

Libertarian Party NEWS

January — February 1982

A Publication of the Libertarian National Committee

CAMPAIGN 82

The Libertarian Party's ambitious 1982 campaign efforts are already going at a fast clip as the election year starts. In early January, Roger MacBride, 1976 Presidential candidate, sent a letter to all Libertarian Party contributors asking for monthly pledges to support Campaign '82 efforts.

"The response to Roger's letter will be very important in determining just how ambitious our 1982 efforts can actually be" said National Director Eric O'Keefe.

A new Campaign '82 Committee has been formed to achieve key aspects of the LP's 1982 electoral goals. Howard Rich, who headed the Clark campaign's successful "50 in 80" effort for nationwide ballot

status, is the Chairman of the Campaign '82 Committee.

The Committee was established by Sheldon Richman and Alicia Clark to help recruit candidates, and to help provide them with materials, advertising and fund raising assistance. Rich told *Libertarian Party News* The Campaign '82 Committee intends to assist state LP's in recruiting candidates, and to assure that the LP

reaches its 1982 goals of having candidates in every state, and 1,000 candidates across the country. We will then help increase the effectiveness of these campaigns by providing assistance with many aspects of the campaigns."

To reach these difficult goals, Rich is recruiting Campaign '82 Chairs to coordinate the Committee's activities in each state.

Another key aspect of Campaign '82 efforts is, of course, ballot drives. Progress on this fundamental front is reported on elsewhere in this issue.

LP of California Finance Chair Carolyn Felton and former National Director Chris Hocker have agreed to team up to meet another crucial Campaign '82 goal. They are designing and organizing in-depth political skills workshops for candidates and campaign managers. Felton calls the workshops "one of the most important undertakings of the LP in 1982."

Sheldon Richman's Outreach Committee is coordinating another important campaign activity. The committee will design campaign materials for use by candidates

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Perspective On The Polish Tragedy

by Sheldon Richman

Of course, it would be hard on the Europeans if they fell into Soviet hands; but not any worse than if we precipitated a war in which their homes became the battlefield. It is bad for the Hungarians, the Czechs, the Latvians and all the other peoples who live under the commissars. We are sorry for all of them and wish we could help them. But we are only 160 million people, and we simply cannot fight for all the people in the world. . . . The important thing for America now is not to let the fearmongers (or the imperialists) frighten us into a war which, no matter what the military outcome, is certain to communize the country.

—Frank Chodorov, 1954

Some 43 years ago, Europe went to war over Poland. While a repetition is out of the question today, the

military crackdown there is as much a tragedy as the war or the Soviet takeover of Poland after the war.

Historical incidents, of course, are unique. In 1939, war over the Polish corridor and Danzig (now Gdansk) was the final eruption of the sore that had festered since the Treaty of

acutely concerned with the nature of the Polish regime. Russia's Western frontier has been little more than a doormat for anti-Russian aggression. In the early 17th century, the Poles took Moscow. Germany invaded during World War I. In 1920, Poland again attacked, taking the Ukraine.

The Soviet Union, through its puppet in Poland, acts to hold onto what it regards as a critical buffer between it and the West.

Versailles dismembered and made an outcast of Germany. Today, the Soviet Union, through its puppet in Poland, acts to hold on to what it regards as a critical buffer between it and the West.

One need not be a Soviet sympathizer to see why the Russians are

Germany again invaded in World War II. All of this adds up to a long-standing fear of aggression from the West. (Let us not forget the Allied invasion of northern and eastern Russia in 1918.) Russian-born historian Vladimir Solovyov recently commented, "I suspect that one of

the chief reasons for the catastrophe in the Katyn Forest, where 10,000 Polish officers were murdered on orders from Stalin, was the Russians' traditional fear of the Poles."

Considering the Soviet reaction to the liberalizations in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and the radical nature of Solidarity, the Russians have shown remarkable patience. Their reluctance to invade is unmysterious. Though much of the Polish army seems willing to take orders from the Pole Jaruzelski, the Red Army's presence could change this entirely. As Solovyov put it, "Qualitatively, the Polish army would be superior to the Soviet army because it is armed not only with Soviet weapons but with a historical hatred of the Russians, resentment over territory taken by them and feelings of vengeance. . . ." The

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Libertarian
National
Committee

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Perspective

From The Director

by Eric O'Keefe

The following are fictional accounts written to highlight similarities of government oppression in different areas of the world.

Poland

It was the Saturday before Christmas, on a cold and snowy night in Krosno, Poland. Twelve-year old Wanda, the oldest of Lucjan and Stella Malinowski's four children asked her mother "Where is dad?"

Stella had been trying to keep the children from becoming too worried about the danger she knew their father was in. The children were aware of his activities over the past year in the Solidarity Union. But they didn't know about the work slow-down their father had supported that week to protest the actions of the new martial law government.

Stella had just learned from a neighbor that the military police had cracked down at the mine, arresting one hundred forty miners, including Lucjan and other union leaders. Three miners were killed.

Stella told the children "Your father has been arrested." A tear ran down her cheek. "The military police took dad and many of the other miners. They're being held in a camp outside of town. Dad is all right, and we expect the government to let him come home in a few days."

The children asked questions about the prisoner camp, and whether dad was warm, and had food, and whether they could visit him. Stella didn't really know about the conditions, but she reassured the children.

She didn't burden them with the news that one of their favorite priests had also been arrested. And she knew they were too young to understand the significance of the report that some of the military police spoke Russian, and many used Soviet made weapons.

Stella knew that the coming days would be long. Waiting, wondering, worrying — mostly about Lucjan. But she had a deeper concern. What hope did the future hold for her children? Would the future be like the past, with year after year of oppression and poverty? Couldn't they have a better life?

Stella hated the Polish government, and she hated the Soviet government even more. "How can people in another country let their

government oppress us like this?" she wondered. But she knew that most of the Russian people were oppressed like her and she felt sympathetic with them.

El Salvador

On a muggy mid-January evening in Puebla, El Salvador, Anna sat trembling, worrying about the fate of her brother. She kept telling herself that he must be alive, but her fears told her otherwise. She asked herself "have any of my friends who disappeared ever returned? No." One man's body had been found, but the others were gone without a trace.

But how they had disappeared was no mystery. Police and soldiers from the military government kidnapped them and executed them. Perhaps the government would have staged trials before the executions, but the citizens had committed no crimes, so it was easier to just shoot them.

The victims and Anna had one thing in common which scared the government. They were concerned about the endless poverty they and their ancestors had been raised in. They wanted freedom to discuss and make changes in the system — freedom of speech and political freedom.

Anna felt desperate as she wondered about her brother. She would have gone to talk with Father Armando, the village priest, but he had been missing for two weeks. He had been friends with the Archbishop, who a government hit squad had killed the year before.

She knew that the coming days would be long and painful. She dreaded not seeing Raoul again. But she also worried about her other young friends, and their children. Would things ever change? Would they continue to suffer in squalor, and to be shot down if they rose in protest? Couldn't they have a better life?

Anna hated the government of El Salvador. But she hated the government of the United States even more. She knew the U.S. Government had trained and armed the soldiers who had taken Raoul. "How can Americans let their government oppress us like this?" she wondered, and she hoped it was only because Americans didn't know what their government was really doing.

From The Chair

by Alicia Garcia Clark

On December 29, Dick Siano won our first partisan race in the "Lower 48." Dick was elected one of the three members of the Kingwood Township Council in Western New Jersey. The election was covered by media as far away as Los Angeles. Dick had been active in his community prior to the election and visited every household in his town to discuss libertarian issues with the voters. Congratulations, Dick.

Dick's victory is an example of what we can achieve in 1982 if we select races where we have a chance to run grass roots campaigns headed by candidates who have been active in their communities.

Libertarian activity is going on at every level, in academia, at the workplace, in the family, in personal relations and in the media. As disgust with government and confidence in libertarian solutions rises, social change toward individual rights becomes more and more possible.

Our job in the LP is not only to participate in this activity of persuasion by campaigns, internal education and other efforts, but also to build a mass-based, principled party. This will insure that when the desire for alternatives reaches the critical stage, we have the necessary organization at the local, state and national level to capitalize on this opportunity and vote out laws, rules, taxes, regulations, programs, treaties and agencies that restrict our freedom and endanger our lives.

What distinguishes the Alaska party from the party in other states is only partly the success of Dick Randolph and Ken Fanning in being elected to the legislature. More fundamental is the large dues-paying membership of the Alaska party, roughly 400 members, or one member for every 1,000 people in Alaska. Proportionately, there are many times more members and more local party organizations in

Alaska than in any other state.

Thus, to be more specific, our first job is to build the party organization in every state up to the organizational level of the Alaska party. I am going to help in this effort by week-long trips to a total of 11 states in January, February and March. I ask each of you to consider what you can do.

One urgent need is to organize new, local libertarian groups. Many libertarians live too far away from any existing group to participate in it. In other cases, state or regional groups are too large and should be split into smaller groups which will grow separately and permit more people to do more things for liberty.

I think new LP groups can be started by 2-4 activists. Those of you with any experience in organizing should help to set up new groups wherever this will strengthen our organization.

Here are some suggestions on how to start a new regional or local group. First, get all the available names of libertarians or sympathizers in the area from your State LP and the National Party. Second, set a date and place for the first meeting. Third, write and call all of the people on your lists and invite them. Use the first meeting to sign up new members, set up a formal organization for the new group, elect an executive committee and plan for the next meeting.

If you plan this job, and break it down into its constituent parts, one or two of you can do this. More people would make it easier.

Please write me if you want a copy of the program I have put together to help new groups to get started. Other members of your state organization, Eric O'Keefe, and "The Minnesota Experience" in Kent Guida's "Blueprint for Libertarians" are additional sources of information on how to set up new groups. Liberty will be a little closer if you do this.

Siano Captures 63%, Wins Special Election

Dick Siano won the special election held December 29 for a three-year term on the Kingwood Township Committee in New Jersey with 63% of the vote. This victory counts as the first partisan win for a Libertarian candidate outside of Alaska.

The special election was held after Siano tied with Democrat Andrew Madaychik in the November race. A third candidate, incumbent Republican Sam Leon, did not run in the special election after placing third in the November election, but received 24 write-in votes. The township committee is now made up of three people, Siano and Republicans Janet Bainbridge and Allen Niebuhr.

Kingwood Township is 35 square miles with a population of 2,000 people. It's located on the west border of New Jersey, just south of Allentown, Pennsylvania. The township is made up of small towns and many farms.



by David Boaz

With deficit projections rising to \$400 billion over the next three years, many of President Reagan's advisers are sounding the call for higher taxes.

In December it was revealed that the administration's own figures showed projected deficits of \$109 billion in 1982, \$152 billion in 1983, and \$162 billion in 1984. These would be by far the biggest deficits in history. In early January, Treasury Secretary Donald Regan said the deficits would in fact be "much lower" than \$100 billion a year. While the careless reader might be tempted to assume that this reflected new and better economic cir-

Siano was elated with the outcome of the election, and is very enthusiastic about his opportunity to present a real challenge to the township committee's policy-making decisions. During the campaign, Siano took stands on two major issues in Kingwood Township. The township committee is considering a plan to build a \$400,000 municipal complex. Siano expressed his opposition to this plan to the residents of the township by pointing out that the complex would cost each of the 850 taxpayers \$457.

circumstances, he would be largely mistaken. The two major reasons for the change were that the new projections include some tax increases and that they assume higher inflation. (Inflation pushes people into higher tax brackets, thus increasing the government's revenue and reducing the deficit.)

The President, of course, has said that there will be no tax increases proposed in his next budget. But his advisors have rushed to assure us that he really didn't mean it. First, they say, he obviously forgot that he

Siano Winner In Kingwood

Victory By Libertarian Captures National Attention



Libertarian elected to Kingwood post

By David Schiff
KINGWOOD, N.J. (UPI)—Dick Siano, a Libertarian, won the special election for the Kingwood Township Committee on Tuesday, Dec. 29, defeating Democrat Andrew Madaychik and Republican Sam Leon.

Siano, 43, is more concerned with the future of Kingwood than with the revaluation of property. He said he would like to see the township committee take a more active role in the community.

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Siano also attacked the revaluation of property in Kingwood Township scheduled for later this year, pointing out that the process will cost \$32,000. While the township committee cannot stop the property revaluation, Siano emphasizes to residents that they as taxpayers not only have no choice in paying for the revaluation itself, but will also be paying higher taxes after their property has been reassessed.

He is also hoping to repeal town ordinances adopted by previous committees, beginning with those which affect the greatest number of people.

Siano credits his landslide victory to several factors. He relied heavily on a manual for activists written by former National Director Chris Hocker and available from National Headquarters, stressing that candidates not only must understand it, but more importantly, must actualize the suggestions it proposes. (Editor's note: the manual is being updated for the 1982 elections.)

Siano's campaign handed out absentee ballots to voters who planned to be away for the holidays. Siano encouraged people previously unregistered to vote to register in time for the special election and

Siano takes office with assistance from son Erik.

WASHINGTON WATCH

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RANDOLPH CAMPAIGN:

All Systems Go

by Steve DeLisio

The Randolph for Governor campaign is moving into high gear.

We have now hired a full-time, experienced campaign manager, Steve Kirschbaum, who also has an advertising and public relations agency in Anchorage, Alaska. In addition to managing the campaign, Steve will direct our media efforts and plan our publicity.

In addition to the very successful fund-raising efforts associated with airplane raffles during the summer and fall months of 1981, the Committee has had substantial success in raising funds on a direct solicitation basis. Dick made a highly successful swing through the lower 48 states during October and November, and fund-raising activities in Alaska have steadily increased. At the present time, in cash and pledges, approximately \$200,000.00 has been raised. That was the goal we set for

ourselves eight months ago, although, at that time, we did not know quite how we were going to achieve it. Our overall goal is to raise a total of \$1 million to fund the campaign through the general election in November. At the present time, there are five declared candidates for Governor, three Democrats and two Republicans, with a sixth major candidate expected to declare within the next 60 to 90 days. All of the serious gubernatorial candidates are predicting the campaign through the general election will cost them each \$1 million or more.

Since Libertarians do not have the normal economic pipelines available to prominent Republican and Democratic candidates, we are going to have to struggle harder in our fund-raising efforts, and will have to rely much more on volunteer help. Already, we have had someone volunteer to provide all of the materials for our signs, and someone else has volunteered to paint all of our campaign signs. We have Libertarian printers who have offered to do our printing at cost.

We wish to especially thank Jim Turney, of Liberty Audio and Film Service, Inc. of Richmond, Virginia, for volunteering his time to travel to Alaska and video tape Dick Randolph and many of Dick's supporters. Jim is going to prepare a couple of 15 minute video tape presentations, one to be used in the other states for fund-raising efforts, and one to be used at gatherings in



Dick and Lydia Randolph

Alaska during Dick's absence in the Legislature.

We now have a campaign headquarters in the central part of downtown Anchorage, as well as a campaign headquarters in Fairbanks at a central location.

We have volunteer organizations in most of the communities of any size throughout the State. Dick has spent the last several months participating in speaking engagements, and appearing on radio and television carrying the Libertarian message and his message as gubernatorial candidate.

Because of the political monopoly, under the law, enjoyed by Republicans and Democrats in Alaska, we have begun to receive some hassle from the Alaska Public Office Commission concerning contributions from the Libertarian Party to Randolph's campaign, and concerning whether or not we can even have a campaign organization, raise money, and spend money, until such time as Dick is certified for a ballot position through the petition process. Of course, we cannot circulate our petition until we have identified our

Lieutenant Governor nominee. While we are close to making a decision on a Lieutenant Governor, this has not yet been accomplished.

We have avoided direct confrontation with APOC by taking the posture that Randolph is the equivalent to a write-in candidate, and they seem grudgingly to have gotten off of our backs concerning our right to raise and spend money in his behalf. We are also about to file a declaratory judgment action in the courts to test the State's prohibition against the Libertarian Party contributing more than \$1,000.00 per year to Dick's campaign. The Republican and Democratic parties can contribute up to 50% of all the money they raise on an annual basis to any one candidate of their choice. Every other political party in Alaska is considered to be a public action committee, limited to a \$1,000,000 contribution per year. In fact, there has been some attempt by the APOC to construe the various local Libertarian parties and the State Libertarian Party as a single entity for contributing purposes.

We are confident that we will win this battle in court. Nevertheless, as a result, the vast majority of our fund-raising has had to be outside of the Libertarian structure, per se. That we have been successful as we have is a considerable attribute to Dick as a candidate, and to the fund-raising efforts of the campaign committee.

Our full-time fund-raiser, John Kohler, is coordinating fund-raising activities in the lower 48 States, as well as spearheading the fund-raising drive here in Alaska.

Dick has been preparing a book which he hopes to publish during the

campaign as a blueprint of his proposed administration policies, priorities, and goals. This book, which will probably be about 150 pages in length when completed, is in the final drafting stages, and we hope to be able to get it to a printer within the next 60 days. It should prove a very valuable campaign tool.

During the first week of January, the Legislature reconvenes. Although Dick will be extensively involved in Legislative activities, we anticipate that he, with Ken Fanning, will continue to be the lone voices crying in the wilderness of legislative integrity, sound fiscal policies, and the rights of individual Alaskans. He has already gained a considerable reputation among the state population for his David and Goliath performances in the Legislature, and I think the public will be watching him even more closely this session. As Chairman of the House Regulatory Review Committee, he is in a position to press vigorously for some major regulatory reform.

We in Alaska are really excited and elated by the reception Dick's candidacy has received to date, and the status of our efforts to build an effective campaign. Nevertheless, to be successful will require the help of hundreds of individuals, as well as a steady and substantial flow of campaign contributions. Anyone wishing to assist us in the campaign, either physically, financially, or with good advice, can do so by contacting me in care of Individuals for Randolph, 3605 South Arctic Boulevard, No. 433, Anchorage, Alaska 99503.

Stephen DeLisio is the Chairman of the Individuals for Randolph Committee.

'82 Campaigns Rolling Towards November

Continued From Page 1.

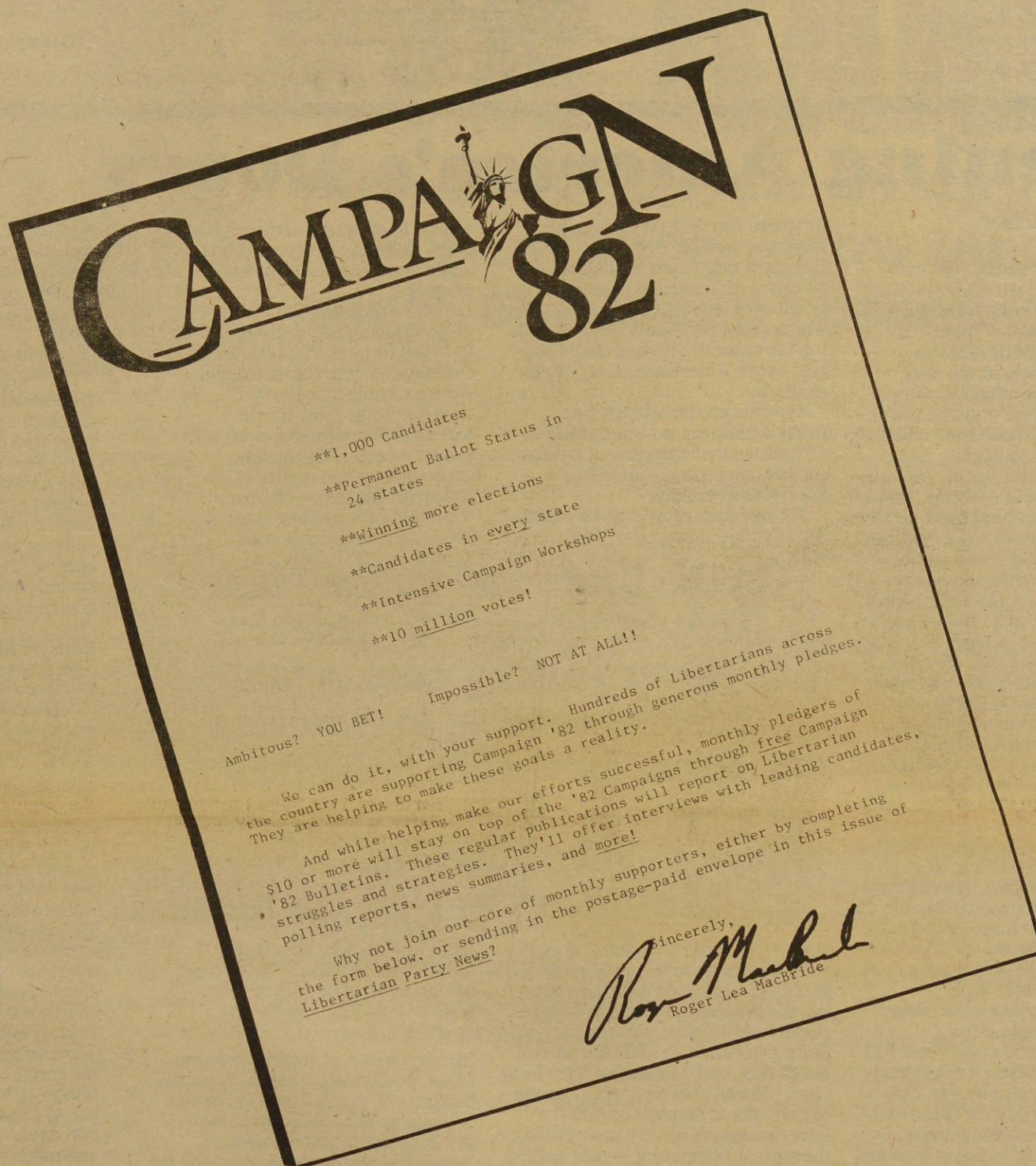
around the country. Some white papers providing detailed discussions of major issues are planned. Less detailed Issue Papers are planned for additional subjects, and the text for a general brochure will be produced for use in federal campaigns.

This article only covers some of the major Campaign '82 activities already underway. Much more will unfold as the campaign progresses, and Libertarian Party News will cover it.



Howie Rich, Campaign '82 Chairman

A MESSAGE FROM ROGER MacBRIDE



YES! CAMPAIGN '82 Deserves My Monthly Support. Here's My Pledge, Which Qualifies For Matching Funds And Entitles Me To A Free Subscription To CAMPAIGN '82 Election Year Bulletins (If \$10 Per Month or More)...

(please make checks payable to:
Libertarian Party, 2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20007
Paid for by Libertarian Party.)

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
OCCUPATION* _____

*Federal law requires that we ask for this information.

Here's my pledge of:

☐ \$10/month ☐ \$15/month ☐ \$20/month
☐ 25/month Other \$ _____

My pledge term is: (month) _____, 1982 through
(month) _____, 19 _____

I want to fulfill my pledge through the following:

- A. ☐ Electronic Funds Transfer System
B. ☐ Mastercard ☐ VISA
C. ☐ Monthly Reminders

I can't make a monthly pledge, but here's a
donation for CAMPAIGN '82:

☐ \$500 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$30 other \$ _____

Opening America's Doors

by Jay Hilgartner

If ever there is music that expresses, in spirit, what libertarians have to say about immigration, it is Neil Diamond's song "America." This song conjures up what we should be. America, at the very least, should be a refuge, a place that people from all over the world can come to and make their home. A haven for people struggling under repressive governments of one form or another, living in poverty, fearing the police, with no hope for a better life for themselves or their children. A refuge for people who want the freedom to say, write and live the way they choose. A place for people who simply want to be free. America should be just such a place.

This is the dream but, of course, not the reality. Our party's symbol, the Statue of Liberty, stands today in mockery of government's incessant coercion against innocent people whose only crime is that they want to live here. Those stirring words, "Give us your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free", have long since been forgotten by successive Democratic and Republican administrations. Certainly the ideal is far from reality for all of the would-be immigrants who are refused entry because they don't meet the quotas or because they are economic refugees from authoritarian governments rather than political refugees from totalitarian governments (President Reagan's distinction). It is certainly not true for the Haitians who died on Florida's beaches, or for those locked away in government refugee camps, or even for business men and women who commit the "crime" of hiring an "illegal alien."

Many Americans are concerned with immigration, and particularly with what is called the illegal alien problem.

Immigrants, it is charged, steal jobs, add to unemployment and hold wages down. They contribute to population growth which we can't afford, others say. Pointing to Miami, immigrants are even charged with increasing the crime rate. Immigrants live off welfare and thus increase the tax burden. Many new immigrants insist on speaking Spanish instead of English: Should taxpayers be forced to pay for bilingual education? The list of problems immigrants supposedly cause is never ending.

The solutions of Democrats and Republicans are designed, as usual, to pit people against each other by blaming immigrants for the problems which politicians have largely created. The debates in Congress usually involve questions of what new restrictions and quotas to enact,

or where the next refugee camp should be placed. President Reagan's draconian immigration proposal which would prosecute employers for hiring "illegals", and which came perilously close to calling for national ID cards to be carried by all Americans, is a typical example.

By contrast, the Libertarian Party's platform on immigration recognizes that there is not an immigration problem, but rather a government problem.

The question must first be asked: How can immigration be justly con-

means to maintain artificially high wage rates. As Professor Murray Rothbard writes in **Power and Market**:

Laborers may ask for geographical grants of oligopoly in the form of immigration restrictions. In the free market the inexorable trend is to equalize wage rates for the same value-productive work all over the earth. This trend is dependent on two modes of adjustment: businesses flocking from high-wage to low-wage areas, and workers flowing

tion injustice, of such a proposal is apparent. Yet though the logic is the same (and despite evidence to the contrary), the myth that immigration laws are good for the economy remains.

Let's look at other charges leveled at free immigration:

Immigration adds to unemployment

If the 25 million people who immigrated to the United States between 1890 and 1920 had to contend with today's web of local, state, and federal regulations and taxes restricting commerce and labor, the outcome would have been far less inspiring. To end unemployment, we should abolish the governmental impediments, not coerce innocent people.

Immigration adds to overpopulation

This is a specious argument, considering that of the 2.3 billion acres of land in America, only 70 million acres, or 3%, is classified as industrial or residential. The remaining 97% is agriculture, forestry, or wilderness land. It is elitist, at best, to force people to suffer in poverty and tyranny so that one's lifestyle can be preserved through governmental action.

New immigrants increase the welfare burden

The question here is not immigration, but welfare; any aid for immigrants — as well as anyone else — should come from voluntary, not coerced, sources.

Immigration raises the crime rate

The current crime wave in Miami is the result of drug prohibition. The Miami of today is like the Chicago of the Al Capone and alcohol prohibition days; eliminate the prohibition and much of the incentive for crime is reduced.

Immigration creates problems with bi-lingualism

America as a bilingual society is a fact, even if immigration were stopped tomorrow. Racist and xenophobic reactions aside, conflicts over, for example, bilingual education illustrate the controversy that arises from the "public" nature of government institutions they might object to. A decentralized, voluntary educational system, as advocated by the Libertarian Party, would reduce if not eliminate conflict as parents could then afford to send their children to all Spanish, all English, or bilingual schools of their choice.

We must not allow government to pit us against our new neighbors or destroy our American heritage of freedom. Immigration is one issue where libertarians can easily shame the opposition, for most of us are of immigrant ancestry. Any consistent, principled defense of liberty and humanity demands a support for open borders and an end to all restrictions against immigration.

**On the boats and on the planes
They're coming to America
Never looking back again
They're coming to America
Free, only want to be free
We huddle close and hang on to
that dream.
"America" — Neil Diamond**

sidered a crime? The act of crossing the Rio Grande involves, in and of itself, no more coercion than crossing the Mississippi. Yet the first is considered a crime without the State's permission while the second is not. The second question then is by what colossal conceit can any group of individuals calling themselves government coercively restrict the movement of innocent people and, in effect, claim ownership of all property in the United States. An individual can certainly keep anyone they wish off their property. That is their right, which flows from each individual's right to ownership of their bodies, and thus the product of their labor. Still, a Mr. Jones, for example, could hire some guns and announce to his neighbors that he now controls their property and will regulate movement upon it. That would be coercion, not justice, and this is what the U.S. government does every day with regards to immigration. Immigration laws then join zoning, eminent domain, property taxes, "public" lands, and other devices which remind us all who really controls property in America — the State.

That there are laws restricting immigration is the real crime. Immigration is not the problem, the government is. This becomes even more apparent when examining the non-moral arguments against a libertarian open-immigration policy.

First and foremost is the economic rationale for immigration laws, as a

from low-wage to high-wage areas. Immigration restrictions are an attempt to gain restrictionist wage rates for the inhabitants of an area.

Immigration restrictions, however, exact considerable, but less obvious, detrimental costs. There is the cost to consumers in the form of higher prices of goods and services. Resources continue to be allocated in a less efficient manner than they would have under a free trade in labor, while businesses, to cut costs, direct capital abroad to low wage areas. With less investment in home industries, productivity is less than what it could be, while jobs are eliminated or never created. The costs of immigration restrictions to individuals as consumers can far outweigh the benefits to individuals as workers.

Ironically for pro-restrictionists, an open immigration policy may actually result in higher wages for all. In the words of economist P.T. Bauer, "For every new mouth to feed, there are two hands to produce." An increase in population from immigration often results in even greater productivity and specialization of knowledge, thereby producing higher wage rates.

Of course, if immigration laws are so economically successful, why not restrict the flow of labor between individual states, counties or even cities? The irrationality, not to men-



AYN RAND

**Her historic New Orleans
appearance – now on
audio and video cassettes!**

The highlight of the recent Eighth Annual New Orleans investment conference, sponsored by the National Committee for Monetary Reform, was a rare appearance by famed novelist/philosopher Ayn Rand.

Ayn Rand's philosophy of Objectivism, and her best-selling novels *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged*, have earned her an enthusiastic worldwide following. Outspoken and controversial, she is today's foremost advocate of reason, capitalism, individualism and self-interest.

An audience of 3000 – the largest she has ever addressed – gave Ayn Rand two standing ovations and interrupted her presentation numerous times with spontaneous applause.

Her talk, entitled "The Sanction of the Victims," focuses on America's businessmen and their uncritical support of collectivist forces and ideas devoted to their destruction. In an extensive question period, she responded to audience members on such topics as President Reagan, the Moral Majority, the Polish crisis, the Equal Rights Amendment, books, television and more.

Ayn Rand chose this occasion to make a dramatic announcement: she plans to write and produce a nine-hour TV mini-series based on her monumental novel *Atlas Shrugged*.

In recent years, Ayn Rand has made only a handful of public appearances. Microphones and cameras were on the scene to record this historic event on both

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Montana's Dodge Running For Senate

An important senate campaign is off and running in Montana. Larry Dodge, a 38 year-old former sociology professor and business entrepreneur, is the announced Libertarian candidate for the U.S. Senate. His campaign effort has already received much media coverage due to his strong stand on environmental issues, an important topic in a state where government owns most of the land.

Dodge is opposing incumbent Democrat John Melcher for the senate seat, attacking the senator for his support of the Northern Tier Pipeline, a project which, if allowed, would prove disastrous for the environment. Dodge feels the project is governed by special interest groups sanctioned by the government, who have little concern about the questionable need for the pipeline, or for the landowners in the state. Apparently the feeling of the Montana population is shifting against the project, a fact confirmed by the large amount of fair press coverage Dodge has received.

Melcher is also supportive of the MX project, an issue allowing Dodge to take another strong, Libertarian stand.

Helpful to the Dodge campaign is the increasing media coverage of the Montana LP initiative sponsored by the MLP's Free Trade Committee. The initiative, if passed, would abolish all population-based quotas on retail beer and wine licenses for Montana restaurants. Dodge campaign manager Duncan Scott and Don Doig (the latter is running for the Western District House of Representatives) are directing the initiative effort.

Dodge, who won the Bob Marshall environmentalist award in 1979, is a white-water canoeist. He has chosen 'paddle your own' as the theme for his campaign. This idea is depicted in all of the Dodge campaign materials, from stationary and buttons to bumper sticker and t-shirts. Dodge, with campaign manager Scott, has already had most of his materials printed. He also plans to run radio and television ads later this year.

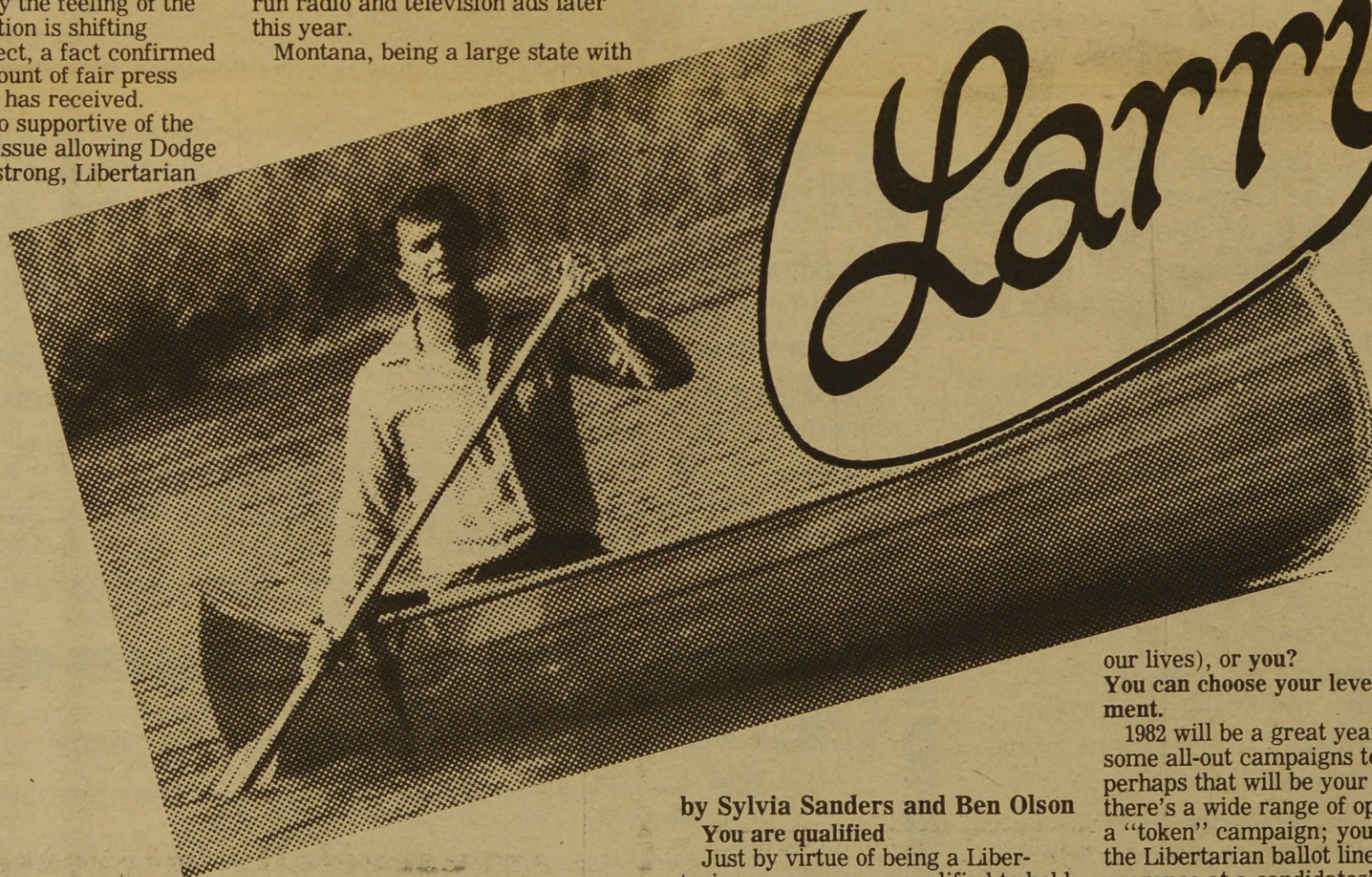
Montana, being a large state with

a population close to that of San Francisco, presents an interesting problem for a candidate running for state-wide office. Dodge believes it is important to reach all parts of the state, even the sparsely populated areas. He plans to spend a great deal of time traveling across the state via car, plane (late in the campaign) and canoe! To attract media attention, Dodge and Scott are planning to canoe across Montana this summer, holding press conferences, giving speeches to local groups and meeting with supporters in every town accessible to the rivers they'll be traveling on. Dodge will be handing out postcards printed with his picture and campaign slogans during his travels. He will encourage people to send the cards to others who might be interested in the Liber-

tarian stand. The card will also provide a space for a personal endorsement of Dodge.

Larry Dodge is running a serious campaign. If you are interested in helping him spread the Libertarian message across the state of Montana, you can write in care of his campaign headquarters located in Helmville (where by the way, Ed Clark tied Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential election). "Paddle your own" t-shirts are available for contributors who send donations exceeding the \$7 printing cost.

Freedom Headquarters
Box 60
Helmville, MT 54843



Why You Should Run In '82 As A Candidate

by Sylvia Sanders and Ben Olson

You are qualified

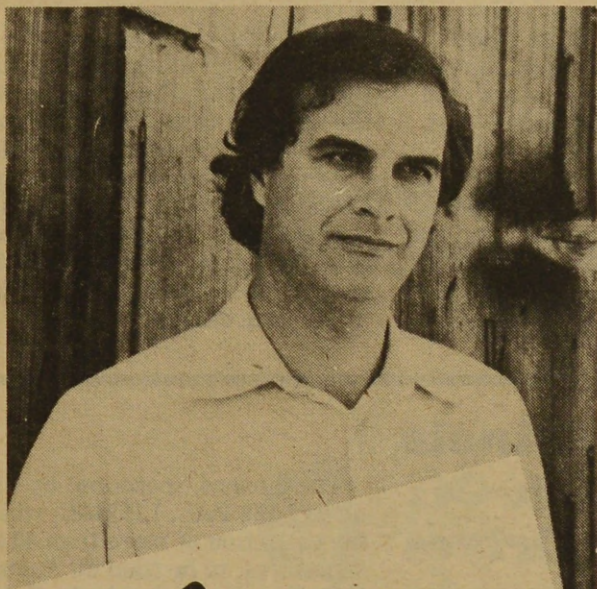
Just by virtue of being a Libertarian you are more qualified to hold public office than any non-Libertarian. The most important credentials any candidate can have are an understanding of the importance of political liberty and a willingness to explore and promote ways to "free up the system." None of us has a perfect blueprint for making the world (or even our town) into a libertarian society. But who has the better ideas — the Republicrats who are currently running the show (and

our lives), or you?

You can choose your level of involvement.

1982 will be a great year to run some all-out campaigns to win; perhaps that will be your choice. But there's a wide range of options. Even a "token" campaign; your name on the Libertarian ballot line, an appearance at a candidates' night, a news release — gives voters a choice, and supports other candidates on the Libertarian ticket. Many Libertarians with severe time constraints have run this kind of campaign and really helped the party.

Similarly, there's a wide choice of races in which to run. Perhaps you'll want to join the national Libertarian Congressional effort; or perhaps for you and your locality a race for city council or state legislature makes



Dodge
U.S.
SENATE
LIBERTARIAN

more sense. The level of office and the level of your campaign activity are up to you.

Running for office is a super experience in personal growth.

Ask anyone who's done it! As a candidate, you'll develop new skills in communicating and dealing with people. You'll become a better planner and a more effective speaker. You'll grow in self-confidence.

You'll have support.

As a member of the "Libertarian team" you'll be part of a nationwide network of candidates, and you'll benefit from a nationwide program of support. Here's a sampling of what we hope will be available:

- A series of national ads on behalf of Libertarian candidates—in print and on radio—will give your campaign extra clout and credibility.

- Workshops will be held around the country to train candidates and their staffs.

- "How-to" materials on campaign planning and managing, fund raising, and publicity are ready now, and are constantly being added to and improv-

ed.

- Sample brochures, speeches and issue papers will be gathered and new ones written.

You are the grassroots.

Libertarians are fond of talking about the need to build the party at the grassroots. There is nothing more effective for building a local organization than a campaign. And there is no better way to develop knowledge and skills for future campaigns than to run one now.

Our ideas will spread if we spread them.

Ideas don't exist in a vacuum; they need advocates. As a candidate, you can offer Libertarian ideas in a very visible, credible way. You're involved in the public debate. You become an opinion leader, and define the issues people think and talk about.

Standing up for your beliefs feels good.

Running for office gives you an opportunity to let people know where you stand. It's much more rewarding than fuming over the latest government atrocity as you read your daily newspaper.

If you are interested in running as a Libertarian candidate in the 1982 elections, refer to the coupon next to this article.

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For more information on being a Libertarian candidate in 1982, please complete the form below and return it in the enclosed business reply envelope, or send it to:

Libertarian Party
2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20007

YES!

I'd like to receive more information on being a candidate for public office in 1982.

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I am especially interested in:

- ☐ local office
- ☐ statewide office
- ☐ general information on running for office
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- ☐ Congress or U.S. Senate

BALLOT DRIVE

Ohio Nears Signature Goal

Ballot Drive Coordinator Ann Leech reports that the Ohio LP passed the 50,000 signature mark in early

January. This is above the 43,000 valid signature requirement, but still well below the 65,000 signature goal.

Signatures are being collected at the rate of 5,000 per week, so the goal should be met by the February 8 filing deadline. Ms. Leech reports that "the drive is going well, but not great. The main concerns are financial." The national LP and the Ohio LP have jointly funded the drive.

Successful completion of the petition drive will mark the first time the Libertarian Party has been on the ballot in Ohio. Ed Clark was listed as an independent in 1980.

Lacking LP ballot status, the Ohio LP fielded only three independent candidates in 1980. Prospects will be good for twenty or more Libertarian campaigns if the current petition drive is successful.

Massachusetts Launches "Three Percent Solution"

Leaders of the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts have voted unanimously to undertake a challenging statewide ballot drive in 1982. To place their gubernatorial candidate on the ballot, they need to collect 39,246 valid signatures (about 70,000 total) in a two month period starting at the end of February.

To help launch the ballot drive, the state convention is being held early in 1982, on the weekend of February 6-7. The theme of the convention — "The Three Percent Solution" — refers to the percentage of the vote needed in the gubernatorial race to achieve permanent ballot status. While three percent will be tough to get, Libertarians feel they have a good chance. The Libertarian candidate is expected to be the only

alternative to the Republicans and Democrats in the governor's race.

Norman MacConnell and Lee Nason have led efforts to plan for the ballot drive and gubernatorial campaign. Monthly financial pledges toward the effort have been contributed by a group of Massachusetts Libertarians since the first half of 1981. Funding and organization need to be in place before petitioning begins, because of the short, nine-week petitioning period.

Massachusetts Libertarians plan to collect thousands of volunteer signatures, and to raise more than \$10,000 for the drive. The national LP has promised to provide significant financial assistance to help with the difficult effort.

Illinois To Kick Off Ballot Drives In February

The Illinois Libertarian Party will be holding two kick-off dinners for its statewide ballot drive. The first is February 20 in Chicago, with the second to be held February 27 in Peoria.

The dinners, sponsored by the Illinois LP's PAC, LIFBAC, will start the collection of more than 40,000 signatures, to be filed on August 2, 1982. Tom Verkuilen is the Ballot Drive Coordinator.

The Illinois slate is headed by Bea Armstrong running for governor, plus eight other statewide candidates. In addition, the Illinois LP plans to run Congressional and local races.

Montana Clears Minimum

The Montana LP now has about 10,500 signatures, according to Ballot Drive Coordinator Rod Newman. 9,979 valid signatures are required, but 2,500 more are needed to assure

an adequate safety margin. The Montana LP expects to complete the drive comfortably ahead of the early-April filing deadline.

The Montana petitioning effort is being aided by two initiatives the Montana LP is promoting: one to abolish state laws restricting milk distribution in Montana, the other to abolish a quota limiting the number of liquor licenses available to restaurants. State Chair Duncan Scott reports that "the initiatives are attracting more coverage of the LP than the Clark campaign did — and Clark received very good coverage here."



HELP WANTED



Paid full-time petitioners are needed now in selected states around the country. After ballot drives are completed in these states, petitioners will be needed in many other states. Work will be available continuously from now through Labor Day of 1982. You can work for one week, one month, or six months.

States which will probably need petitioners in 1982 include Texas, New York, New Mexico, Nebraska, Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Missouri, and others.

Travel and housing will be arranged. Pay is good and varies in different states. If you are interested in collecting signatures to place Libertarian candidates on the ballot, or if you would like more information on petitioning, please complete the attached form and return to:

Libertarian Party
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Petitioner Inquiry Form

I am interested in petitioning for part of the coming year. Dates I am most likely to be available: _____

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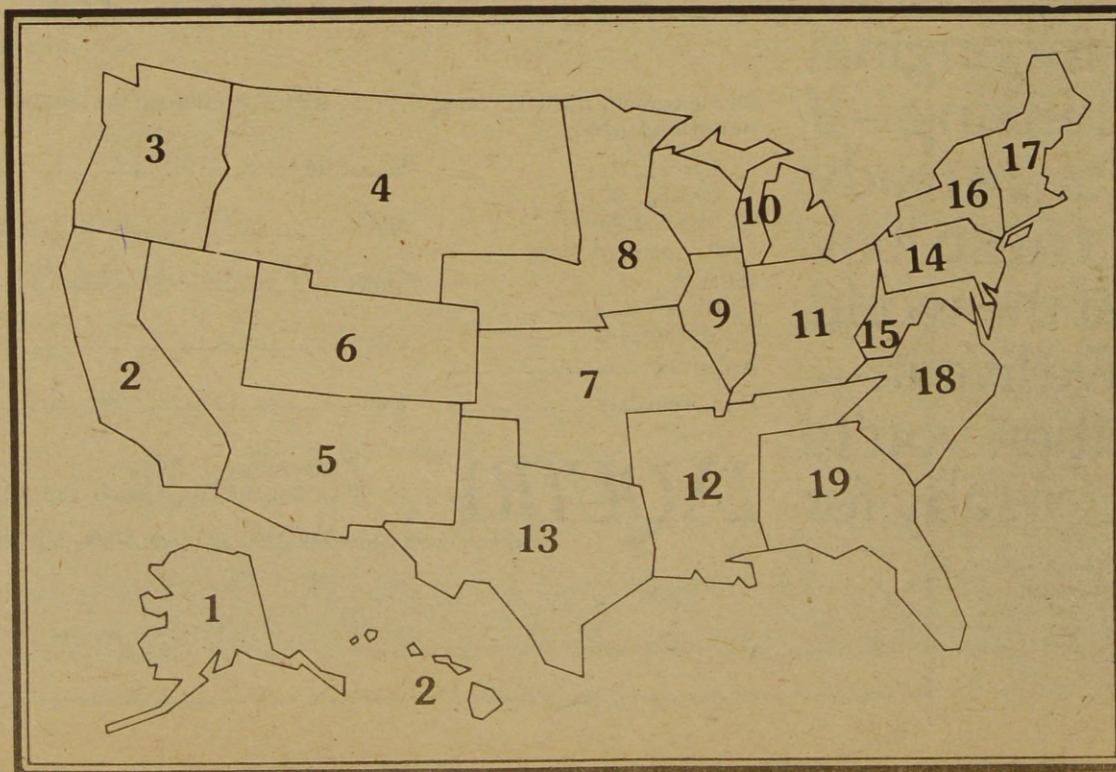
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Region 1: Alaska

by Steve DeLisio

Libertarians in Alaska continue to be highly active, both in connection with the Randolph for Governor Campaign and in general.

Within the past few days, a new organization was formed in Homer, Alaska called the Kachemak Bay Libertarian Party. They have already conducted a small fund-raiser which has provided necessary operating capital.

Across the state, Libertarians have been making effective use of their raffle permits to raise operating capital. An airplane raffle in Fairbanks has netted about \$20,000.00, which was split between the Fairbanks Libertarian Party and the Randolph for Governor Committee. About airplane raffle in Anchorage resulted in a net of about \$28,000.00 being split between the Juneau Libertarian Party and the Randolph for Governor Committee. An ongoing airplane raffle in Anchorage, with the drawing to be held on December 31, 1981, is expected to net over \$20,000.00 to be split between the Anchorage Libertarian Party, the Alaska Libertarian Party, and the Randolph for Governor Committee. There is also pending in Fairbanks a fourth raffle involving a 4x4 pickup truck which is also doing quite well.

At the present moment, it looks as if the Libertarian Party will field about 16 candidates to run for the Alaska House of Representatives. There will be 40 House seats up for election in 1982, as well as 20 Senate seats. As yet, we have no Senate candidates.

We were delighted that Stan Thompson, Mayor of the Kenai Peninsula Borough, was recently re-elected to that position after a vigorous, heated campaign. He bested three other candidates for the post.

Very recently, the Anchorage Libertarian Party concluded a poll of 183 residents of Anchorage relating to various money questions. The results are as follows:

Regarding what to do with Alaska's \$3 billion of surplus wealth in the Permanent Fund, 61% favored giving it directly to the Alaskan people and 37% opposed. 62% of those polled felt that all state debts should be paid off, with 30% opposed. 79% felt that the criminal justice system needed improvement, while 15% disagreed. 27% felt that there should be an increase in government programs and services, but 67% felt that there should not be an increase. 82% of those polled felt that the state should build capital improvements, such as roads or ports, but 13% disagreed. 45% felt that the \$3 billion in the Permanent Fund should be left invested in that fund, but 49% disagreed. 82% of those polled favored increasing efforts to get Alaska's land into private ownership,

with 14% disagreeing. 48% of those polled favored giving tax credits to people who pay for a child's education in a private school, with 45% disagreeing.

Except on the drug issue and the construction of capital improvements, those polled were supportive of Libertarian issues in Alaska. Although the tax credit concept for private school education was favored by a narrow margin, the result did support the Libertarian view. While it is apparent from the response on the drug issue and the capital improvement question that the public still needs a great deal of education on the significance of these issues and the rationale for the Libertarian stance, we were quite pleased with the preliminary results.

One technique that we have been using to reach potential Libertarians has been to read the Letters to the Editor. Anytime we have read a letter which appears to support a Libertarian point of view, we have written the author of the letter to advise them of what we stand for and urge them to become involved.

Region 3: Washington and Oregon

by John Tiritilli
State Chair of the Oregon LP

The LP of Oregon has launched an ambitious effort to challenge Oregon election laws in federal court. While the LPO retained ballot status in 1980 for statewide candidates, we are not permitted to field candidates for U.S. Congress, the state legislature and partisan county offices unless a separate petition is circulated for each different office, a difficult and time-consuming procedure made all the more difficult during the last session of the state legislature when a bill passed prohibiting the paying of signature gatherers.

The suit will seek to overturn the requirement of separate petitions and to overturn the prohibition on payment for petitioners.

Oregon Libertarians, confident of a legal victory, look forward to several vigorous and aggressive challenges to the Republicans and Democrats in the 1982 legislative races.

Meanwhile, a Libertarian campaign has already begun. LP member Gene Lehman, a teacher and developer of a phonetic spelling lab, filed recently as a candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction. On the day he filed, Lehman was interviewed by two major daily newspapers. One story featured only Lehman and the incumbent, although three other well-

known candidates are in the race. Election day is the date of the Oregon primary, May 18.

Libertarian activists play an important and central role in an effort to place the Oregon Marijuana Initiative on the ballot. The initiative, if passed, would remove all criminal penalties for the possession, transportation, or cultivation of marijuana for personal use by adults 18 or older. The initiative was endorsed by the LPO State Committee, a move which received considerable media coverage throughout the state.

And finally, Oregon Libertarians are preparing for the annual state business convention in Salem. Dates are March 19-21. Featured speakers include Ed Clark, Robert Poole and Michael Emerling. Cost for the complete convention package is \$40 if purchased before March 5, and \$50 if purchased after that date. For information contact LPO headquarters at:

10175 SW Barbur Blvd., Ste. 104B
Portland, OR 97129
Phone: (503) 245-6081

Region 8: Minnesota, Iowa and Nebraska

by Linda Taylor

The Iowa LP spent the weekend of December 4-6 in a marathon brainstorming session held in a 4-H camp out in the country. Goals and objectives for 1982 were set. Sylvia Sanders Olson and husband Ben Olson are continuing their effort coordinating "I'm running in '82" campaign to interest Libertarians to run in the 1982 elections. They've put out one newsletter and another one should be in the mail soon.

The Nebraska State Chair Dan Salem reports everything is ready to begin the 1982 ballot drive. The Nebraska LP has decided to petition as a political party. Gaining this status requires 5,000 signatures of registered voters, but insures that any Libertarian candidate will be on the ballot once the filing fee is paid. The Nebraskans are especially looking forward to the gubernatorial race this year as it appears as though no strong contender will be opposing the incumbent Republican.

In Minnesota, the annual Founders Day banquet was held in September. It proved to be a great success as a fund raiser due to the efforts of guest speaker Roy Childs and the LPM Finance Committee including Frank Haws, Jack Ardoyno, Bud Schaitburger, Milo Schield and George Hardenbergh. The evening also included an auction of donated goods from LPM members. The event raised \$7,000 for the Minnesota party.

The LPM is working on U.S. Congressional District organization. All eight districts will have held LP conventions by the end of 1982.

Del Dennison, chair of the Olmsted County LP, has been elected to fill the vice-chair vacancy. Dennison and Rob Chamberlain wrote and produced a series of radio commercials dealing with the state legislature's "budget crises" special session. The commercials aired in several cities across the state.

Pam Elliot Jacoby and husband Art Jacoby, with help from Linda Taylor and Frank Haws, have written an organizational plan which was adopted unanimously by the execom. This plan will be presented to LPM members at a general membership meeting and banquet on February 6. Guest speaker at the banquet will be Chris Hocker, publisher of *Inquiry Magazine*.

Two LPM members have declared their intention to run for office in the 1982 elections: Fred Hewitt for U.S. Senate and Bruce Wright for the Minnesota House of Representatives.

Region 14: Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware

by Dave Walter

New Jersey Libertarians are proud of Dick Siano's 2 to 1 victory over his Democrat opponent in the special Kingwood Township Town Council election on Dec. 29th. Dick is the first Libertarian victor in the "lower 48" to win a partisan race. The Council is composed of two other people—a liberal Republican and a conservative Republican and Dick has already crossed swords with the Mayor and won a few victories on township appointments.

The NJLP is getting ready for 1982's elections: a "15 in '82" Committee is going to find candidates for all 14 Congressional seats, and Henry Koch of Old Tappan has already announced his candidacy for the U.S. Senate nomination. State Chair Bill George promises a minimum of twenty candidates in New Jersey this fall.

The 1982 Convention will be at the Beacon Manor Hotel in Point Pleasant, NJ on March 12th and 13th. Speakers will include Peter and Phyllis Breggin, Gary Greenberg, Sheldon Richman, Len Flynn and nationally-known "unschooler" Nancy Plent. The package price for all events (including three meals) is \$55 before Feb. 15th and \$60 before March 1st. Those interested in attending should write to P.O. Box 444, Westfield, NJ 07091.

Coming events will include the Mid-Atlantic Candidates School on June 4-6 in Carteret, and the East Coast Regional Conference on Sept. 3-6 in Wildwood.

Continued On Page 15



LP/10

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REGIONAL REPORTS

Cont. From pg. 14

Pennsylvania Libertarians are preparing a grand strategy for achieving permanent ballot status in 1982. The first step will be to mount a 29,000 signature petition drive from March 10th to May 28th. The bulk of the signatures will be gathered on a volunteer basis, thus conserving money for the actual campaign this fall.

Barbara Karkutt, of Easton, has announced her candidacy for the U.S. Senator nomination. She will run a full time campaign for at least four weeks in the fall and will be supplemented by candidates for Governor and Lt. Governor, and twenty or more candidates for Congress and State Legislature. The LPP will need about 1.2% of the popular vote statewide to qualify for permanent status.

New appointments by State Chair Dave Walter include Jorge Amador, editor of *Libertarian Penn*; Ralph Mullinger, Treasurer; and Ron Satz, Research Committee Chairman. Geoff Steinberg has announced his candidacy for State Chair.

The LPP's 1982 Convention will be held on March 5-7th at the George Washington Motor Lodge in King of

Prussia. Speakers will include Alicia Clark, Roy Childs, and Dick Siano. There will be the usual array of workshops and the LPP will adopt a State Platform for the first time. The package price is \$40 before Feb. 15th and \$45 thereafter, and includes two meals.

Pittsburgh activist Leo Alman has started "Friends of Montessori", an outreach organization aimed at the thousands of Montessori teachers and school directors in America. Leo hopes to carry the libertarian message to this audience of highly motivated individualists. Friends of Montessori can be reached at 6300 Alderson St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15217.

Delaware Libertarians are getting ready for an organizational workshop to be conducted by Alicia Clark March 12. The workshop will cover everything from organizational charts of a typical group to techniques of successful campaigning.

Activist Bill Morris has organized an informal discussion group for Wilmington-area libertarians. Bill is also the man to call if you want to attend LP of Delaware policy meetings on the 4th Tuesday of each month. Call him at 475-7060 or write LPD, 215 W. Ninth St., Wilmington, DE 19801.

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Featured Source Material

Society For Individual Liberty

The Society for Individual Liberty, founded in 1969, provides a number of services which are of interest to libertarians who are interested in furthering their understanding of libertarian philosophy.

Their "Principles of Liberty" program was introduced last summer

and has won acceptance by libertarian groups across the country. It is designed for groups of ten but can be used for self-study by libertarians not associated with a group. The seven segments of the program cover readings in seven different topics: Basic Principles of Liberty,

Issues of Economic Freedom, Issues of Personal Liberty, Economic Issues and the Market Response, Foreign Affairs and Freedom, Individualism in Our Age, and Social Issues Today. A discussion leader, using Socratic methods, keeps the discussion flowing by having participants discuss questions such as "Individuals must sacrifice some of their individual rights if the nation is to remain free. How do libertarians reply to that statement?" Each participant reading set sells for \$5, but the organization sells five sets plus a discussion leader's guide for \$25 or ten sets plus guide for \$40 postpaid.

Since 1969 S.I.L. has sold more than 1.5 million fact-filled issue papers on various topics. Each of the 48 issue papers is an 8½ by 11-inch brochure of 800 to 2,000 words dealing with current issues of importance

to libertarians or the general public. Many libertarians purchase the entire set for \$4 plus 75¢ postage to use in introducing their friends to libertarianism. Campus and community groups purchase the issue papers in bulk at 25 for \$1 (same title). SIL's "Campus Services Division" provides literature at cut-rate prices, or even free, to campus libertarian clubs which agree to sponsor literature tables.

S.I.L.'s newsletter, *Individual Liberty*, has just begun its thirteenth year of publication. The monthly regularly presents a broad range of opinions and many different viewpoints. Termed the "best bargain in the movement" by one libertarian magazine editor, *Individual Liberty* subscriptions are \$5 per year.

Write: S.I.L., P.O. Box 1147, Warminster, Pa. 18974.

The Polish Tragedy, Libertarian Perspective

Continued From Page 1

Russian border, or a U.S. agreement to sell weapons to the Chinese. These measures almost look calculated to scare the Russians into an invasion.

Nor has it helped the Polish to have the U.S. pushing Western Europe to accept 572 cruise and Pershing II missiles or the neutron bomb. In fact, the overall effort to renew the NATO alliance is a

Politburo must know how great the risks are. Only the fear that the risks of liberalization—and anti-Soviet conspiracy—are greater could have induced a Russian reaction or crackdown by proxy.

Yet U.S. policy has had a tendency to increase those risks. It surely has not helped to have President Reagan predicting the imminent collapse of the Soviet Union, or to have a joint U.S.-China listening post near the

mistake. An aggressive-looking NATO could seal Poland's fate. Conversely, elimination of NATO, particularly a U.S. disengagement, is the most that can be done to protect the Polish.

It wouldn't take a revitalization of NATO to make it appear aggressive to the Soviets. Founded in 1949, when most analysts and diplomats saw no Soviet military threat, NATO remains militarily and economically superior to Russia and the Warsaw Pact nations. Without the U.S., Western Europe has a larger population (400 million), equivalent economic potential (\$4 trillion GNP) and comparable military manpower. The British and French also have substantial nuclear forces.

Contrary to impressions left by U.S. officials, NATO, including the U.S., outspent the Warsaw Pact, including Russia, each year of the 1970's. (In 1979, NATO spent \$212 billion, the Warsaw Pact \$175 billion.)

The NATO nations are ahead in weapons quality, a fact usually ignored when weapon quantities are compared. To give but one example: It is often said that NATO is woefully behind in tanks, 27,200 to 11,800. But NATO deploys 193,000 sophisticated anti-tank weapons, most of them precision guided missiles. In the manpower department, NATO has a standing force of 2.8 million; the Pact has 2.6 million. Under full mobilization NATO would have over 5.1 million troops against the Warsaw Pact's 4.8 million. The French would provide almost 327,000 soldiers.

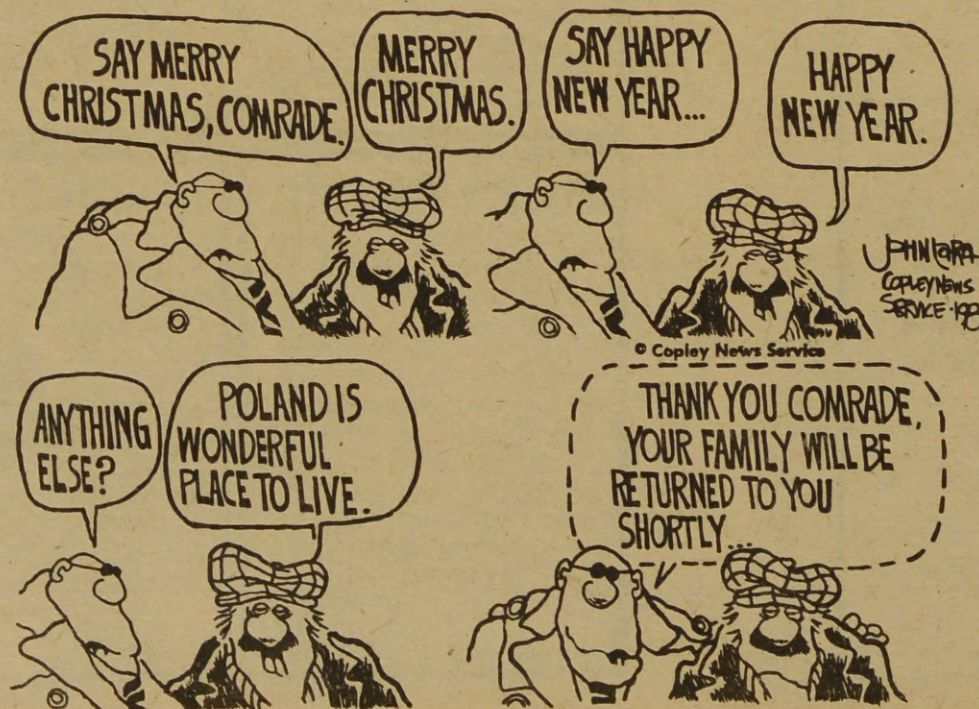
The upshot is that regardless of motives, NATO is perceived as a threat by the Soviets.

What does all this mean for Poland? It means that Poland's best chance at succeeding in a liberalization lies in the elimination of what the Soviets surely regard as a threat from the West. It can be eliminated by scrapping the plans to put new nuclear missiles and neutrons bombs in Europe, and by disengaging from NATO. These moves would not guarantee the end of martial law or freedom for Solidarity, but they would remove a major reason the Soviets have for not insisting on a crackdown.

Unfortunately Ronald Reagan's restrictions on private trade with Poland and the USSR have compounded the errors of the past. They will only serve to stiffen the militants, confirm Soviet fears, and hurt the Polish people.

A noninterventionist policy would not be good for just the Poles. It would lessen tensions worldwide, increase the security of the American people and enable us to cut the military budget by at least 70 percent at once. Indeed, it would allow us to usher in an era of free trade and peace.

Sheldon Richman is the Vice-chairman of the Libertarian Party.



What's Available From Headquarters?

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Question and Answer Brochure. The Libertarian Party's new brochure, which explains the positions and purposes of the Libertarian Party. (15¢)

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Books:

Local Problems: Libertarian Solutions. The popular community issues manual. (\$5.00 each)

LP Activist's Manual. Based on the Party's successful Political Action Workshops. (\$5.00 each)

A New Dawn for America by Roger MacBride (\$5.95 each)

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Film:

"We Hold These Truths." Excellent introduction to the Libertarian Party. Available in 16mm film (\$125.00), VHS and Betamax (\$45.00, specify Beta 1 or Beta 11). Shipping included in price.

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Books For Libertarians

Markets And Minorities

**Thomas Sowell,
Basic Books 1981,
127 Pages, pb., \$13.50**

Reviewed by Tom G. Palmer

Thomas Sowell is undoubtedly the most important social scientist writing in America today. His combination of the precise and rigorous analytical mind of a first-rate economist with the skill and faithfulness to the record of a first-rate historian has few precedents.

These two scholarly traits come together neatly in Sowell's "Markets and Minorities," a study of the economics and history of ethnicity and discrimination in America that is eminently accessible to the intelligent layperson. In the process of interweaving theory and history, Sowell demonstrates the at-best-futile and at-worst-devastating effects of government attempts to aid the advance of ethnic or racial minorities.

Sowell begins by demonstrating the rarely examined complexities of such analysis. The wide range of minority incomes, for example, indicates that the use of the term minority should not always connote poverty. The U.S. family incomes of Jewish, Japanese, Polish, Chinese, and Italian families, for instance, range from 172 per cent to 112 per cent of the national average income, while those of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Black, and American Indian families range from 76 per cent to 60 per cent of the average national income. All are popularly considered minorities, and all have suffered horrible discrimination at some time or another.

This enormous family income spread may be due to various factors, such as age or geographical distribution, other than simple racial discrimination. One way to find out, Sowell points out, is to hold ethnicity constant and carefully examine such other factors. We find that families headed by persons in the 45-to-54 year-old age group earn average incomes that are 93 per cent higher than the incomes of families headed by person under 25 years old, and that the median age of Jews in the U.S. is 46, while those for Blacks (22), American Indians (20), Mexicans (18), and Puerto Ricans (18), are far lower. As Sowell says, "People of very different ages (i.e., very different amounts of work experience) earn very different incomes, even when there are no ethnic differences. Therefore, differences between whole groups with



different amounts of experience cannot be arbitrarily attributed to their differing ethnicity. This is especially true when comparing the statistical 'representation' of various groups in high level occupations requiring many years of experience and/or education." Further, "Differences in median age are only part of the statistical picture. Because the highest incomes are generally reached in the 40's and 50's, the percentage of each ethnic group that is in these age brackets has an important weight in determining what the group's average income is. For example, just over half of the Jewish population of the United States is 45 years old or older, while only 12 per cent of the Puerto Rican population is that old."

The point is not to downplay the effects of race hatred or prejudice, but to indicate the need for a level of analysis above that of the traditional knee-jerk slogans of statist "reformers" and "uplifters."

Sowell's outlook, as elaborated at much greater length in his brilliant "Knowledge and Decisions" (also available from the Libertarian Party Book Service; see order form), involves a combination of "intentional" and "systemic" analysis. He solidly grounds his

social analysis on the intentions, desires, plans, knowledge, and expectations of the individual human beings involved but also incorporates the "systemic" effects of their actions. This is a virtue which deserves some remark, for few social commentators bother to do so. Nobel-Prize winning Austrian economist F.A. Hayek, whose influence Sowell acknowledges in "Knowledge and Decisions," is one of the few modern writers to focus his attention on the "unintended consequences of human action," although such different social commentators as Adam Smith and Karl Marx made systemic considerations central to their analyses. Smith speaks in "The Wealth of Nations" (1776) of an individual being "led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention" while Friedrich Engels (Marx's collaborator) wrote in a letter to Joseph Block (1890) that "history is made in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills, of which each in turn has been made what it is by a host of particular conditions of life. Thus there are innumerable intersecting forces, an infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one resultant—the historical event. This

may again itself be viewed as the product of a power which works as a whole "unconsciously" and without volition. For what each individual wills is obstructed by everyone else, and what emerges is something that no one willed."

This attention to the unintended consequences of purposeful human action also applies to the analysis of government action. Sowell does not consider agents of the State to be essentially different from other transactors in any of the relevant categories, such as availability of knowledge, good or bad intentions, etc., except that they are able to initiate force and violence. Says Sowell, "We will not assume that public officials are a different breed of creatures, nor treat the government as a 'deus ex machina,' operating without any of the ordinary motives of human beings.... Nor will we engage in the fashionable practice of talking about what 'society' has decided. The whole emphasis will be on the specific characteristics of particular decision-making processes—not on a vague figure of speech called 'society'."

Sowell's main interest in "Markets and Minorities" is the establishment of a clear cause-and-effect understanding of how discrimination works and why and how some groups have prospered more than others. In pursuit of that goal, he carefully distinguishes between three kinds of discrimination, focusing on the offering of different transactions terms (including no terms at all) as the distinguishing mark of discrimination. They are: 1) the commonly perceived kind of discrimination, considering people as members of a group rather than on their individual merits—"I just don't like them and I'll charge them twice as much for an apartment"; 2) discrimination because one thinks all members of a group share—or lack—a characteristic relevant for the transaction—"Those people are all pushy, so I'm not going to hire them"; and 3) a statistical appearance of discrimination, as when blacks are over-represented among professional basketball players or under-represented among corporate executives because of the characteristics that are common among members of a group.

Whether and to what extent each kind of discrimination is able to account for differences between groups can be deduced by a careful examination of the record. As Sowell puts it, "What matters analytically is not which theory seems more plausible initially, but how their

Continued On Page 23

Libertarian Party Book Service

Markets and Minorities, Thomas Sowell

Reviewed in this issue. (hb., \$13.50)

Knowledge and Decisions, Thomas Sowell

Argues that the shifting of economic and social decisions from the marketplace to the political arena is the major threat to freedom. (hd., \$21.00)

Race and Economics, Thomas Sowell

Brilliant economist analyzes the effects of government intervention into racial relations, arguing that it leads to conflict and stagnation. (pb., \$12.00)

The Theory of Money and Credit, Ludwig von Mises. (hb., \$11, pb., \$5.00)

Cutting Back City Hall, Robert Poole.

Very useful for local activists and municipal candidates. (hb., \$12.50/pb., \$5.95)

Not to the Swift, Justus Doenecke.

Focuses on the opponents of the emerging cold war during the period 1943 to 1954. Shows that acceleration of the arms race and confrontation with the Soviet Union were not universally popular among American intellectual and political leaders. (pb., \$8.95)

The New Jim Crow Laws, Walter Williams

Thorough analysis of how government intervention hurts minorities and the poor. Williams presents his argument with unassailable logic and thorough documentation. Highly recommended. (pamphlet, \$1.00)

Never Again: Learning From America's Foreign Policy Failures, Earl C. Ravenal.

Analysis of recent American foreign policy. Argues for a fundamental rethinking of foreign policy. Written by a leading analyst and primary foreign policy advisory to Ed Clark's 1980 presidential campaign. (pb., \$9.95)

The Draft: The Dynamics of Social Control, Milton Mueller.

Thorough examination of conscription, its purpose, its history, its impact. Argues that the draft is unnecessary to maintain national defense. (pamphlet, \$1.50)

Local Problems: Libertarian Solutions, William D. Burt.

In-depth treatment of local issues, focusing on municipal problems and libertarian, market solutions. Well documented and highly recommended for community activists and local candidates. (pb., \$5.00)

Rent Control: Myths and Realities, ed. by Walter Block and Edgar Olsen.

This study demolishes the case for rent control, demonstrating with sound logic and documentation that rent control leads to deteriorating neighborhoods and housing shortages. (pb., \$7.95)

Educating the Worker Citizen, Joel Spring.

A prominent educational historian documents the domination of the American educational system by a government seeking to produce conformity and perpetuation of its own control. Important for understanding the way government has shaped social institutions. (pb., \$10.00)

The Regulation of Medical Care: Is the Price Too High?, John C. Goodman.

Demonstrates that the medical profession enjoys numerous legal privileges which raise the price of medical care and increase the income of doctors. Argues for a free market in medical care. (pb., \$5.00)

Strategic Disengagement and World Peace: Toward A Non-Interventionist American Foreign Policy, Earl C. Ravenal.

Two essays discussing the limitations on American world power and the need to diminish U.S. involvement around the world and the means by which the threat of nuclear war can be reduced. (pb., \$2.00)

Political Philosophy

A New Beginning, Ed Clark.

Systematic and readable overview of libertarianism with specific applications to important public policy areas. Written by 1980 Libertarian presidential candidate. Highly recommended. (Lg. pb., \$4.00 Sm. pb., \$1.00)

A New Dawn for America, Roger L. MacBride.

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For A New Liberty, Murray N. Rothbard.

In-depth presentation of libertarianism by a leading libertarian scholar. Includes libertarian heritage, philosophy, economic analysis, public policy, and strategy for achieving liberty. (pb., \$6.95)

In Search of Peace, F. A. Harper.

This eloquent pamphlet argues that force and coercion are inappropriate means to achieve social goals. (pamphlet, \$1.00)

Conscience on the Battlefield, Leonard Read.

Set in the form of a dialogue between a dying soldier and his conscience, this brief pamphlet discusses the nature of freedom and responsibility. Written in 1951 during the Korean War by a veteran of World War I and reprinted with a new introduction in 1981. (pamphlet, \$1.00)

The Libertarian Alternative: Essays in Social and Political Philosophy, ed. by Tibor Machan.

Wide-ranging collection of essays on libertarian theory and analysis, covering such areas as ethics, economics, foreign affairs, etc. Includes many important essays. (pb., \$11.95)

The Law, Frederic Bastiat.

Classic polemic against statism by nineteenth century French libertarian economist. Dated but excellent. (hb., \$2.50, pb., \$1.00)

No Treason, Lysander Spooner.

Written by a great libertarian abolitionist of the nineteenth century, this work argues clearly and persuasively that one is not bound by all of the dictates of government, but that government must be judged by the standard applicable to all. Focuses on constitutional arguments. (pb., \$2.00)

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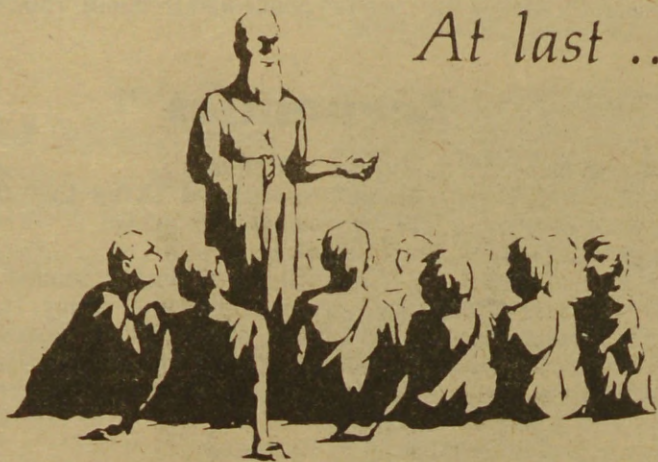
Political Campaign Management, Arnold Steinberg.

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WASHINGTON WATCH

Continued From Page 3.

had already proposed \$22 billion in new tax increases. And besides, as they go over budget figures again, "accommodations" will have to be made, and those may include tax increases. Reagan said in January, "We haven't even shown (Reagan) yet some of the things we're considering in the budget area." Presumably we are to infer that Reagan will go along with his advisors even if their advice contradicts his previous promises.

There's certainly some evidence for this. He accepted the advice of his military advisors in extending draft registration, even though he had been a firm opponent of conscription throughout his 17-year career as a political figure and had criticized President Carter's imposition of registration. And, in an issue more directly relevant to his tax plans, his advisors are currently trying to escape from his sworn opposition to a windfall profits tax on deregulated natural gas. Reagan opposed such a tax during the 1980 campaign and in 1981 gave Rep. Glenn English (D-Ok.) a written promise to veto a windfall profits tax. Now, his advisors say, the administration is opposed to a windfall profits tax but might support an excise tax on natural gas. Of course, as economists pointed out during the Carter administration, the "windfall profits tax" on decontrolled oil was in fact an excise tax, since it was based on price, not profits. It seems likely that we'll get a new tax on the price of natural gas, by one name or another.

In all this debate over the budget, it's difficult to find a side to support within the administration. At a conference of the American Enterprise Institute, administration economists shocked the crowd by dismissing any concern about the massive deficit projections. William A. Niskanen, a member of the Council of Economic Advisers argued that "in general, concern about the deficit has been misplaced. There is no direct or indirect connection between deficits and inflation."

Niskanen offered an amazing argument to counter the concern about the deficit: He urged people to look at "the net worth of the federal government," the value of the government's financial and physical assets. On that scale, he said, the government's doing well, with its net worth increasing from \$20 billion to \$250 billion in the last fifteen years. What this means, of course, aside from the portion of the increase that is simply inflation, is that the government is increasing its share of the total wealth in the United States. That hardly seems something that would be pleasing to conservatives who really want to reduce the size of government.

The official explanation for all these justifications of deficit spending is that these economists are trying to stave off administration officials who want to raise taxes in order to reduce the deficit. So we're faced with two groups: those who want to raise taxes and those who think \$100 billion deficits are unimportant. Not much of a choice for libertarians.

One of the difficulties in any of this budget analysis is that the numbers tossed around so casually are almost completely drawn out of thin air. No matter how many computers they use, they simply can't predict the course of the economy. If their economic assumptions are wrong — as they always are — their budget figures will be wrong. And aside from economic assumptions, the budget itself is simply out of control — both military programs and entitlements seem to have taken on a life of their own, with cost overruns a matter of course. So it's never safe to believe any budget figures until the year is over. Nevertheless, it's clear that the administration is not going to achieve any real spending cuts, and the economic picture is not going to improve very much.

* * *

At the same AEI conference, a panel of regulatory experts — many of them the leading conservative advocates of regulatory "reform" — criticized the Reagan administration for not moving fast enough or far enough in the area of deregulation. Several of the speakers had been Reagan advisors.

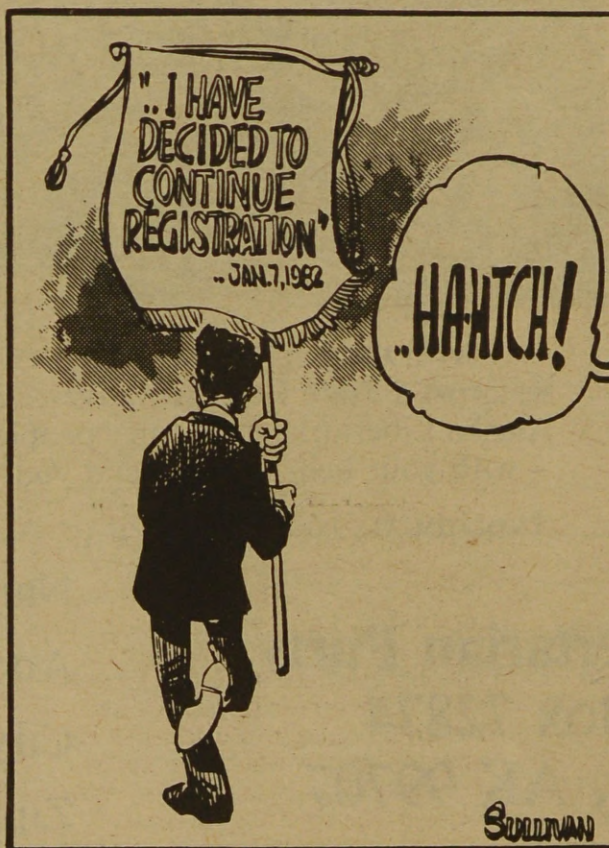
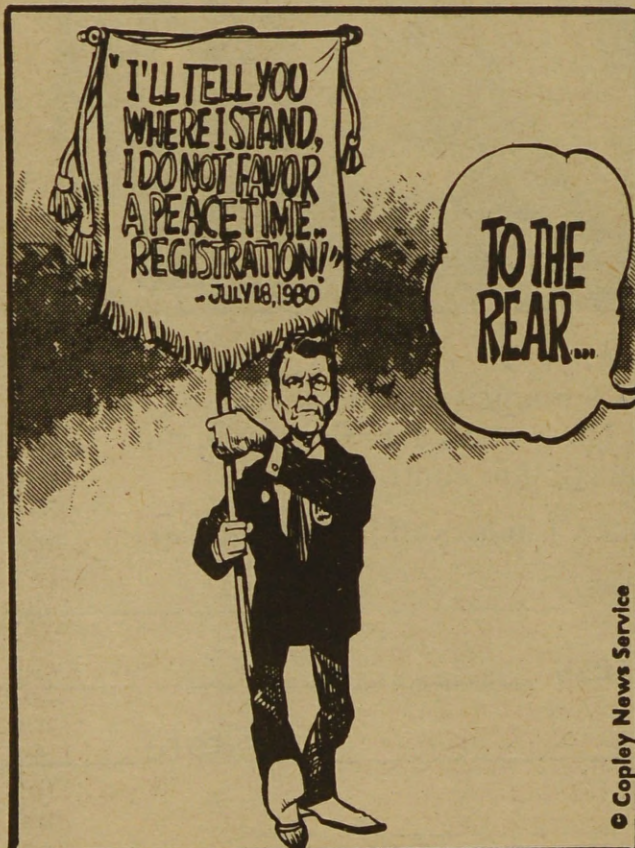
Robert Crandall of the Brookings Institution said the Environmental Protection Agency "has blown a very good opportunity to do something in the environmental area so far."

Thomas Gale Moore of the Hoover Institution said that changes in the transportation area had been in the

wrong direction. The strike by air traffic controllers has led to reregulation of the airline industry, with Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis regulating new entry. At the ICC, Reagan-appointed chairman Reese Taylor has been moving backward on trucking deregulation, making it harder for new firms to enter the business.

What should be most galling to the Reagan administration — and to its "libertarian" supporters — were the criticisms from a former Carter official. For an administration rhetorically devoted to the free market to be less supportive of deregulation than Carter is really shocking — if you believed any of their rhetoric. Henry Geller, Carter's telecommunications advisor, attacked the Federal Communications Commission's reversal of an earlier decision (under Carter-appointed chairman Charles Ferris) to increase the allowable number of AM-radio stations. While it's hardly freedom of entry to simply increase the arbitrary number of people allowed to own radio stations, it's somewhat better than keeping the number even smaller.

What these establishment regulatory experts missed was the basic theme of Reagan's deregulation efforts: to reduce the regulations on existing businesses (though not by much, in most cases) but keep the freedom of entry restricted (as in transportation and telecommunications). Deregulation should mean opening the economy to new competition; for Reagan, it doesn't.



Sowell Review

Continued From Page 18

respective implications can be deduced in such a way as to confront empirical evidence." For instance, if discrimination of the first sort—simple hatefulness by the majority—were responsible for ethnic income differences, one would not expect to find significant differences between different groups of blacks. Yet such differences exist. Blacks from the West Indies, for instance, who are virtually indistinguishable to whites from other blacks, have incomes almost identical to whites, while the average income for all blacks is only 62 per cent of whites. Simple discrimination of the first sort on the part of whites would be unable to explain such results.

The depth of research and careful attention to detail which Sowell employ make "Markets and Minorities" a delight to read. It is one of the very few works (in addition to his earlier "Race and Economics") which thoroughly examines and explains the historical record. Of greatest interest to libertarians, however, is his analysis of the deleterious effects of government intervention on the lives of minority group members and, by contrast, the progress of minorities under conditions of liberty.

One of the most important of Sowell's insights is that discrimination of type 1 discussed above is a consumption good that should be expected to exhibit all the characteristics of an economic good, most notably a negatively sloped demand curve. This is just a fancy way of saying that the higher the price of a good (for instance, indulging in hateful racial discriminations) the less people will demand of it, while the lower the price the more they will demand. Government intervention generally lowers the price of such discrimination (e.g., by outlawing transactions terms that would otherwise allow for compensating wage differentials through passage of minimum wage and "equal-pay-for-equal-work" laws). In the free market, discriminators must bear the full cost of their discrimination, for instance, through foregone opportunities for profit, thus minimizing the amount of such discrimination. It is no accident that one of the mainstays of racial apartheid in South Africa is minimum-wage legislation.

As an example, Sowell examines regulated industries: "Perhaps the classic examples (of government lowering the cost of discrimination by guaranteeing profits to firms) were the railroad occupations, where blacks in the South were generally over represented in the nineteenth century before federal regulation...and then totally excluded

from most railroad occupations afterwards. When railroads were unconstrained profit-maximizers, the opportunity cost of discrimination was high. Later, as a regulated utility, high union pay scales created a chronic surplus of applicants, and the costs of discrimination were virtually zero."

Sowell carefully explodes one statist myth after another—government regulation of housing helps the poor, minimum wage laws guarantee a decent standard of living, licensing laws help the poor, etc. Not only has active government discrimination against minorities (Jim Crow laws, exclusion of minorities from employment, requirements of racial segregation before making government housing loans available, police harassment, support of slavery, etc.) done much harm, but other efforts ostensibly designed to help minorities ("slum clearance," rent control, etc.) have had devastating effects as well. As Sowell points out, "Economic analysis would lead us to expect that people would more fully satisfy their own respective preferences with a larger set of options, where the larger set includes all the items in a smaller set. Yet there are many government laws,

Sowell explodes one statist myth after another: government regulation of housing, minimum wage laws, interest rate ceilings and licensing laws.

regulations, and policies whose effect is simply to reduce existing options without adding any new ones. Minimum wage laws, rent control, and interest rate ceilings, for example, simply outlaw certain ranges of transactions terms. Housing codes, occupational licensing laws, or Jim Crow laws have made certain kinds of transactions illegal, regardless of their terms. None of these laws and policies add any options. They simply remove some existing options."

The record amply demonstrates Sowell's point that the poor intended "beneficiaries" of the middle- and upper-class "reformers" historically have bitterly opposed the efforts of their "benefactors," knowing full well what the costs of the reductions in options envisioned would be. These sections of the book deserve careful reading; they provide—in a straightforward and clear manner—the evidence needed to level the case for government intervention. The greater integration of black and white neighborhoods before the intervention of government, for example, is evidence of the (at least) futile nature of government intervention to promote racial integration.

While Sowell's book is a paradigm of clear and rational thinking and a veritable treasurehouse of useful facts and information about race and ethnicity, several points deserve critical comment. To begin with, some readers may be put off by Sowell's non-emotional approach to what is certainly an emotion-laden subject. This writer found it to be one of the strengths of the book, if only because so much literature on the subject is composed solely of emotional outpourings uninspired by the kind of careful thinking Sowell employs. Sowell's analysis and discussion of the hideously monstrous institution of chattel slavery is quite non-emotional, though in the process it manages to sting the reader into a re-examination of long-held but unexamined beliefs concerning that practice. The humanness of the slaves and their attempts to better their lives even within the narrow constraints of their bondage shine through in an inspiring fashion. Further, the discussion of the perplexing problem of why slavery survived in the South but not the North receives thoughtful examination and comment, with an interesting focus on the role of government in "socializing" the costs of slave-holding (or

Upcoming State Conventions

We have begun to receive information about state conventions being held in 1982. The following is a list of conventions, the dates they are being held and the person to contact for more information.

Arkansas

March 20
contact: Alan Lindsay
501-375-5620

Arizona

April 23—25
contact: Buck Crouch
602-294-8700

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New Jersey

March 12—13
contact: Bill George
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New York

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contact: James McKeown
607-722-6421

North Carolina

April 24
contact: Carl Wagner
919-755-0864

Oregon

March 19—20
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Pennsylvania

March 6—7
contact: David Walter
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Wyoming

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contact: Larry Gray
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"man-stealing" as the libertarian abolitionists called it) among the non-slave-holding "free" population in the form of taxes and conscription for slave patrols, restrictions on free speech, restrictions on contact and employment of free blacks, etc.

There are a few areas where libertarians would take strong issue with Sowell, as in his discussion of indentured labor, the means by which many immigrants financed their voyages to America. Such a contract into servitude, however temporary, is non-binding on moral grounds (it is not based on the transfer of an alienable object of property; the human will is not itself alienable by the will) and was abolished in America at the insistence of libertarian activists. There are a few other areas where this writer might take issue with Sowell, such as his use of a "perfect competition" model in constructing his analytical framework, but they are minor points. All in all, "Markets and Minorities" is one of the most exciting books of the last few years. It belongs in the library of every person who wishes to speak intelligently on the subject of race and racial discrimination.

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Mail To: Libertarian Party
2300 Wisconsin Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20007

The Libertarian Party national headquarters has announced that it will provide extensive support for coordinated April 15 tax protests around the country.

Local libertarian groups in many areas of the country have held April 15 tax protests in front of post offices in recent years. Their success at gaining television and newspaper coverage in their communities led to the plan for a coordinated nationwide effort in 1982.

The lines of last minute income tax filers have been very sympathetic with anti-tax protestors, and media has also proven responsive.

Most of the successful protests involved just two or three libertarians

carrying signs and handing out leaflets. This means that state LP's can easily have protests at main post offices in all of the major cities in their state.

This inexpensive way to gain media coverage can give Libertarian candidates a head start on gaining news coverage for the 1982 campaigns.

To help with these important efforts, national headquarters will be offering an outline of how to organize a local April 15 tax protest and one-page anti-tax leaflets for distribution at the protests.

If you can help with a tax protest in your area, please complete the attached form and return it to headquarters.

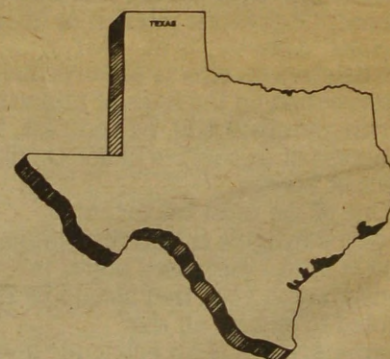


WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS

An introductory film about the
Libertarian Party

Available from headquarters.
(See order form on page 17.)

NOTICE:



The first National Committee of 1982 is scheduled for March 27-28. The meeting will be held in Houston, Texas. Libertarian Party News will cover the meeting in an upcoming issue.

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The Libertarian Party is working for a free society. Your support will make that free society a reality. Contribute to your own freedom—and that of all Americans—by contributing to the work of the Libertarian Party.

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Please make check or money order payable to Libertarian National Committee or charge to your credit card.

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