

Libertarian NEWS

March/April 1980

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The lights burned later than usual at Clark for President Headquarters the night of Jimmy Carter's State of the Union message, and the next day Ed Clark released a statement blasting Carter's new policy of militarism and repression symbolized by proposals to reinstate draft registration and to remove restrictions on the CIA and FBI.

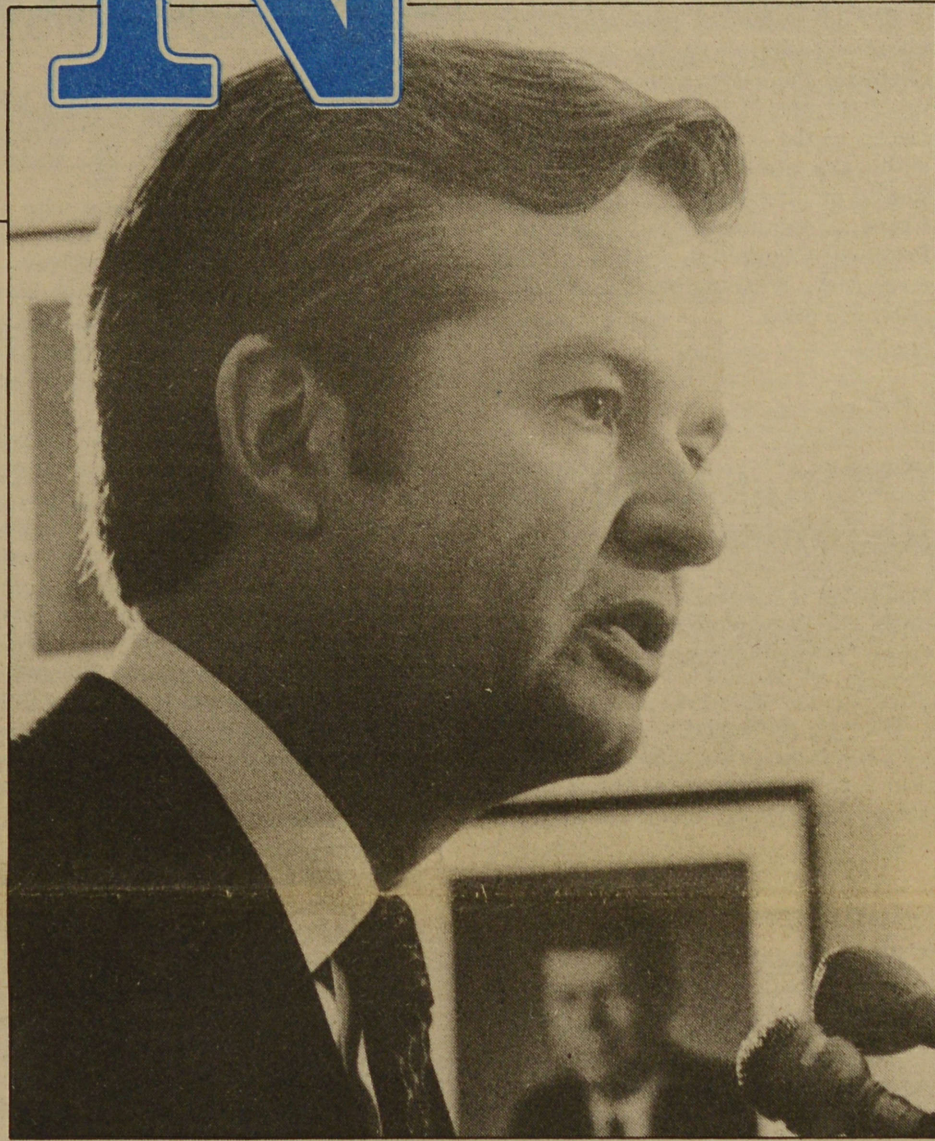
Calling the new Carter doctrine "a perilous extension of the discredited and destructive foreign policy that gave the American people the Vietnam war and the shah of Iran," Clark demanded that "for the sake of our national security a radically new policy of free trade and non-intervention in the affairs of other countries is in order."

Clark commented on the Afghanistan situation by warning that it "must not be used as a pretext for increased militarism on the part of the United States. The overkill capacity of our strategic weaponry is a documented fact. It is not affected by the current situation in the Middle East—a situation the gravity of which is much greater today because of decades of U.S. intervention . . ."

Appeals to toughness, sacrifice, and national will are but a "smokescreen," said the LP candidate for President, for Carter's disastrous foreign policy and "his complete inability to come to trips with . . . energy and inflation." Import limitations and wage-price controls will not solve these problems, he said, demanding instead that government get out of the energy business and stop inflating the supply of money.

Clark warned that Carter plans to salvage his hopeless record in office by leading the nation into war.

The LP candidate continued to hit



Ed Clark speaking at the Washington Press Club

Clark Assails Carter's State of the Union, LNC Endorses Draft Resistance

hard at the draft and the dangers of war in his speeches following the State of the Union message. The campaign issued another statement upon the

introduction of the White House's registration plans February 8, and followed this up two days later with a

Clark, continued on pg. 12

MARCH ON WASHINGTON TO STOP THE DRAFT

On Saturday, March 22, anti-draft activists from a wide variety of political persuasions will gather in Washington, D.C. for a March Against the Draft.

The march, which will begin at noon sharp at the Ellipse, will wind

its way down Pennsylvania Avenue past the White House to the steps of the Capitol, where a rally will take place at 2:00 PM. The march and rally are being supported by an *ad hoc* coalition named Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD), which includes the Libertarian Party, Students for a Libertarian Society, Coalition Against Registration and the Draft, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, the War Resisters League, and many other anti-draft groups.

For Libertarians this march represents a unique opportunity to make heard our *principled* opposition to

conscription, to make sure that Congress and the Administration once again understand that, in Senator Sam Nunn's words, "there are some red-eyed opponents out there!"

Many LP state organizations are already organizing charter buses and crash space for local Libertarians, and National Headquarters has hired veteran activist Leslie Graves Key to coordinate efforts to achieve a strong Libertarian presence at the March 22 anti-draft march and rally.

For more information, see the ad on the back page of this issue of *Libertarian News*.

Inside this issue:

Randolph tax-cut mania—
see page 2.

Feldstein wins in Arizona—
see page 2.

On the ballot in 28 states—
see page 4.

Vouchers vs. Tax Credits—
see page 8.

Calendar of Events
see page 12.

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LP Challenges Election Law

The Libertarian Party has joined a number of other political organizations in a series of current and planned lawsuits challenging the constitutionality of federal election laws restricting contributions and spending.

The first suit challenges restrictions on spending by individuals or groups who act outside the official campaign apparatus of a particular candidate. The suit is similar to a 1976 case brought by independent Presidential candidate Eugene J. McCarthy and former Sen. James L. Buckley, in which the U.S. Supreme Court struck down limits on independent spending.

The current suit is necessary, said McCarthy at a late December press conference attended by Clark for President communications director Edward H. Crane, because "Congress and the FEC have ignored much of what the Court said. They have tried to do indirectly what the Court said they may not do directly."

The suit, brought in the name of Stewart R. Mott, is being spearheaded by McCarthy and Sen. Gordon J. Humphrey (R-N.H.), and is being backed by the Libertarian Party, as well as the American Civil Liberties Union, the Washington Legal Defense Foundation, the Conservative Victory Fund, the Ripon Society, Young Americans for Freedom, and several other groups.

Future challenges will ask the Court to strike down contribution limits to all challenging candidates and minority parties, and to remove the \$25,000 ceiling on the total amount an individual may contribute in any one year. The group will also

seek abolition of special postage rates enjoyed by Democratic and Republican committees. (See related story about the Libertarian Party's suit against postal rate discrimination.)

The LP welcomes expressions of interest and support of this attempt to challenge the election laws, which represent one of the most serious obstacles to the growth of a third party within our political system. Inquiries should be directed to Edward H. Crane, Communications, Clark for President Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20007 (202) 333-8263.

LNC Anti-Draft Resolution

Following is the text of the anti-draft resolution approved by the Libertarian National Committee, February 3, 1980:

Whereas the Libertarian Party has a long-standing opposition to registration and conscription, as stated in its national platform, and

Whereas registration for the draft is nothing more than a prelude to military conscription, and

Whereas conscription is slavery and poses the greatest threat to the survival of a free society in this decade,

Therefore Be It Resolved that the Libertarian National Committee opposes any form of compulsory registration or the draft, and

Be It Further Resolved that we further endorse civil disobedience as an appropriate moral and practical means of resisting mandatory registration and the draft.

LP Seeks Publications Director

The Libertarian National Committee is soliciting expressions of interest from qualified individuals willing to work at national headquarters as full-time publications director. Responsibilities will include development of literature and managing editorship of *Libertarian News*. Salary requirements should be specified. Send resumes and samples of writing ability to William D. Burt, National Director, Libertarian Party, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

Randolph Initiative Sets Off Alaska Tax-cut Fever

"The maverick legislator who has everyone dancing to his tune," as the Anchorage (Alaska) *Times* describes Libertarian legislator Dick Randolph, submitted 21,000 signatures in January to qualify Alaska Libertarians' income tax cut initiative for the November 1980 ballot.

Filing of the initiative, which would virtually repeal Alaska's personal income tax, immediately set off a wave of new proposals to outdo the initiative itself, dominating the opening sessions of the 1980 Legislature. Senate Democrats prefiled a trio of bills to repeal personal income taxes, reduce corporate income taxes, and reduce the maximum property tax rate municipalities may levy. The 14-member House Republican caucus introduced a bill to repeal the personal income tax and "suspend" virtually all other taxes except oil and gas severance taxes. Suspension implies that if state revenues dipped below a certain level the taxes would be revived again after six months' notice.

However, Libertarian Randolph is staying ahead in the race to cut taxes in Alaska, a race he started. Shortly after filing the initiative, he introduced HB 554 to repeal both the state personal income tax and the corporate income tax. Under Randolph's bill, personal income taxes would be repealed *retroactive* to January 1, 1979, refunding \$150 million to Alaska's 100,000 taxpayers. Repeal of corporate income taxes would take effect June 30 and would cut state revenues an additional \$586 million over the next fiscal year.

"The basic problem with Alaska's economy is that the government has too much wealth and the people have too little," said Randolph from the House floor. "Our challenge, then, is to get wealth out of government hands into the people's hands."

Moving beyond the tax issue, the nation's first Libertarian legislator on February 6 introduced a House joint resolution opposing President Carter's call for renewed draft registration. With a passionate and inflamed speech from the floor, Randolph appealed to Alaskans to rise up and oppose conscription, tying the war issue in with Alaska's unique position in the United States' energy picture.

"Any thinking person would have to ask themselves why we have a federal government policy that is rapidly making us more dependent upon foreign energy sources, while, at the same time, they are seriously considering demanding that our young men

and women fight and die to protect a source of energy that there is no excuse for us to be dependent on in the first place."

"Let's put our kids and our industry to work digging holes for oil, not for graves!" said Randolph.

Randolph and the burgeoning Alaska party are taking the lead in opposing Senator Mike Gravel's proposal to divide Alaska's enormous state surplus among the population via a government-administered plan whereby individuals would be given "shares" in a quasi-public corporation which would "invest" state revenues in porkbarrel projects. Labeling the Gravel plan "corporate socialism" and "a fool's paradise," Randolph will be increasingly directing at-

Tax cut continued on page 10.

Flash! LP Candidate Wins City Council Seat

1980's first Libertarian electoral victory goes to Murray Feldstein, who won a March 4 race for City Council in Flagstaff, Arizona.

Feldstein placed third in a field of six candidates running for three seats, with slightly over 2,600 votes. The second and first place winners received 2,800 and 3,000 votes respectively, the fourth place candidate receiving only 2,200. In an earlier primary, Feldstein had placed second.

Though the race was officially "nonpartisan," Feldstein explicitly ran as a Libertarian, emphasizing his opposition to a proposed expenditure of taxpayer monies for a civic center and hitting hard on other local community issues.

In the period following his initial primary win, Feldstein's opposition stiffened somewhat and began a campaign to discredit the Libertarian candidate by disseminating distorted interpretations of Libertarian positions on the issues. But Feldstein "stuck to his guns" and the opposition's tactics may have actually contributed to the Feldstein victory.

In response to Feldstein's win LP National Headquarters offered its congratulations and reaffirmed its commitment to assist local elected Libertarians. In addition, Feldstein welcomed expressions of support and issue-oriented information from Libertarians around the nation.

Libertarian INTERVIEWS

Editor:
William D. Burt
Staff:
Jay Hilgartner
Frances Eddy
Gillian Jewell
Mary Drolte

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Letters and inquiries should be addressed to *Libertarian News*, Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007. Unsolicited material will be considered, but no liability for its handling or return will be assumed.

Laying The Groundwork 1979 LP Secretary's Report



Sylvia Sanders,

Libertarian National Committee Secretary

1. Financial Condition

The 1979 Budget approved by the Libertarian National Committee totaled \$180,250. Actual revenues for 1979 were \$247,783, actual expenditures \$218,659. The net worth of the Party at the end of 1978 was \$20,201, and at the end of 1979 was \$49,325.

For the second year Ray Cunningham coordinated a massive fund-raising campaign combining personal solicitations, direct mail, and personal telephone contact. The 1979 total of income and pledges raised through this campaign was \$112,844, the largest yet in LP history. Successful fundraisers who assisted in this effort are listed in the January/February *LP News*.

2. Support Base

A regular system of renewal notices for Libertarian Party contributors was initiated in 1979, and processing of contributor information and services was substantially streamlined by bringing computer services in-house. Membership chair Jim Clarkson and the National Committee's ad hoc Computer Committee assisted greatly with these innovations.

3. Ballot Drives

Based on research by the "50 in '80 Committee," ballot drives were begun in many states for the 1980 elections. At the close of 1978, the LP had ballot status in six states: Alabama, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Ten more were added as of December 31, 1979: California, Delaware, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, New Jersey, New Mexico, Utah, and Wisconsin. National resources were committed to ballot drives in California, Wisconsin, Oregon, Michigan, Nebraska, and Delaware.

The Party joined in the Committee for Fair Ballot Access, and participated in a lawsuit challenging the federal elections laws.

4. Affiliated Parties

There were 48 affiliated parties at the end of 1978, and 51 at the end of 1979. Currently all 50 states except West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia and Guam, have affiliated parties. The three new affiliates in 1979 were Maine and Rhode Island (in January) and Vermont (in September). The Missouri LP disbanded in August, and a new Missouri party affiliated in September.

5. 1979 Convention

The LP Regular Convention for 1979 was held in Los Angeles September 6-9. Ed Clark was nominated as the LP candidate for president, after a spirited pre-convention campaign for the nomination by Clark and Bill Hunscher. David Koch was nominated as the vice presidential candidate. Officers and other National Committee members were also elected.

For the first time, control over the convention program and planning was handled by a committee appointed by the National Committee, and not by the host state. There was considerable controversy over the convention program and the membership and workings of the committee.

An estimated 1,600 people attended the convention; of these 688 were registered delegates or alternates. According to convention manager Ed Crane, the convention lost \$37,000, most of which was later made up by the Clark for President Committee out of the \$93,000 raised at the convention banquet. In spite of financial shortcomings, the convention can be considered a great success in gaining media credibility and coverage, and in building LP activists' enthusiasm and knowledge.

Significant changes made in the LP constitution by the convention include: enlarging the number of regions from 10 to 18; allowing the National Committee discretion in deciding whether to hold non-regular conventions; reapportioning delegates to favor smaller states and parties; and changing the method of balloting for presidential and changing the method of balloting for presidential and vice presidential candidates and the National Committee so that all states' votes are submitted before any are announced.

Changes in the LP platform included a revised plank on energy (reflecting recent debate on the nuclear power issue), new planks on

inflation and recession, monopoly, transportation, and China, and many specifics added to other planks.

6. Headquarters Activities

A. Publications: "Earth's Resources: Private Ownership vs. Public Waste," a booklet by Robert J. Smith, and "Nuclear Power—A Question of Insurance," a position paper by Jay Hilgartner, were both published during 1979. The general recruiting brochure "New Political Times" was updated to show 1978 election gains.

Previous publications still available include: "Local Problems' Libertarian Solutions," a booklet by Bill Burt; "Techniques of Effective Political Campaigning," a booklet by Chris Hocker; position papers on "Libertarianism," "Inflation: Its Cause and Cure," "Civil Liberties," "Government and Business," "Pot, Helmets, Vitamins and You," "Gun Control," "Government and Mental Health," and "Conscription: the New Slavery." Also available are the 1980 Platform; "Gay Rights: A Libertarian Approach," a booklet by Ralph Raico; *A New Dawn for America* by Roger MacBride; and fact sheets on U.S. Agriculture, Strip Mining, Arts and the State, Oil Company Divestiture and the 55 MPH Speed Limit.

The *LP News* was published four times in 1979.

B. Political Action Workshops: A series of workshops on campaign skills was presented by Chris Hocker, with the assistance of Ray and Carol Cunningham and others, in nine locations during the spring and summer of 1979. Locations were: Philadelphia, Columbus, Salt Lake City, Atlanta, Dallas, Des Moines, Portland, Houston, and Chicago. The workshops trained a total of approximately 350 LP activists in management theory, use of direct mail, design of advertising and brochures, fundraising, voter analysis and petitioning.

C. Computer: Vice Chair M.L. Hanson conducted a study of the Party's computer needs and presented a report to the National Committee in April 1979. A Computer Committee was formed to examine the options and arrange for new computer services. By December of 1979, a Data General MP-100 was installed at LP Headquarters on a lease basis. The computer will handle membership and mailing lists, word processing, FEC reports, and bookkeeping.

E. New National Director and Staff: Bill Burt was appointed to serve as National Director from December 1, 1979 through November 30, 1980, replacing Chris Hocker who went to work for the Clark campaign as National Coordinator. Frances Eddy was hired as Administrative Assistant, replacing Cynthia Ingham, who took a job with the Council for

a Competitive Economy. Still part of National Headquarters staff are Gillian Jewell, Administrative Assistant, and Jay Hilgartner, Research Director.

7. Election Results

The LP continued to make progress at the state and local level during 1979. Bruce Wammack won election to the Borough Assembly in Fairbanks, Alaska. Joseph Jorgens won a seat on the District of Columbia Neighborhood Advisory Council. Gary Gates was elected to the Common Council in Madison, Wisconsin.

Following is a summary of Libertarian state and local races in 1979:

In California, Zack Richardson finished third in a field of four contenders for one seat on the Los Angeles City Council, with 5% of the vote. Fred Foldvary ran 14th of 18 contenders for four seats on the Berkeley City Council. Bart Lee achieved balance-of-power status with 3.25% of the vote in his race for San Francisco district attorney, keeping civil libertarian Carol Ruth Silver from being forced into a runoff. Mark Dickens ran for the 11th District supervisor's seat in San Francisco and received 2.5% of the ballots cast. Andy Garrett came close to winning a five-way race for 2 seats on the East Side School District in San Jose, coming just 1,500 votes short (and pulling nearly 35% of the vote) on a \$40 budget.

In the District of Columbia, Marion Williams, Alan Forschler, and Joseph Jorgens ran for the D.C. Neighborhood Advisory Council. Jorgens, as noted above, won, and Williams piled up nearly half of the vote. In Hawaii, Ward Schmidt ran for mayor of Maui, and in Indiana David Haxton ran for the Booneville City Council. Brian Frederick received 42% of the votes in his race for school board in Alta, Iowa, and Art Addington received 4% of the ballots cast in his alderman's race in Davenport, Iowa. In Kansas, Karl Peterjohn and Sue Rolfson finished 9th and 7th, respectively, in a field of 19 candidates running for six seats on the Wichita School Board. In Massachusetts, Peter Hadley ran for

Groundwork, continued on pg. 12

Volunteer organizers needed for LP ballot drives around the nation now thru August. Possible travel. If interested, contact Marion Williams or Chris Hocker at Ed Clark for President Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Suite 201, Washington, D.C. 20007. Ph. (202) 333-8263.

When the House Subcommittee on Communications held hearings in early February on H.R. 6103—a bill that would repeal the “equal time” requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates—they invited representatives of the Republican, Democratic and Libertarian national committees to submit testimony. Ed Crane, former national chair and a member of the LNC, submitted the following statement.

“Based on the election results in 1976 and 1978, the Libertarian Party is the nation’s third largest party. That should also mean that we are the nation’s largest minority party but, according to the definitions established by the Federal Election Campaign Act, there *are* no minor parties in the United States—only new parties.

“The Libertarian Party was founded in 1972 and I have been involved with its operations since that date. From 1974 to 1977 I was national chairperson of the Libertarian Party. I am currently involved in the campaign of Ed Clark, the Libertarian presidential nominee, in the capacity of communications director. In 1980 I expect that Mr. Clark will be on the ballot in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

“In all of my roles within the Libertarian Party and its various campaigns, including that of our 1976 Presidential nominee Roger MacBride, I have come into conflict with the so-called “equal time” provision of section 315 (a) of the Communications Act of 1934. Without question this provision of the law has

Crane Testifies Against “Equal Time” Requirements

acted to reduce political debate in general and specifically to inhibit access to the media by the Libertarian Party and its candidates.

“The Libertarian Party’s objection to the ‘equal time’ provision is both philosophical and practical. Philosophically, it is a blatant infringement on the natural and First Amendment rights to freedom of speech. There is nothing equal about the quality of different ideas or of the perception of the same idea by different individuals. To try to legislate such equality is a typical bureaucratic attempt to deny reality. Electronic media should be subject to the same First Amendment protections as the print media. It is not the Government’s role to presume that certain media cannot or must not discriminate between candidates. If the argument is that there is limited access to the airwaves, then the answer is to end use of the government-imposed restrictions on ownership and use of the virtually limitless frequencies that technology now makes available.

“But even under the current restricted competitive situation in the television industry, the effect of the

‘equal time’ provision is clearly counter-productive to the ostensible rationale for that law. I say ‘ostensible’ because it is hard for me to believe that the Republicans and Democrats who voted this law into existence were unaware of what its real impact would be. These are, after all, the same two parties that had the audacity to pass an appropriations bill that allows the Republicans and Democrats to mail letters for less than half the cost of letters mailed by the Libertarian Party. According to a New York *Times* report of November 7, 1979, William Sullivan, a member of the Postal Board of Governors, remarked that Congress had said, “Take 4 million, and by the way, don’t spend any of the \$4 on parties that don’t begin with a capital R and a capital D.” I mention this only to suggest that while the purported purpose of ‘equal time’ legislation may be to expand public debate to include new and alternative political ideas, there is ample evidence that Congress has not in the past demonstrated what one would call a passionate commitment to that goal. There was, I would say, a method to their ‘equal time’ madness.

“Let me conclude by saying that I know of dozens of instances in which Libertarian candidates have been denied access to radio and television talk shows, debates, and forums because the network or station involved was justifiably concerned over the ‘equal time’ implications of having our spokesperson on the air. The Libertarian Party is perfectly willing to compete openly and freely in the marketplace of ideas. We don’t need special ‘favors’ from Congress. We ask only that Congress deregulate the broadcast industry and, in that spirit, that it pass H.R. 6103. Thank you.”

The subcommittee seemed genuinely surprised that a “minor” party should oppose the “equal time” provision of the Communications Act. In the question and answer period following the formal testimony, Crane emphasized the Libertarian party’s opposition to any government interference with the electronic media. He pointed out that current technology in communications—from cable to satellite transmission—destroys any previous arguments about the limited access to the “public” airwaves requiring regulation.

Also invited to testify were Robert A. Newman, Deputy Chair of the Democratic National Committee, and Bill Brock, Chairman of the Republican National Committee. During an earlier panel testimony was given by the three networks and National Public Radio, all of whom opposed the “equal time” requirement. In its testimony, NPR specifically mentioned its desire to cover the Libertarian party as one of the reasons for favoring H.R. 6103.



California Libertarian candidates assembled for a group photo at the state’s recent party convention. Duplicates available from Barbara Kamm, 6421 Sligo Circle, Huntington Beach, CA 92647 for \$8.00 (8 x 10), \$6.00 (5 x 7), or \$5.00 (3 x 4).

Ballot Drives: Full Steam Ahead

Fresh from the report of official ballot status for the Libertarian Party in California, the Steering Committee of the Ed Clark for President campaign announced its decision to pursue actively ballot status for Clark in all 50 states.

Prior to this decision, the Committee had considered “writing off” drives in such difficult states as Maryland, Georgia, West Virginia, Oklahoma, and Missouri. A successful fundraising effort and subsequent encouraging petitioning results in Maryland—rated as the most difficult of the five—persuaded the Committee that similar techniques could be used in the other states.

Meanwhile, the Libertarian Party in California was officially certified for permanent ballot status at a press conference in Sacramento held jointly

Ballot, continued on pg. 10

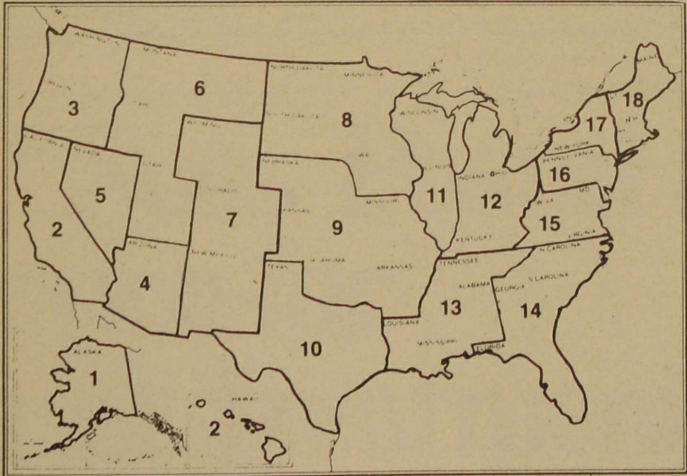
Libertarian National Committee

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
William D. Burt, National Director
2300 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.
Suite 201
Washington, D. C. 20007
(202) 333-8209

March 1980

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

- Lew Beyer
P.O. Box 742
Fairbanks, AK 99707
(907) 456-1211
- Bill White
1220 Larnel Place
Los Altos, CA 94022
(415) 961-4837 (h)
497-3324
Bruce Lagasse
4924 Sepulveda Blvd. #6
Sherman Oaks, CA 91403
(213) 501-0769 (h)
391-0711 x2630 (o)
Mike Anzis
71 Oak Tree Lane
Irvine, CA 92715
(714) 552-9255 (h)
835-1055 (o)
- Vivian Baures
2351 China Gulch Rd.
Ruch, OR 97530
(503) 899-8250 (h)
- Joe D. Yancey
122 E. Main Street
Mesa, AZ 85201
(602) 892-0461 (h)
834-7111 (o)
- Rick White
1605 E. Charleston
Las Vegas, NV 89104
(702) 731-1355
- Norman F. Maucher
269 D Kelsey Ave.
Salt Lake City, UT 84111
(801) 466-3048
- John Mason
168 S. Emerson St.
Denver, CO 80209
(303) 733-5916
- Ben Olson
Rt #1, Box 114
Pocahontas, IA 50574
(712) 335-4049
- Sylvia Moring
1421 N. University 104
Little Rock, AR 72207
(501) 664-0264
- Ann Marie Hammond
1921 Place One Ln.
Garland, TX 75042
(214) 238-3785 (o)
690-4260 (h)
- Leslie Graves Key
4257 Doncaster Dr.
Madison, WI 53711
(608) 274-8612 (h)
257-0145 (o)
- Eric O'Keefe
6415 Gladys
Detroit, MI 48210
(313) 898-3616
- Paul Grant
P.O. Box 27258
Lakewood, CO 80227
(303) 989-3408
- Craig Franklin
Box 12728 Res. Tri. Pk.
North Carolina 27709
(919) 544-3427 (h)
- Jule Herbert
1113 C Street S.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003
(202) 547-4955 (h)
543-1300 (o)
- Mitchell S. Feldman
221 Glenridge Ave.
Montclair, NJ 07042
(201) 783-6246
- Dan Feldman
170 G Kearsing Pkwy
Monsey, NY 10952
(914) 352-1683 (h)
(201) 783-6246 (o)
- Carl T. Helmers, Jr.
Carriage Hill Road
Hancock, NH 03449
(603) 525-4038 (h)
525-3555 (h)
924-9281 (o)



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Advertising/Publications: David F. Nolan, Chair
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Judicial: Jim Clarkson, Chair 4 Coral Ave., Rome, Ga 30161
(404) 235-2181 (h) 291-9471 (o)
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OFFICERS

Chairman

David Bergland
854 Bear Creek
Costa Mesa, CA 92627
(714) 979-5985 (h)
751-8980 (o)

Vice-Chairwoman

Mary Louise Hanson
P.O. Box 22617
Denver, CO 80222
(303) 753-0070 (h)
893-2211 (o)
ext. 2746

Secretary

Sylvia Sanders
RR #1, Box 114
Pocahontas, IA 50574
(712) 335-4049

Treasurer

Dr. Dallas Cooley
8316 Arlington Blvd. Ste. 232
Fairfax, VA 22031
(703) 280-1106 (h)
573-9000 (o)

MEMBERS AT-LARGE

Sara Baase
4250 Cobalt Drive
LaMesa, CA 92041
(714) 460-9136 (h)
265-5231 (o)

Fred Esser
1101 W. McDowell
Phoenix, AZ 85007
(602) 263-5426 (h)
254-5119 (o)

William J. Howell
P. O. Box 12618
Dallas, TX 75225
(214) 692-6068 (h)
651-1784 (o)

Dick Randolph
P.O. Box 123
Fairbanks, AK 99701
(907) 456-8480 (h)
456-7787 (o)

Edward H. Crane
2300 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007
(202) 333-8209

Michael Emerling
P.O. Box 268
Baton Rouge, LA 70821
(504) 387-5146

David F. Nolan
1818 S. Jasmine
Denver, CO 80224
(303) 770-2000 (o)
759-2244 (h)

Jan.-June
Pouch V
Juneau, AK 99811
(907) 465-4954 (o)
586-3392 (h)

LIBERTARIAN PARTY STATE CHAIRPERSONS

ALABAMA

Alabama LP
Contact LP
National Headquarters

ALASKA

Bruce Boyd
1105 Cushman
Fairbanks, AK 99701
(907) 488-3688 (h)
456-4464 (o)

ARIZONA

Fred Esser
1101 W. McDowell Rd.
Phoenix, AZ 85007
(602) 263-5426 (h)
254-5119 (o)

ARKANSAS

Paul Jacob
35 De Soto Circle
N. Little Rock, AR 72116
(501) 753-6601 (h)

CALIFORNIA

Jack Sanders
708 Gage Drive
San Diego, CA 92106
(714) 226-1404

COLORADO

John Mason
168 S. Emerson
Denver, CO 80209
(303) 733-5916 (h)

CONNECTICUT

Bob Loomis
P.O. Box 252
East Granby, CT 06026
(203) 653-3939 (h)

DELAWARE

David Lips
1102 West St. Room 500
Wilmington, DE 19801
(302) 655-7111 (o)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Jay Hilgartner
2300 Wisconsin Ave. NW
Washington, D. C. 20007
(202) 333-8209 (o)
686-0839 (h)

FLORIDA

Ted McAnlis
1918 Ascott Rd
N. Palm Beach, FL 33408
(305) 626-3212 (h)

GEORGIA

Gary Marcus
3330 Atlanta Road, #N-8
Smyrna, GA 30080
(404) 436-9220

GUAM

James L. Joyner
P.O. Box 3417
Agana, Guam 96910

HAWAII

Mike Rossell
119 Merchant St. Ste. 208
Honolulu, HI 96813
(808) 988-6233 (h)
949-2947 (o)

IDAHO

Larry Fullmer
P.O. Box 4106
Pocatello, ID 83201
(208) 232-2306 (h)

ILLINOIS

Anne McCracken
10 South 100, Route 53
Naperville, IL 60540
(312) 739-6240 (h)

INDIANA

Joe Hauptmann
116 East Wayne St.
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_____ **Local Problems: Libertarian Solutions**. The popular community issues manual. (\$5.00 each)

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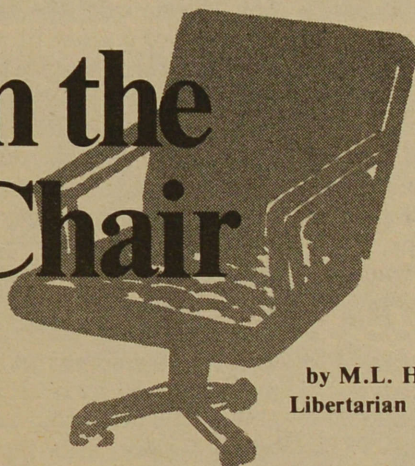
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from the Chair



by M.L. Hanson, Vice Chair
Libertarian National Committee

The general topic of this issue's column is somewhat different from usual, due partly to a different author. The focus is on managing our professional and political lives in a more effective and productive way, for both the benefit of the activist and the party organization. This may be a bit off the beat, but I believe that there is some value in exploring this issue. Much of what is written below has its basis in my own observations and in talking with members around the country.

Often in a conversation with a Libertarian who is, or wishes to become, an activist, I hear the same comment... "If only I had the time to do more work for the L.P." Partially because of this time and effort bind, some of us also think we need to be paid for our efforts on Libertarian projects. Being paid, we could move away from our cumbersome non-libertarian oriented employment. There seems to be hardly enough time and energy for our careers, let alone for our libertarian avocations, and a personal life too.

The good news is that many people are finding a way to use their talents by starting businesses which are compatible with L.P. activities. These entrepreneurs buy themselves the time, money and autonomy to structure their own lives. The Libertarian Party benefits as well through the individuals' increased activism, but even more importantly, from the business skills and products that are

made available by these people. Their expertise, gained from experience in their professional lives, is often highly useful to the L.P. In many cases there is less 'start-up' time, since the people already know their particular field of expertise.

Other L.P. members choose a different path; they remain in the employment of firms owned by people other than themselves. These individuals can also be very productive for the Libertarian effort since company policies and attitudes can be influenced by the Libertarian employee from the inside, and also help create credibility. The hours and activities permitted may not be as flexible as for the person who has his or her own business, but there is still the potential for transferring skills from one's professional sphere to one's political activities.

The point is: in order for each of us to earn a living and be fiscally responsible, we develop skills based on diverse talents and motivations. *It is these skills and talents that we should be bringing to our activism*, especially if we think we should be paid for our efforts. And, when we are thinking of recruiting someone and getting them involved in volunteer work, or when we have openings on our State Party Committees, we should bear this in mind. There is still plenty of room for unskilled volunteers who can be taught the ropes of political action, but the key people should already know what they themselves are doing.

There are benefits to the individual as well as to the organization when this approach is used.

We are all in some kind of a time bind. Stresses result from endeavoring to perform well, and under tight deadlines, at tasks for which we have no background. This may be one of the reasons why some activists "burn out." It is much easier to perform a job that you not only know how to do, but which is also compatible with your other activities. Why torture yourself? When volunteering to take on a position, make it easy on yourself, by choosing something that is in line with your life.

From the organization's standpoint, if we choose individuals on the above basis for projects, we don't lose as much productive time while they travel up the learning curve. Enthusiasm is great, but expertise is also important. Just because the project to be performed is for the L.P., paid or volunteer, doesn't mean that good business practices do not apply. In your professional lives, if you were in a position to hire people, you probably would not hire someone great at sales to be an accountant. It would be profitable for neither the company or the employee. In the Libertarian Party we need to apply our own good workaday principles to our activism, if we are to operate efficiently as an organization, and effectively as individuals.

In addition, in order to recruit and utilize the talents of new members, we cannot use the length of time a person has been a member of the Party as sole criteria for filling jobs. Our Party is growing and becoming more sophisticated, which creates more jobs to be done. If we do not have meaningful work for our new members, we not only are not utilizing an important pool of talent, we are not building for the future.

One last issue that relates to the application of professional experience to our political lives is *planning*. We plan our careers, our vacations, and other portions of our lives. It can be very important to plan our political lives as well. Once people clearly



M. L. Hanson

identify what they want to do, they can begin to establish some way of getting from here to there. They can determine what resources are going to be needed, and whether or not the resources already exist rather than duplicating or reinventing materials and efforts. I would encourage you to find out from the National Headquarters what is available. We have a full-time staff, as you know, and part of their job is to collect information and materials from across the country. In fact, efforts have been accelerating on this front with the Committee to Assist State Parties, and also the collection by National Headquarters of Speeches, Editorials and Letter to the Editor. Our staff people are experienced and can probably help to reduce the time it would take to research issues or contact organizations with special interests that overlap with the Libertarian concerns.

By calling on the Headquarters Staff for assistance, and using your own developed talents in your political activities, a lot of time and effort can be saved. Who knows, the balancing of professional, political, and personal lives might be less difficult and conflicting as we strive for Liberty.

LP Sues Postal Service for Equal Treatment

In December 1979 the U.S. Postal Service wrote to LP National Headquarters and LP state party organizations informing us that the bulk mailing rate available previously to all political parties would henceforth be available only to the Republican and Democratic parties.

This decision forces the Libertarian Party to pay a higher rate than Republican and Democratic parties in order to use third class bulk mail.

Consequently, the LP is suing the postal service for equal treatment. The suit, being spearheaded by the New York Civil Liberties Union and Gary Greenberg of the New York Free Libertarian Party, went to court

in New York on February 14, whereupon the plaintiffs were granted a hearing for a preliminary injunction against the postal service's discriminatory action, set for March 5.

State LP groups should keep close track of their third class bulk rate mail expenditures from the date of their rate increase notice to when ever this matter is settled. In most cases, post offices are requiring that the higher charges be paid on current bulk rate mailings, and these excess charges may at some point in the future become refundable if the judgement is in agreement with the LP's contentions.

A recent report by a research arm of the Carnegie Foundation charges that one out of every three youths is "ill-equipped to make his way in American society" by a badly-performing, increasingly costly public education system. The report charged that high schools prolong "compulsory youth" and that "high school is an alienating experience for many young people (and) like a prison—albeit with open doors—for some."

Shades of John Holt! One might be tempted to think that public educators are suddenly, inexplicably, exhibiting libertarian tendencies. But no. Their answer to the problem of high schools-as-prisons is to propose prison reform. Carnegie in particular recommends that juniors and seniors be paroled two days a week to take jobs and that trusty students be offered the opportunity of apprenticeship programs aimed at later military service. Early release is also contemplated in a proposal to end compulsory schooling at age sixteen.

The *public*, as contrasted to public educationalists, have already begun to take steps in the direction of a Libertarian solution to the education problem—and those steps do not lead down the road of "reformism". The two fastest growing phenomena on the education scene are, first, the small private schools, and, second, the "unschooling movement" arising from families' demands to keep their children out of school altogether. Both the private schools and the unschoolers represent possible allies for Libertarians bent on separating School and State.

Schools must be freed from government domination for precisely the reasons that public educationalists argue for the continued support of State education. "Children must be socialized and learn to adapt to the demands of society", so the argument goes. One conjures up a vision of the alternative: a nation-full of illiterate, helpless, suspicious halfwits. Then there is reality. There is the fact that America's *public* schools are producing hostile and increasingly less capable young adults. There is the fact that test scores in public schools have fallen for sixteen years straight. There are the hundreds of rapes, beatings, and killings which occur in urban prison-schools each year. Turning to history, there is the fact that millions of poor immigrants were, in the 19th century, educated largely for free by voluntarily-funded non-government schools—without inducing the widespread alienation one sees in today's students.

It is rare that Libertarians can, simply by using the available facts, so completely turn the tables on apologists for the status quo. Those who delve into this issue will find that representatives of the teachers' unions and public school administrators are often hard-core, last-ditch defenders

of forceful domination of society by a privileged class of "experts". Libertarians can only respond in equally hard-core, principled terms, by calling for complete disengagement of government from the process of educating America's youth, and by working for every concrete step which will take us closer to that goal.

Already we hear a loud and sometimes confusing debate about how best to allow greater liberty in education. One such controversy focuses on the question of educational vouchers vs. tax credits.

Both vouchers and tax credits have a complicated lineage. Milton Friedman proposes a "simple" voucher whereby public school budgets are allocated to eligible parents, who, by presenting a voucher certificate redeemable with state monies, can enroll their child in the school of

Seen in light of Libertarian principles, the Clark-inspired educational tax credit emerges as far and away the superior approach. First and most important, it does not extend or increase the violation of our liberties through oppressive taxation and redistribution of income. It does offer anyone with taxable income a chance to divert some or all of that person's tax payments from the government to educational expenses chosen by the taxpayer. And it does offer low-income students a decent shot at good schooling by permitting any taxpayer to donate to the school or student, without entangling the student in government's oppressive welfare bureaucracy. Unlike many voucher proposals, the Clark tax credit is careful to specify that any school where a child may attend may also be claimed as a legitimate object of

is important in terms of principle as well as practicality. A tax credit is a tax cut, *not* a grant of monies collected by force and then redistributed through government channels. Libertarians do not support government subsidies of schools, religious or secular. They do support tax cuts. Most especially do they support tax cuts which will encourage a trend away from the government-run school system.

In California, where Ed Clark's idea has re-emerged as a ballot initiative circulated by National Taxpayers Union, the tax credit has attracted strong support after the failure of the Coons-Sugarman voucher initiative last fall. Impressed by NTU's commitment to maintaining the liberty of private schools under its proposed educational tax credit, California's largest association of fundamentalist Christian schools has joined NTU, the Libertarian Party of California, the state's Republican Committee, the Knights of Columbus, and numerous local tax groups in a coalition to put the educational tax credit on the ballot. Thus does the practical side of the subsidy vs. tax credit issue make itself felt. After hassling with the IRS over tax-exempt status and other issues for many years, private schools are very determined to minimize their involvement with government, especially those private schools outside the larger, centralized parochial systems. Vouchers are not acceptable to them because they would have to collect their money from the state; tax credits allow them to deal directly with private citizens.

The California educational tax credit is expected to appear on the November 1980 ballot, where Libertarian candidates can campaign on it. Similar legislation, backed by NTU, appears headed for a victory in Idaho. Finally, we can expect the Clark for President campaign to set out an educational tax credit proposal at the federal level as part of Clark's overall program of deep and effective tax cuts in 1980.

Suggested Reading:

Manuel S. Klausner, "Tuition Tax Credits: A Debate Revived", *Inform*, September, 1979, Center for Independent Education.

Frank E. Armbruster, *Our Children's Crippled Future*, New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1977.

John Holt, *Instead of Education: Ways to Help People Do Things Better*, New York: Delta Publishing, 1977.

Joel Spring, *A Primer of Libertarian Education*, New York: Free Life Editions, 1975.

Murray N. Rothbard, *Education, Free and Compulsory*, Wichita, Kansas: Center for Independent Education, n.d.

Issue Analysis

Vouchers vs. Tuition Tax Credits

By William D. Burt

their choice. More restricted versions of vouchers have been studied by HEW researchers and tried in an experiment at the Alum Rock School District in northern California. Most recently, yet another voucher proposal was the subject of an unsuccessful initiative drive in California, this one authored by two neoconservative law professors, John Coons and Steve Sugarman.

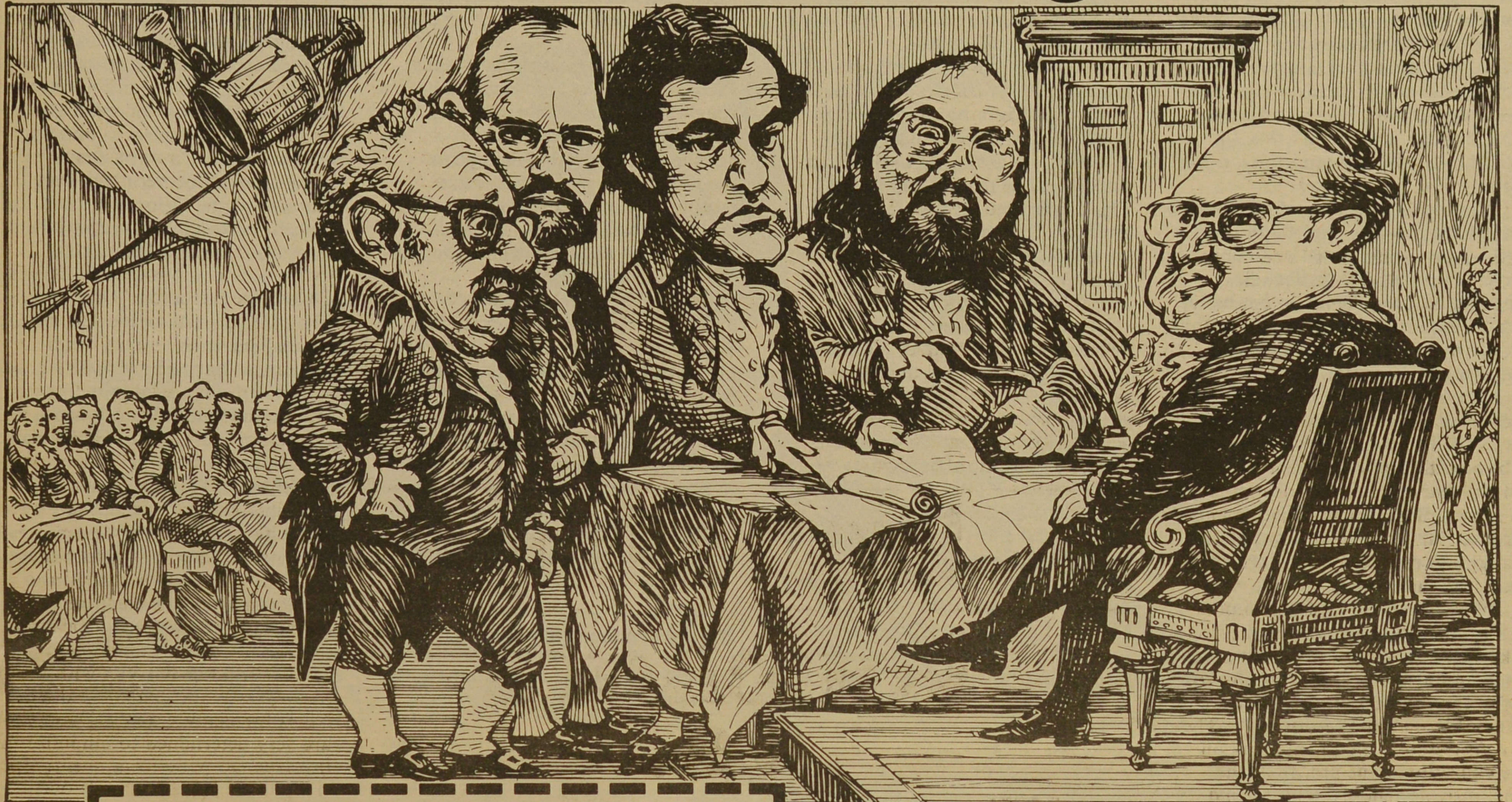
Tuition tax credits have been proposed for a number of years by Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, who has adopted an approach that would include not only straight income tax credits, but also "negative tax credits" (subsidies) for families with no taxable income. The second approach to tax credits, first proposed by Libertarian Ed Clark in his 1978 California governor's race, envisions not only credits against a family's own income, but also *credits to be taken by anyone for anyone else's educational expenses*. Thus, rather than instituting government-enforced income redistribution, the Clark tax credit allows individuals and corporations to contribute toward the needs of lower income students at the expense of the tax collector.

educational expenditure, and the measure prohibits the State from trying to restrict the private schools.

Considering that some past tuition tax credit proposals have been thrown out by courts as unconstitutional, it is fair to ask whether the educational tax credit is significantly different. Attorney William B. Ball, who on numerous occasions has defended the right of parents to religious and educational liberty, and who has won several such cases before the U.S. Supreme Court, has written that the older, unconstitutional, tuition tax credits do not serve as precedents for the new educational tax credit proposal. Previous tuition tax credit measures were explicitly aimed at subsidizing private (including religious) schools and included no provisions covering educational expenses and fees charged by public school districts to their students. The Clark-inspired tax credit, on the other hand, provides for educational tax credits applicable against educational expenses charged by either private or public schools, and aims at maximizing educational free choice rather than subsidizing private schools.

The matter of subsidy vs. tax credit

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Left to Right: Murray Rothbard, Israel Kirzner, Earl Ravenal, Roy Childs, and Leonard Liggio.

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Ballot, continued from pg. 4

by California party chairman Dan Wiener and Secretary of State March Fong Eu. The certification capped a year-long drive to obtain over 71,000 Libertarian voter registrations. The final registration figure at the time of certification was over 87,000, up elevenfold over the same time a year ago.

With the completion of the California ballot drive, a total of 28 state ballot status efforts have resulted either in permanent ballot status, meeting at least the minimum ballot status requirement, or coming within a few hundred signatures, at this writing, of doing so.

Efforts in fourteen other states are now well underway; in nine states, election laws do not permit ballot status efforts to begin until later on in the year.

Howie Rich, Ballot Drive Co-ordinator for the Clark campaign, estimates that as many as thirty states will have been completed by April 1.

The Clark campaign and state Libertarian organizations are currently focusing most of their ballot status efforts in a total of eight states which have difficult requirements. They are: Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and West Vir-

ginia. In all but West Virginia, ballot status for Ed Clark will require large numbers of signatures, ranging from 40,000 in Missouri to over 100,000 in Maryland.

In West Virginia, the complexity and technical difficulty of the ballot access procedure has prevented all third party and independent candidates from achieving ballot status there over the past 12 years. The Clark campaign strategy in West Virginia is to combine a full-scale attempt to comply with the requirements with possible legal action.

In Maryland, the law requires two petitions—one to qualify the Libertarian Party, and one to qualify the candidates—and further requires that the petition to qualify the party plus one-third of the petition to qualify the candidates be submitted by March 3; the effective total for this first deadline is 45,000 signatures.

Maryland Libertarians pledged over \$15,000 to this effort in late December, and the Clark campaign decided to pursue ballot status by hiring a full-time co-ordinator for the first eight weeks of the drive. With three weeks remaining before March 3, campaign officials were confident of reaching their initial goal.

Efforts to raise large sums of money for ballot drive efforts are

now underway in Oklahoma, Georgia, and Missouri. Libertarians in these states have agreed to commit several hundred dollars each to the ballot drive.

In Florida, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, the requirements are roughly the same: approximately 60,000 signatures, including a "cushion" for invalid signatures. Drives in these three states have recently begun, and Massachusetts is rated the most difficult, as the law permits only about 10 weeks for the signatures to be obtained.

Two other states are rated "very difficult," Oregon and Texas. The Texas ballot drive does not start until May, while in Oregon, Libertarians have already gathered 40,000 of the estimated 55,000 signatures needed.

Libertarians throughout the country are encouraged to contribute to and participate in ballot drive efforts, either in their home states or in neighboring states where the requirements are particularly difficult.

Tax cut continued from page 2.

tention to Libertarian alternatives for responding to Alaskans' growing "sagebrush revolt."

This high level of Libertarian activity has been made possible by the

constant "evangelizing" of the Randolphs and by the hard work put in by numerous Alaska Libertarians who collected signatures for the tax initiative and who are busier than ever opening new chapters, most recently in Kodiak. Other parties are becoming jealous of Libertarians' dedication.

In a column devoted to pointing out that the state's open primary cannot be blamed for the much-noted weakness of the Democratic and Republican parties in Alaska, the Fairbanks *Daily News-Miner* wrote:

"The proof of that is the Libertarian Party of Fairbanks. That group works with a philosophy that requires its members want nothing from government but to be left alone, and yet it raised piles of money from small contributions and elected a legislator from Fairbanks, and even after the election its meetings still fill larger halls than the two major parties."

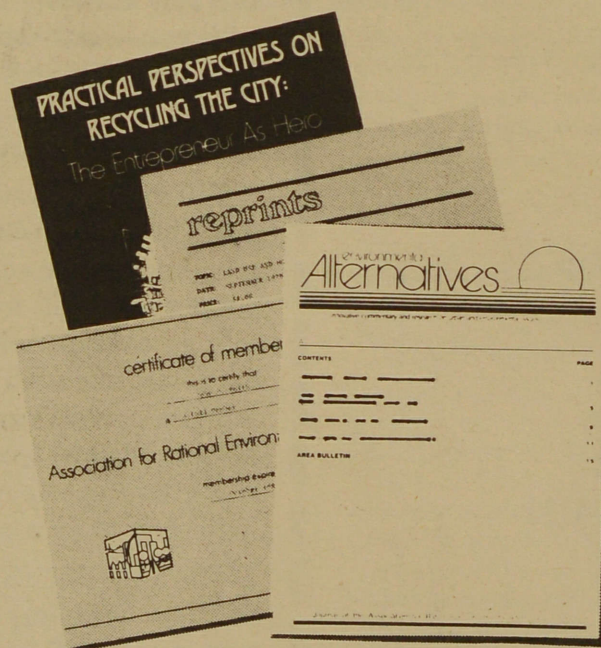
"The Fairbanks Libertarians were largely people who fled from the two major parties, and their absence was felt . . . At a time when Alaskans need a strong political action on the national scene, a significant portion of the Fairbanks political talent and electorate turned to a third party movement . . . Alaskans want fresh leadership and new outlooks on our state government, and they'll go to any party to find it."

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March 22, 1980
Washington, D. C.**

THE March Against the Draft is Sponsored by Mobilization Against the Draft, which includes the Libertarian Party, Students for a Libertarian Society, CARD, the CCCO, the War Resisters League, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the United States Student Association, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the Mobilization for Survival, and SANE.



Clip Coupon and Send To:
ANTI-DRAFT COORDINATOR
Libertarian Party
2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20007

Or Call Leslie Key at
(202)234-6883

- ☐ Send me information on how to be a part of the March on Washington to Stop the Draft.
- ☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____ to help send another Libertarian in my place.
- ☐ I am willing to be a key contact in my area/campus.
- ☐ Please send me _____ copies of this leaflet (\$3/100, \$12/500, \$20/1000, \$50/5000).

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip & Phone _____

NO REGISTRATION-NO DRAFT-NO WAR!

MARCH/APRIL 1980

Libertarian Calendar

MARCH

18
TUE

19 Clark Speech Marymount
College, Los Angeles
WED

20
THR

21 Clark Illinois
FRI

22 Clark Illinois
Anti-Draft March
on Washington, D. C.
SAT

23
SUN

24
MON

25
TUE

26
WED

27 Clark FLP Convention (Albany,
NY)
THR

28 Clark New York
FRI

29
SAT

30
SUN

APRIL

1
TUE

2
WED

3
THR

4
FRI

5
SAT

6
SUN

7
MON

8
TUE

9
WED

10
THR

11 Clark South Carolina
FRI

12 Clark North Carolina
SAT

13
SUN

14
MON

15
TUE

16
WED

17 Clark Alaska state convention
THR

18 Clark Alaska
FRI

19 Clark Virginia
SAT

20
SUN

21
MON

22
TUE

23
WED

24
THR

25 Clark Tennessee convention
FRI

26
SAT

27
SUN

28
MON

29
TUE

30
WED

MAY

1
THR

2 Clark Houston, TX
FRI

3 Clark Dallas, TX Nat'l Comm.
SAT

4 Clark Dallas
SUN

5
MON

6
TUE

7
WED

8
THR

9 Clark Michigan
FRI

10 Clark Michigan
SAT

11
SUN

12
MON

13
TUE

14
WED

15
THR

16 Clark Hawaii
FRI

17 Clark Hawaii
SAT

18
SUN

19
MON

Clark, continued from pg. 1

full-page advertisement in the New York Times entitled "Carter's State of the Union Address: A Libertarian Response." The ad was well received and generated many inquiries to the campaign headquarters.

Concurrent with the February 8 Clark statement, the Libertarian National Committee headquarters in Washington released copies of a resolution approved at the National Committee's February 3 meeting in Phoenix. The resolution (see text on page 2) which endorses civil disobedience as "an appropriate moral and practical means of resisting mandatory registration and the draft," was approved unanimously by the Libertarian Party directors.

(See also related story about the March 22 march on Washington to stop the draft.)

Groundwork, continued from pg. 3

Boston City Council, getting 5,000 votes. Don Hunt ran a similar race for Cambridge City Council. In Nevada, Dan Becan received 2% of the vote in a multi-candidate race for the mayor of Reno, while John Grayson ran second (with 14%) against an entrenched incumbent, in a field of six candidates vying for the mayor's office in Las Vegas. In Grayson's race, the other four candidates finished far behind.

In New Jersey, Virginia Flynn ran for the 9th District seat in the State Legislature, Cindy Krechman ran in the 10th District, Chris Toto ran in the 12th District, Dick Roth ran in the 26th, and Henry Koch in the 39th. In New York the FLP fielded two candidates in Nassau County and one in the Rochester area.

In North Carolina, Les Koehler ran for the City Council in Raleigh. Chris Hrivnak, Ohio state chair, received 12% of the vote in a race for the Town Council in Chagrin Falls. In Pennsylvania, Hans Schroeder and David Walter ran for Bucks County Commissioner seats.

In Tennessee, Perry Boling ran for Memphis City Council, Alice Chapuis for Nashville City Council, and Richard Bacon for State Legislature.

Texas fielded many candidates. With a total budget of \$115, Fred Ebner finished second in a field of four candidates running for one seat, receiving 10.5% of the vote. His opponents spent several thousand dollars each in this race for the Austing City Council. Harry Robinson, though outspent thirty-to-one, got five percent of the vote in his race for the Arlington City Council, forcing his opponents into a runoff. Don Stockwell, Bill Frazier, and two other Libertarians received between 7 and 12% each in their races for Houston City Council.

In Virginia, Richard Gardiner received 8% of the vote in a three-way race for Virginia State Senate, and Michael Maddox 4% in his race for Arlington County Board. In Wisconsin, Gary Gates won a seat on the Madison Common Council, while Art Jackson just barely missed being elected to the Janesville City Council, finishing fifth of nine contenders for four seats.