

This reminded me of Ed Clark's experience during the 1980 presidential campaign when he talked about the issue. He seldom had more than a minute or two to explain the libertarian point of view, the questions were often negative (Are you against education? Don't you care about poor children?), and the tone of the interviewers was often negative. After the 1980 elections, when Ed spoke to social groups

and business associations and had media interviews, he had the opportunity to explain libertarian ideas in more detail than during the campaign. However radical his position was, interviewers and audiences were more open-minded and more likely to be convinced by our arguments than during the campaign.

I believe that many of our 1982 candidates, particularly those who were very active and gained experience and name recognition, have the same opportunity in 1983: the opportunity to continue campaigning for libertarian ideas. To do so, they need a volunteer to coordinate speaking engagements, write news releases and arrange media interviews related to important, newsworthy issues where there

is a clear-cut, persuasive libertarian position. In non-election years media people are especially interested in hearing new, different opinions about today's problems.

This kind of activity will give our candidates, and other libertarian activists, the opportunity to explain the libertarian point of view more clearly. They have the opportunity to achieve something that is difficult during a one-minute ad or during a campaign interview where there is little opportunity to deal with issues in depth. They can really educate the voters about the libertarian position on a particular issue.

This activity is also a way to keep the Libertarian Party and libertarian ideas in front of media people, the public and the voters. This will enable us to distinguish ourselves from other "third parties" which appear during election seasons and then disappear. And it will keep us in contact with the local, state and national media in a very positive way.

To develop this program, we need to select important issues and run national campaigns advocating our position, with our experienced candidates and/or local activists as our spokespersons. A good example is the "Tax Protest Day," started by the Society for Individual Liberty many years ago and strongly supported by the Libertarian Party in recent years. With the addition of letters-to-the-editor, media interviews, editorials and additional demonstrations this can become a major annual issue that educates the public and builds the LP at the same time. (See page 7 for more information about Tax Day plans.)

Other issue campaigns could be a "Registration and Draft Protest" in May, a "Tax Credit for Education Campaign" in September, a continuation of the 1983 "Social Security Week" at the end of January each year, and a libertarian celebration of Independence Day each July 4.

These nationally-coordinated campaigns will help to give our candidates and activists the opportunity for speaking engagements and media interviews. They will also keep our members active and will attract new members, especially among groups who are intensely interested in our positions on certain issues and will seek the opportunity to learn more about libertarianism. There are strong historical precedents for this approach. The English Liberal Party used the free trade issue to build its constituency and organization. The Republican Party was closely connected to the anti-slavery movement which tried to educate and persuade the public on a year-round basis.

We know that victory for liberty in this century of statism is not going to be easy. We know that we are in this struggle for liberty for the long haul. We are not summer soldiers or sunshine patriots. We are engaged in a life-long commitment to the cause of liberty.

What we must do is to buckle down, address the political issues of our time almost constantly, educate the public and ourselves in libertarianism and recruit new libertarians through our daily activities and our almost continuous campaigns for libertarian ideas.

When running candidates for office, we must concentrate on races where we can make a real impact and achieve visible gains that will give heart to our members, attract sympathizers to the party and impress the public with the importance of our presence in politics. 1983 is a perfect year for this, since all elections will be local. Activists with strong roots in their local communities should be encouraged to run, either in partisan or non-partisan elections. The more impressive voting percentages should expand and strengthen our grassroots base for the 1984 presidential year and the years to come.

THE FIRE WITHIN by Joe David

"(The novel) which exposes public 'education' for the fraud it really is—a coercive institution of indoctrination."

Alicia Patti
Libertarian Digest

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THE UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

by Murray N. Rothbard

First, let's face it: Unemployment is a major problem. In the curious ideological rhetoric of our age, unemployment is the "liberal" issue and inflation the "conservative" one, so each side is continually trying to downgrade the other. In fact, *both* are simultaneously vital and unresolved economic problems. A 10.8 percent unemployment rate is a *depression* rate. We are in a depression now, and all the signs are, even if a recovery arrives this year or the next, that unemployment will continue at

tistical legerdemain: By redefining "full employment" as what is now something like seven percent unemployment. But even they must stop at a 10.8 percent unemployment rate and admit the seriousness of the situation.

There have been several responses to try to minimize the gravity of the current unemployment crisis. One is to say: "We can't be in a depression, because in the 1930's the unemployment rate averaged about 20 percent." No doubt. But the 1930's was the *Great Depression*, the worst depression in American history.

we examine the question, we have to realize that the fault *can not* be in the free market. If any good or service, whether used by producers or consumers, is productive at all on the market, there will be some price at which the entire supply can and will be sold. That will tend to be the market price. In recessions, businessmen often like to say that they cannot sell their product ("unemployment" of their product, so to speak). But this is nonsense, because there is always some price at which any market item can be sold, if it has any use at all. If businessmen are willing to cut prices sufficiently, they can sell anything. So what businessmen are *really* saying in this situation is not that they can't sell the product, but that they can't sell it at the price that would yield them a profit, or the price they had expected, or the price to which they had become accustomed. I am reminded of a telling moment at a meeting of free market economists in 1980 when Sir Keith Joseph, Mrs. Thatcher's Minister of Industry and an alleged free market advocate, was asked why the Thatcher government had not denationalized the steel industry. "Because," he replied, "no one would buy it"—at which point one economist leaped up and shouted, "I hereby bid \$1 for the British steel industry!"

The same is true of the labor market. "Unemployment" is defined as involuntary, as not being able to sell your labor services. "Voluntary" unemployment is, of course, not an economic problem, but the exercise of leisure or a speculative waiting for a better job to turn up in the future. Yet, how can there be involuntary unemployment on a free market, where sellers of labor (workers or potential employees) are free to lower their price (wage or salary) until they are hired?

The existence of unemployment, then, *must* be the result of coercive (almost always governmental) interference in the job market, either by prohibiting jobs or by preventing the free movement of wage rates.

Our current unemployment crisis is a mixture of an increasingly severe long-run or structural problem and the existing depression. There is no space

here to explain business cycles or why recessions arrive every few years. Suffice it to say that they, too, are the result of government intervention. Government's central bank, the Federal Reserve, inflates money and credit, which brings about our chronic problem of price inflation.

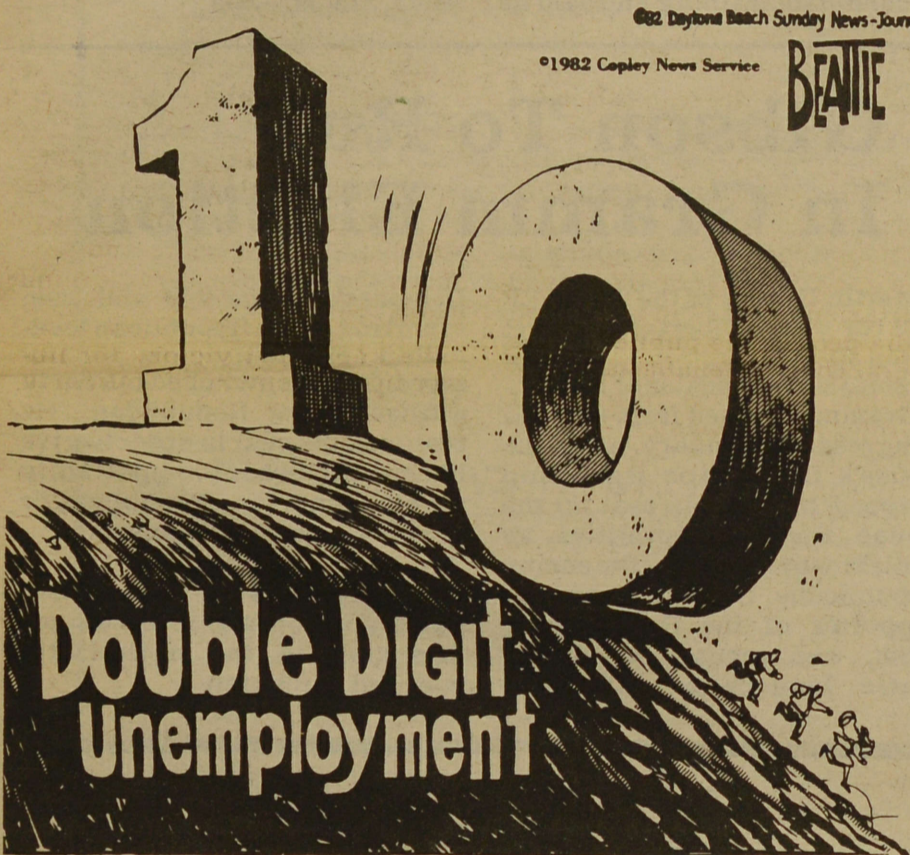
But it also does something else: The artificial credit boom stimulates a myriad of unsound malinvestments, especially in capital goods industries, such as machine tools, construction, industrial plant and raw materials. When the credit expansion stops or slows down significantly, the recession begins. The recession is the market's way of liquidating unsound investments and moving labor, land, and capital back to the most efficient, free-market way of serving the wants of consumers.

Recessions are therefore the necessary and inevitable adjustment process to liquidate the wasteful actions of the boom; they are the hangover after the drunken jag of the night before. Since they are necessary, the best that the government can do is not to interfere and to allow the recession/adjustment process to work itself out as quickly as possible. If the government interferes, by further inflating or public works or propping up unsound investments, it will only delay the recession and make it chronic—which is what *Reagan has done, following in the footsteps of Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt.*

It must be realized that "free market" recessions are very short; the last major depression with which the government did not interfere was 1920-21, which was literally over in about twelve months.

Recessions or depressions, of course, tend to increase unemployment sharply. They do so by reducing profitability, and hence the demand for labor, especially in the capital goods industries. But, as the economist William H. Hutt has often reminded us, even here there would be little or no unemployment if wage rates fell fast enough in the depressed firms or industries. Labor would then move smoothly from there to other, consumer goods indus-

Continued on page 13



depression levels or even worse, at the same time that inflation will accelerate.

We have been in a stagnation/recession/depression since the summer of 1981 and, in a profound sense, since 1979, with unemployment getting steadily worse. But, even more alarmingly, the "core" rate, the long-run trend of unemployment, has been getting steadily higher.

In the 1950's, establishment economists defined "full employment" at something like three percent unemployment. Since then, unemployment rates have been getting higher at each succeeding boom and recession. The response of establishment economists has been to define the problem out of existence by sta-

A "depression" does not have to be as bad as the worst one of all time.

Another typical conservative response is to question the validity of the unemployment figures. Without going into technicalities, the unemployment figures, for various reasons, both underweigh and overweigh the extent of unemployment. But all that is irrelevant. The relevant point is that the figures are comparable over time, so that when we see that the unemployment figure was 2.5 percent in 1953, and now, three decades later, the similarly derived figure is 10.8 percent, we must realize that something is very, very wrong.

Given the reality of the problem, what is the cause? First, if

'Campaign '83' Gets Underway

In order to encourage Libertarian participation in this year's local elections and to assist local candidates in their races, the Libertarian Party's Outreach Committee has established a "Campaign '83" subcommittee.

Outreach Committee Chair Sheldon Richman named Pennsylvania LP Chair Geoff Steinberg as chairman of the new subcommittee. Steinberg has twice run for office on the Libertarian ticket, most recently in 1982 in an active race for a Pennsylvania State House seat.

Steinberg said the committee will be very active in providing support and services to 1983 candidates.

The committee's first project will be the completion of a survey of 1982 LP candidates, requesting information about their campaigns. "We are interested in what worked and what

did not," Steinberg said. "We want to know what assistance the candidates would have requested if it had been available—basically what service the Campaign '83 committee can provide to candidates."

Steinberg said the Campaign '83 committee will encourage state and local LP organizations to do candidate recruitment, leaving the Campaign '83 committee free to provide more candidate services.

Steinberg said he plans to develop a library of issue research applicable to local races, as well as samples of effective Libertarian campaign leaflets, which will be made available to candidates.

Steinberg said he is optimistic about the LP's opportunities in the 1983 elections. "Our candidates usually do best in local races," he said. "Since 1983 is a

year of mostly local elections, we have a good opportunity to work at the local level."

Steinberg added, "Since the LP's success is publicly measured by the number or percentage of votes that our candidates get, we should orient ourselves toward running good active candidates in races that provide us the best opportunities."

He said he is currently assembling a group of LP activists from across the country to serve on the committee.

Steinberg is a strong advocate of candidate training and said he

plans to offer training materials and workshops, probably offered on a state or regional level. He will be assembling a team of qualified campaign activists to lead such workshops. He said that effective candidates "must act professionally and have a well organized support group behind them."

Steinberg urged interested individuals with questions or suggestions concerning Campaign '83 to contact him at: 1131 S. 46th St., Philadelphia, PA 19143, 215-387-6952.

Gibson To Run In Gramm Election

Martin Gibson of the Texas LP will run on the Libertarian ticket in the special election to fill Phil Gramm's congressional seat.

Gramm resigned from the U.S. Congress in January after the House's Democratic leadership stripped him of his seat on the House Budget Committee as punishment for aiding the enemy Republicans. Gramm, a staunch supporter of the Reagan program, was accused by Democratic leaders of attending

Democratic caucuses and then reporting to the Republican leadership. Following his punishment, Gramm switched his party affiliation to Republican. He resigned his seat in order to give his constituents the opportunity to re-elect him as a Republican or to choose a new congressman.

Gibson plans an active campaign and hopes to receive some attention in the nationally-watched campaign.

Ballot Status Update

SECURED FOR 1984*:

Alabama	Kansas
Alaska	Mississippi
Arizona	Montana
California	Nevada
Delaware	New Mexico
Hawaii	North Carolina
Idaho	South Carolina
Indiana	Wisconsin

CAN QUALIFY DURING 1983, before National Convention as LP candidates**:

Arkansas	23,681 signatures
Maine	23,168 signatures
Maryland	10,000 signatures
Michigan	19,963 signatures
Nebraska	5,480 signatures
North Dakota	7,000 signatures
Ohio	33,568 signatures
Oklahoma	44,157 signatures
Oregon	50,745 signatures
Tennessee	30,974 signatures
Utah	500 signatures

*The map signifying states with permanent ballot status included in the Nov/Dec issue of LP NEWS was in error.

**Following the National Convention, these states may qualify their candidates as independent candidates, with separate requirements.

'82 Election Results Update

MARYLAND:

Gerald Schneider St. House, 21%

MONTANA:

Don Doig U.S. Congress, 3%

Gary Scheer St. House, 20%

Mike Hall St. House, 15%

Jeff Conway .. Co. Commissioner, 15%

VERMONT:

Steve Oviatt Co. High Bailiff,
WINNER

WISCONSIN:

Dr. Timothy Correll Co. Coroner,
WINNER

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3. Reliability: Does your current dealer have an established track record of smooth operation, efficient delivery and reliability during the massive bear markets as metals have seen during the contractions of 1972, 1975, and late 1980, as well as the bull markets of 1971, 1974 and 1979-80?

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4. Professionalism: Is the salesman you deal with a professional? Does he have extensive experience in precious metals? Can he answer your questions correctly and concisely? Or does he just push sales to increase his commissions?

RWB & Co is staffed by precious metals professionals - not high pressure salesmen. Its staff is experienced and expert in gold and silver, with backgrounds in economics, numismatics and economic history - not sales. RWB & Co traders average 9 years experience with the firm. And no one on the staff is paid a commission on sales. So when you call RWB & Co you speak with someone who can actually answer your questions in a helpful manner.

5. Service: Are your inquiries answered promptly and correctly? If an order is late, can your dealer advise you quickly the date shipped and registration number? When you write a letter asking a question, is it answered promptly?

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6. Selection: Does your dealer offer the whole world of precious metals? Or does he limit you to Krugerrands, Maple Leafs, Mexican 50 Pesos, Austria 100 Coronas, U.S. silver coins and silver bullion? Or even fewer items? Does he offer U.S. \$20's, British Sovereigns, French 20 Francs, Colombian 5 Pesos, Swiss 20 Francs, and other gold coins heavily traded in other world markets? Does he offer the whole variety of U.S., Canadian, and world silver coins, as well as silver bullion?

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About R. W. Bradford & Company. . . .

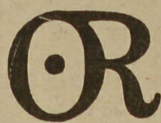
R. W. Bradford & Company is the successor to Liberty Coin Service, a pioneer in the precious metals brokerage field. It was founded by R. W. Bradford in 1971 to specialize in the sale of hard assets to investors. It regularly advertised in libertarian periodicals since its inception in 1971. From 1972 to 1981 it was operated in Lansing, Michigan, in conjunction with a retail precious metals and coin store.

Its first advertisement promised, "LCS hopes to prosper by offering the small and medium lot investor first quality coins and services at prices as low as those available to larger and more sophisticated investors." During the ensuing decade, the firm has prospered by handling transactions from 2 figures to 6 figures for its clients, ranging from college students to corporation presidents.

On July 1, 1981, Bradford liquidated the retail operations and moved the business to Port Townsend, Washington, where the business has returned to dealing exclusively in its original specialty of precious metals brokerage. "The name was changed," Bradford says, "to emphasize our nature as a private business. We stand on our record as a profit-making enterprise without hiding behind an institutional name or limited liability corporate structure. During the past decade we have grown from a modest brokerage firm to an efficient operation with clients in nearly every state and a dozen foreign countries. Our record speaks for itself."

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Hayek Meets With Libertarians During Recent American Visit

F.A. Hayek, Nobel Prize-winning economist and dean of classical liberal and "Austrian" economists, made a triumphal return to the United States in November and December, giving highly acclaimed lectures and well-played newspaper interviews.

Hayek, who taught at the University of Chicago for many years and now lives in West Germany, gave lectures in the Washington, D.C., area sponsored by the Cato Institute, the Center for the Study of Market Processes at George Mason University, and the Heritage Foundation. He was the subject of a major *Washington Post* article, in which he was dubbed "the Answer Man." At the *Post*, there was new-found respectability in being a man "who early on questioned the theories of John Maynard Keynes." Hayek was also interviewed in the *New York Times*.

At the Cato Institute December 1, Hayek lectured on "the fatal conceit"—his term for the belief that economies can be planned centrally. This is also the theme and title of a three-volume work-in-progress by the 83-year-old

former student of Ludwig von Mises.

He explained that the development of the market could be likened to the development of a new sense for human beings. Just as sight enables animals to perceive things beyond their reach, so the market enables people to have information about things beyond their vision. In a market economy, people make things for, and use things made by, people they will never meet. The price information generated by countless transactions guides people's conduct and encourages them to satisfy the most urgent demands of others. The result is a process that rationally allocates resources, although no one can be said to have designed the overall structure.

Hayek also discussed the development of ethics in the evolution of society from tribal intimacy (where people produced for only those they knew) to the "Great Society" of the market and a vast division of labor. (Hayek used the term "Great Society" before Lyndon Johnson applied it to his program of vast government intervention.) In emphasizing his view of ethical

development, Hayek pointed out that programs to subvert the market are throwbacks to primitive stages of human progress.

Before his Cato lecture, Hayek was interviewed by several members of the Institute's staff. He reiterated his belief that the monetary system should be divorced from the state, noting that no political authority can be trusted to abstain from inflating. He expressed dismay about the pressure

for protectionist measures worldwide and advised free-traders to remind the public about the disaster of the 1930's in order to kill any protectionist temptation.

He also said he had two professional regrets: First, he wishes he had more forcefully gone after Keynes' economic theory. Second, he regrets that he did not explicitly refute colleague Milton Friedman's theory of positive economics—the view that economics, like the natural sciences, has value only insofar as it can quantitatively predict human behavior. (Austrian economics holds, in contrast, that the methods of natural science and mathematics are inappropriate to the study of human action in pursuit of subjective values.)

Following the Cato lecture, Hayek was honored at a well-attended reception, during which he signed autographs and had his picture taken with many of his admirers. Many prominent Libertarian Party members from the Capitol area were in attend-

ance. The tall and courtly scholar basked graciously in the attention.

At George Mason University, Hayek lectured on capital theory at an event sponsored by the Center for the Study of Market Processes. The Center is run by several of the most accomplished young Austrian economists and is becoming an important gathering place for graduate and undergraduate students wishing to study this approach to economics.

Even though some conservatives are interested in Hayek's work and sponsored events with him during his stay in the U.S., Hayek said during his visit that American conservatives are comparable to British Tories in that they wish to use the power of government to promote their ends. This is a point Hayek made comparable to British Tories in that they wish to use the power of government to promote their ends. This is a point Hayek made in an essay in *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960), "Why I am Not a Conservative."



Hayek gives a lecture at the Cato Institute in Washington, D.C., during his recent trip to the United States.

Photos by Matthew Richard.



Hayek speaks to Libertarian Tom Palmer while autographing a book

LP Plans 1983 Tax Day Protests

by Ed Jowett

1983 promises to be an exciting year for the Libertarian Party, and among the activities planned, the annual April 15th Tax Protest may well be the most fun and exciting.

The nationwide effort being coordinated promises to be a media event extraordinaire. Imagine, if you will, activists in 300 cities throughout all 50 states—at the lunch-hour peak of pedestrian traffic, at the busiest intersection in town—reenacting the famous tax protest ride of Lady Godiva!

As one of the Free Libertarian Party's (New York) local Tax Day projects last year, this type of street theater proved even more effective than our partici-

pation in the nationwide post office demonstrations and resulted in great media coverage and a tremendous response rate. But as Gary Greenberg, FLP chair and a proponent of Tax Protest Day demonstrations nationally, observed, "An organized effort that takes place nationwide is newsworthy above and beyond a local protest." This year, a concerted effort has the potential of reaching hundreds of millions of people, worth millions of dollars in free advertising.

A Lady Godiva ride is a project that can be successfully undertaken by a handful of activists anywhere at very little cost. It provides immediate rewards to participants and is well-received by observers. It is an event helpful to organization building at all levels, and it presents a positive image of the LP position against taxation.

In addition to this type of event, Tax Protest Day offers Libertarians the perfect opportunity for a variety of other anti-tax activities.

If your socks are rolling up and down just thinking about the potential offered by such events, I hope you will join us on Tax Protest Day. Please contact your state Tax Day coordinator (listed in the Directory on pages 9 and 10) and volunteer to organize a local Lady Godiva ride or other Tax Protest event. If no coordinator is listed for your state, but

you would like to join in the fun, please contact me at: 27 Lincoln Ave., Binghamton, NY 13905, 607-723-3689.

Ed Jowett is the national coordinator for 1983 Tax Protest Day activities. He is active in New York's Free Libertarian Party and was the organizer of one of 1982's most successful Tax Day events. He chairs the Southern Tier chapter of the FLP and was recently a candidate for mayor of Binghamton, NY.

Defending the Taxpayer

by Bruce Majors

In 1981, President Reagan's original tax "cut" didn't quite outweigh the sum of the increases in Social Security taxes scheduled before his election and the inflationary bracket-creep in income taxes. In 1982, the Reagan administration brought the American people a "revenue enhancing" closure of tax loopholes and the five-cent-per-gallon increase in the gasoline tax.

Still, many American political commentators, such as syndicated columnists George Will and Carl Rowan, insist that ours is an "undertaxed" society. According to Will, the public wants government services, and the role of his fellow conservatives is not to pay their traditional lip service to lower levels of taxation and spending. Their role, Will says, is to present the customer with the overdue bill by raising taxes.

This April, Libertarians will be presenting the electorate with our message—the end of U.S. government intervention into their lives and the lives of people around the globe, and the massive tax cuts such a program of peace and liberty would allow.

Therefore, tax protest activists should be prepared to answer the

arguments of court intellectuals such as Rowan and Will. There are several major flaws in the analogy between consumer demand for goods provided in the market, and the political pressures for government services.

Consumers purchase the amount of goods they desire. The level of government spending, however, is always greater than the level voters would choose if programs and their budgets were put to a direct vote. Government programs bestow concentrated benefits on organized groups (the Merchant Marine, Chrysler Corporation, the dairy cartel, etc.) that find it profitable to invest millions in political contributions and lobbying fees, since this will "produce" millions more in subsidies. On the other hand, the cost to the individual taxpayer of even finding out how much he or she pays in taxes, or on which purchases or sources of income the taxes fall, or how this might be stopped, may be as great a burden as the taxes themselves.

One case of how organized interests impose the costs of their subsidies on unorganized taxpayers is the case of liability for debts. Debts for government services are different from debts in a free market. Only with

government debt can one make future generations (the least organized interest of all) liable.

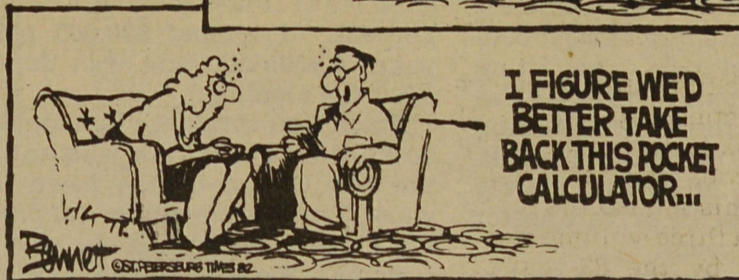
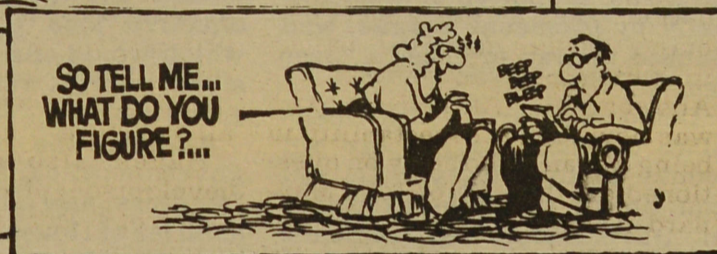
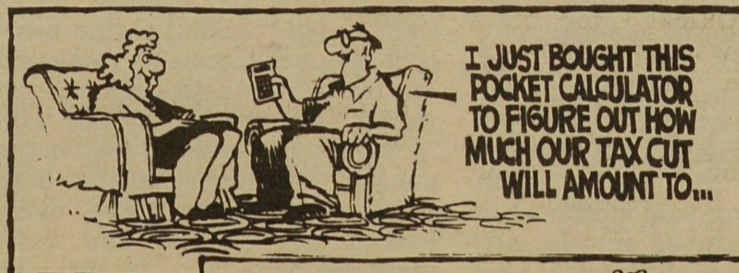
Finally, unlike the market, one cannot prosecute those who "manufacture" and "sell" government programs for fraudulent advertising. Politicians have free reign to underestimate the cost of a program when the program's enactment will buy them support. By the time the cost overruns and other problems come to light, the politician's career will be launched and the harried voter is too busy working to pay his or her taxes to remember who is responsible.

So what is the solution? People who find the existence of the tax burden costly in an additional sense—those who find taxes repellent to their sense of justice—will find it "profitable" to work to lower or abolish taxes. Libertarians are in the forefront

of this group, and we must lower the cost of understanding and changing the system for other taxpayers. We must speak out at every opportunity to educate other taxpayers. And we must give the voters a reasonably-priced method of political change, in the form of respectable Libertarian candidates.

During March and April, Libertarians must begin building for the 1984 campaign by defending taxpayers before every available forum: radio and television talk shows, letters-to-the-editor, tables at fairs, public speeches, classrooms, opinion pages of newspapers, in debates, and even at Post Offices on April 15. Libertarians can make our second Tax Protest Day the best one yet.

Bruce Majors was the 1982 LP Tax Protest Day coordinator.



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Several Policy Areas Deserve Watchful Eye in Coming Months

by David Lampo

Not surprisingly, the lame-duck (lamebrain?) session of the 97th Congress did little to win the respect and admiration of Libertarians. Its two primary "accomplishments" were a large hike in the federal gasoline tax and passage of a massive \$379 billion emergency appropriations bill.

The gas tax increase, the first in over 30 years, is expected to bring in about \$5.5 billion per year to the federal government. Four cents of the nickle-per-gallon increase will go to the Highway Trust Fund and the other penny will be used for mass transit. The tax passed both houses of Congress comfortably and was supported enthusiastically by President Reagan, who dubbed the tax increase a "user fee."

Democrats and Republicans alike claimed the gas tax bill would create jobs, yet the bill contained a sweeping extension of Davis-Bacon requirements, which stipulate that federal contractors must pay "prevailing wages" for repair work as well as new construction—thus adding as much as 10 percent to the cost. The tax will, of course, merely shift jobs from the private sector to the public sector.

Truckers, in particular, will be hit hard by the new taxes, and as

missiles, research and development funds were left in. No real reform or reduction in military spending took place. Reagan is still getting virtually his entire increase in defense spending.

Although both the Senate and House voted earlier in the session to support a "jobs" bill, all such bills were dropped under a veto threat from Reagan. The

Democratic version would have cost about the same as Reagan's gas tax increase, \$5.4 billion, and would have created 300,000 public works jobs, a mere drop in the bucket. The leadership of both parties seems to have overlooked the biggest and most effective jobs bill of all—one which would end the deficit and slash interest rates by cutting spending.

And in the midst of the government-caused recession, Congress saw fit to raise the salaries of House members by 15 percent, to almost \$70,000 per year. As usual, this was done *after* the election.

But if you think the lame-duck session did a lousy job, wait until the 98th Congress gets down to work. There are a number of policy areas to keep your eye on:

Social Security—The President's Commission on Social

Security is expected to report on the same amount. Currently, self-employed persons pay three-quarters of that amount.

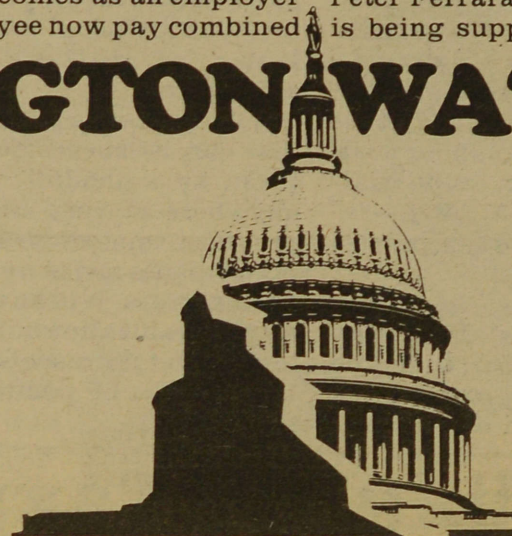
*Tax increases already scheduled for 1985 and 1990 will be moved up to 1984 and 1988, respectively. This is expected to raise \$40 billion through 1989.

*Self-employed people will be required to pay the same total tax on their incomes as an employer and employee now pay combined

benefits and force current federal workers into the system to make up the difference.

According to moderate Rep. Barber Conable (R-NY), the Commission never even considered or studied the various proposals to privatize the system, such as that put forth by Peter Ferrara. (The Ferrara plan is being supported by Libertar-

WASHINGTON WATCH



ians during the LP's Social Security Week; see page 1.) Rep. Conable dismissed Ferrara's proposal, saying, "I think most members of the commission consider that quixotic," but Conable admitted that the plan had not been looked at in detail.

Deficit Spending—As Senator Paul Laxalt recently commented, the deficits projected for the next few years are "a little terrifying." The deficit for this year is now estimated at \$185 billion. Next year's is predicted to be at least \$200 billion, and by 1988 the annual deficit is expected to be almost \$300 billion! Just how little Reagan really cares about these deficits is illustrated by his proposed "cut" in fiscal 1984 military spending. After a lot of political posturing for the media about his willingness to compromise on defense spending, Reagan came up with a grand savings of \$8 billion.

More and more, it is being recognized that the effects of the deficits has been devastating. This year alone, government borrowing will soak up three-quarters of all private savings nationwide. Deficits will continue to keep interest rates high and the economy stagnant; yet the response of Reagan and his advisors is to draw up contin-

All the Commission's recommendations are expected to raise \$169 billion through 1990.

Chief legislative leaders are dutifully coming out in support of the package, including House Republican leader Robert Michel, Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, and House Ways and Means Committee Chair Dan Rostenkowski.

Three members of the President's commission, Sen. William Armstrong (R-CO), Rep. Bill Archer (R-TX), and former Rep. Joe Waggoner, Jr. (D-LA), are refusing to bow to the pressure to sanction new tax increases to bail out the system, which will fall at least \$200 billion short during the 1980's despite massive tax increases pushed through Congress in 1977. The three dissenters want to cut

Although Congress did vote to drop production funds for the infamous MX and Pershing II missiles, research and development funds were left in.

of this writing, independent truckers plan a nationwide strike to protest the higher fees.

Passage of the emergency appropriations bills is responsible for keeping the government in business until the next emergency.

One of those appropriations bills provided just over \$232 billion to the Department of Defense. Although Congress did vote to drop production funds for the infamous MX and Pershing II

Security voted 12-3 in mid-January to support the following recommendations, with the full support of President Reagan and House Speaker Tip O'Neill:

*Mandatory Social Security coverage will be extended to all new federal employees and all non-profit organization employees as of January 1, 1984. State and local government employees will no longer be allowed to withdraw from the system, which they've been

Continued on page 18

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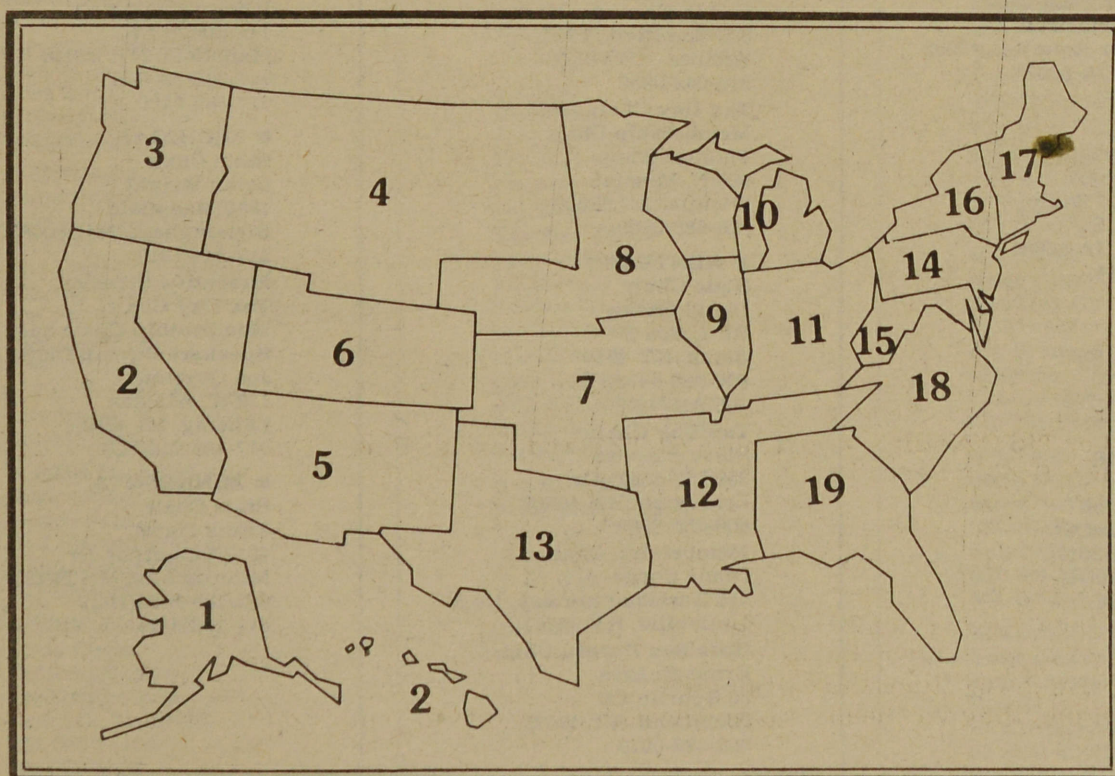
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National Committee Sets 1983 Goals

At its last meeting of 1982, the Libertarian National Committee adopted a set of goals for the coming year, formally ratified an agreement for the 1983 LP Presidential Nominating Convention, and renamed Honey Lanham as LP National Director.

The meeting was held December 4-5 in Winterpark, Florida, and was hosted by the Florida LP.

The LNC adopted an 11-point list of goals, stressing the need to increase LP membership, increase LP fundraising, and develop a variety of organizational handbooks to assist local LP activists in campaign and party-building activities. A complete list of the approved goals accompanies this article.

The LNC also approved a contract with New York's Free Libertarian Party, which will host the 1983 LP Presidential Nominating Convention, to be held in New York City. The contract gives the FLP responsibility for developing the convention program, with only a few exceptions. The LNC chair retains the authority to veto the FLP's selection for the convention's keynote speaker.

Honey Lanham of Houston, Texas, who served as Interim National Director from the August, 1982, LNC meeting until the December meeting, was named National Director from among a dozen applicants. Lanham is a former chair of the Texas LP and is an elected Liber-

LNC GOALS

1. Reduce LP debt by the 1983 national convention, without interfering with on-going political work of the party, by paying all loans and reducing vendor debt to 30-day maximum.
2. Increase national LP membership by 100 percent from February 28, 1983, to February 28, 1984.
3. Increase LP's 1982 calendar year fundraising by 75 percent.
4. Prepare an organizational handbook for state and local LP offices.
5. Prepare a marketing strategy based on survey data and professional consultation.
6. Prepare an organizational handbook for municipal and nonpartisan election campaigns and encourage affiliate parties to conduct campaigns for such offices.
7. Prepare an organizational handbook for participation in single issue campaigns and for participation in organizations and coalitions.
8. Prepare an organizational handbook for developing media contacts and educating media personnel.
9. Assist state parties in doing all feasible preparatory work for 1984 presidential ticket ballot access.
10. Prepare dual level (introductory and substantial) set of outreach materials.
11. Conduct regional strategy conferences to educate LP activists on strategy and tactics.

tarian on the Harris County [Texas] School Board.

In other National Committee business, several subcommittees were established. Paul Kunberger of the Maryland LP will chair a subcommittee which will investigate, recommend and coordinate legal action on behalf of the LP, particularly in the area of ballot access. The LNC also established a subcommittee to investigate the need for a campus division of the LP. The subcommittee is chaired by Scott Olmsted of the California LP.

Looking toward the future, the LNC received a bid for its 1985 National Convention from the Arizona LP. The LNC will accept additional bids and will award the convention to one of the bidders at its next meeting, March 12-13 in San Mateo, CA. (For more information on 1985 convention bids, see notice on page 14.)

Signatures Required for Membership

Members of the Libertarian Party who do not have signed membership statements on file at the LP National Headquarters will be urged to file those signed statements in order to make their memberships official, according to LP National Director Honey Lanham.

In 1981, the Libertarian National Committee passed a resolution requiring that the LP National Headquarters keep the signed membership statements on file. All LP members are required to sign the statement: "I hereby certify that I do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political or social goals."

Lanham said the LP National Headquarters will be contacting members with no signature card on file by the end of February to ensure that their memberships can be made official for use in determining state delegate allocations for the 1983 LP Presidential Nominating Convention.

Members who wish to ensure their membership status may use the membership form on page 19.

Finance Program

The Libertarian Party Finance Committee, chaired by Dr. Matt Monroe of the Texas LP, is actively leading 1983 fundraising activities.

Sharon Ayres recently joined the Finance Committee to work on the "Liberty Pledge," the LP's monthly pledge program. Ayres joins the other working members of the committee: Sue Bjornseth, Kurtis Bottke, Donald Burger, Bill Elliott, Bill MacReynolds, David Scott, Maria Trevino, and Bob Yausey.

The Finance Committee has been placing major emphasis on the monthly pledge program and, most recently, the "Challenge Pledge" program. Libertarian Party contributors who

join the monthly pledge program receive the monthly Liberty Pledge newsletter.

Several contributors have challenged the LP to eliminate its lingering debt, leading LP Chair Alicia Clark and Monroe to officially institute the Challenge Pledge program, aimed at all LP supporters. The program's goal is to spur retirement of the debt well before the 1983 LP Presidential Nominating Convention, to be held in New York City at the end of August.

The Challenge Pledge works like this: Supporters pledge an amount of money to be paid only if the debt is eliminated by June 30, 1983. A full audit will be taken at that time which must indicate

that all debt has been eliminated and that no overdue bills exist—at which time the pledge would become due.

The Finance Committee is responsible for placing the Libertarian Party on sound financial footing so that the regular activities of the LP are fully supported.

Recent fundraising has served to renew the interest of many past contributors, bring in new members, and expand the monthly pledge program. Recent Finance Committee mailings, coinciding with the nationwide membership drive, have encouraged past LP contributors to join the party.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

Continued from page 3

tries via better jobs opening up and offering higher wage rates, rather than through the pain and uncertainty of unemployment.

So everything goes back to the structural problem. If wage rates were free to fall, there need not be significant unemployment even during recessions. Why then are they not free to fall? The reason is a set of massive government interventions in the labor market.

First, the minimum wage, state and federal. When the federal government sets a minimum wage of \$3.35 per hour, it is making it illegal to hire someone for anything less. It is therefore a measure which prohibits employment, i.e. it compels unemployment. When it says: "Thou shalt not hire Mr. or Ms. X for \$3 per hour," it is abolishing jobs with a stroke of the pen. When the government compels unemployment through the minimum wage, it is hitting directly at precisely the group of workers it claims to be helping: the lowest-wage workers, generally teenagers, women and blacks. It is prohibiting them from getting jobs, but why? Largely because of the lobbying efforts of the AFL-CIO, which represents higher-paid white workers enjoying seniority, who are thereby freed from the competition of lower-income workers. Black teenagers are the hardest hit. The "black-white" teenage unemployment gap, which many observers seem to feel is inevitable, did not exist in 1954, when both rates were 11 percent. It only began in 1956, with the rise of the minimum wage, and it has been pushed up by increases in that minimum ever since, until now black teenage unemployment is a catastrophic 50 percent.

Other interventions prohibiting employment are licensing restrictions, which prevent entry into numerous occupations. Moreover, compulsory union measures, such as the Wagner-Taft-Hartly Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act, encourage union violence in strikes and compel collective bargaining, which keeps wage rates from falling at the expense of employment for workers who lack union seniority (often blacks, teenagers and women). By compelling workers to join or be represented by

unions, then, the government ratifies the unions' imposition of a "minimum" wage, with consequent mass unemployment.

In addition, the government's welfare and unemployment pay-

not taxed while their working income is. If, for example, a person has the opportunity of working for a taxable salary of \$8000 per year, while not working will bring a non-taxable income of,

directly a subsidy for not working than welfare, and the longer they last, the longer the subsidized unemployment will continue.

The unemployment problem is therefore the result of a vast network of job-prohibiting interventions by government in the labor market, aggravated by government policies that bring about and then prolong depressions. The permanent as well as the immediate cure for the unemployment crisis, then, is to: 1)abolish the minimum wage, federal and state (and not just reduce it slightly for summer teenage jobs, as Reagan is considering); 2)eliminate all laws installing compulsory unionism; 3)abolish welfare and unemployment benefits; and 4)eliminate licensing and other restrictions on freedom of entry into businesses and occupations.

I would guarantee that this set of measures would eradicate unemployment, now and forever. And if anyone wants to call me on it, why not try this for a couple years and see what happens?

Murray Rothbard is an economics professor at the Polytechnic Institute of New York and a member of the Libertarian National Committee. He is currently working on a book on the history of economic thought.

The "black-white" teenage unemployment gap, which many observers seem to feel is inevitable, did not exist in 1954, when both rates were 11 percent. It only began in 1956, with the rise of the minimum wage, and it has been pushed up by increases in that minimum ever since, until now black teenage unemployment is a catastrophic 50 percent.

ments act as subsidies to unemployment. People seek or accept jobs by gauging the net income they will obtain from working against enjoying total leisure at zero pay. But if welfare and unemployment pays them for not working, the net income earned from working will fall sharply, especially if these benefits are

say, \$6000 per year, why go through the effort of seeking or holding down such a job? Considering the small after-tax marginal gains from working in many low-income jobs, it is actually a tribute to the work-ethic of millions of Americans that they still continue to work. Unemployment benefits are even more

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by Ross Levatter, M.D.

Instead of Regulation

edited by
Robert Poole, Jr.

Public policy is the consumer good of politics. While history, economics, and philosophy—the factors of production, if you will—are important, it is practical and principled public policy positions that Libertarian candidates must master to effectively enter public debate and influence public opinion.

Two books released within the last year offer perhaps the best efforts so far at libertarian public policy. It is not clear which of the two is more ambitious. *Instead of Regulation*, edited by Robert Poole of the Reason Foundation, which I will review in this issue, calls for abolishing 11 major regulatory agencies; Peter Ferrara's Cato Institute monograph, *Social Security: Averting the Crisis*, to be reviewed in the March-April issue, offers a plan to phase out that bankrupt albatross that consumes fully one-third of the federal budget.

Poole's book has both the virtues and flaws of most edited collections, with the former far outweighing the latter. He has assembled economic and legal writers, each expert in the workings of a particular federal agency, to dissect the failures and follies of our current statist-oriented regulatory apparatus. In so doing, he has accepted the inevitable unevenness that this creates in a book, not only in style but in focus of analysis and depth of suggested reform.

Poole should be credited with what is perhaps the book's greatest strength: not content to simply re-hash the by-now-well-known faults of the older, economic regulatory agencies such as the Civil Aeronautics Board

(CAB), Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), or the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), the book spares no effort denouncing the newer and more accepted safety, consumer, and health-related regulatory agencies such as the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), and even the Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC).

Perhaps the best chapter is the last, Peter Aranson's masterful analysis of the EPA. Aranson finds that the EPA, cloaked in an almost sacred-cow inviolability, "protects pre-existing producers just as old-line regulatory agencies, the ICC, CAB, and FCC, protect single industries." EPA air-quality regulations, for example, demonstrate "a clear proclivity for cartelization of air use by existing firms, at the expense of future potential competitors." The results, typical among federal regulatory agencies, are "quite satisfactory to existing polluters", "also acceptable to leaders of environmental pressure groups", and "[do] not threaten the members of Congress." As always, "Only consumers and would-be producers must bear the costs."

Aranson, editor of the academic journal, *Public Choice*, makes a key insight—one that can be easily generalized to other government agencies—when he notes that EPA "regulators face very real incentives to overstate the cost of pollution while understating the benefits of the activi-

ties sacrificed to reduce pollution." This insight results from Aranson's use of public choice theory—the application of economic principles, such as personal utility maximization, to those who control government agencies and institutions. The weakness of some other chapters can be traced to ignorance of this approach. For example, Robert S. Smith's analysis of OSHA, while recognizing the enormous economic inefficiency of OSHA edicts, does not stress the clear possibility that these fixed costs were consciously designed to protect large, established firms from smaller potential competitors. And David Weiner, in his study of the FDA, does not stress, as Sam Peltzman did in his classic study, *Regulation of Pharmaceutical Innovation* (AEI, 1975), the economic benefit FDA regulations give to established drug companies by drastically raising the costs of competitive entry.

The weakest section in *Instead of Regulation* is Ken Clarkson and Tim Muris' discussion of the Federal Trade Commission (FTC). One fails to see the libertarian thrust behind their contention that a problem with the FTC's credit policy is that it "disregards pertinent information from the Bureau of Economics or the Office of Policy Planning" (as if these were proper government agencies in a free society) or their claim that the FTC's Magnuson-Moss Warranty Act is unnecessary because it "duplicates the protection provided by... the Uniform Commercial Code" (as if legislation restricting choice protects consumers). Further, Clarkson and Muris' review of the FTC's use of anti-trust regulation suggests that the main problem is that the FTC tends to pursue the wrong cases. The realization that anti-trust is an inherently anti-competitive tool used by politically-connected business interests against their competitors is nowhere evident. This entire section would have been measurably improved by a quick review of Dominic Armentano's *Anti-Trust and Monopoly: Anatomy of a Policy Failure* and a study of the Austrian, or market process, approach to monopoly theory,

best presented in the work of Israel Kirzner.

These weak spots, however, detract only slightly from the overall excellence of the book. George Hilton's condemnation of the ICC's ground-transportation cartel and Alan Reynold's caustic recitation of the Department of Energy's failures are both well argued and well researched. Ida Walter's lucid presentation of the history of telecommunications regulation is an excellent complementary piece to Milton Mueller's recent Cato Policy Analysis, "Property Rights in Radio Communication." And Poole's own chapter on the FAA makes a strong case for abolishing the agency and introducing air traffic control to the rigors of a free market place.

A point made by several of the book's authors is that the real cost of regulation is not the agency's budgetary allocation (usually less than \$100 million for the average bureau), but the cost of resource misallocation resulting from regulatory mandates, often amounting to tens of billions of dollars per agency. This is an important point—abolishing all the agencies discussed in *Instead of Regulation* would not make a significant dent in the federal deficit, but the partial unshackling of the economy that would follow could make a dent both in unemployment and the recession.

Instead of Regulation, its paper-back edition recently released, has received glowing endorsements from Nobel economist Milton Friedman and conservatives from Arthur Laffer to William Simon. Politicians from Senator Paul Laxalt (R-NV) to Boyden Day, Council to Vice President Bush on regulatory reform, have commented favorably on the book, as have Alan Brownfield of the *Washington Times* and syndicated columnists John Chamberlain and David Brudnoy.

As Poole explains in his introduction, one of the major purposes of the book is to take ideas and findings "widely discussed in universities and journals but virtually unknown to most legislators and opinion leaders" and give them a wider audience—a goal Libertarian Party members can share and promote.

Dr. Ross Levatter, a physician in Ann Arbor, MI, is a long-time libertarian activist and writer.

Books For Libertarians

1985 National Convention

The Libertarian National Committee is accepting bids for the 1985 LP National Convention.

Those interested in presenting a bid should contact LNC Secretary Frances Eddy at:
4400 East-West Hwy., No. 1111
Bethesda, MD. 20814
301-951-0539

The convention must be held during the period of July—October. The decision will be made at the March 12-13 LNC meeting in San Mateo, CA. The successful bidder will be required to sign a contract with the LNC.

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[illegible]

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

The Libertarian National Committee will elect ten members of the 1983 LP Platform Committee*, ten members of the Bylaws and Rules Committee*, and five members of the Credentials Committee* at its March 12-13 meeting in San Mateo, CA.

The Platform Committee will meet in May or June 1983, at a location to be determined after consulting committee members. State parties are invited to submit bids to host the Platform Committee meeting in conjunction with their state or regional conventions. Interested state chairs should contact the LP Headquarters as soon as possible.

The Bylaws and Rules Committee and Credentials Committee will meet at the 1983 LP National Convention in New York City (August 31-September 5). The three committees will present their reports and recommendations to the convention. If you are interested in becoming a member of one of these committees, please send name, address, phone, and qualifications by March 1st to:

**Frances Eddy, LNC Secretary
4400 East-West Highway, Apt. 1111
Bethesda, MD 20814**

Committee members are responsible for their own arrangements and expenses.

***PLATFORM COMMITTEE:** The 10 states with largest national LP membership, as determined for convention delegate allocation, will each choose one member. The LNC will choose the 10 additional members, of which no more than five may be from the 10 states naming members. **BYLAWS:** The LNC will name all 10 members, of which no more than five may be LNC members. **CREDENTIALS:** The five states with largest national LP membership, as determined for convention delegate allocation, will each choose one member. The LNC will choose five additional members.

Convention Plans Coming Along Well

by Loretta Weiss

The latest plans schedule "PRESCON '83," the 1983 Libertarian Party Presidential Nominating Convention, to take off with a bang. Eighteen controversial debates and panels will take place during the first three days of the convention—all before the delegates start their official business.

In fact, PRESCON '83 has been specially designed with the LP's hard-working delegates in mind. The program has been structured to give them as much exciting activity as possible at times when they are not required to be on the convention floor.

A second reason for scheduling these early debates and panels is to air issues which are likely to come up during platform and bylaws sessions, or issues of current importance to the libertarian community. Subjects addressed will include both public policy and internal party policy. Some of the planned topics are:

- *Libertarian Foreign Policy
- *Unilateral Disarmament
- *Defense Policy in the Middle East
- *The Legitimacy of Tax Credits
- *Enterprise Zones
- *Contracting for Government Services
- *The Flat Rate Tax
- *The Ethics of Transitional Programs
- *Nuclear Power
- *Party Strategy
- *The Role of the LP Platform
- *The Roles of LP Officials

Some other PRESCON '83 features now in the works include a presentation from Libertarians who have served in government or been elected to public office, offering new perspectives; a one-day series of panels entitled, "Without Regulation," focusing on several industries and the effects of deregulation; a five-lecture course on economics; and a series of seminars on Tax Planning (which may allow attendees to deduct the cost of transportation, hotel and convention fees).

In addition, as many as seven high-powered breakfast events may be offered, along with a multitude of workshops and individual speakers.

There will be a number of libertarian luminaries—some of which have not been seen at conventions for several years. Also being invited are non-libertarian experts on areas of special interest to libertarians.

And of course, the convention will feature a variety of entertainment events and surprises. All in all, PRESCON '83 is shaping up to be a very special convention. Watch future issues of *Libertarian Party News* for convention plan updates.

Loretta Weiss is the chairperson of the Free Libertarian Party's PRESCON '83 committee, which is responsible for planning the LP's 1983 Presidential Nominating Convention, to be held in New York City.

Bill To Help LP of Hawaii

A Democratic state senator in Hawaii plans to introduce legislation which will make it easier for the Libertarian Party of Hawaii to maintain ballot status.

The senator is acting on the urgings of LPH activists, particularly former LPH chair and Libertarian National Committee member Dale Pratt.

The legislation, to be sponsored by State Senator Neil Abercrombie, would eliminate the current requirement that the LPH field a statewide candidate who receives at least 10 percent

of the vote in order to retain ballot status.

The new legislation would allow all parties which qualify for ballot status in three consecutive elections to automatically maintain ballot status for the next 10 years. The party would have to requalify every 10 years by filing petitions signed by one percent of the state's registered voters.

The LPH have been a ballot-qualified party for five consecutive elections in 1984.

An Indecent Agenda: Rebuilding America Neo-liberal Style

by Sheldon Richman

Discredited political-economic ideas don't die. They just hide behind the woodwork waiting for hard times, for they are sure to be trotted out by the social engineers to proclamations that these "new" proposals are indispensable for curing America's ills.

In every economic crisis, someone has proposed that the government take on two tasks: heightened social discipline and economic planning. In one form or another, these are said to be the keys to prosperity and justice.

George Washington University sociologist Amitai Etzioni has done just that in his new book, *An Immodest Agenda: Rebuilding America Before the Twenty-First Century*. Etzioni's presentation is pretentious and his social theory is defective, when it is not banal. The most immodest thing about this project is the author's assessment of it.

In the tradition of social tinkers before him, Etzioni calls for the application of government power to rebuild the family, the community and the nation, and to reindustrialize the economy. As for social reconstruction, he is not content to preach self-responsibility, familial obligation, good will and respect for people's rights. He is instead counting on government muscle to bring about the reforms he favors.

This leads to a curious situation. Etzioni says he is an oppo-

nent of big government. He is neo-liberal—that is, welfare-statist whose rhetoric takes account of the public's anti-government instincts. So while Etzioni is obliged to knock "excessive government," his program is full of ways to expand it. He goes so far as to

tion of private pursuits." By "more public" he means, of course, more attentive to Etzioni's pet projects. Not wishing to be misunderstood, he writes that the American people must be made to serve a "core project," that is, society's "one overarching accomplishment [that] com-

He writes that the American people must be made to serve a "core project," that is, society's "overarching accomplishment that commands priority on resources and is the source of identity and meaning"... In fact, free and open societies are distinguished precisely by their lack of core projects.

implore us to have more faith in government power.

Among the government intrusions he leans toward are the national identity-card, national police force, increased federal control of education (how else to build a national consensus?, he asks), conscription and so-called national service. He disingenuously keeps mum on whether the last is to be compulsory.

Etzioni's justification for these programs is that the times dictate that "citizens will have to become less private, more public," that there be "some diminu-

mands priority on resources and is the source of identity and meaning, the society's organizing and mobilizing principle." (His emphasis.)

Is it unfair to comment that the fascist philosophers of the 1920's and 1930's preached the same thing?

In fact, free and open societies are distinguished precisely by their lack of core projects. The American people, as free citizens, have no single set of goals, and our society is free to the extent that there are no constraints on their peaceable pursuit of diverse objectives. Contrary to Etzioni, this does not lead to a disintegration of the community. Voluntary exchange and the coordination of plans in the market create a powerful social bond with full scope for personal relations. Etzioni's hostility to the foundations of the open society—"private" purposes, especially—puts him among the advocates of the primitivism that could barely support a fraction of today's population. Wanting industrialization is not enough. You cannot have the fruits of a market society without the "individualist" underpinnings that produce it.

Etzioni fails to grasp that America's original industrialization did not occur because someone imposed it as a core project. The process was more subtle and grand; it was the consequence of free individuals pursuing private ends in a market. The resulting "spontaneous order" was the product of human action, but not human design.

In the second half of his book, Etzioni puts his tribal sociology to work. Ever the optimist, he notes that whereas "societal reconstruction" is difficult, "economic policy is relatively 'malleable,' subject to engineering." In truth, this is a distinction without a difference, since what Etzioni expects to be malleable is not policy but people and their activities.

True to his neo-liberal roots, Etzioni attempts to distinguish his economic plan from essentially indistinguishable programs of New Deal liberals. Rejecting unguided laissez-faire and precisely targeted "industrial policy," Etzioni proposes "semi-targeted" tax, protectionist and subsidy policies—as if government intervention acquires new virtue when directed to broad sectors instead of specific industries.

He vividly illustrates the arrogance (or "fatal conceit," as F.A. Hayek calls it) of government-planning advocates. For example, Etzioni is sure that the transportation industry should switch to less capital-intensive systems. So (and here is the arrogant non sequitur) he wants the government to encourage such systems. His preference may be valid. The point is that we won't know until the market has spoken. No planning commission can have the information needed to pass judgement.

What Etzioni and his fellow planners don't want to acknowledge is that under any kind of government planning, regardless of intent, someone plans and someone else gets planned—by force. A reminder of this hard fact should take the sheen off Etzioni's indecent agenda.

Sheldon L. Richman is vice-chairman of the Libertarian Party.

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Washington Watch

Continued from page 8

agency plans to raise taxes in 1985 and 1986 if deficits continue to grow (and you can bet on it!).

The response of the Democratic leadership has been just as poor. Their solution is the same old tired prescription of raising taxes and pumping up the money supply, perhaps the two primary reasons we're in this economic mess to begin with. Many in Congress want to kill this year's installment of the income tax rate cut (10 percent in July) and wipe out income tax indexing scheduled to begin in 1986.

The growing fear of deficits has another idea gaining ground quickly in Congress: a freeze on spending, domestic and military, for at least two years. This idea is being pushed by presidential-hopeful, Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-

SC) and a number of House Republicans.

Unemployment—Government public works projects are back this year, even though their backers admit that even the most ambitious proposals would put only a small fraction of the unemployed back to work. The only initiative Reagan has put

for teens in the summer, it will do nothing to permanently lower unemployment among heads-of-household. However, even this mild step is likely to be rebuffed by the Democratic House.

Protectionism—Anti free trade feeling is rising rapidly in Washington, fueled by Big Labor, which insists that imports cost

year. With unemployment so high, protectionist bills can be expected to gain continued momentum.

Immigration Reform—Proposed reform of immigration laws, which died in the 97th Congress, will be back this year. Last year's Simpson-Mazzoli bill, which combined amnesty for several million illegal aliens already in the U.S. (but who have escaped detection) with a new system of fines on businesses which knowingly hire illegal aliens, will be up for consideration again. A coalition of Mexican-American groups and business groups can be expected to bring opposition.

David Lampo is on the staff of the Cato Institute, a public policy institute in Washington, D.C.

**This year alone,
government borrowing will
soak up three-quarters of all
private savings nationwide.**

forth is introducing a sub-minimum wage for teenagers, and even then, only for summer work. Although this might slightly increase employment

American jobs. Every major Democratic hopeful has endorsed strict new protectionist legislation, and the House passed such legislation last

IHS Offers Book Values at Discount

The Institute for Humane Studies is offering its "Free Market Library" at discounts of up to 90 percent through March 1. The IHS books offered would be of

Principles of Freedom Series, a group of nine books including *Freedom in Jeopardy: The Tyranny of Idealism* and *The Conquest of Poverty*, for only \$25 (normally valued at \$71).

Series in Free Market Philosophy, a group of seven books including Rothbard's new *The Ethics of Liberty* and Leonard Liggio and James J. Martin's *Watershed of Empire*, for only \$45 (normally valued at \$74.95).

Series in Economic Theory, a group of 17 paperback volumes, for only \$75 (also available individually).

Monographs in History, Political Science, Philosophy and Economics, a group of 23 books including Hayek's *The Intellectuals and Socialism* and Bill Marina's *Egalitarianism and Empire*, for only \$23.

The Institute's quarterly journal, *Literature of Liberty*, is

available for only \$56 for all 20 back-issues plus a two-year subscription, or for just \$16 for the coming eight issues. *Literature of Liberty* reviews current research which addresses issues of social and economic freedom.

For more information about IHS or for the complete book catalog, write: Institute for

Humane Studies, Box 1149, Menlo Park, CA 94025.

This column is prepared as a service of the Libertarian Party's Internal Education Committee. The LP does not necessarily endorse all the views of organizations, materials, or services mentioned in this column.

Featured Source Material

great benefit to all Libertarians interested in advancing their understanding of freedom.

Among the books being offered at discounts are works of Ludwig von Mises, Murray Rothbard, Henry Hazlitt, and F.A. Hayek.

Highlights of the bargains being offered by IHS are:

Libertarians Elected To Spanish Parliament

Libertarians in Spain were recently successful in electing two members of the Spanish parliament. The party, known as the Liberal Party in Spain, elected

Evaristo Amat of Valencia to the upper house and Pedro Schwartz of Madrid to the lower house.

Amat was an attendee of the first Libertarian International convention held in August, 1982, in Zurich, Switzerland. He is active in arranging the second Libertarian International convention, tentatively planned for August, 1984, in Barcelona or Madrid, Spain.

The Libertarian Party Judicial Committee has voted to hear the appeal of five percent of LP membership with respect to the the procedures used by the Libertarian National Committee in changing the LP National Director at the August 1982 LNC meeting.

The Judicial Committee will vote on the appeal by February 28, 1983. Individuals wishing to submit information concerning the appeal should send it to:

**Craig Franklin
Digital Research
Box 579
Pacific Grove, CA. 93950**

What's Available From Headquarters?

Qty/Amt Pamphlets:

Platform of the Libertarian Party. As adopted during the 1981 National Convention in Denver, Colorado (50¢ each)

Leaflet:

New 8½ by 11 leaflet, based on the Q&A Brochure. (5¢ each)

Libertarian Party Bylaws. As adopted during the 1981 National Convention in Denver, Colorado (\$1.00 each)

Books:

Libertarian Political Action. Campaigning skills including campaign organization, petitioning instructions, fundraising skills, outreach techniques and media contact. (\$5.00 each)

A New Beginning by Ed Clark (\$4.00 each)

Films:

"We Hold These Truths." Excellent introduction to the Libertarian Party. Available in 16mm film (\$125.00), VHS and Betamax (\$45.00, specify Beta 1 or Beta 11). Rental cost for film: \$25 for two days, \$40 for full week. Tape rental is \$15 for one week. Shipping included in purchase and rental price.

"The Incredible Bread Machine." 16mm film produced by World Research, Inc., available for rental (\$30.00).

Issue Papers: 50¢ each, 10 or more, 25¢ each.

Taxation

Unemployment

Social Security

Nuclear Weapons Freeze

Government and Mental Health

Nuclear Power

Posters: (\$2.00; 10 for \$10.00)

Libertarian Party Statement of Principles (inscribed on parchment-like paper, suitable for framing)

"No Draft-No War" (23"x 35")

"Against the Draft" (17"x 11") LNC draft resolution printed on parchment

"Clark for President" (18½"x 26")

"MacBride for President" (18"x 26")

"Hospers for President" (18½"x 26")

Statue of Liberty Poster (see p.20) printed on 80 lb. paper stock. (\$2.50 each; 5 for \$10.00)

"Vote Libertarian" cardboard poster 11" by 30" (\$4.00 each; 5 for \$15.00)

Notecards: (\$10 for 25)

Statue of Liberty notecards and envelopes, package of 25.

Bumper Stickers: (\$1.00 each)

Libertarian Party: The Party of Principle

Stop The Draft: Vote Libertarian

Legalize Freedom: Vote Libertarian

Total Amount of Order (15% discounts are given for orders over \$50.)

\$1.00

Add \$1.00 for postage and handling

MATERIAL ORDER TOTAL

Make checks payable to Libertarian Party, 2139 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Suite 102; Washington, DC 20007

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Phone (_____) _____

Occupation and Employer Name† _____

†Federal Election law requires us to ask for this information.

Enclosed is my check or money order made payable to "Libertarian Party."

Bill my ☐ Master Charge ☐ Visa

Account # _____

Exp. Date _____

Bank # (MC only) _____

Name as appears on card _____

I want to join the Libertarian Party.

Enclosed are my membership dues

- ☐ Regular (\$10)
☐ Sustaining (\$20)
☐ Patron (\$100)
☐ Associate (\$250)
☐ Benefactor-Lifetime (\$1000)

"I hereby certify that I do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political and social goals."

SIGNATURE _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

PHONE _____

OCCUPATION _____

Taking Liberties

by Bruce Majors

AND DON'T FORGET TO SHOW YOUR I.D.

The Food and Drug Administration has warned candy makers, importers and wholesalers that it is illegal to ship candy that contains liquor across state lines. The warning was issued shortly after the agency filed a complaint against Godiva Chocolatier, one of the nation's largest chocolate makers.

Washington Post
November 24

A LESSON ON FREE SPEECH IN A WELFARE STATE

The Internal Revenue Service is out to get us. The Reagan administration "proposes to end the threat that *Mother Jones* poses, by putting it out of business": that's the conclusion our legal counsel has reached after two years of arguing our case with the IRS...

The IRS has decided to deny us our tax exemption, asserting that *Mother Jones* magazine is a commercial enterprise "unrelated" to the goals of its tax-exempt parent, the Foundation for National Progress. That finding, if upheld, would be ruinous.

Mother Jones
January 1983

BUT ARE POLITICIANS HOMO SAPIENS???

Ronni Sanlo, executive director of the gay-oriented Florida Task Force, cautions that gay activists who intend to lobby effectively should know their subject matter well, "dress for the part," and be prepared to expect the unexpected.

Sanlo said she became aware of the need for the last suggestion when she made her first lobbying visit to a conservative Florida state senator.

"The first thing he said to me was, 'Honey, you don't look like a lesbian, you look like a woman.' I just sat there for a minute," said Sanlo. "Then I told him, 'Senator, all the lesbians I know are women.'"

Washington Blade
November 19

A REPUBLICAN DICTIONARY

Definition

"Tax," noun or verb, as in:

Nothing's as certain as death and revenue enhancement.

Render unto Caesar the user fees which are Caesar's.

No deficit reduction without representation.

The power to plug loopholes is the power to destroy.

Enhance revenue and spend, enhance revenue and spend, etc.

Washington Times
November 12

A GIFT FROM TEDDY, IF YOU LIVE THAT LONG

Britain's system of free, comprehensive medical care is going through its most troubled period since it was founded 34 years ago.

Soaring costs, an aging population, and months of labor trouble have led to what is widely seen as a severe crisis of confidence in the health service's ability to meet the public's needs.

Waiting lists of two years or more are increasingly common for orthopedic, ear-nose-throat and gynecological surgery.

"In bluntest terms," observed J. Keith Moger, director of the vast 11-year-old University Hospital, "many patients who go on the waiting lists will never come off."

Washington Post
November 22

TOAST??— WITH GUNS OR BUTTER?

There exists a relatively simple and cheap method, thanks to which all the bread in a household down to the last crumb, will be eaten. This method is called a toaster, which, unfortunately, is little available in our country. This device permits eating with pleasure yesterday's and the day before yesterday's bread.

Just heat it up a bit and brown it, spread butter, jam, honey or whatever on top and believe me, it's tasty. But toasters are made in this country only at the V.I. Lenin factory. Why are there no toasters for sale?

Nedelya (Soviet weekly magazine)
November 20

FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH

James C. Roberts, author, conservative activist, and White House Fellows program administrator for the Reagan administration asks:

"In the 18th century you had this leadership cadre of very,

very highly educated people. Why don't we have this quality, too?"

Washington Times
November 9

FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH II

Harry Britt, national vice chair of the Democratic Socialists of America, expounds: "There is only one issue—power—who has it, how we are going to take it and how we are going to use it."

Mother Jones
January 1983

THIS ITEM ISN'T EVEN FUNNY

In a unanimous decision, the U.S. Air Force Court of Military Appeals on Wednesday refused to modify a decision in which a lesbian was convicted at a court martial and sentenced to six years at hard labor.

The ruling came in the case of 2nd Lt. Joann C. Newak, 25, of Vandling, PA, who was convicted on March 11 of two charges involving homosexual behavior; charges of possession, use and transfer of marijuana; charges of attempted use and attempted transfer of a substance she believed to be amphetamines, and a charge of possessing amphetamines.

Newak's lover, Senior Airman Lynne Peelman, was also investigated by military officials, and then was hastily given an administrative discharge.

Newak is now in Fort Leavenworth Prison in Kansas, while Peelman has moved to New Mexico and is working as a waitress in a smalltown bar. The women plan to resume their relationship after Newak's release.

Washington Blade
December 17

DOCTOR IS AGAINST DEATH AND TAXES

A Winchester (VA) physician withheld 25 percent of his 1981 federal taxes—the amount he believes would have gone to the Pentagon—because he believes supporting the arms race violates the Hippocratic oath.

In a letter to the Internal Revenue Service accompanying his income tax check last April, Dr. Don Richardson said he can no longer "pay to destroy life while professionally committed to saving life."

"As a physician, it's a matter of conscience," Richardson said earlier this week.

Washington Times
November 18

PUBLIC SCHOOLS: EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

General Jim Czatto, the Polish Deputy Minister of Education and Upbringing, said some 70 teachers have been fired for disobeying instructions. They had refused to carry out the checks they were directed to make on children. Questions like, "Does your Daddy do much typing at home?," would help to track down the organizers of the underground Solidarity press.

America
November 20

AND NOW FOR SOME GOOD NEWS:

KUDOS FOR THE COLLEGE...

Earlham College, a Quaker school in Richmond, Indiana, is supporting students who refuse to register for the draft for reasons of conscience. In keeping with "its historic witness to the cause of peace and reconciliation," the school has decided to make up any federal aid a student loses because of non-compliance with the Selective Service System. Neither does the college display promotional materials for the armed service, nor allow military recruiters on campus.

...AND CHEERS FOR THE CHURCH STOCKHOLDERS

Western Airlines, which has flown some twenty-five refugees back to El Salvador each day, for over a year, has announced it will end this service to the U.S. government. The action has come as a result of pressure from Church stockholders and other groups concerned about human rights violations in El Salvador, and the possibility that those deported will be killed.

The Catholic Worker
November-December 1982