

Libertarian NEWS

July/August 1980

A Publication of the Libertarian National Committee

White Smashes 1918 Record

LIBERTARIANS RUN WELL IN OTHER CALIFORNIA RACES

If the results of the first major Libertarian state-level race of 1980 are indicative of things to come, the future looks very bright indeed for the Libertarian Party. In a three-way special election on June 3rd for California's 12th state senate seat, Libertarian candidate Bill White captured 11.9% of the vote. That's the best that any third party candidate has done in a California state senate race since 1918. White, who had previously stated that he would consider anything over 8% as a victory, characterized his share of the vote as

"a virtual landslide."

White's race becomes even more impressive when viewed in the context of previous Libertarian efforts in the district. Although Santa Clara County, the western half of which comprises the 12th state senate district, has generally produced a bigger Libertarian vote than most other sections of California, few expected White to get nearly 12%. When Ed Clark ran for governor of California in 1978 he got 7.2% in the senate district and 5.5% statewide. Based on past patterns the White outcome would seem to presage an 8.5% Clark vote in California this fall. David Boaz, Clark's 1978 campaign director and current research director for Clark's 1980 presidential campaign, commented, "While we can't expect a direct correlation in voting patterns now, it

White, continued on page 6.



When asked about his chances in the election this fall, Ed Clark has been saying that, "If all Americans could hear me debate the other candidates, I would win." Bill White, matched against two candidates ideologically similar to Carter and Reagan in his California state senate race, proved Clark's point by emerging as the apparent winner in all the television and radio debates, according to the *Santa Clara Libertarian*.

In the post-debate telephone poll (KXRX-Radio), White scored as many votes as his opponents combined. Said the *SC Libertarian*, "If a large percentage of voters had watched those debates, Bill might now be packing for Sacramento."

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August 5 Key Vote For Michigan

A crucial primary election vote on August 5 will determine whether the Libertarian Party and Ed Clark will be on the November election ballot in Michigan. (See notice at right). The major part of the campaign for a victory in August is a grass-roots effort by Michigan Libertarians to solicit commitments of support from thousands of voters. These are being gathered through personal requests by Libertarian candidates and volunteers, from selective mass mailings, and by the mass door-to-door distribution of 200,000 pieces of custom literature designed by Chris Hocker specifically for the Michigan campaign. Many contacts are required for each commitment, but each commitment is very valuable:

only about 3,500 actual votes are needed. Our supporters, however, must not vote for any other parties or candidates, or else their ballots will be invalidated.

At the LP of Michigan convention in May, 38 candidates were nominated for office. As with Ed Clark, however, whether they get on the November ballot depends upon the August 5 vote.

The second aspect of the Michigan campaign is publicity. Ed Clark will be in Michigan on Sunday, July 6, to help promote a victory on August 5. He will return on Friday, August 1, for a full day of campaigning before speaking at two important Libertarian gatherings in Ann Arbor on the weekend of August 2nd and 3rd. On August 3rd at 7:30, Clark will debate Citizens Party presidential candidate Barry Commoner in Ann Arbor. The Libertarian National Committee is meeting at the Campus Inn, and the Students for a Libertarian Society is holding its first national convention a

Michigan, continued on page 7.

Ed Clark won't be on the November election ballot in Michigan unless about 3,500 Michigan voters vote exclusively for the Libertarian Party in the August 5 primary.

Michigan requirements are uniquely difficult. In order to overcome them, Libertarians in Michigan are identifying by name thousands of people who are willing to vote only for the LP—and for no other parties or candidates—on August 5.

Michigan may well be our "50th state" for ballot status. You can help if you have friends or relatives in Michigan, first, by sending their names, addresses, and telephone numbers to:

Libertarian Party of Michigan
2998 West 11 Mi. Rd.
Berkley, MI 48072

and second, by writing or calling them and asking that they do you a personal favor by voting for the Libertarian party.

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VOTE LIBERTARIAN

Calendar

Libertarian NEWS

JULY

1 Clark Washington, D.C.
TUE.

2 Clark Maryland
WED.

3 Clark Minnesota
THR.

4 Clark Wisconsin
FRI.

5 Clark Illinois
SAT.

6 Clark Michigan
SUN.

7 Clark New York
MON.

8 Clark TV Ads Begin
On CBS at 10:55 PM EST
TUE.

9 Clark California
WED.

10 Clark California
THR.

11 Clark TV Ad On ABC
At 10:45 or 10:50 EST
Clark Oregon
FRI.

12 Clark Nevada
SAT.

13
SUN.

14 Clark Idaho
MON.

15 Clark Montana
TUE.

16 Clark Montana
WED.

17 Clark Alaska
THR.

18 Clark Alaska
College Libertarian Conference
New York, N.Y. 212-533-9143
FRI.

19 Clark Alaska
SAT.

20 Clark London
SUN.

21 Clark London
MON.

22 Clark TV Ad On CBS
At 10:55 PM EST
TUE.

23 Clark Michigan
WED.

24 Clark TV Ad On NBC
At 10:55 PM EST
THR.

25 Clark Seattle, Washington
FRI.

26 Clark Seattle, Wash. Convention
Clark TV Ad On CBS
At 10:55 PM EST
SAT.

27 Clark TV Ad On ABC
At 10:55 PM EST
Suffolk County, NY FLP
Convention
SUN.

28 Clark Colorado
MON.

29 Clark Texas
TUE.

30 Clark Texas
WED.

31 Clark Illinois
THR.

AUGUST

1 SLS Convention
Ann Arbor, Michigan
Clark Michigan
FRI.

2 NAT COMM and SLS
Convention Ann Arbor, Michigan
SAT.

3 Clark-Commoner Debate
SLS Convention
SUN.

4 SLS Convention
Clark Kansas
MON.

5 Clark Utah
FLP of NY Ballot Drive Begins
Michigan Primary Election
TUE.

6 Clark Nevada
Central NY Business Meeting
WED.

7 Clark California
THR.

8 Clark California
FRI.

9 Annual Iowa LP Luau
SAT.

10 Iowa Exec Comm Meeting
SUN.

11 Clark Hawaii
MON.

12 Clark Hawaii
TUE.

13 Clark Alaska
WED.

14 Clark Alaska
THR.

15 Clark Oregon
FRI.

16 LP Of California State
Convention in Sacramento
SAT.

17 Clark California
SUN.

18 Clark California
MON.

19 Clark Georgia
TUE.

20 Clark Alabama
WED.

21 Clark Florida
Illinois LP Fundraiser
At Comiskey Park 312-334-5001
THR.

22 Clark Florida
FRI.

23 Clark Washington, D.C.
SAT.

24 Clark South Carolina
SUN.

25 Clark North Carolina
MON.

26 Clark Virginia
TUE.

27 Clark Pennsylvania
WED.

28 Clark Pennsylvania
THR.

29 Clark Massachusetts
FRI.

30 Clark Massachusetts
SAT.

Statue of Liberty Approved For Use By Party Organizations

Without entirely committing the Libertarian Party to adoption of the Statue of Liberty as its official, exclusive symbol, the Libertarian National Committee on May 4 resolved that Miss Liberty "is an appropriate graphic symbol to be used on Party promotional materials."

While this does not rule out use of other symbols, national headquarters stands ready to facilitate use of a standard graphic symbol by state and local party organizations. Camera-ready stats of the Statue of Liberty, as seen here, may be obtained free by party organizations. Please use order form in the center of this issue and, write next to your name, "Statue of Liberty."

The version selected for use from among the various renderings reviewed by national headquarters was done by Dick Axtell of

Phoenix and is being donated to the national party by Audrey Keyes, president, Keyes Art Service, Phoenix. This



symbol has been in use by the Arizona party for some time and we thank Ms. Keyes and Mr. Axtell for allowing the party its unrestricted use, as well as Ken Struzenacker, who alerted us to the symbol's availability.

Libertarian NEWS

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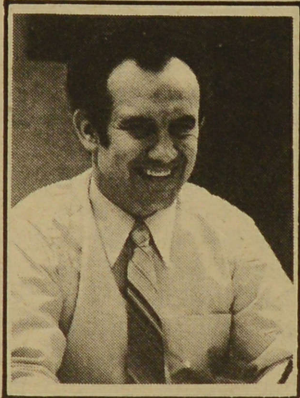
Layout by Another Color Inc., Washington, D.C. Printed at Suburban Record Composition, Silver Spring, Md.

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

Alaska Libertarians Fire Opening Shot of Tundra Rebellion

Alaska Libertarians are at it again. Following hard on the heels of their successful movement to virtually eliminate the state income tax, comes a statewide initiative effort which aims to transfer most of the federally owned property in Alaska back to the state. The initiative effort, dubbed the Tundra Rebellion, is being spearheaded by Libertarian state Rep. Dick Randolph and members of the Alaska Libertarian Party. Randolph told *Libertarian News*, "Very clearly, our intent is to get the land back into private hands. The best way to do that is to have the land transferred to the state and from there to individuals. What is important is that the land will be transferred." Robert Shelley, an aide to Randolph, emphasized the importance of the initiative, saying, "Less than one percent of Alaskan land is owned by private individuals. 95% of the state is owned by the federal government. Bureaucrats in Washington are deciding the fate of Alaska's land. Land is the basic element of production. If you don't have that, you can't produce anything and you can't have freedom." Shelley continued, "It's a major issue for the country and not just for Alaska. Alaska has enough oil deposits to make American energy independent. People will be paying high fuel bills until these resources are allowed to be developed."

The initiative effort began in April when Randolph and Alaska Libertarians Chuck Hutchins of Anchorage and Stan Thompson of Kenai sent out informational packets about the initiative across the state to people who had previously worked on the income tax repeal initiative. The packets contained two initiative applications as well as a letter soliciting their assistance as sponsors of the initiative. By May 15th the Libertarian team had submitted over 200 names to the state as sponsors. Although the state only requires 100 sponsors for an initiative, Randolph plans to get considerably more: "Our goal is to have a thousand sponsors. The sponsors are the people who get the signatures to have an initiative placed on the ballot. We need about 15,000 signatures to do that. Our hope, however, is to get an overwhelming number of signatures and



Dick Randolph

force the legislature into acting on the issue in the same way we did with the tax initiative."

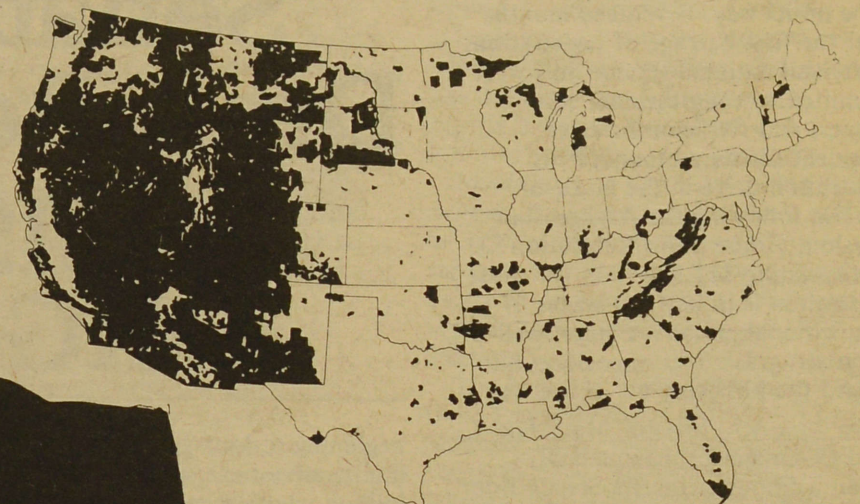
The Tundra Rebellion is an extension of the Sagebrush Rebellion. The primary impetus for the Sagebrush Rebellion came in October 1976 with the passage of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act (FLPMA). FLPMA officially repealed the 1862 Homestead Act under which the federal government had been allowed to deed away millions of acres of the public domain. FLPMA called for comprehensive land-use planning, extending federal control over all of its land. One section of the bill orders an inventory to be made of all roadless areas for possible wilderness designation. FLPMA transformed the Bureau of Land Management from a passive curator into an aggressive and domineering land master. With FLPMA's passage, the federal government had changed its role from merely being the trustee of unclaimed lands. FLPMA gave the federal government exclusive and perpetual ownership over all lands in its possession.

At this time the feds have control over some 760,532,000 acres of property, which accounts for a little more than one third of the total land mass of the United States. Most of the federally owned land is located in the eleven contiguous westernmost states and Alaska.

Utah, where the federal government owns 66% of the state, is in many ways typical of the states that are groaning under the federal yoke. Representative of the bureaucrats who control such federal property is S. Gene Day. Described by the *Washington Post* as "the most

powerful man in southeastern Utah," Day has never been elected to a public office. He is a district manager for the Bureau of Land Management and holds sway over 6.2 million acres of Utah. What is S. Gene Day's opinion of people who want to see the land taken away from the federal government? Day told the *Post*, "Most of it is selfish vested interests. What's their platform, anyway? If the state took over the lands, how would they manage any differently? Federal ownership isn't inhibiting anything." Feel free, but if you want to gather firewood, shoot a deer, graze a cow, hunt arrowheads, dig gravel, go rafting, drill for oil, dam a creek, or any other selfish vested human activity, you'll need the permission of S. Gene Day. What's S. Gene Day's idea of freedom? He told the *Post* that as well. "There is fantastic freedom on public lands. People can drive out of Moab and camp anywhere they want. But the days when you hung your outhouse over the Colorado River are over. When you have more people, you have to have more controls. It's not the B.L.M. that's restricting—it's the fact that this area is growing 11% a year. Like Pogo says: 'We have met the enemy and he is us.' " With wisdom like this, it is little wonder the federal government has a revolution on its hands. Federal controls and the proliferation of its agents has led Utah's Sen. Orrin Hatch (R) to say, "B.L.M. is oppressive. Where there used to be one B.L.M. man per county, now there are 60 of them, stumbling over each other, acting like little gods. They're being paid for nothing but to cause trouble. Utah is one of the most potentially rich states, but we are so dominated by B.L.M. it's impossible for us to run our own lives."

Amazingly, even the federal



FEDERAL
LAND
OWNERSHIP

government has begun to see the folly, if not the tyranny, of the situation. A report undertaken by the General Accounting Office and released in January of this year said the Forest Service, the Department of Agriculture, and the Interior Department "generally followed the practice of acquiring as much land as possible without regard to need and alternatives to purchase." The report also said the government tends to buy land it does not need without planning for its use and without examining other ways to protect it. Such indiscriminate and thoughtless purchases often drive operating costs up three or four times what they should be, as well as antagonizing local residents who want the land for area tax rolls, resource and housing development or agriculture, according to the report.

The government is not content with owning over one third of the United States, however. They plan to buy even more land. From 1970 to 1977 the federal government spent \$606 million to buy 2.2 million acres under full or partial title, the G.A.O. report said. The government plans to spend some \$10 billion more in the next 11 years to acquire even more land.

Thus far, six western states have passed legislation that returns federally owned property in their states back to themselves. The remaining five western states are expected to pass similar legislation by the end of 1981. In Nevada, for instance, a law returning all B.L.M. property in the state back to the state went into effect in May 1979. The other five states to pass similar legislation are Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming, and Washington. At this time the question of what will happen to the land remains undecided. Nevada state Rep. Dean Rhoads (R), who was the architect of Nevada's legislation, told *Libertarian News*, "The matter has been left to the Nevada Attorney General's office Alaska, continued on page 12.

Senate Passes Draft Registration: RESISTANCE ORGANIZES

Registration for the draft appears to be on its way. Seventeen months after the first barrage of registration, draft, and national service bills were submitted to congressional committees, and five months after President Carter announced his registration drive in the midst of hysteria following the Afghanistan invasion, House Joint Resolution 521 appropriating \$13.3 million for draft registration is in its final stages of congressional action. A large, well-organized grassroots opposition has dogged the bill every bit of the way.

On June 4th, Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon) singlehandedly began a filibuster on the Senate floor in an effort to examine in greater detail what resumption of the draft portends for our country. By this time, proponents were urging registration as a purely symbolic gesture that, in the words of Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, "will demonstrate our resolve to back up our foreign policy pronouncements with military strength." Opponents noted that the main reason for the extraordinary Administration pressure for passage was Carter's desire to back up his tub-thumping Afghanistan speech with concrete legislative action; this being a war he could ill-afford to lose one more time.

On the first day of the filibuster the New York *Times* reported that Sen. Hatfield held the floor for nearly five hours, "talking almost nonstop except when interrupted by questions," and added somewhat sadly that "he was frequently the only Senator on the floor." Hatfield's filibuster lasted one week and at one point kept the Senate in session for 33 hours straight. But pro-registration forces, confident in "having the votes," seemed prepared to bide their time and on June 12 the Senate approved registration appropriations 58 to 34.

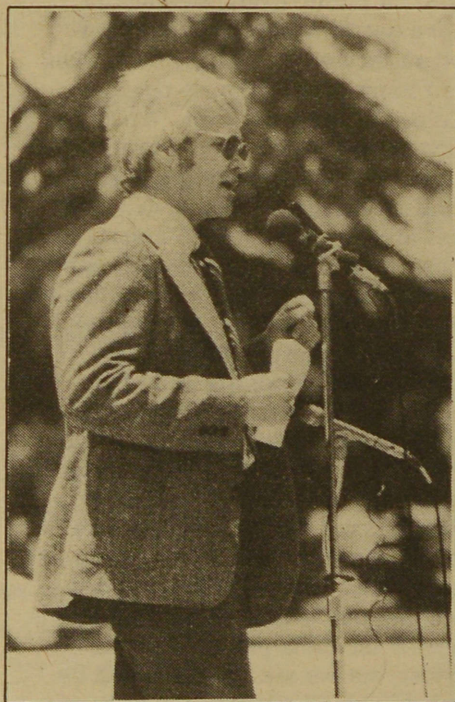
Because several minor amendments were successfully attached to HJR 521 in the Senate, the bill has gone back to the House Rules Committee where it is again open to amendment and approval before conference committee and signing by the President. As of this writing, the expected delay—and indeed the final outcome—are somewhat unclear, but if all goes ahead on schedule the Selective Service System will be attempting to register all 19 and 20 year old males during the last week in July and the first week in August. Further delays in the current legislative process would move the registration period ahead into the weeks of the Democratic and Republican conventions, or even into the opening weeks of the college year, both relatively undesirable time frames as far as the Administration is concerned due to adverse political impact.

Even without an active resistance effort, registration is already

beginning to look like an administrative fiasco. The SSS expects 4 million young men to learn of their registration "obligation" and march obediently to their local post office, all 19 year olds in the first week, all 20 year olds in the second. SSS is apparently even working on a plan where all those whose names begin with the letters "A" through "D" would register on Monday, "E" to "H" on Tuesday, and so on in orderly bureaucratic fashion. However, it seems that the Postal Service was not apprised of their role in Carter's draft registration plans until a few weeks ago!

On May 31, three days before HJR 521 reached the Senate floor, over a hundred anti-draft organizers met in Washington, D.C. for a twelve-hour series of intensive workshops on draft registration resistance. The conference was sponsored by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), a broad-based coalition including the Libertarian National Committee, Society for Individual Liberty, Students for a Libertarian Society, and the Association of Libertarian Feminists. Against the backdrop of looming troubles, the conference was regarded as a tactical success and a portent of things to come for those who would bring back selective slavery.

One of the major conclusions



David Bergland, Libertarian senatorial candidate in California, addresses an anti-draft rally in Los Angeles.

reached at the CARD conference was that a mass registration boycott can work. America is divided on the draft. Large percentages (40-50%) of students on many campuses have already declared their intention not to register. A working anti-draft network of 400 local coalitions is in place and ready to start resistance efforts. There will be "natural momentum" in favor of resistance as many young people simply forget to register, never hear about registration, change their address, or whatever—all will become "resisters" under the law. More importantly, there exists no mechanism or funding at this time to pursue and prosecute registration offenders. Unlike in the Vietnam era, there will be no local draft boards to follow up on offenders, no law requiring registrants to carry proof that they have registered, and no SSS enforcement personnel. Selective Service Director Bernard Rostker says simply, "We assume everyone will register." Finally, the conference noted, resistance campaigns can easily focus their efforts upon the two week period at the highly visible neighborhood post office.

Individuals planning to refuse registration and those counseling noncompliance confront potentially serious legal consequences. Refusing to register carries a penalty of \$10,000 and/or five years in jail. Those who publicly advocate non-compliance are, under the Military Selective Service Act, guilty of the same crime and subject to the same penalties as nonregistrants.

Exactly what constitutes "advocating" noncompliance remains uncomfortably open to interpretation. In the U.S. Supreme Court decision *U.S. v. Dennis* (34 U.S. 494) the court made a distinction between advocacy of non-compliance and making a "statement of ideas." That decision, along with others arising from the crucible of Vietnam anti-war activity, tended to give broad latitude to anti-draft speeches and writings. All the same, the government followed a conscious policy of sharpshooting the most notable anti-draft, anti-war leaders for prosecution, in order to quell unrest. Comment authors Lawrence Baskin and William Strauss, "[In October 1967] scores of

education and religious leaders, among them Dr. Benjamin Spock and Rev. William Sloan Coffin, issued a 'Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority.' The movement wanted students to abandon the deferments, inductees to stay home rather than flee to Canada, and all resisters to go on strike against the draft . . . Immediately Attorney General Ramsey Clark came under pressure to stem the growing resistance through prompt and vigorous prosecution. Rather than try hundreds of thousands of young people, he chose to prosecute Dr. Spock, Rev. Coffin, and other leaders of the movement. Though their convictions were later reversed, the Justice Department succeeded in conveying a public image of stern enforcement of the draft laws." (*Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, the War, and the Vietnam Generation*, Vintage Books, 1978)

The May 31 CARD conference noted that the same holds true today: "The government, if it goes after anyone, will go after non-registration advocates first. All anti-draft activists considering participation in the registration boycott should therefore be fully reconciled to the possibility of prosecution, conviction, and incarceration."

Non-registration advocates will be at least encouraging 19 and 20 year olds to consider the alternatives to registration. Carter has stated that the maximum penalty will not be sought for non-registrants, though this promise has to be regarded as inherently unreliable. During the Vietnam era, non-registrants who were discovered by the government were nearly always simply asked to register. As *Chance and Circumstance* details, quiet non-registration was the safest form of resistance in the Vietnam era. Of the 570,000 known draft offenders, 360,000 were never prosecuted. Of the unaccused, 250,000 were non-registrants. Among the 210,000 accused, 197,750 had their cases dropped, 3,000 left the country, and of the 8,750 actually convicted of draft evasion, 3,250 were imprisoned. The rest escaped prison on probation or received a suspended sentence. Out of the total number of draft offenders, then, only 0.6% went to prison.

CARD conference participants also pointed out the risks inherent in registering. If one should desire to resist *after* registering, the government already has the potential resister's name and address on file and prosecution is thus facilitated. Registration obviously also increases the risk of conscription and eventual injury or death in some government-engineered foreign war.

The conference finally summarized the key elements in resistance strategy for this summer, which follow.

Emphasis is being placed on resistance support groups and a Draft, continued on page 14.

The Clark Campaign: NON-STOP TO NOVEMBER

Starting with a news conference in Washington, D.C. Libertarian presidential candidate Ed Clark will launch the full-time portion of his campaign on July 1.

Clark will begin an extensive, virtually non-stop campaign which will take him to most of the major metropolitan centers of the United States as well as to states where a particularly high percentage of the vote is anticipated.

July is also the month in which Clark's national television advertisements will begin to air. Taping of the first such spot took place in Los Angeles June 14. The TV spots will be five minutes in length, and will air during prime time on all three networks. (Details of dates and times will be announced as soon as they are available.)

According to the tentative schedule of the Clark campaign, the candidate will make his first campaign visits in July to Maryland, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, New York, and Massachusetts before returning to the West Coast and starting a campaign swing through the Pacific and Rocky Mountain states. He will make the first of several personal visits to Alaska during the middle of July.

In addition to making appearances before the news media, Clark will be concentrating on events designed to raise much-needed funds to help in the completion of ballot access drives and the airing of further television spots.

Prior to the full-time portion of the campaign, Clark has been very active on the campaign trail. The months of May and June have seen an increase in the amount of interest and enthusiasm for the Clark candidacy throughout the country.

In May, Clark spent successive weekends in Texas, Arizona, Michigan, and Hawaii; in each instance, the amount of news coverage and other notice was considerably greater than ever before.

In Phoenix, Arizona, the Libertarian candidate was met by all major television stations when he landed at the airport. In Texas, he received extensive articles in both Dallas and

Houston newspapers, as well as the opportunity to appear on a major radio talk show.

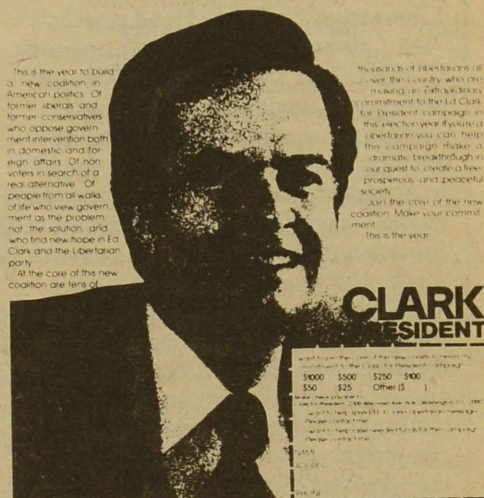
In Michigan, Clark scored a "first" by being the subject of a front-page interview in the *Detroit Free Press*, which had previously failed to cover news about Libertarian campaigns. He also appeared on a radio talk show (WXYZ), and most Detroit local television stations.

In Hawaii, local Libertarians reported that they had "never gotten so much coverage" as when Clark appeared at the Hawaii Libertarian Convention.

During the first weekend in June, Ed and Alicia Clark visited Ft. Myers, Florida for the Libertarian Party of Florida state convention. The fundraising banquet which climaxed the event raised an astounding \$10,000 toward the Florida ballot access drive.

That same weekend, the Clarks took advantage of an opportunity to establish contact with the Black community by attending the national convocation of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, a nationwide chain of self-help and employment training organizations, which met in Miami. Clark's statement to the news media, calling for the establishment of an "urban enterprise zone" in South Florida to revitalize and rebuild Miami was

Join the Core of the New Coalition



carried on national network news. Alicia Clark's statement to the Spanish-language news media in Miami also stimulated a great deal of attention.

Clark's last two weekends in June were spent in the Midwest (Ohio and Indiana), and Salt Lake City, Utah, respectively.

Ballot Drive: THREE NEW STATES ADDED

The ballot access drives of Massachusetts and Oklahoma—two states with very high requirements and early filing deadlines—both met with overwhelming success during the month of May, thus increasing the likelihood that the Libertarian ticket of Ed Clark and David Koch will appear on the ballots of all 50 states plus the District of Columbia.

In addition, Libertarians in West Virginia turned in twice the number of signatures required for ballot access in that state on the filing deadline of June 2.

Each of these three states was considered critical to the chances of obtaining nationwide ballot status for Ed Clark. Two of them—Oklahoma and West Virginia—were considered "exceptionally difficult" and, in fact, had not even been slated for an attempt to win ballot status at the start of the presidential campaign in September.

As of mid-June, the number of states in which Clark had met or exceeded minimum ballot status requirements was 32. In a few of these states, Clark has not completed

the filing or certification procedure, but is expected to do so shortly.

In Massachusetts, Libertarians submitted an estimated 75,000 signatures, well over the minimum of 39,000 required. Approximately 25,000 of the signatures were gathered in the last week of the drive, which ended May 6, and over 50,000 of the total were actually certified as valid by the various cities and towns in Massachusetts. The "objection period," which follows the final submission to the Secretary of State, passed without any challenges to the Clark-Koch petition.

In Oklahoma, where a staggering 39,000 signatures, or 5% of the previous statewide vote was required, Libertarians actually finished their petitioning *early*, and filed 64,000 signatures two days before the May 29 deadline. The petition qualifies the entire Libertarian Party slate in Oklahoma, not just the presidential ticket.

In West Virginia, 15,000 signatures were collected in the wake of a state supreme court ruling striking down the requirement that petitioners must stay within their own magisterial districts—small subdivisions of counties. The ruling came as a result of a lawsuit filed by the West Virginia Libertarian Party. The suit challenged other onerous aspects of the West Virginia election laws, most of which were upheld, but the favorable ruling on the magisterial district issue was sufficient to enable

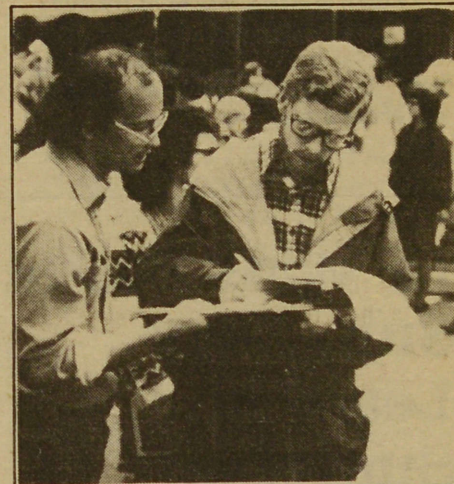
petitioners to collect twice the 7,500 signatures needed.

In these three states, the ballot drives got off to an extremely slow start and built momentum suddenly about two-thirds of the way through the drive. Special thanks should be extended to several dozen dedicated Libertarian petitioners, notably Riki Strandfeldt, a Clark for President Field Coordinator, in Oklahoma; Chuck Pike, the Massachusetts Ballot Drive Coordinator; Kathy Thomas, who led teams of petitioners in all three states; and Marion Williams, also a Clark Field Coordinator, who was active both in Massachusetts and in West Virginia.

With these three ballot drives completed, the Clark campaign turned its attention to six remaining states which are rated "difficult": Texas, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Missouri.

Top priority among these six are Georgia, with a July 9 deadline for a necessary 90,000 signatures, and Texas, with a July 14 deadline for a needed 55,000 signatures (signature totals include a "cushion" to protect against invalid or disqualified signatures). As of mid-June, the Georgia drive was proceeding quite well, with nearly 60,000 signatures on hand.

Texas, however, was a different story, due to legal requirements which prohibit Texans who voted in the previous primary election from signing the petition, and which



Courtenay Hough (at left), Pennsylvania ballot drive coordinator, gathers one more signature toward the state's 72,000 signature goal.

mandate that voter registration numbers be included on the petition. Though off to a slow start, momentum in the Texas ballot drive had increased considerably by the end of the second week of June, and Clark campaign workers were confident of ultimate success.

Deadlines for the remaining four "big" states come in August, and ballot drives in all four are well under way. Particular congratulations should go to Pennsylvania, with well over 30,000 signatures in hand toward a 70,000 signature goal in mid-August.

Meanwhile, ballot drives in states with less challenging requirements are proceeding on schedule, and the Clark campaign expects to hit 40 state ballots by early July.

Beginning with this issue, the *Libertarian News* will regularly feature a profile of a member of the National Headquarter's staff.

Few people spend more time at Libertarian National Headquarter's than Gillian Jewell, the sole operator of the L.P.'s Data General MP 100 computer. Beginning at 8:30 most mornings, she works well into the evening and it is not unusual for her to spend as many as six nights a week in the computer room. As Gillian told *Libertarian News*, "I don't come to work, I'm usually here."

Gillian's days are spent feeding new information to the computer. This includes such tasks as constantly updating contributors to both the National Committee and the Clark campaign. It means having to enter the thousands of names from state party lists to provide a central, nationwide information pool. There are media lists, V.I.P. lists, candidate lists, activist lists, Federal Election Commission reports and financial data that also go on the computer. Evenings are often spent retrieving information from the computer and running the various reports, mailing lists and labels that are required by the Clark campaign, the National Committee, and state parties. Gillian said, "I work closely with everyone. There is no phase of the operation that I haven't come in contact with. The machine is hardly ever off."

Gillian starting working for the L.P. in 1978. "I was a blazing liberal Democrat before I starting working here. The person who really turned me around was Jay Hilgartner

YOUR PARTY HEADQUARTERS Gillian Jewell

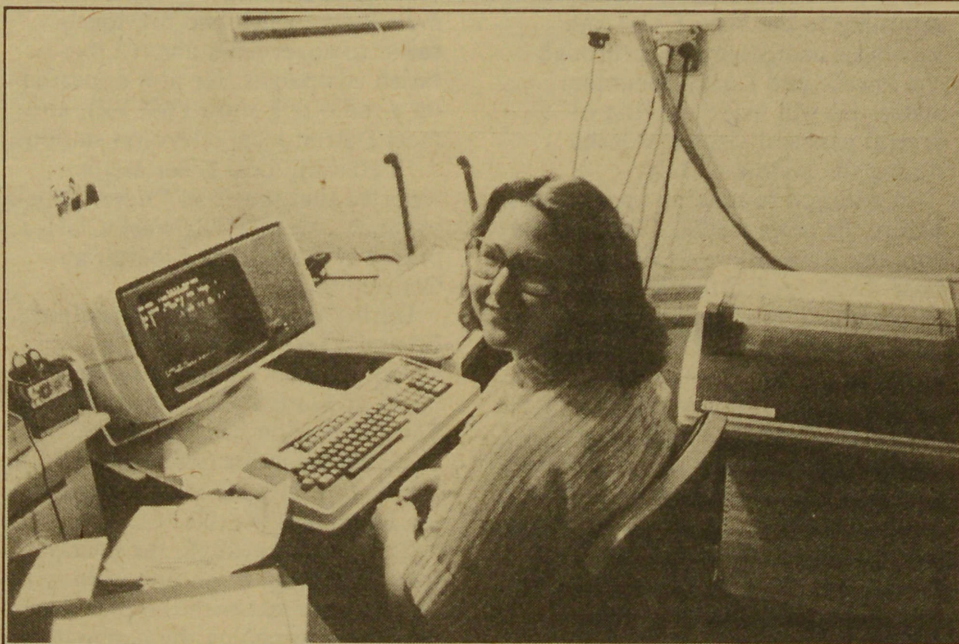


Photo by Jody Croley

(L.N.C. Research Director). When ever I had a question, he would give me an answer from a Libertarian perspective and it seemed so logical that I became convinced. It fit in a lot with my personal beliefs as well."

Interestingly, Gillian was initially hired as an administrative assistant, not as a computer operator. "I knew absolutely nothing about computers before I started working here. When the computer arrived it was something I wanted to try and I was given the opportunity." National

Director Bill Burt remembers that he was away on a fundraising trip at the time and during a phone call to the office Gillian asked him to put off hiring a new computer operator because she wanted to see if she could tackle the job. "As far as I was concerned," says Burt, "we were lucky to be getting a computer operator familiar with our membership. And, of course, the desire to improve one's abilities speaks loudly as a recommendation for any job."

To Gillian, the L.P.'s growth is

amazing to watch. "From my perspective I can really see how much the party has grown and it's great." And as Libertarianism continues to blossom it means that there will be even more for Gillian's "Computer Department" to do. "We are installing a larger disc to store much more information and make what we already have more orderly."

Demands are already being placed upon the computer's increased capacity. A prospect file will be started for people who have inquired about the party but who have not contributed. It will be constantly turned over and reviewed to serve as a fundraising tool. By July, an integrated computerized record keeping and reporting system will be up and running. This system, based on computer capabilities specified by the National Committee's computer task force last year and designed after thorough operational analysis by the L.P. National Director, will eliminate several time-consuming staff functions.

Gillian Jewell has clearly grown into her new responsibilities and many Libertarian activists have commented upon Headquarters' improved information processing capabilities. Gillian said, "Before we had an in-house computer, we had an outside company do the work, and it was awful. Updates were only done every three months and they were always messed up. Today we do daily updates and are much more flexible in the information we can process for people. And this is only the beginning."

LP Wins Postal Suit, May Lead To Supreme Court

Months of affidavits and testimony paid off June 20 in the Federal District Court for the eastern district of New York, when Judge Jack B. Weinstein struck down an unconstitutional U.S. Postal Service bulk rates that charged the Libertarian party more than what was charged the Republican and Democratic parties.

The judge also granted a five day stay in his decision to give the U.S. Attorney time to decide whether to appeal. Any appeal would be made directly to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The case of *Greenberg v. Bolger* was carried by the New York Civil Liberties Union on behalf of the New York Free Libertarian Party, the Libertarian National Committee, the

Peace and Freedom Party, and the Socialist Party. Only two witnesses testified at the opening hearings—one being NY FLP's Gary Greenberg, who stressed the LP position of not seeking a subsidy but instead asking equal treatment for all political parties by the postal service.

Asked for comment on the successful suit, national director William D. Burt expanded further: "This case has exposed a lot of sloppy, 'money-is-all-we-see' thinking on the part of some observers. We took it up on the principle that as long as we're forced to support a government postal monopoly, it should treat all comers without discrimination. But to read some of the press reports you'd think all we did was horn in on supposedly subsidized third class mail rates."

"I would not expect Libertarians to readily accept the government's definition of 'subsidy.' Postal officials claim that first class mail 'subsidizes' third class, but the simple fact is that *all* mail users are forced to subsidize the postal bureaucracy, and it's hard to see how rates charged by a government monopoly are qualitatively any different than a tax."

"It's interesting as an issue for

Libertarians because I think we have to be very clear that government, not private citizens, must take responsibility for its tax structure. Going into this case, we had no idea whether our equal protection plea would be met with a raise in the Republicrat rate or a lowering of ours, and, in strict fact, we still don't. It's the government's decision."

Two weeks prior to release of the New York court's decision, Judge Weinstein granted appeals for inclusion in the suit by the New York Conservative Party, the Citizens Party, and John Anderson's "National Unity Committee." Prior press reports that Anderson had "won" the suit failed to mention his late intervention.

At this writing, many details of the decision—applicability to LP affiliated state party organizations eligibility for damages—remain unclear pending further requests for clarification and possible Supreme Court action.

The chief attorney working on the case for NYCLU was Arthur Eisenberg, staff counsel.

White, continued from page 1.

is clear that the support for the L.P. is stronger than in 1978."

Equally startling is the relation between the number of registered Libertarians in the district and the number of votes White received. White rolled up vote totals more than 13 times greater than the number of registered Libertarians in the district. Libertarian campaign consultant Ray Strong explains, "Bill got 18,539 votes and there are 1453 registered Libertarians in the district. We are waiting to get the full results back from the election commission that will enable us to really analyze where those votes came from. It should be of real value to every Libertarian candidate."

The race for the 12th senate seat began last fall when Gov. Edmund Brown Jr. appointed then incumbent state Sen. Jerry Smith to the state Court of Appeals, leaving the seat to be filled in a special election called for April 8. Two Republicans, four Democrats, and one Libertarian filed for the seat. While the district is 50%

White, continued on page 10.

Many regional organizations of the LPC have discovered that county fairs provide an excellent opportunity to present libertarian ideas to thousands of people. To help encourage all regions to have a fair booth and collect registrations this year, I'll describe how we manage our fair project in San Diego and give some suggestions, particularly for those who haven't done one yet.

Reserve your booth early

We couldn't get into the fair the first two years we tried; we applied too late. *Inquire immediately!* (Ed. Note: It's not too late to reserve booths at the many autumn fairs.)

Costs and fundraising

Our fair project costs us about \$700. Don't despair if your region's treasury doesn't have that much. We never use money from our treasury for the fair; we raise contributions to cover the entire cost of the project. People seem quite willing to contribute to a worthwhile project. A couple of suggestions: Send potential big contributors a photo of last year's booth. Send a free admission ticket to anyone who gives \$25 or more. You might also add a donation box at the booth as we have, but don't count on getting much there.

Booth rental costs probably vary a lot. In 1979 we paid \$350 for a 10' by 10' space in a pretty good location. Our other costs were approximately as follows:

Literature	\$150
Admission passes	\$ 90
Decoration	\$ 50
Telephone	\$ 30
Follow-up mailings to people who signed the mailing list	\$ 75

One-time costs:

Find Your Political Position (electronic board)	\$170
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ACTIVISTS CORNER

Libertarians At The Fair

Sara Baase



Photo by Paul Wolfgang

Large painted banner. \$ 70

The booth itself

The main attraction at our booth is our light-up Find Your Political Position Board. And it is quite an attraction! Several regions have similar boards.

We have a big variety of literature at the booth: a flyer with a copy of the questions on the board, the libertarian answers, and a general introduction to libertarianism (this is given to almost everyone), a logically written flyer titled "Civil Liberties & Economic Freedom" that goes into

more depth, *New Political Times*, national LP position papers, platforms, background flyers, and anything else we happen to have. (Taxation Is Theft bumperstickers were very popular.) Last year we gave away 6-inch rulers inscribed "This is the only ruler I need" and "Register Libertarian."

Someone creative and good at planning should be responsible for setting up the booth. It should be attractive but not cluttered. It's nice to have tablecloths and a rug. Remember pens, large envelopes or boxes for registration forms, literature racks,

paper for a mailing list, and dozens of other little items that are useful and/or necessary.

Scheduling booth workers

Our fair runs two weeks, 12 hours a day. I schedule three 4-hour shifts a day, two people per shift. That's 84 time slots to fill. Sounds scary, no? But it's not terribly hard to fill the schedule. Start a month in advance and do lots of phone calling. We get many volunteers who are not LP members and never attend LP or Libertarian Alternative meetings. They like to work the fair booth; they like to talk to people about libertarianism! So don't just call the activists who do everything else.

Most of our volunteers do two shifts; one or two hard-core activists who don't work full-time do 6 or more. I send each volunteer a reminder of his or her schedule, admission and parking tickets, and a sheet of information and instructions about the booth and the current year's main emphasis (for instance, ballot drive, signature collection), and I give them a few phone numbers to call to report problems and suggestions.

Go to it and have fun

Our booth always has more people crowded around it than the Democratic, Republican, or AIP booths. Last summer hundreds of people signed up for more information; a few have since joined the LP. The project is clearly worthwhile, and it is also the most popular project to San Diego libertarians.

Sara Baase is a Libertarian National Committee Member and originally wrote this article for the LP of California newsletter Caliber.

Michigan, continued from page 1.

few blocks away on the University of Michigan campus.

A host of leading Libertarians from around the country will attend these events, and the publicity generated can only help in the primary election two days later. In addition to Ed Clark, Alicia Clark, David Bergland, Dick Randolph, Ed Crane, Leonard Liggio, Roy Childs, Milton Mueller, Bill Burt, and Tom Palmer, many other leading Libertarians will be in Ann Arbor August 2nd and 3rd. Many activities are planned for the weekend, with the highlight being a joint SLS and LP of Michigan banquet on Saturday evening. For more information on the weekend's events, contact the SLS and/or the LP of Michigan.

Ed Clark made a very successful visit to Michigan in mid-May. Dick Jacobs, Rose Wright, and Stephen O'Keefe organized the Clark trip,

which resulted in fine media coverage, including a front-page interview in the 650,000 circulation Detroit Free Press.

At the convention, "Michigan Libertarian" editor Brian Wright was elected the new LP of Michigan chairperson. Also in May, activist Fred Dechow of Midland was selected as the new chairperson of the Michigan Clark campaign, replacing Eric O'Keefe, who went to work full-time for the Clark campaign in Washington, D.C. Fred specializes in grass-roots organizing.

Libertarian activity in Ohio has centered around the June 21-22 convention and Clark trip, and the fast-developing Clark organization.

Phillip Herzing and Ric Dillon organized a well-received dinner-reception-fundraiser for Ed Clark in Columbus on June 20, which was preceded by a press conference and a live TV interview. Excellent press coverage was arranged by Sandy

Burns. Clark then went to the Cincinnati convention, a successful affair organized by Ann Leech, with the assistance of Ross Levatter and Phyllis Goetz, among others. In addition to Clark, the convention featured Ralph Raico, Peter Breggin, and Tom Palmer.

The well organized Ohio Clark for President Com., headed by Ric Dillon, recently opened a headquarters in a large office at 250 South High St., Columbus, OH 43215. Tel. (614) 646-0911.

A great lift was given to the growing Libertarian organizations in Louisville and the rest of Kentucky by an Ed Clark appearance on May 18. Despite the fact that it was a Sunday appearance, Ed received excellent media coverage, most of which was arranged by Linda Barrow and Phyllis Goetz.

With Ed Clark already on the Kentucky ballot, state chairperson Ernest McAfee has been traveling to

assist on ballot drives in other states.

Attention in Indiana continues to be devoted to the petition drive — the attempt to put a Libertarian presidential ticket on the ballot for the first time there. As of June 16, about 6,000 of the approximately 18,000 signatures needed had been collected. Volunteer and paid petitioners are badly needed in Indiana, at least through the end of July. If you can help, please contact the Indiana LP, or call Marion Williams or Eric O'Keefe at the Clark HQ in Washington, (202) 333-8263.

Ed and Alicia Clark made a stop in Indianapolis on June 22. Publicity and other arrangements for this successful trip were made primarily by Jennifer Bergman. Ed spoke at a luncheon and later had interviews with several reporters.

JARVIS BLOWS IT

But Rumors of Tax Revolt's Death Are Exaggerated

Pro-tax forces are dancing on the grave of Howard Jarvis' 50% income tax cut, which was defeated sixty to forty percent by California voters June 3. However, their delight may be shortlived.

Analysts are ascribing the Jarvis defeat to a well-organized, well-financed opposition and to Jarvis' own tactics. Few, however, are predicting the end of America's tax revolt, now entering its third year with some dozen tax rollback measures expected to pass this November.

It is believed by some that California voters expressed a desire to observe the full effects of both Proposition 13 and last November's Proposition 4 spending limit, which passed by 3-to-1 margins. These same voters also defeated Proposition 11, a better than 10% surtax on energy production within California.

One fact that is emerging already from campaign finance reports is the well-run opposition campaign to Jarvis II, as Prop 9 supporters called it. Labeling the measure "Jaws II," government employee unions organized a coalition of business and socially liberal groups opposing the tax cut. Gone were Prop 13's obvious, floundering distortions of fact—this time, pro-tax forces were able to give their arguments a veneer of rationality and gear their appeal to specific groups. To business groups, which have never been great admirers of Jarvis and which mostly opposed Proposition 13, Prop 9 opponents

sold the notion that Jaws II would wreak havoc with government services used by the corporations, and increase the threat of higher corporation taxes. The state legislature played along with this contention by enacting a minor provision of the Jarvis initiative, repeal of the business inventory tax, in such a way that the lost revenue from inventory tax was made up in higher bank and corporation taxes. Business leaders were also encouraged to view the November 1979 spending limit initiative as a substitute for actual tax cuts.

While many top California corporate leaders were curiously taken in by the cries of "chaos" and appeals to have faith in complex and likely unenforceable spending limit measures, the general public was not to be so fooled. But here the anti-9 forces took a different approach, one which clearly caught Jarvis by surprise. Comments Jule Herbert, who heads National Taxpayers Union's state action programs: "The anti-Prop 9 people ran a huge campaign that claimed the measure would give money to rich people. They showed that one third of the gross revenue that would not be collected by the state of California would be left in the hands of 5% of the population. They cried wolf about Proposition 13 and were discredited. This time they appealed to envy. It was very clever and very well done."

Even so, Prop 9 engendered more than a few scare tactics. Police chiefs,

such as Los Angeles Daryl Gates, said they would have to close police stations and that they would be unable to control crime if Proposition 9 were to pass. Students applying to state universities were sent letters of acceptance saying they would be enrolled only if Prop 9 failed—letters paid for by public money. Public school officials said they would have to cut one period from each student's day if the anti-tax move were passed.

In the face of this concerted attack Jarvis did little to speak for either the rightness or the practicality of the tax cut. Despite Proposition 13's beneficial effect upon California's economy—552,000 new jobs created and an inflation rate lowered below the national average—Jarvis never overcame the myth that Jaws II would bite "too close to the bone."

In addition to merchandising their message well, anti-Jarvis groups used two years' worth of experience in tax revolt skirmishes to selectively mobilize support and votes. The 50% income tax cut, which Jarvis originally had proposed because of its simplicity and strong support among predominantly middle-class, middle-income, middle-aged tax group constituents, was perceived as a net loss of income among very young and very old voters, who make relatively little money and pay light income taxes, but who were impressed by the threatened loss of government services.

Employees of the state, behind it all, were clearly waging war on the people who support them. According to columnist Richard Reeves, in the last four week period "No on 9" forces received \$166,000 from the California Teachers Association, \$125,000 from the California State Employees Association, and \$117,000 from the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. Commented Reeves, "We

have created a civic service almost big enough to hold the balance of democratic power. What the Proposition 9 campaign showed is that the rest of us are getting dangerously close to being the servants of our public servants."

In the end, however, Jarvis himself lost Prop 9. NTU's Herbert observes: "The proposition's chief spokesman hurt it. The lesson is that you have to be better organized and have better leaders." Said University of Southern California professor Arthur Laffer in the *Washington Post*, "It ended up that Howard Jarvis was the issue. He used to be entertaining but he's not so entertaining anymore. It's too bad because Proposition 9 was a very good issue."

Libertarian National Committee national director, Bill Burt, himself a former NTU organizer in California, reflected that Jarvis' main failure was ideological: "Proposition 13 passed because people were having their homes foreclosed for unpaid property taxes. Many of these *property* tax situations were temporarily remedied in the wave of tax revolt measures that passed in November 1978. This time Howard Jarvis found out something which Libertarians have long known—that if you're going to extend the tax revolt beyond emergency situations like Prop 13, you've got to link it with some other immediate issue such as education or crime. Shaking your fist at the hated bureaucrats won't do. If you want to compete on the basis of selling hatred and envy as Jarvis did this last time around, you'll ultimately be bested by those in and around government who have had more practice at that sort of thing. What the tax revolt needs is a positive purpose and a vision of a better future—because to win, the voters have got to know in their hearts that you're right."

Midwest Libertarians Campaign

Wisconsin

Wisconsin Libertarians are concentrating their efforts in the six week period from June 1 to July 8 on achieving ballot status for individual Libertarian candidates. While the Libertarian Party itself already has formal ballot status in Wisconsin, individuals wishing to run as Libertarian candidates are still required to

circulate nomination papers. Approximately 15,000 signatures will be required altogether.

One of the more interesting local races is in Milwaukee County, where Ann Sedlachek is circulating nomination papers to appear as the Libertarian candidate for Milwaukee County Coroner. Sedlachek is a registered nurse who supervised the nursing staff at a major Milwaukee hospital for over 5 years and is thus substantially better qualified for the position of county coroner than either of her Republican or Democratic opponents, who do not have medical backgrounds. She needs to collect 500 signatures to appear on the ballot.

Recently hired state director, Ken Hopf, notes that various Wisconsin Libertarian publications, including the eight-page tabloid newsletter and state-oriented recruiting brochure,

have been upgraded substantially over the last few months. Membership and volunteer activity are on the upswing.

Illinois

The Illinois Libertarian Party, in addition to the usual range of solid party-building activities they engage in, is aggressively pursuing campus organizing as a cornerstone of their early campaign efforts. They hope to recruit in the course of their campus organizing a large corps of volunteers to be used later on in the campaign in grassroots activities that will take advantage of the media attention Ed Clark and Illinois Senatorial candidate Bruce Green will be attracting as the campaign heats up.

In a typical day of campus organizing, an evening organizational meeting is scheduled that is preceded by

Clark radio ads in the appropriate area and press contacts to develop radio and television talk show engagements for a Libertarian speaker or candidate who is available that day. The same speaker generally addresses the crowd in the evening and a libertarian film (e.g., *The Incredible Bread Machine*), is screened. This whole procedure has proven quite effective in recruiting student volunteers and members so far, particularly in the Bradley campus in Peoria and the University of Illinois in Champaign/Urbana.

The 3rd annual Bruce Green picnic was held on June 28th and was the most successful to date, attracting over 150 people.

Illinois Libertarians should contact state chair Cissy Webb at 312- 871-5294 for information on state and local activities.

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JULY 1980

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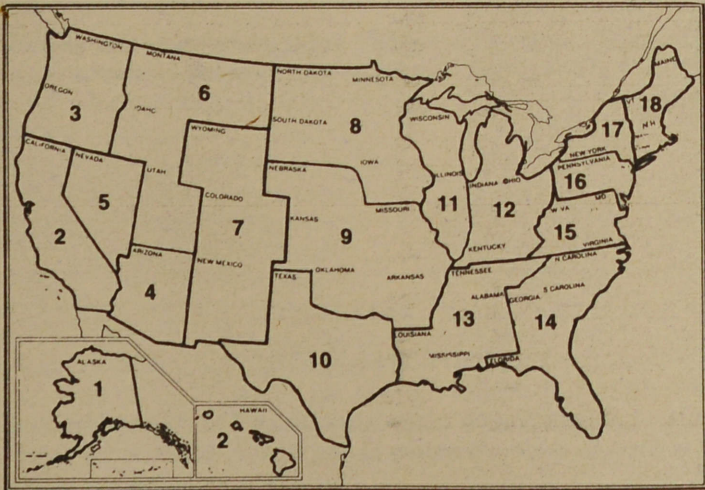
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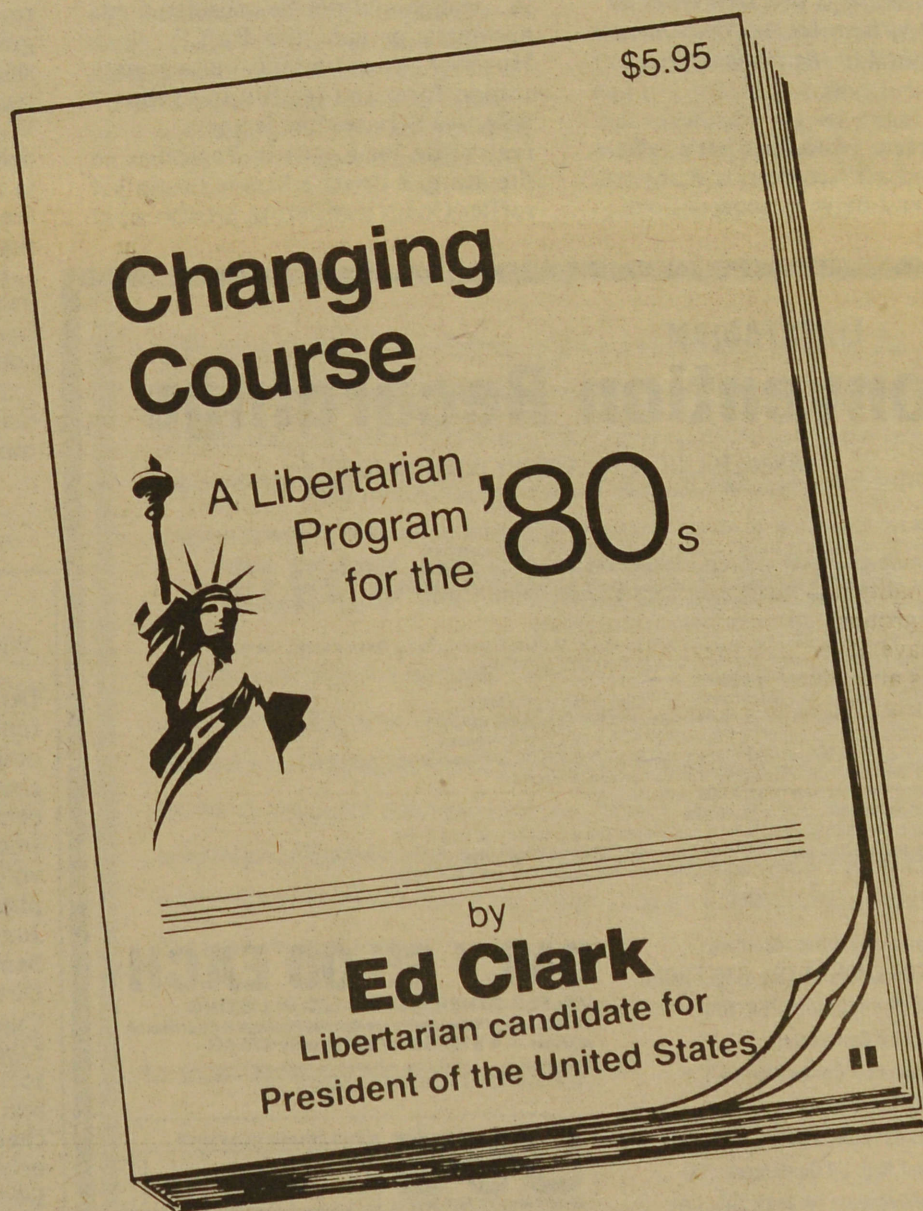
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Chicago Tribune

“The big story that may emerge out of the November elections will not be who won the presidency, but how the Libertarians moved from minor to major party status.”

—*Nathan J. Muller, Editor*
Political Action Report



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LIBERTARIAN LETTER OF THE MONTH

Libertarian News is now actively soliciting letters to the editor and speeches delivered by Libertarians which will be kept on file at L.N.C. headquarters in Washington for the use of other Libertarians. The letters and speeches will be made available to other activists and candidates who wish to write or speak on similar themes.

Each issue of Libertarian News will regularly run the best published letter from the previous two months. All entries should be sent to: Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20007, Attention: Publications Director.

Printed below is our first letter to the editor written by Andrew Darrow and published in the Philadelphia Bulletin.

Your recent editorial "Let's talk about the draft" represents many confused and naive misconceptions

about the draft. Indeed, as you stated, "There are things worth dying for. You just have to choose them carefully." However, the draft is not an action which American youth chooses. No, rather it is the use of coercion—the threat of a jail sentence—which forces us to comply with the draft. Conscription or involuntary servitude was maintained from 1945 through 1975. Of our 2.1 million-man active duty military, only about a third can be directly related to this country's actual defense needs. The rest goes to sustain America's global military commitments. It is this far-flung military empire, not homeland defense, that requires a draft. Once it is understood that much of our military has nothing to do with defense of this country, it follows naturally that all the accoutrements of the empire can be junked without endangering our security.

The editorial further states that registration is merely a "signing in...and should not be considered an automatic prelude to a draft." However, when one fills out a registration form and sends it in to the Selective Service, one is not registering for a class in English literature, a driver's license or a raffle. One is registering for the

draft. By turning over one's name, address and age to the Selective Service, one is directly recognizing the right to be called up and drafted whenever it is deemed necessary.

That is why we have little patience with many liberal opponents of the draft who merely argue that the draft "is not justified at this time" or that the draft is acceptable in wartime "but isn't needed now." These temporizing complaints actually contribute to the acceptability of the draft. By shifting debate to the question of when conscription is justified, rather than the fundamental moral issue of whether it is ever justified, they leave the door wide open for the government to manufacture foreign crises or national emergencies that will "justify" resumption of the draft. Isn't that exactly what Carter did with the Iran and Afghanistan affairs?

The libertarian view is that it is especially in time of war—when one's very life is at stake—that the freedom to choose must be preserved. The government's war-making powers should always be subject to the chastening discipline of individual choice. We put no stock in "democratic process" or majority rule; we believe in letting individuals vote with their feet. That way, wars without popular support will simply not be fought.

History shows that people whose lives, homes and families are genuinely threatened by invaders will fight voluntarily.

No just war requires a draft. The Selective Service system can—and must—be abolished.

Andrew Darrow
Students for a Libertarian Society
Pa.

Republican and the Democrat attacked each other throughout the campaign. I talked about issues. I was included in all public events and was very seldom left out of coverage. We dealt with issues people could identify with." Much of White's campaign centered around Proposition 9, which he, alone among the candidates, supported. White issued a detailed proposal called the "Taxpayers' Choice Plan" which outlined his own plans for cutting back taxes as well as a statement of support for Prop 9 and a pledge to follow through on cutting taxes if elected.

The White campaign frequently used local issues imaginatively and successfully to make voters aware of the Libertarian alternative. One such example was White's hammering at a Diridon-sponsored ordinance which required solar water heating in all newly constructed homes and the eventual retro-fitting of current homes. White also attacked a Cupertino city ordinance which forbids driving around without a specific destination. White ran a radio ad about the law that ended, "The next time they stop you in Cupertino and ask where you're going, just tell them you're looking for Libertarian Party headquarters. And on June 3rd, don't forget to vote for me, Bill White, Libertarian candidate for state senate in district 12."

The primary stumbling block that White had to face was lack of finances. "What really held me back was money," said the Libertarian candidate. "The Republican and the Democrat together spent \$350,000. That was a crucial factor. Our primary sources of money were a banquet we had for Ed Clark and a mailing done nationwide for us by Ed Crane. That really helped. We also had a lot of small, local contri-

White, continued on page 12.

White, continued from page 6.

Democratic and 37% Republican, a runoff seemed likely because it was doubtful that any one candidate could get a majority with eight contestants in the race. When the smoke cleared on April 8th, the top vote-getters from each party were placed in the runoff to be held on June 3rd. They were Democratic Santa Clara County Supervisor Rod Diridon, Republican Dan O'Keefe, a Cupertino city councilman, and Libertarian Bill White, a computer software engineer. The race for the seat was a tough one, and was characterized by acid exchanges between the Republican and Democrat. White's calm and reasonable approach to the campaign received frequent favorable comment in area press. By mid May most polls conducted in the district showed O'Keefe with a comfortable lead on his two opponents and he succeeded in winning the special election with 52.7%.

White attributed his own success to a number of key factors. "The

You Can Do It Too!

Libertarian activists interested in studying Bill White's campaign further can profit from his experience by writing National Headquarters for a copy of "The Bill White Race: A Review." Available free to LP members (\$10 others), the "Review" collects and analyzes the important literature, schedules, media coverage, and other components of Bill's successful campaign. Write (and enclose prepayment if necessary): Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20007. Available for a limited time only.

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Madison City Councilman Gary Gates Answers What It's Like To Be An Elected Libertarian

Gary Gates was elected to the Madison City Council in April of 1979. He represents Madison's 7th district (there are 22), a quiet and primarily residential westside neighborhood.

Since assuming office, Gary has raised not a few eyebrows, made headlines, and generally increased the calibre of political discussion in Madison with his articulate and persuasive support in the Council Chambers of across the board political freedom.

Leslie Key talked with Gary recently about politics, the Libertarian Party, and what it's like to be a Libertarian in office.

The following interview is reprinted from Wisconsin Libertarian News.

LK: We've noticed several instances when votes on the City Council were 21 for; 1 against; with you as the sole opposing vote. You were the only alderman, for instance, to vote against regulating—of all things—hot air balloons. This must be rather frustrating. Are there any rewards to being an elected Libertarian?

Gates: Where government is involved frustration always seems to loom larger than the rewards. It really feels good, though, when people come up to me after a Council meeting and ask for information about the Libertarian Party. I'm personally very excited about the future of Libertarianism and find the fact that my membership on the Council is making people aware of, and attracting converts to, the Libertarian Party, very rewarding.

Under the category of frustrations, I would say the biggest one has been the excessive amount of time I am required to work on things which government should never be involved with in the first place. Hot air balloons are just a small part of this. The City Council has assigned itself the role of super land planner and building architect, not to mention licensing and regulating everything anybody might conceivably want to do. Since a majority of the Council still believes this is their proper function I find myself also spending time on these issues. It's necessary to understand these issues inside and out in order to have any chance of changing the Council's way of treating them.

LK: You must be something of an enigma to your fellow aldermen. How do they perceive you?

Gates: At first I don't think they knew what to make of me. Their puzzlement was typified by one alderman who asked me shortly after I took office, "But if you don't want to use government to do things, why did

you run for office?" Now I think most of them have come to understand my deep concern about government intrusions on individual freedom. Several have commented on the consistency of my opposition to government interference in people's lives.

I remember a comment made at a Council committee meeting called to study the possibilities of a local income tax. A fellow committee member said; "Well, with Gates on the committee, we can be sure we will be made aware of all the potential problems before we make a recommendation." My favorite time was an occasion when I was sitting with two other aldermen and one said, "You know, this guy is a great civil libertarian," and the other replied, "Civil, hell, he is a Libertarian!"

LK: It's remarkable that 21 aldermen of very different political backgrounds are beginning to understand you. I wouldn't be surprised if some of your constituents are still mystified. Your predecessor was a fairly typical conservative. Do you think your constituents are happy with the job you're doing?

Gates: I won't be certain of that until the election next year. Politics doesn't have the immediate feedback of the free market. A store owner who allowed his customers to choose their merchandise only once every two years would have very little knowledge about how to adjust his inventory to meet the customer's desires. Besides, he'd go out of business! Elected officials, however, are very leery of giving their "customers" too many choices. The majority of people I talk to in my district do seem satisfied that I am doing what I pledged to do in my campaign, which is to advocate less government interference in people's lives. Even those who call with an axe to grind usually indicate appreciation that I am doing what I can to oppose the trend toward governmental expansion.

LK: Do you plan on running for office again, then?

Gates: Yes. Of course I'll have to see what happens in the meantime, but my tentative plans are to run for the City Council again in 1981 and to run for the State Legislature. I don't consider "politician" to be a dirty word. It has come to symbolize people who want to use governmental force to get control of other people's property, but a politician can work for freedom instead. I intend to keep running for one office or another as long as I feel that I can advance Libertarianism by doing so.

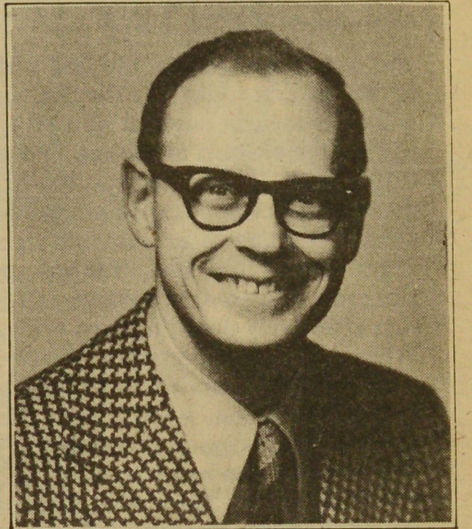
LK: One factor that will play an important role in your political future, and the Libertarian Party's future, is

press coverage. The LP generally gets a fair shake from the media. How do you feel about the coverage you've been getting?

Gates: I have been pleased at the treatment I have received from the press. I doubt if you will ever find a politician totally satisfied with the quantity of press coverage, but the reporters have frequently keyed in on my comments about the problems being created by government. Basically I think that all it takes to get good press coverage is to have something worthwhile to say and to be able to express it clearly and forcefully with "quotable quotes."

LK: Not to mention the shock value of some things you say. A memorable incident is the ten seconds of stunned silence in the press corps after you read your resolution supporting the parole of Karleton Armstrong. Can you tell us about that event and your reasons for introducing that very controversial resolution?

Gates: I had two reasons for sponsoring that resolution. The important thing is that I felt it was the right thing to do. After seeing the film "The War At Home," about resistance in Madison to the Vietnam War, I came to a better understanding of the atmosphere prevailing here when the Armstrongs bombed Sterling



Hall. The anti-war protestors were reacting to a very real evil. I don't condone their action. But I did feel it was time to put that era behind us, and to recognize that their action was undertaken only to protest an unjust, useless, tragic war.

Other than that, I sponsored it because I was getting to be viewed as a "typical conservative reactionary." I feel the debate and emotion about that resolution played a major part in making people realize I was concerned about all government oppression.

Gates, continued on page 14.

"Win, lose or draw, the entrance of an organized third party on the city's political scene is expected to pump some life into the upcoming campaign, political observers say. The Libertarian Party is no Anderson-come-lately on the political scene."

Jack W. Gill, The Courier-News

ELECT A LIBERTARIAN

For the first time in the Northeast, we can elect a Libertarian to public office. As you probably know, Ray Blanco lost by only three votes in his bid for a Plainfield Community Action Board seat last year. His enthusiastic campaign for the City Council this year has one primary goal: to win by presenting Libertarian solutions to Plainfield's problems. For the first time in New Jersey, a Libertarian candidate has a campaign budget of \$5000. Please send as much as you can today.

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Alaska, continued from page 3.

and he will decide how the case will be handled. It looks like the challenge will be made this summer and go to the Supreme Court in the fall. We anticipate two or three other states to go with us." Rhoads continued, "I think it is going to be an uphill fight but it doesn't look bad. It might spur Congress into passing some legislation that effectively does the same thing." When asked by *Libertarian News* what prompted him to draft his anti-federal legislation, Rhoads said, "It was an attitude among bureaucrats in Washington who never set foot here but thought they knew what was best for us. FLPMA was just the beginning of a series of rules and regulations that were contrary to our way of life. The bottom line is that the public is fed up with the federal government, with just too much government period."

Surprisingly, the Alaskan legislature is the only one west of the Rockies not to have acted on any legislation that would remove federal controls from their state. Libertarian legislator Dick Randolph said, "As with the tax repeal issue, our elected leaders, including the Governor and the Lt. Governor, are not providing forceful leadership on the federal-state land issue. I co-sponsored HB 398 on March 15, 1979, which is legislation similar to the Tundra Rebellion initiative. It has been sitting in the House Resources Committee receiving no action since that date." Randolph added, "It is incredible to me that we Alaskans, who have been so aggrieved by the federal government's land policies, and who have so much more to gain than any other state, are not in the forefront of this struggle. It is the people who must provide the leadership in our struggle to gain control of land within Alaska which is presently controlled by the federal government."

The history of state and federal land relations is long and complex, but the legal precedents as well as the intentions of the founding fathers are clearly on the side of the states. The Articles of Confederation gave Congress no power to own land within a state. Each state maintained its sovereignty but the federal government was given the power to resolve boundary disputes. The Confederation did not own a single square foot of land in the original 13 colonies. Under the Articles of Confederation, original states were, however, to give back to the federal government any claims to westward lands made by them following the Declaration of Independence. The federal government was to hold this land in trust, both to sell and pay off debts from the revolution, and to transfer to new states upon admittance to the union. When Nevada goes to court, it will contend that the new Congress under the Constitution succeeded the old Congress as the trust administrator

for the land to be transferred to new states.

The Constitution itself and most of the subsequent history of state and federal land relations confirms the role of the federal government as merely an agent and not as an owner of property. As the new states were admitted to the union, only small amounts of land were retained by the federal government for national purposes, such as military bases. When the Rocky Mountains were reached federal policy changed and most states had imposed upon them, as a condition for statehood, that they forfeit all rights and title to any lands not granted the state under the authority of the Act. Because of this imposition of terms, many states, including Alaska, incorporated disclaimers in their constitutions regarding such lands.

Assuming the Alaskans pass legislation that reverses the current federal stranglehold on their state, they too will have to go to court to settle the issue. They will have to prove that the federal government's seizure of property as a condition of statehood was both unconstitutional and without legal precedent and that it was effectively made under duress. A strong case can be made for such a claim and one of its strongest props is the Equal Footing Doctrine.

The Equal Footing Doctrine is a well established truism of Constitutional law which was developed by judicial interpretation. The Supreme Court has repeatedly referred to equality between the states as an inherent attribute of federal union. The Equal Footing Doctrine keeps Congress from imposing, by consent or force, any conditions on admission to statehood which infringes the equality of the new state in relation to the other states.

Although there has never been a case argued on the seizure of land within a state by the federal government, the leading case on Equal Footing (The *Pollard Case*) is believed to have established a clear precedent for equality among the states. The *Pollard Case* established that as the original 13 states were specifically granted ownership of all navigable waters and the land thereunder, then other, newer states were also entitled to such ownership. There are a large number of other abstruse and highly complex Constitutional arguments that can be made favorably to the right of new states to be sovereign. What emerges from the various arguments is clear: That the federal government had no right to seize vast amounts of land within a state.

Alaska's day in court with the feds is far away right now, but Alaska Libertarians seem confident of victory. Jim Dove, Chairman of the Action Committee for the Fairbank's L.P., said, "It's going to be a lot of work but we're going to make it. I have no doubt that we will be successful in placing the initiative on the

ballot. I guarantee you that it will be." State Rep. Randolph agreed and added, "The Tundra initiative is a piece of the whole puzzle. We have been making steady progress in a number of directions. The initiative itself will not appear on the ballot until 1981 or 1982, so it will not be the focus of a lot of attention immediately. The most important thing right now is for us to elect more Libertarians to office. That's my major concern."

Bergland, continued from page 16.

order to understand why a free society is such a bargain.

The "laws work" fallacy. In the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, many people challenge the advocates of a free society on the premise that the only thing necessary to make people do right is to pass laws. We hear people utter such absurdities as, "We can't decriminalize marijuana, otherwise everybody would smoke marijuana." In light of the experience with prohibition (of alcohol), marijuana laws, tax laws and laws against such activities as gambling and prostitution, it is difficult for knowledgeable Libertarians to believe that anyone would continue to advocate laws penalizing any peaceful and honest activity. The historical evidence is overwhelming that people will do what they want to do in spite of any Draconian penalties. Obviously, victimless crime laws don't work.

Precisely because it is so obvious to us, we must continually remind ourselves that the majority of those who argue against repealing victimless crime laws base their arguments at least partially on the totally false premise that people do obey such laws. More often than not, this will be an unstated premise. In such circumstances, it helps advance the inquiry or discussion to identify this premise and dispose of it. Merely to identify it is to demolish it. Anyone who truly desires to deal with the issues productively will readily acknowledge that the "laws work" premise is false. From that point, it becomes easier to demonstrate that the negative results of attempting to suppress peaceful activities far outweigh any positive benefits.

The foregoing fallacies are just some of a great number I have encountered in the past several years as a Libertarian interviewee. They are common but deadly pitfalls for the unwary advocate of Liberty. I hope to discuss more of them in future columns.

White, continued from page 10.

butions. Even so, we only spent \$5,000." Most of the money was spent on leafleting and on radio advertising. The White campaign delivered some 14,000 brochures door-to-door by election day.

Bill White summed up his impressions of the race in a recent conversation with *Libertarian News*,

saying, "It remains to be seen what effect this race has had on the media and public opinion. A local radio station called it an outstanding effort by a third party." White continued, "We ran a high-level, realistic campaign. It was credible. In the future people will expect Libertarians to run real campaigns and not be radical gadflies. That is a real gain. We will not be viewed as also-rans."

Elsewhere in California voting, Libertarian Mary K. Shell emerged top-dog in a five-way primary race for mayor of Bakersfield (pop. 100,000). Under Bakersfield's nonpartisan local election rules, only the top two vote-getters in the June primary go on to November's ballot, and this time it was the Republican and two Democrats who were left in the dust as Shell and Democrat Charles Dodge garnered 8,612 (32%) and 8,610 votes respectively.

Shell, whose husband opposed Richard Nixon for the California GOP gubernatorial nomination in 1962 and served in the state assembly for a number of years, was herself a Republican for many years until she saw how Ed Clark "attracted young people back to the political process" in his 1978 governor's campaign. Though the Bakersfield mayor's race is non-partisan, her current Libertarian affiliation became an issue when the Republican party threatened two of its central committee members with expulsion for endorsing her candidacy.

Libertarian candidate Del Mayer achieved virtual "balance-of-power status" in his race for Butte County supervisor, pulling 13.3% of the votes with the winning incumbent polling 50%.

Various other races, mostly primary elections for state and federal office, filled out the 100 campaigns up for a vote on June 3. Although the California party's finances are strained to the limit to cope with all this activity, political observers including the prestigious *California Journal* are noting that Libertarian candidates are positioned to exert a noticeable effect upon the state's politics this year and beyond.

CANDIDATES!

You can receive, free of charge, periodic mailings from national headquarters containing useful information for your campaign. We can also "plug you into" national candidate surveys by special interest organizations, into media candidate lists, and more. But first we need to know your name, address, and the office you're seeking. The more info you send us, the better. And don't forget to put us on your news release list: Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20007.

Jersey Machine Fields Full Congressional Slate

New Jersey's Libertarian Party, under the vigorous leadership of state Chairman Ray Blanco, has been making large strides toward establishing itself as a major force in state politics. In an interview with the *Libertarian News*, Blanco said, "We have 38 candidates for public office in 1980. We will have full county slates in 8 of New Jersey's 21 counties. We will also have a full congressional slate. It's the first time that any third party in New Jersey, and perhaps in the entire country, has accomplished such a task." Blanco continued, "We have targeted four races where each candidate expects to spend at least \$5,000. We even have one race which we intend to win. For the first time a northeastern Libertarian could be elected to public office."

The fight the N.J.L.P. intends to win is Blanco's own race for city council in Plainfield. Blanco ran previously for office as a Libertarian in 1979, when he lost a close bid for a seat on the Plainfield Community Action Board by three votes. Blanco's plans for his 1980 race have been drawn up around a \$5,000 budget that includes 200 radio spots, three direct mailings to the district's registered voters, as well as the printing and distributing of over 20,000 brochures. Blanco's opponents, incumbent city councilwomen Angela Perun (D), and Plainfield Republican Chairman William Morgan, plan to spend less than \$2,000 each in their respective races for the seat. Blanco's campaign will focus on the issue of crime which has risen over 30% in the city since 1979. His opponents believe the primary campaign issue is the redevelopment of downtown Plainfield via public financing.

The other three targeted races in the state are for congressional seats. They are: Livingston lawyer Carl Sampson's challenge to incumbent Rep. Millicent Fenwick (R) in the 5th district; Virginia Flynn's race against Rep. Edwin Forsythe (R) in the 6th district; and Bergen County Libertarian Party Chairman Bob Shapiro's race against Rep. Harold Hollenbeck (R) in the 9th district.

Not all of the New Jersey party's time has been spent on running candidates for office, however. An active membership drive begun in March is beginning to pay off in increased support. The party has also extensively revised its publications as well. The newsletter, *The Jersey Libertarian*, has been given a face-lift with some new graphics and has been ex-

panded to include more copy and advertising. The costs of the new newsletter, in fact, are completely covered by the advertising. *The Jersey Libertarian* also began an activist bulletin in May called *Actionline* that keeps party members up-to-date on Libertarian news around the state.

Oregon and Washington Hold Conventions

The big news in the Pacific Northwest is the first ever LP of Oregon nominating convention held on June 1 in Portland. Six electors (Tonie Nathan, Paul Dillon, Craig Armstrong, Ralph Edwards, Steve Buckstein and Vivian Baures) were selected to be ready to cast their votes for Clark/Koch in the electoral college when the LP carries the state.

In addition a full slate of state-wide candidates was nominated: Tonie Nathan (veteran of the 1972 VP race and the 1976 Congressional race) will run for U.S. Senate against incumbent Bob Packwood. Packwood, while well known, is falling from favor and the Democratic opponent is unknown. This could be an exciting race.

Robert J. Wright was nominated

for Secretary of State. Bob ran in the May primary as a Republican for Attorney General and came in second in a 4-way race garnering over 50,000 votes. Bob, who is *not* a member of the bar, has been practicing law (successfully) and teaches others how to defend themselves and others as lay counsel. After a heavy grilling by the convention delegates and a pledge to support the LP platform and statement of principles, he was nominated. Bob Wright is one of those individuals who has been fighting for freedom for years and was a libertarian, but just didn't know it. He is running against a Republican incumbent, the very popular Norma Paulus. The Democratic opponent is an unknown.

The convention also nominated Terrance McCauley, an attorney from Estacada, for Attorney General. Terry, at one time, was a liberal Democrat who believed that the system was fine if you just got good people in office. He was chairman of the planning commission, head of the school board and a municipal judge. About a year ago a libertarian started talking with him and he soon realized that it was the system that was wrong. He quit the commission, board, and court and joined the LP. Competition will be tough in this AG race from both the Democrats and the Republicans but Terry plans a tough campaign.

Finally, the convention nominated

Donna Merzi for State Treasurer. Donna is vice president of a title company and has many years of solid experience in the business community. She will have a tough campaign against a strong incumbent and a well-known Democratic opponent.

In addition to these state-wide candidates, it is expected that there will be at least seven local candidates (a separate petition must be circulated, except in Jackson County, where permanent status was won in the 1978 elections).

The new state chair is long-time activist Ralph Edwards (17585 S.W. Hancock Way, Beaverton, OR 97006 503/645-5042). The party headquarters will remain at 33 N. Monroe in Portland.

The Washington state LP also held its annual convention recently. The main item of business was the adoption of a new constitution which provides for a much more workable party organization. On July 24th a convention will be held which will meet the relatively easy ballot status requirements. It is expected that there will be a good number of candidates from this state. The newly elected chair is Jay Miskimen (2920 200th S.E., Issaquah, WA). Washington is one of two states that has had ballot status consistently since 1972, so we expect big things here.



ATTEND THE 1ST SLS NATIONAL CONVENTION

After two years of dramatic growth, Students for a Libertarian Society is bringing together libertarian student activists from all over the country for the first SLS National Convention, August 1 through 4, at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

POLITICS...

First item on the agenda: defining the New Politics—discussing and debating the central challenges facing libertarianism and hammering out an SLS Statement setting forth our approach to them. Participants will not only shape the future of the movement, but also that of SLS itself, by electing a Student Board of directors.

SPEAKERS...

There's something for everybody—students and non-students alike—in the program: LP Presidential candidate Ed Clark on the future of the Libertarian Party; keynote speaker Roy Childs on the history of the movement; Jeff Riggenbach on what culture has to do with libertarianism; Leonard Liggio on the crisis of American foreign policy and the prospects for an international, revolutionary libertarian movement; Milton Mueller and Eric Garri on antiwar organizing; Michael Lipson on energy; workshops on feminism, free market economics, and more.

SPECIAL EVENTS...

The featured event will be a Presidential Debate between Libertarian Ed Clark and Citizen's Party spokesman Barry Commoner on Sunday evening. The convention will begin with a showing of the award-winning documentary "The War at Home". There will also be a Saturday night banquet, plus numerous parties, planned and unplanned.

Inexpensive overnight accommodations are available at the University. A few travel scholarships are available to student members.

YES

I want to help shape the future of the libertarian movement. Enclosed is a \$5 refundable reservation fee; send a registration form to me immediately (\$5 fee applies to registration cost).

STUDENT ☐
NON-STUDENT ☐
SLS MEMBER? ☐

APPLICATION ☐
FOR TRAVEL ☐
SCHOLARSHIP? ☐

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Send To: STUDENTS FOR A LIBERTARIAN SOCIETY 1620 Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94111

Draft, continued from page 4.

widespread campaign to counter the government's media blitz on behalf of registration.

Support groups should, conference participants noted, consist of activists willing to take the risk of publicly advocating non-compliance. "These groups, which form the core of counter registration activity—picketing, leafletting, and supplying support to young people facing the difficult decision whether or not to break the law—must not work at cross-purposes with anti-draft activists who cannot advocate non-compliance. Those individuals who chose not to resist must be included and encouraged to help in coalition work."

One activity proposed was to set up a counseling phone number where registration-age men could call. As the CARD workshop advises, "The counselors behind these numbers would not advocate resistance, but would include non-registration as a viable option, and be able to discuss its advantages and risks. Because they would not be advocating illegal acts, counselors' phone numbers could be legally advertised as public service announcements on television, billboards, and so on."

Before registration is to begin the SSS must advertise heavily on radio and TV, and in print media. According to CARD organizers, anti-draft activists should encourage everyone to call local radio and TV stations and complain if the station carries ads for the government's draft campaign; consumer pressure here can be very effective. To further generate anti-draft attention, activists

associated with the National Resistance Committee have held the first of news conferences in over a hundred cities in which 19 and 20 year olds will publicly state their refusal to register for the draft.

Public demonstrations at post offices will be a prime activity during the two weeks of registration. Those planning such demonstrations were counseled by CARD organizers to contact local police to find out the rules and regulations governing demonstrations in each community. Permits may often be required, and there may exist written or unwritten limitations on the size of the materials which will be allowed in demonstrations. Unusually large or heavy sticks and signs, which can be used as weapons, risk confiscation by police even before a demonstration gets underway. It is legal to leaflet inside Post Offices, so long as protesters avoid obstructing the public or postal service employees, a violation of federal law.

For obvious reasons, anti-registration protesters were warned by CARD conference attendees to locate a lawyer who would agree to defend them, before undertaking resistance activities.

* * *

As the *Washington Post* admitted recently, "one cannot talk about registration without anticipating an eventual draft." Already the calls for actual conscription are being heard, with Admiral Thomas Hayward becoming the first of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to advocate actual callups. Enactment of conscription would likely bring with it some form of

"national service" option as an attempt to forestall opposition among America's youth. Such a combined military/domestic draft, in addition to causing wholesale violations of individual rights in this country, would irrevocably change our economic system's labor markets and give government the conscripted labor to launch previously unthinkable boondoggles and, worst of all, war. So many of our liberties, and many issues, hinge on the draft registration fight—not merely the comfort and convenience of four million young men.

The Committee Against Registration and the Draft can be contacted at: 245 2nd St., NE, Washington, DC 20002, and the National Resistance Committee at PO Box 1433, Washington, DC 20013.

Hengerer Runs For Culver Seat

The Iowa Libertarian Executive Committee met in Ames on June 8th and transacted two important pieces of business. The Iowa L.P. nominated Libertarian activist Bob Hengerer for the U.S. senate race against Rep. Charles Grassley (R) and incumbent Sen. John Culver (D). Hengerer is a creative director for an advertising agency in Davenport. Hengerer's nomination brings the total number of Iowa Libertarian candidates to fifteen.

The Iowa Excom also brought Dick Bacon on board as a full-time state coordinator for the party.

ANTI-DRAFT POSTERS!

With Congress reviving the Selective Slavery System this summer, you can be sure that thousands of young people will be looking for ways to express their opposition to a renewal of the draft.

Why don't you hand a draft-age friend a gift of a poster—one which will draw attention to the real issue of individual rights?

NOW YOU CAN—by giving a copy of the Libertarian National Committee's anti-draft resolution in poster form. Two versions of this dramatic statement on behalf of individual liberty are available: a glossy 23" by 35" wall-size poster (\$5) and a smaller parchment-style poster which measures 11" by 17" (\$2).

Libertarian National Committee headquarters has printed limited runs of these posters for use in anti-draft activity this summer—so get yours now. (Check the order form in the center of this issue.)

Gates, continued from page 11.

sion, not just interference with business.

LK: You really are making an impact as a Libertarian, then. Apart from the things you've already mentioned, do you have any advice for other electorally minded Libertarians?

Gates: Get involved. Not just in Libertarian politics, but in neighborhood associations, PTAs, petition drives, etc. Don't shove Libertarianism down anybody's throat but let them know what it is. Most people are naturally Libertarian, not in the sense that they consciously adhere to Libertarian principles, but in the sense that they want government to just quit interfering with them. If people get to know you on a volunteer basis, they will better appreciate your sincerity when you are seeking to become one of those "damned politicians." When you are in the campaign the two most effective tools you have are word of mouth, your friends telling their friends and neighbors that you're OK, and an effective brochure clearly

stating your faith in people's ability to take care of themselves. People are far readier to tell their neighbors about you if they know you before your announcement for office and you will need their help to get your brochure distributed.

LK: That's sounds like a very workable plan for getting elected to local office. I'd like you to paint with a broader brush now. What do you think the LP needs to do next to become a majority party? How do we get from here to there? As some libertarians put it, what is your strategic vision for achieving a free society?

Gates: The primary goal now is simply to gain name recognition, to get to the point where when someone says, "I'm a Libertarian," people don't respond, "What's that?" We're on the way but we've got a lot of work ahead of us. There are a multitude of ways of achieving this objective, including running for office, letters to the editor, talking with friends, paid advertisements, seeking newspaper publicity, and so forth. They are all good and necessary ways

to keep Libertarianism growing and we must keep all of them going. For my own part I feel the most important step is to contact neighbors and friends to try to get them interested. We have a Wisconsin recruiting brochure which should come off the presses shortly. I intend to do continuous door-to-door distribution of this brochure and then follow up with later visits to ask if people have any questions on Libertarianism. Even though the majority of people will not want to talk, I think this one-two punch will make them realize that there is a Libertarian Party. They will be more inclined to think seriously about us when they see our name on the ballot next fall. I will be more than satisfied if one in a hundred joins the party or decides to make a contribution. My strategic vision? I really don't have one except to keep advocating freedom. The basic tool we need is already available, the Libertarian Party. All we have to do is use it and keep it growing.

LK: Thank you very much.

Credit Card Contributions Now OK

It's easier than ever before to contribute money to the Libertarian National Committee. Effective immediately, the L.N.C. can accept cash contributions made on either Visa or Master Charge credit cards. Bill Burt, Libertarian National Director, said, "This opens up yet another way in which Libertarians can support national headquarters' efforts and it should help minimize the administrative costs of processing contributor records as well."

Charging contributions is easy. Simply call or write Frances Eddy at the Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Suite 201, Washington, D.C., 20007, (202) 333-8209, and state whether the contribution is to be charged on Visa or Master Charge, give the name as it appears on the card, the card number, its expiration date, and the amount contributed.

Burt, continued from page 16.

It is tragically common to see perfectly sensible people fall under the twin illusions of politics: the illusion of power and the illusion of powerlessness. People have lunch with a Congressman and suddenly they think they have power. Or they don't get invited and they tell themselves that nobody can fight city hall. Neither way will they be making many substantive changes in the nation's political agenda.

Someone who took the necessity for Libertarian social change seriously would make it a first duty to size up the available methods to accomplish the goal. Discarding illusions for reality, he would see that both Republicans and Democrats have developed truly enormous blind spots toward the importance of, and need for, liberty and justice. To these politicians such ideals are merely factors to be "balanced off" against other pressures, noble or not. In their incomprehensibly pragmatic way of looking at the world, "consistency" sounds like the hobgoblin of little minds, "principle" like something that is taught on Sunday and forgotten on Monday, and Libertarianism in general like a lot of talk to be derided as *theory* and waved away as incapable of solving real-world problems.

The gulf which separates Libertarian thinking from today's establishment politicians stretches far wider than many suspect. It is more than a mere disagreement about issues. After generations of natural selection in a system that rewards rather than punishes moral sell-out, American politics has evolved a highly refined Republicrat clever at defusing, co-opting, and horsetrading—but one almost never willing to stand up for the right when it counts.

"Persuading" such a politician is a fleeting, pointless accomplishment. With us today, gone tomorrow.

Thus the remaining options become clear. In the short run, we must draw upon the reservoir of believers in Libertarian principle to elect as many of these as we can to strategic offices. Working with them, we must bring as much pressure to bear as we can upon the established political powers, for pressure is all those powers truly understand. Finally, our ever-more-numerous elected Libertarians must at every opportunity directly cut down government's coercive violations of individual rights, taking with the debris of the dismantled State the framework of injustice which first gave rise to and sustains today's accursed conflict-manager politico.

As psychological preparation for the task, we need to stop longing for a miracle from the Republican or Democratic parties. It is plainly unrewarding, within the context of these two parties, to consistently promote Libertarian politics. Consider

the predicament. Unless the officeholder is willing to transcend the warfare of special interests and carry his or her seemingly "sacrificial" stands to a wider constituency, the special interests will win their battles for more power. But *in order to appeal to that broader public, you've got to stand on principle and attack unprincipled behavior as such*; and doing so will surely incite opponents to *oppose* you on principle, while you win no points with members of your own party.

Sooner or later the "small-l" libertarian Republican or whatever is charged with promoting, God forbid, the policies of the Libertarian Party. The time comes to own up or repudiate. A Libertarian elected official, when accused of being "against government" or some such thing, can turn the charge around and make political hay out of it. The self-styled "guerilla fighter for freedom" working within Republicrat organizations, on the other hand, has to deny the charge, lest he be depicted as a Libertarian. He consequently relegates himself to a life of low-level, rear-guard defensive actions. To attempt more is to incur all the political costs of a Libertarian political position but be prevented by party loyalty from fully exploiting the political capital arising therefrom. With these prospects, few try—and the bright, determined ones will increasingly gravitate to the Libertarian party.

Two illustrative examples come to mind. One is Libertarian Rep. Dick Randolph, whom many observers probably predicted would flounder in his first term as Alaska's one-man Libertarian caucus. After all, what can one individual accomplish against the opposition of the whole Legislature?

After one year in office, Dick Randolph was having so much impact on the state legislature that one Democratic colleague lamented to the press that "Randolph has us all dancing to his tune here." That is not to say that Dick didn't have his share of lonely votes and seemingly pointless speeches. But the man bided his time, looked around and saw his issue—repealing the income tax—and then fielded a voter initiative for use in battering down the statehouse's resistance to tax repeal. The strategy worked, and now a broadened Libertarian-inspired coalition of Alaskans is touting Dick Randolph for another legislative term and a 1982 shot at the Governor's race.

Dick did not merely plead with Republicans and Democrats to change their misguided views, though tax repeal could not have passed without non-Libertarian support. He emulated a long tradition of political change in America: he created a base of powerful support by seizing a popular issue (which contained Libertarian implications) and then dealt from a position of strength.

Next consider Fred Schnaubelt, city councilman from San Diego, who is known to share Libertarian beliefs and has demonstrated fair ingenuity at identifying and publicizing potentially strong freedom-oriented local issues. Fred has chosen to work within the Republican party.

Those who know him respect his abilities and intelligence, yet by Schnaubelt's own admission he has been confined mostly to the role of holding a finger in the dike against an onrushing wave of big government. No doubt the people of San Diego have marginally benefitted from this gadfly critic's presence in city government, though support in his own district appears diffuse and weakly motivated. San Diego Republican leaders hardly know what to do with their closet Libertarian councilman, seemingly resenting his obvious disdain for horsetrading and sensing that if the things Fred is saying were to become truly popular and result in positive legislation, a lot of Republicans as well as Democrats could lose.

One imagines Fred Schnaubelt down there at city council being allowed to take the heat for stands that his Republican colleagues would perhaps like to make, if only they dared. And one wonders: how long will he go on paying the price for these "sacrificial" stands but not be allowed to reap the benefits of heightened political support? If there is heroism in this, it is the heroism of Camus, where fighting the good fight becomes more important than winning the battle.

If I interpret things correctly, Fred Schnaubelt is approaching a crossroads, where if he does not choose, others will choose for him. Increasingly, his opponents have themselves transcended the immediate issue and taken to identifying him with California's nascent Libertarian party. Has the fiercely Republican San Diego press jealously resisted attempts to paint Schnaubelt as a Libertarian? Not on your life.

The point of this comparison is simple. While it is not impossible to accomplish good things in a narrow sense via the Republican or Democrat parties, *the most efficient way to accomplish broad-based social change in the direction of liberty and justice is to work through the Libertarian Party*. The Republicrats are profoundly ignorant of the need for a return to America's Libertarian ideals, and while they have thoroughly hamstrung the political marketplace with regulatory obstacles, their resulting smugness makes it just that much more difficult for internal dissent to succeed.

To hold, against the weight of the evidence, that Libertarians should merely direct a massive educational campaign at the Republicrats' blind spot, is to cling to a shockingly naive view of political change. Politics *is*, in

the last analysis, the art of persuasion, but you don't start by trying to persuade those most thoroughly opposed to you.

Instead, all through America's history new movements and—let us not forget—*new political parties* have succeeded by mobilizing new coalitions out of voter blocs who had become only weakly affiliated with older, decrepit coalitions, or who may have simply dropped out of the regular voting population. Ed Clark's strategy in 1980 falls smack in the middle of this proven tradition, with his bid to unite anti-tax and anti-war voters and pick up substantial support from people who have "turned off" politics altogether.

The ironic thing is that this strategy is so plausible that it attracted another practitioner, in John Anderson. Here again, though, and for the same reasons noted above, a politician can go only so far without identifying himself with an ideology, and for that politician to continue, the ideology must enjoy actual popularity, not merely the fascinated patronage of funny-papers cartoonists. Anderson's choices have to become clear after a time, and Libertarians are betting that then the Anderson bubble will burst. Until then, he helps to prove that the Republicrats have left a substantial number of voters searching for an alternative.

What all this comes to, then, is that Ed Clark, David Koch, and the hundreds of other Libertarian candidates this year are not selling tickets to a fantasy. Your contribution dollar, your volunteer time, and your vote are, upon any kind of rational analysis, best spent on the Libertarian party if freedom and justice are your political purpose. Any other course is a waste.

National Director's Position Opens December 1980

Applications will be received from now until October 31, 1980 from qualified individuals interested in assuming the responsibilities of Libertarian National Committee national director. The national director is responsible for planning and managing all LP national headquarters programs, including fundraising, candidate assistance, outreach development, and more. The present national director's term expires November 30, 1980. Applications should be sent to the Libertarian National Committee, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW, #304, Washington, DC 20007. One written application will be sufficient and additional calls and letters are not recommended.

Libertarian NEWS Perspective

During this election season, LP candidates and officers will be questioned by a wide variety of people, including media interviewers as well as audiences made up of students, business organizations and other social groups. In addition to such obvious spokespersons as candidates, all LP activists will no doubt be called upon to respond to questions from many different people in many different situations. This being the case, I want to share some observations based on my experience in fielding questions in hopes of alerting you to some frequently encountered fallacies and pitfalls.

Who is the "Utopian Strawman"? There is an old debate tactic called "setting up a strawman." This involves a debator first describing the opponent's position and then demolishing that position. The problem is that the description given of the opponent's position is wrong. That is, the debator sets up a "strawman" and knocks it down. I have seen this tactic used to attack the LP and other advocates of a free society literally thousands of times. Frequently the questioner doesn't even realize what he is doing.

It goes like this: The questioner assumes that the Libertarian is promising that utopia will result if Libertarian proposals are adopted, even though no such promise was made. The questioner seems to think he heard it said that in a free society everybody would be healthy, well fed, well clothed and housed; nothing would ever go wrong, there would be

FROM THE CHAIR The Utopian Strawman and Other Fallacies

David P. Bergland

no disease, murder, theft, et cetera. The questioner usually proceeds to observe that a Libertarian society cannot *guarantee* that there won't still be some poor people, sick people, robbers or others who might break a rule from time to time, and, therefore, Libertarianism cannot deliver on its promise. The fact that a great many questioners employ the utopian strawman tactic, unconsciously, poses no great problems—if Libertarianism will take care to recognize and deal with it when it arises.

The answer to it is: *Utopia is not one of the choices.* The choices are the conditions one sees in a regulated society and the conditions one might expect to see in a much freer, Libertarian society.

All too frequently, Libertarians accept the utopian strawman accusation and attempt to defend freedom as if it really could produce utopia, as if it were possible to eliminate the poor,

pollution, murder, war, disease and all other scourges of humankind by adopting the Libertarian platform. Utopia, by definition, is impossible to attain. What is attainable is a freer society which is conducive to peaceful relationships and in which all have much greater opportunity to be productive and prosperous. Utopia is not one of the choices and Libertarians must not allow themselves to be trapped into arguing as if it were.

A subcategory of the foregoing might be called "the devil you know" fallacy. How frequently we hear people say, "Well, I agree with you Libertarians on about 90% of the issues, but I don't like your position on issue X." By implication, this means: "Until I am 100% in agreement with the LP Platform, I won't give any support to the party at all." Such a person can usually be influenced in the right direction by pointing out that, first, he probably

doesn't know and cannot determine what either the Democrats or Republicans stand for, and second, to the extent that he does know, he probably disagrees with more than half of it. Obviously, it is preferable to support the party with which one agrees 90% than to support a party with which one disagrees substantially.

The "free lunch" fallacy. Anyone who has done a little thinking about how the world works realizes "there ain't no such thing as a free lunch." Unfortunately, most people are ignorant of, or have never given any real thought to, this fundamental principle of economics. When asked to compare Libertarian alternatives to present conditions, an amazing number of people assume that government activity costs nothing. Many people seem to believe that "free public education" is really free. Libertarians too frequently fail to recognize how prevalent the free lunch fallacy is in the minds of those who have little or no education in basic economics. We must be alert to this and quickly point out, in any discussion of Libertarian alternatives, that the high tax costs of delivering inefficient government services must be compared with the less expensive, more efficient delivery of similar services by the private sector. All of this is so apparent to Libertarians, we often fail to realize non-libertarian listeners have just never thought about it and need to be educated on this point in

Bergland, continued on page 12.

We're all familiar with the occasional success story of an individual who spends years within a corporate bureaucracy crusading against stupidity and inertia, only to break away after a time and implement his or her innovations through a new company.

Some succeed, many don't. In the long run, it usually comes down to whether the innovative idea itself was any good, even after you account for the special hostility which government regulatory authorities, often working in tandem with established interests, reserve for new entrants into a market.

Few of these breakaway entrepreneurs, not even those who fail, would be prepared to argue that the sensible option for bringing a better idea to life is *always* to work within the established corporate giants. For a new competitor, the road may be long and hard, but the other option of preaching to the deaf within the established organizations is, at least sometimes, worse.

Nor does the intensity of regulation in a particular field change things much. It's elementary that regulation will normally close opportunities to new competitors, but it's also true

ISSUE ANALYSIS Answering the "Small Party" Objection

William D. Burt

that regulation makes the established interests even more smug, more inbred, and more deaf to internal dissent than would otherwise be the case.

In business, long established enterprises generally work hard to co-opt innovations and to promote new product lines in a way that should make it unnecessary for the brightest inventors and managers to go off and start their own companies. Yet few succeed completely, because all organizations tend over time to develop philosophical blind spots. And so competi-

tion gets a toehold.

I have talked with many people, both inside and outside business circles, who appreciate these facts.

Yet these same people—even the entrepreneurs, who often view themselves as Libertarians—sometimes counsel me that we would be better off trying to promote the philosophy of freedom from within the two other political parties.

Do you know what I think of when I hear that? I see endless meetings—typical of both corporations and political parties—where those in

authority strain to dampen, divert, or dismiss our demand for Liberty. ("Yes, we agree in principle, but. . ." and all that.) I see some Libertarians being temporarily elated and then permanently disillusioned by cheap concessions and glib "statements of principle" from Republicans who knoweth not the meaning of principle. ("Did you hear Reagan's speech last night promising support for free trade and lower taxes? I understand William Simon is advising him . . .") I see would-be intellectual leaders positively salivating at the prospect of filling the Republicrats' moral vacuum—"taking over the empty shell", as some speculate about doing—only to discover that the two parties *have* committed themselves to a philosophy, the credo of continual compromise. I see, finally, well-meaning individuals getting all excited—and maybe a little puffed up, if it involves their own egos—by the appointments, invitations, letters of commendation and other paper-thin symbols which make up today's politics of manipulation.

Burt, continued on page 15.