

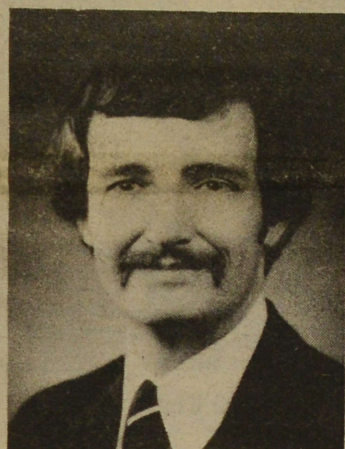
Libertarian Party NEWS

MAY-JUNE 1983

Illinois Libertarians Elected To Office in Local Elections

Two Illinois Libertarians won election to local offices in April, while several other Illinois LP candidates received impressive percentages of the vote.

Illinois LP Chair Gerry Walsh was elected to the Roselle Village Board, running first in



Gerry Walsh

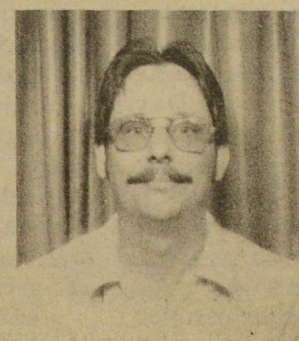
a field of seven. The top three vote getters won election to the board. The race was hotly contested, and Walsh was the only non-incumbant to win a seat.

Illinois LP South Central Vice Chair Scott Tillman won election as an alderman in

Marquette Heights. Tillman ran unopposed; however, he campaigned actively in order to discourage any write-in opposition.

In the Walsh race, the main issue was taxes. Walsh ran on his opposition to a five-year five percent utility tax. Walsh's opposition to taxes was further emphasized by his activism in a local group responsible for placing a referendum on the ballot to limit the village's taxing powers. The referendum passed overwhelmingly.

In Tillman's campaign, Tillman emphasized his opposition to a recent land acquisition by the town government.



Scott Tillman

Other Illinois Libertarians doing well in the April election were: Dave Kelley, Rockford alderman, 21 percent; and Steven Johnson, Forest Park commissioner, 28 percent.

Norwood To Seek Nomination

James E. Norwood of Waco, Texas, has announced his intention to seek the Libertarian Party's 1984 presidential nomination.

Norwood joins Gene Burns of Orlando, Florida, at the press time the only other announced candidate.

Norwood said in announcing his candidacy that he does not consider himself capable of taking on the role of president, as it is presently construed; however, he added that "no one is competent to hold the power that is presently vested in the Presidency," and he does not believe that such a job needs to be done.

"When people in government assume positive roles to make people good, to interfere with economic exchanges..., to create money out of thin air with debt, to educate people...; they are far beyond their competence," Norwood said.

Norwood said he hopes to use his campaign to help spread the ideas of Ludwig von Mises, the famous Austrian economist.

Currently, Norwood is widely unknown among LP leaders and among LP activist nationwide. However, he urges those interested in supporting his candidacy or getting more information to contact: Campaign '84, P.O. Box 6124, Waco, TX 76706.

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Remainder of Year Packed With Libertarian Activities

by Alicia Garcia Clark

In the last two issues of *Libertarian Party News*, I have written about the concept of campaigning all year around for libertarianism. In 1983 this started out with Social Security Week in February which received substantial attention in many areas and coverage in major newspapers, such as the *New York Times*, and on national network radio. On April 15, Tax Protest Day activities were held in more cities and received more coverage than ever before, including national network television.

Plans for summer campaigning include celebrating the Fourth of July by explaining to the American public the radical, libertarian nature of the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence.

From August 31 through September 4, the National Conven-

tion will be held in New York City. Your presence there will be a testimony to your determination to change American politics. The attention generated by the convention will provide us with another forum to address the American people.

In November, there will be county, city and village elections in many states. These elections offer us a great opportunity to convert people to libertarianism and to elect libertarians to local office.

Campaign '83 opened with the Spring elections. The results were especially notable in Illinois where Gerry Walsh was elected to the Roselle Village Board with the highest vote total; an incumbent was second with many fewer votes than Walsh. Scott Tillman was elected as an Alderman in Marquette Heights. Steve Johnson got 25 percent of the vote for Forest Park Village Commissioner and David Kelley received 21 percent in a three-

way race for Alderman in Rockford, one of the largest cities in the state. Walsh's active participation in a pending anti-tax initiative was an important part of his campaign and the other Illinois candidates took strong positions on important issues.

Walsh said the Illinois LP, after careful analysis of its 1982 election results, decided to concentrate its efforts on a few, well-selected races, rather than running a large number of candidates. They studied the possibilities and decided to support a few dedicated candidates who were willing and able to work hard on their campaigns.

As the Illinois experience demonstrates, planning is a vital element in successful campaigns. An initiative to eliminate or reduce local taxes provides a good basis to explain our ethical opposition to taxes and identifies

your state party. Raise some money among your friends and relatives. They will be likely to support your candidacy or your candidate because they know you and they love you. Plan your issues and how to use the campaign to help your local organization. All of this will help to make Campaign '83 a great success.

While this planning is going on, the national party will be working to help some states to achieve ballot status in 1983, and the National Convention will be held in New York City. All libertarians who can attend should do so and take their part in shaping the future of the national LP by voting for the candidates for National Chair, Vice Chair, Secretary, Treasurer, and other members of the National Committee who support their vision for the LP. If you care, you will be there to participate in the debate about proposed changes to our bylaws and platform and in the

selection of the LP's 1984 presidential candidate. Since there will be 719 delegate openings, as well as many more alternate positions, most LP members who want to participate actively will have the opportunity to do so.

During September and October, while campaigns for the



Alicia Clark

Plans for summer campaigning include celebrating the Fourth of July by explaining to the American public the radical, libertarian nature of the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence.

upcoming November elections are underway, our presidential candidate will be planning his campaign. He and his committee will be developing the research, organizations (including state party organizations), and schedule needed to take advantage of all the opportunities to promote our ideas.

If all of this sounds like a busy schedule for the remainder of 1983, it certainly is. In fact, many individual libertarians and some local organizations may not be able to participate in all of these activities. The national LP is attempting to provide state and local parties with the tools for growth, by providing materials, ideas, suggestions and support for such activities as Social Security Week, Tax Protest Day, Fourth of July Celebration, the National Convention, and presidential and local campaigns. It is up to each state and local party to select the ideas, programs and campaigns that will help to create more libertarians in its own area and build its own organization.

us with a significant constituency. Where suitable initiatives are not available, or cannot be promoted, each candidate can develop his or her own program to eliminate local bureaucracies, programs and taxes. In this regard, Bob Poole's book, *Cutting Back City Hall*, will be helpful to local candidates.

In addition to tax and spending issues, local blue laws, which may ban anything from video games to kissing on Sunday, often offer fruitful occasions to expand civil liberties and ridicule governmental attempts to suppress them.

Try to analyze the issues that are of interest, or can be made of interest, to voters. Then select a group of issues where there is a clear, persuasive libertarian position that can be used to convince individuals to support us, vote for our candidates and join us in our fight for freedom by becoming members of the Libertarian Party.

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selection of the LP's 1984 presidential candidate. Since there will be 719 delegate openings, as well as many more alternate positions, most LP members who want to participate actively will have the opportunity to do so.

Congress Works on Budget, Passes Funds for MX Missile

by David Lampo

The battle of the budget is heating up fast here in Washington. As the fiscal year draws to a close, with the highest deficit (over \$200 billion) and spending levels (actual spending for the year will top \$800 billion) in history, Congress and the White House are scrambling to put together a budget resolution for Fiscal 1984.

Denunciations of the deficits are on everyone's lips these days, but lip service and higher taxes seem to be the only two solutions offered by the Democrats and Republicans.

The Big Budget "Fight"

For example, the Democratic majority in the House passed its budget resolution a few months ago, calling for \$30 billion in new taxes for next year alone, increases in domestic spending, and hiking the military budget by four percent—compared to President Reagan's original proposal of a ten percent military spending increase.

Reagan's budget request—given the incredible label of

"low-tax" by the *Washington Post*—calls for "only" eight billion in higher taxes over the next two years, a modified military spending increase of 7.5 percent, and a deficit of over \$190 billion. After repeated votes, the Republican controlled Senate narrowly defeated the Reagan proposals

Despite the fact that tax indexing is most beneficial to working class and middle income wage earners, most Democrats and many Republicans would like to scuttle it in order to provide the government with a windfall in new revenues in the coming years, all done in the name of

The MX or a Freeze?

After some defeats in Congress late last year, the MX missile came back with a big push from the President's bipartisan Commission on Strategic Forces, which, not surprisingly, recommended that the U.S. proceed

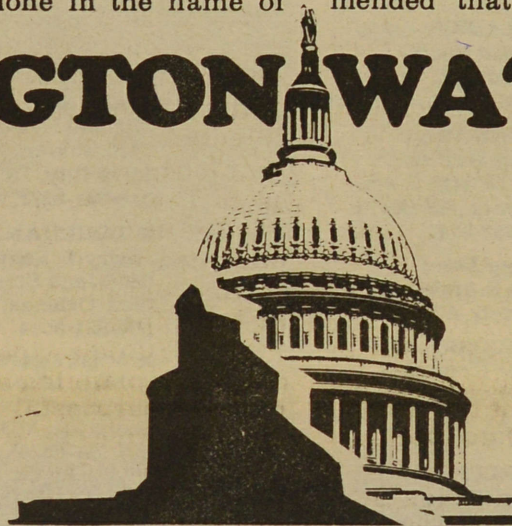
and passed its own version of a budget resolution. This one includes a larger tax increase than Reagan's (\$70 billion over three years), higher domestic spending, a smaller defense build-up, and a slightly smaller deficit.

Despite all the partisan rhetoric (bipartisanship seems to have briefly fallen by the way-side), the figures show just how little difference there is between the Democrats and Republicans. The Senate budget, for example, calls for \$849.7 billion in spending with a deficit of \$178 billion. The Democratic House budget calls for \$863.5 billion in spending and a deficit of \$174.5 billion.

reducing the deficit.

The only bright spot was the recent repeal in the House of withholding on interest and dividends, passed just last year at President Reagan's insistence.

WASHINGTON WATCH



with deployment of the MX. Unfortunately, many special interests lined up behind it, including organizations ranging from the AFL-CIO and the Chamber of Commerce (both of which expect to profit handsomely from MX expenditures) to right-wing groups such as the Moral Majority and Fund for a Conservative Majority, to the likes of Jimmy Carter, Richard Nixon, and Gerald Ford.

As a result of Reagan's promise to be more flexible on the issue of arms control and the Russians, the MX won over several key votes which helped it to win Congressional approval. Opposing forces simply did not have the intense effort necessary to defeat a proposal with such establishment backing. In addition to its enormous cost (Senator Jesse Helms once estimated it could cost up to \$100 billion), it would have a very negative effect on an arms race already out of control.

A nuclear freeze resolution, which was narrowly defeated in the House last year, passed overwhelmingly in May, but not before opponents presented amendment after amendment designed to weaken it. Whether

A PARTY WITH THE LIBERTARIANS

4TH OF JULY

IN CELEBRATION OF LIBERTY

Libertarians around the country are busy planning activities for the Fourth of July holidays. The LP National Headquarters has produced a special brochure and other materials for the event. Those interested in getting involved in the activities locally should contact their state coordinator listed below or the LP National Headquarters.

■ **ALASKA**
Duncan Scott
Box 104072
Anchorage, AK 99510

■ **ARIZONA**
Kathy Harrer
4019 N. 44th Place
Phoenix, AZ 85018
602-952-2143

Peggy Jeney
7620 E. Helen St.
Tucson, AZ 85715

■ **ARKANSAS**
Bruce Holsted
P.O. Box 15724
Little Rock, AR 72231
501-758-2539

■ **CALIFORNIA**
Perry Willis
10882A Camino Ruiz
San Diego, CA 92126
619-566-4898

Barbara Pipkin
223 University Ave.
Davis, CA 95611
916-753-4100

■ **COLORADO**
Ruth Bennett
1041 Cherokee
Denver, CO 80203
303-837-8570(H)
303-573-5229

■ **DELAWARE**
Vernon Etzel, Jr.
2204 Coventry Dr.
Wilmington, DE 19810

■ **GEORGIA**
Sharon Schmidt
P.O. Box 1349
Cartersville, GA 30120
404-386-3131

■ **IOWA**
Michael Lewis
3410 Shamrock Dr.
Iowa City, IA 52240
319-351-2371

■ **LOUISIANA**
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3636 Jena Street
New Orleans, LA 70125
504-821-3074

■ **MARYLAND**
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Bethesda, MD 20814
301-951-0539

■ **MASSACHUSETTS**
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Dracut, MA 01826
617-458-0458

■ **MICHIGAN**
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517-372-1587(H)
517-484-2188(O)

■ **MINNESOTA**
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Plymouth, MN 55441
612-546-3043

■ **MONTANA**
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Helmville, MT 59843
406-793-5682

■ **NEBRASKA**
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1014 S. 30th Ave.
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402-341-0691

■ **NEVADA**
Michael Emerling
Box 876
Las Vegas, NV 89125
702-798-7658(H)
702-870-9444

■ **NEW JERSEY**
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■ **NEW MEXICO**
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505-299-7061(H)
505-265-6681

■ **NEW YORK**
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2953 Quentin Road
Brooklyn, NY 11229
212-376-9269(H)

■ **OHIO**
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Dayton, OH 45419
513-296-0543

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803-796-3161

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328 Maple Ave., #104
Waukesha, WI 53186
414-549-1758

■ **WYOMING**
David Dawson
3510 Navarre Rd.
Casper, WY 82601
307-237-9433



Michigan LP Files Petitions; Two Announce for National Chair

■ **Michigan Libertarians** have completed their ballot drive to place the Libertarian Party on the 1984 general election ballot. The drive was conducted completely by volunteers. Top petitioners were State Chair **Brian Wright**, **Bill Hollander**, **Mary Ruwart**, Executive Director **Joe Overton**, and **Rose Wright**

■ Two candidates have announced, as of press time, as candidates for chair of the Libertarian National Committee. They are **Paul Grant** of the **Colorado LP** and **Vernon Etzel, Jr.** of the **Delaware LP**. Grant is a member of the current National Committee and served as chair of the committee which organized the LP's 1981 National Convention in Denver. Etzel is currently serving as the chairman of the Delaware LP

■ **The Colorado LP's** recent "Turkey Poll" came out with Interior Secretary **James Watt** as "Turkey of the Year." The Colorado LP conducted the poll at the Capital Hill People's Fair in Denver, where people voted for 1983's turkey by dropping money into milk bottles labeled with the names of different contestants.

Watt received 35.2 percent of the votes. Coming in second and third places were actress **Jane Fonda** with 19.6 percent and President **Ronald Reagan** with 18.3 percent



■ A bill was recently introduced in the Alaska state legislature to keep Libertarians off the ballot in the future. The bill, which was defeated, would have changed the law to permit only the top two political parties in the primary elections to appear on the general election ballot.

Alaska LP Chair Dick Randolph said the bill would have effectively kept not only Libertarians but all independents and other third party candidates off the ballot in the future

Dan Shelton, Albuquerque, New Mexico city council

■ Libertarians in California are taking advantage of "Free Speech Messages" offered by local radio stations. **Jim Wilson** recently presented a short message concerning the Libertarian position on the Social Security issue and **Mark Hinkle** presented a message on behalf of the LP suggesting that the best way for politicians to help the U.S. lead the high-tech race is to get out of the way

■ **James Hedbor**, state chair of the **Vermont LP**, had an op-ed article published in the *Burlington Free Press* on the issue of the income tax. Hedbor attacked the income tax and suggested that the only way to rid ourselves of this burdensome tax is to cut spending accordingly. Hedbor showed how such cuts could be made, making references to the work of Libertarians **David Boaz** and **Earl Ravenal**

■ Complete vote totals for candidates in the November 1982 congressional elections are now available upon request from the U.S. Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C.

■ **Leonard Reed**, founder of the **Foundation for Economic Education (FEE)**, died recently at the age of 84. Reed was the author of more than two dozen books and numerous essays on the issue of liberty. Reed was especially important to the libertarian movement because at the time he set up FEE in 1946, the modern libertarian movement did not yet exist

■ **Libertarian International**, which sponsored the first international libertarian convention

NATIONAL PARTY MEMBERSHIP

☐ Application ☐ Renewal

YES! I'd like to support the efforts of the Libertarian Party by becoming a National LP member in the category I've checked below:

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☐ Associate-Life (\$250) ☐ Life-Benefactor (\$1000)

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

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

*Occupation _____ Day Phone () _____

*Name of Employer _____ Night Phone () _____

☐ Check if new address—Previous zip code was _____

*Optional; the Federal Elections Commission requires us to ask for this information.

■ **The Michigan LP's** 1982 gubernatorial candidate, **Dick Jacobs** recently made quite a media splash when he decided to leave the economically-crippled state for greener pastures. Jacobs, who campaigned actively on the issues of high taxes and a badly deteriorating business climate, told the media that the state's high taxes and anti-business policies, particularly a recent 38 percent increase in the state's personal income, were forcing him to move his business and family to St. Petersburg, Florida. Florida has no state income tax. Numerous articles appeared about Jacobs' "vote with his feet," as one paper put it, including one in the new national newspaper, *USA Today*

■ The Libertarian Party will be fielding many candidates at the local level during 1983. Some of the candidates currently running are: **Eric Garris**, California, special congressional election; **Charles Clark**, Mississippi state senator; **Peggy Jeney**, Tucson, Arizona mayor; **Willy Marshall**, Bountiful, Utah city council; and

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Featured Source

Center for Libertarian Studies

The Center for Libertarian Studies was founded in 1976 upon two premises: that every human being, by nature, is and ought to be free; and that human liberty should be a distinct field for scientific study. The founding directors of CLS saw human liberty as a single subject calling forth a new academic discipline, the science of liberty.

If this new science were to flourish as a discipline, three things were required: 1) scholars working in the field had to be able to meet periodically to exchange ideas and information produced by their research, 2) the academic careers of promising students of liberty had to be encouraged and supported, and 3) their findings had to be made available in print, both for the academy and the general public.

The programs and projects of CLS are deserving of support, and Libertarian Party members will find them helpful in their own study of liberty, in research-

ing issues, and in planning meeting programs and discussion topics.

In 1982, CLS awarded eight fellowships under its new program, The Ludwig von Mises Fellowships in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Grants totalled nearly \$80,000 and the projects being researched—ranging from libertarian theory of contracts to the relationship between moral and political philosophy—will add greatly to the study of liberty. LP members who would like to be considered for future Mises Fellowships should contact CLS for more information.

CLS publishes "In Pursuit of Liberty," a free newsletter which chronicles all of the Center's activities. It reports on upcoming Scholars Conferences, Libertarian Heritage Lectures, and the other seminar programs sponsored by CLS at various times and in various places.

CLS's other newsletter is "The Austrian Economics Newslet-

ter." A one-year subscription is available for \$7.50. The newsletter is a useful communications and research tool for those interested in Austrian economic theory.

The most important CLS publication is its interdisciplinary journal, *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. This quarterly journal is edited by Dr. Murray N. Rothbard and presents scholarly articles which refute and question the kinds of statist assumptions found in most establishment academic journals. The most recent issues have featured articles on the 19th century libertarian Herbert Spencer, why rational economic calculation is impossible under socialism, the work of Friedrich Hayek, natural rights, and many other topics. Subscriptions to the *Journal of Libertarian Studies* are \$17 per year.

For more information about the programs and publications of the Center for Libertarian Studies, write or call: 200 Park

Avenue South, New York, NY 10003, 212-533-6600.

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

Evers Is New Editor

Libertarian Party National Director Honey Lanham has announced the appointment of Bill Evers of Palo Alto, California, as the new editor of *Libertarian Party News*.

Evers, a long-time member of the Libertarian National Committee, previously served as editor of *LP News* from 1974-1976. At that time, Evers expanded the size and coverage of *LP News* and changed its format from a newsletter to a tabloid newspaper.

Kathleen J. Richman of Springfield, Virginia, will serve as *LP News*'s managing editor.

State Dept. Pamphlet Distorts Truth on Freeze

by Mark Niedergang

In April 1982, the State Department published a short pamphlet, "The Nuclear Freeze," criticizing the proposal for a U.S.-Soviet freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles. The pamphlet distorts the balance of nuclear forces, emphasizing U.S. weaknesses and Soviet strengths. It misrepresents the history of the nuclear arms race during the 1970s, and it makes many misleading statements.

The pamphlet's main flaw is the complete omission of three key facts about American security in the nuclear age:

1) Both U.S. and Soviet nuclear forces can survive a preemptive nuclear attack and destroy the opponent's population in retaliation.

2) There is enormous "overkill" in the superpowers' nuclear

arsenals. In other words, they have many times the amount of nuclear power needed to destroy each other's urban population and industrial economy.

3) A new generation of highly-accurate nuclear missiles will be extremely destabilizing and will increase the probability of a nuclear war.

The failure to even mention such basic facts indicates either frightening ignorance or intentional deception of the American people.

Three of the four principles which, according to the State Department pamphlet, underlie the U.S. approach to arms control are completely consistent with the freeze proposal. Agreements should: produce significant reductions, be verifiable, and reduce the risks of war. The fourth principle is inappropriate in a nuclear age: "Agreements should result in an equal level of

arms on both sides, since an unequal agreement, like an unequal balance of forces, can encourage coercion or aggression."

Because the levels of overkill are so high, the number and the total destructive power of nuclear warheads or missiles is no longer important. The current standoff in destructive capability ensures stability because each nation has a survivable retaliatory force that cannot be wiped out in a first-strike attack. Both sides know that starting a nuclear war would be national suicide. Survivability is the key to deterring an attack.

The freeze would not be an unequal agreement, for it requires both sides to do the same thing: stop. Moreover, the freeze would maintain the current parity in overall U.S. and Soviet nuclear strength, preventing an imbalance from

occurring in the future in the overall survivability of the forces on the two sides.

Five Alleged Drawbacks of the Freeze

[The State Department pamphlet listed five alleged drawbacks of the freeze, all of which contained a number of misleading statements. Those alleged drawbacks and misleading statements are listed below in bold. Niedergang's responses follow those statements.]

Drawback #1: "A freeze at existing levels would lock the U.S. and our allies into a position of military disadvantage and vulnerability."

The U.S. Department of Defense said in its Annual Report for FY 1982: "[W]hile the era of U.S. superiority is long past, parity—not U.S. inferior-

(continued on page 13)

Important for all Libertarians To Attend National Convention

by Ed Clark

On August 31, the fourth Presidential Nominating Convention of the Libertarian Party will open in New York City. It will be an exciting, important and rewarding week for many reasons.

First of all, we, the members of the Libertarian Party, have the right and the obligation to determine its shape and future. There has been much discussion of the proper role of the national party, the proper relationship between the national party and state parties, and the type of party that will best be able to advance the cause of liberty. The New York convention will give each of us the opportunity to shape the LP in the image we think is best.

In addition, it will, of course, be a Presidential Nominating Convention. There are already two candidates in the race: Gene Burns of Orlando, Florida, and James Norwood of Waco, Texas. While Norwood has not, as of yet,

been campaigning actively for the nomination, Burns has been traveling to many state LP conventions to meet with and speak to delegates. In addition, I am sure there will be other candidates announcing for the nomination. Several other names, including Republican Congressman Ron Paul of Texas, have been circulating as possible candidates. I am sure that all libertarians will want to come to the convention to decide who the LP's 1984 presidential candidate should be.

There are sure to be many important ideological, political and organizational issues with respect to the nomination that will be of vital concern to the future of the Libertarian Party.

Like all national conventions, this one will offer a rich feast of intellectual fare for libertarians. Intellectuals as varied and intriguing as Peter Breggin, John Hospers, Thomas Szasz and Murray Rothbard will be

there to give us their latest ideas on the application of libertarian principles to all aspects of politics, psychology, economics and, indeed, to almost all aspects of life itself.

Finally, there will be many rewarding social experiences. National conventions provide the opportunity to meet libertarians from all across the country, to talk to people whom you have heard about or whose writings

the nomination of two outstanding individuals.

The second LP Presidential Nominating Convention was held in New York City in 1975. A much broader and more comprehensive platform was adopted, and Roger MacBride was nominated to carry our banner. I remember myself standing and applauding as he came forward and delivered his acceptance speech. I thought to myself for

Like all national conventions, this one will offer a rich feast of intellectual fare for libertarians.

you have read, and to meet people you have always wanted to meet.

The social aspects of the convention are heightened by its location in New York City with its built-in excitement and the best restaurants in the country. For those interested in art, theater or music, New York City is still the cultural center of the world.

Of course, there will be the opportunity to sharpen your political skills with many workshops on campaigning, strategy and other matters.

I remember the LP's first Presidential Nominating Convention in Denver in 1972. There were 50 or 60 people at the principle sessions. Most of us had never participated in politics at all, let alone attended a national convention. A platform debate on military policy nearly split the party and lasted until two or three in the morning. Our presidential and vice-presidential candidates, John Hospers and Toni Nathan, consented to run only as a result of the intense persuasive efforts of many of the delegates. But we accomplished many things at that convention: We adopted a platform so that we and the world at large could tell what we stood for; we had the courage to attempt the great task of reforming American politics; and we took solid, concrete steps to achieve this goal, including

the first time as I listened to him talk: It is possible; we can do it; the dream of liberty, peace and prosperity can be realized in our society.

The 1979 Presidential Nominating Convention in Los Angeles was attended by well over 1000 people. Delegates and visitors came from almost every state. I'm sure that the enthusiasm that filled the Grand Ballroom of the Bonaventure Hotel when the delegates had made their choice convinced everyone within earshot that we were indeed making progress on the road to freedom.

The convention in New York this August will contain many magic moments for all those who attend. It is the opportunity that comes to each of us every four years to help shape the struggle for liberty.

To attend the convention, each of us needs to start planning now to order our financial, personal and business affairs. Those interested in becoming one of the 719 delegates to the convention, or one of the many more alternates, should plan to attend their state convention or contact their state LP chair. Each of us who participates in the 1983 LP Presidential Nominating Convention will be richer in spirit.

Ed Clark, as the Libertarian Party's 1980 presidential candidate, received almost a million votes in the 1980 election.

SEND YOUR MESSAGE TO DELEGATES & ALTERNATES FOR ONLY \$100!

In mid-July, the National Office will be mailing a copy of the Platform Committee report and other convention-related documents to the delegates and alternates who will be attending the upcoming Presidential nominating convention in New York City.

To help defray costs, we're offering interested parties the opportunity to have their own material included in the package for a very reasonable price: \$100 per 8½" by 11" sheet, if you provide us with 800 pre-printed copies. If you'd like us to print the material as well, send camera-ready copy and include \$35 per page-side to be printed.

This is an exceptional opportunity to reach the people who will be deciding the direction the LP takes, in time for them to thoughtfully consider your arguments *before* they reach the hurly-burly of the convention floor. And it will cost you less than half as much as preparing your own mailing individually!

Any candidate, interest group, state or local LP organization, or commercial outfit may submit material for inclusion; attacks on the LP or individual members will not be accepted.

All material must be printed on 8½" by 11" sheets. If you wish to share a page with someone else, you must make the necessary arrangements; the LP will not take responsibility for subdividing pages. Material printed by the LP will be printed in black ink on white paper and will be printed on both sides of the page. This means that material from different sources will appear on the same sheet of paper.

Deadline for material is July 1, 1983. Full payment must accompany material. For more information, contact Honey Lanham at the LP National Headquarters: 202-333-8209.

Convention Plans Firm Up; 'Early Bird' Special Offered

by Loretta Weiss

By now, all Libertarian Party members should have received a brochure for the 1983 LP Presidential Nominating Convention (August 29-September 5, Sheraton Centre Hotel, New York City). After reading the brochure packed with information on exciting events, I think you'll agree that PRESCON '83 is not to be missed.

Here are a few late-breaking updates on convention events and speakers:

- **Dr. Herbert Berger**, one of the world's leading experts on narcotics, will speak on "The Case for Legalizing Heroin." Berger has testified before many governmental bodies around the globe, making the case for legalization of heroin and other drugs.
- **Roy Childs** will speak about the "Latin American Paradoxes" currently plaguing South America. Childs will also join Gary Greenberg and Dean Ahmad on the Mid-Eastern Foreign Policy panel.
- **Michael Grossberg** and **Milton Mueller** will head a panel on "Telecommunications and the First Amendment."
- **David Nolan**, one of the LP's founders, will speak on "Libertarian Strategy."

In addition, **Dick Randolph** and **David Bergland** will join **Alicia Clark** and **Ed Crane** on the "LP Strategy" Panel.

• **Earl C. Ravenal**, former official in the Department of Defense and now a professor at Georgetown University, will analyze "The Strategic Value of a No-First-Strike Nuclear Arms Policy."

• **Murray Rothbard** will analyze the leading schools of economic thought, as applied to contemporary problems, from an Austrian perspective. Keynesianism, Supply-Side economics,

and the Chicago School will be discussed.

• **Ed Clark**, **John Northrup**, and **Rebecca Shipman** will conduct a workshop on "Fielding the Tough Questions."

• **California LP activist Kate O'Brien** will speak about "Building Codes in a Free Market."

These, of course, are only a few of the exciting speakers and events that await convention attendees. Don't wait; sign up today!

Loretta Weiss is the chairperson of the PRESCON '83 committee organizing the upcoming convention.

Convention Hotel Rates

PRESCON '83 attendees will receive a special flat rate at the Sheraton Centre Hotel. This means that all rooms except suites will be available at the rates listed below. Normally, rates for singles and doubles fall into ranges, so that some people would pay higher prices than others for same sized rooms.

When making reservations, you must mention that you'll be attending the Libertarian Party convention in order to receive

these special rates.

Prices are:

Singles\$69/night

Doubles\$82/night

An additional charge \$20/night will be charged for each additional person in a room, above two.

In order to receive these rates, reservations must be made no later than August 17. For hotel reservations, call the Sheraton Centre at 800-223-6550 or 212-581-1000.

Exhibit Space

Exhibit space will be available for rental during the PRESCON '83's four busiest days, Thursday, Sept. 1-Sunday, Sept. 4. Space will be sold on a per table basis.

Each exhibitor will be provided with a six foot by 30 inch table, tablecloth, and two chairs. There are a limited number of tables available, on a first-come-first-served basis.

Prices per table are as follows:

One Day \$75

Two Days \$135

Three Days \$170

Four Days \$200

Reservations must be accompanied by a deposit of \$25 per table, with the balance due on the first day of rental. Make checks payable to PRESCON '83.

To make reservations or request further information, write:

PRESCON '83

P.O. Box 429

Canal Street Station

New York, NY 10013

Please indicate dates and number of tables desired.

BE AN EARLY BIRD AND SAVE A BUNDLE

If you reserve one of our special convention packages before July 31, 1983, you'll save a substantial amount of money. Why not fill out this coupon and save?

	Quantity	Total
The Complete 8-Day Package includes five tax seminars, four breakfasts, banquet, cocktail parties, and all speaker and entertainment events		\$295

The Thursday Through Monday Package includes three tax seminars, four breakfasts plus all other events which occur from Thursday morning on	\$250
--	-------

The 8-Day Foodless Package includes all eight days of speakers, panels, workshops, and admission to the general sessions. Does not include tax seminars	\$150
--	-------

Payment must accompany reservations.

Prices do not include hotel and transportation.

TOTAL AMOUNT ENCLOSED

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PHONE _____

Make checks payable to: PRESCON '83, P.O. Box 429, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013

Convention Credentials Committee

If you are interested in being one of the volunteers staffing the Credentials Tables at the 1983 LP Presidential Nominating Convention in New York City, please get in touch with:

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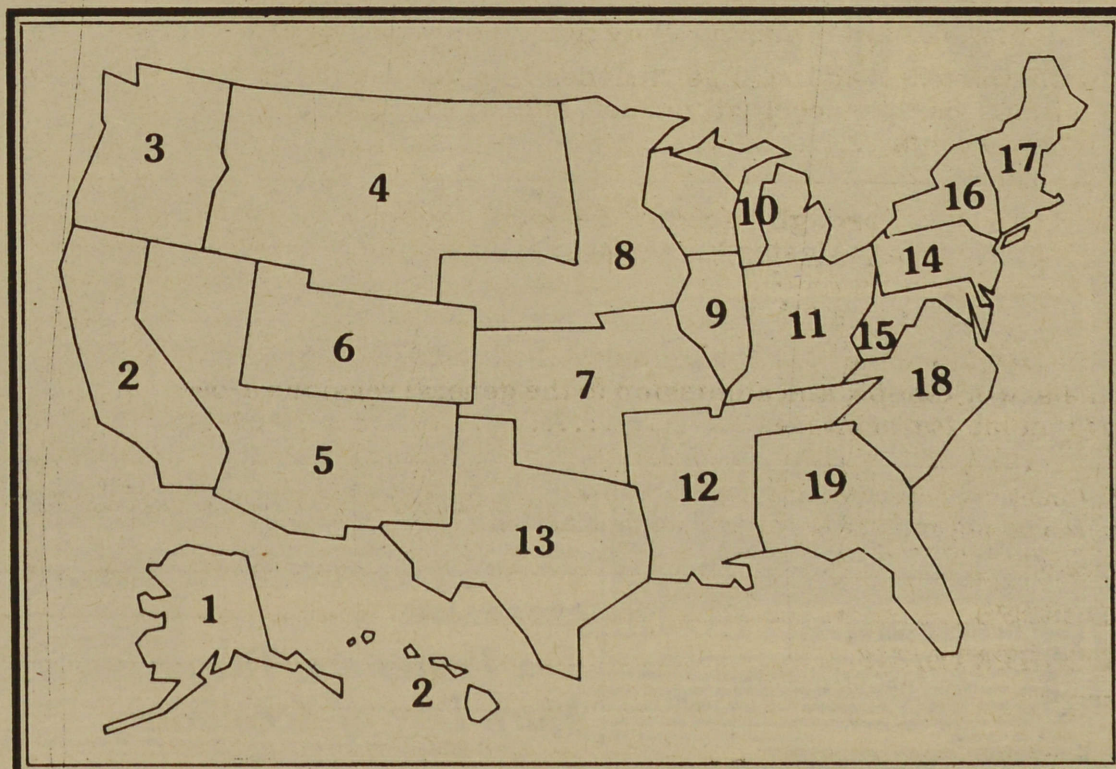
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The corrected minutes of Libertarian National Committee meetings are available to LP members at \$4 per copy from the LP National Headquarters.



Libertarians Nationwide Participate

by Ed Jowett

We all know that we're the only national political party with an anti-tax philosophy. Libertarians regard taxation "as

immoral rather than merely debilitating." For us, it's a matter of principle; and as long as individual rights are violated, local activists will be out protesting without the necessity of a

national or state organization. So why does the National LP get involved in promoting a theme like Lady Godiva when activists will be out there demonstrating anyway?

Our goal was to penetrate national consciousness by coordinating a nationwide effort which would be newsworthy above and beyond a local protest, and while doing so, to build organizational capacity by establishing a network and sharing ideas which could help local events become more significant. Our strategy for success relied on advance preparation with a national theme plus materials and suggestions for several alternative themes.

As a result, we did it! Los Angeles coordinator Sally Foster noted, "Having Lady Godiva was a great help... her presence guaranteed success." In fact, Los Angeles had three Lady Godivas—working in shifts. Our "wildly successful publicity caper with Lady Godiva," to quote Jim McClarin of Sacramento, achieved national prominence for the Libertarian Party. After all these years, the national media deemed our efforts worthy of coverage in prime time news.

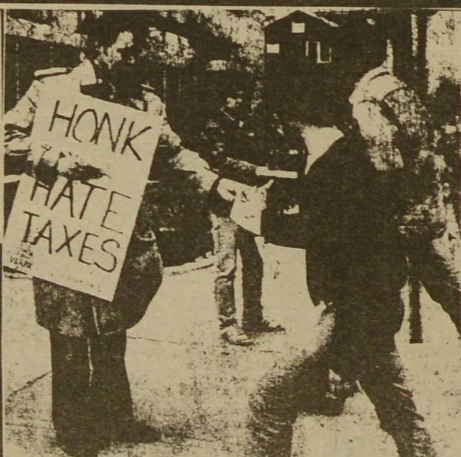
Our coordinated national effort captured media attention all across the country, generally with lead story or front page news. The event was extensively covered by the Associated Press and Cable News Network (CNN) and ABC. Advanced coverage by



This Associated Press photo showing the Sacramento, California Tax Day protest was distributed to news outlets across the country. Jim McClarin leads the horse with Lisa Root playing Lady Godiva.

Test ation

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The Burlington (Vt.) Free Press, Saturday, April 16, 1983. 12A Free Press Photo by JIM WILSON
James Hedbor and Robert Bennett of the Vermont Libertarian Party hand out leaflets in front of the Federal Building in Burlington Friday.



Lady Godiva rides again

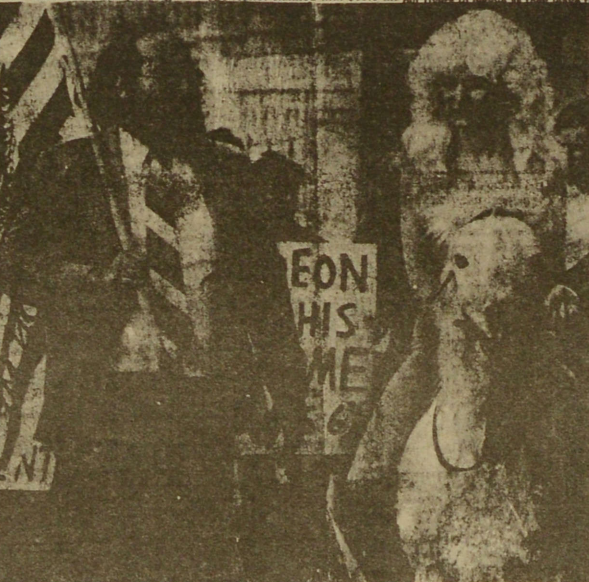
KALAMAZOO, Mich. — A scantily clad woman rides on horseback Friday, ignoring the cold weather, as part of a nationwide protest against high taxes. From New York to California, letter-day 'Lady Godivas' rode, as others rushed to beat the tax deadline. The protests, organized by the Libertarian Party, were patterned after the medieval woman who rode naked through the market of Coventry to show her displeasure with high taxes.

Peace Group, Libertarians Gather to Oppose Taxes

By TED TEDFORD

Income tax protesters Friday handed out leaflets and urged passers-by at the Federal Building on Elmwood Avenue to "vote" with beans on the kinds of federal spending they

the military's share of the national debt, veterans' benefits, foreign military assistance and part of the budget of the Energy Department and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The leaflet claimed that \$67.6 mil-



Robert Waldrop, of the Libertarian Party, stands next to anonymous "Lady Godiva".

Friday as members of the political party launch tax protest on the final day to file. SALT LAKE CITY, UT

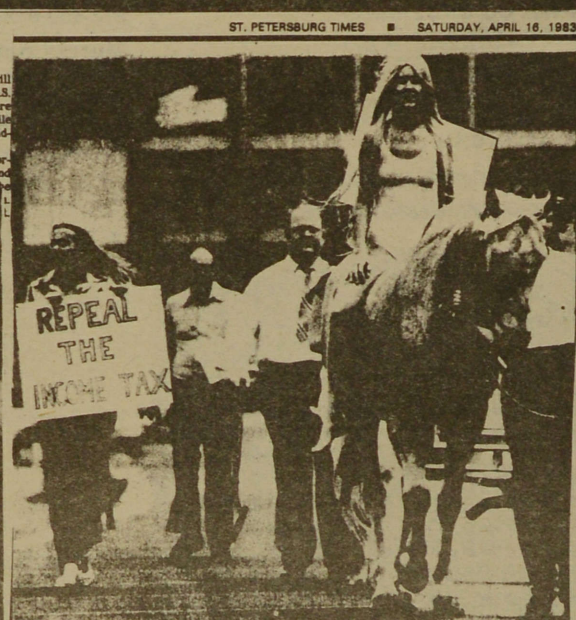
Godiva Rides Again

Tax Protesters, Taxpayers, Mark Day of Accounting

Libertarian Party Plans Tax Protest

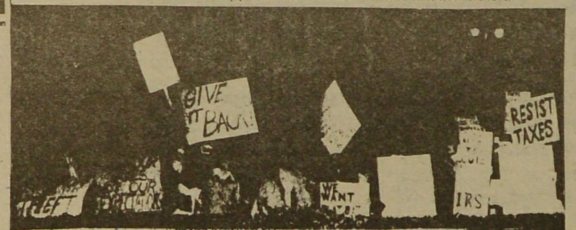
The S.C. Libertarian Party will stage a tax protest Friday at the U.S. Post Office on Assembly Street where anticipated crowds will flock to file their income tax returns by the mid-night deadline.

Jan Morris, the party's state coordinator, said tax protesters will hand out flowers to people as they leave the



Lady Godiva — in a leotard

An anonymous "Lady Godiva" in a blond wig and flesh-colored leotard rode through downtown St. Petersburg on Friday to protest the income tax deadline. The real Lady Godiva, legend says, rode naked in Coventry, England more than 900 years ago to get her husband to lower taxes. Lori Massie, (carrying) the Libertarian Party protested because it thinks taxation is theft.



Lady Godiva Legislator

WINONA, MN
Daily News

Libertarian Clare predicted, no legislators would show up to answer taxpayers' questions Friday at the Post Office.

is, who invited the area's state legislators and three congressmen to answer questions about where tax money is spent, initially had that Rep. Tim Sherman, I-ona, would show up, but he was held up in a meeting at the Capitol.

U.S. Rep. Tim Penny, D-Tichland, was actually in and said he would try to get there, but he also ran out of time, and did not make the question answer period.

Just like I originally said, I'll shake your hand if you're a check in it, but not tax (collection) time," said.

over, Jarvis said he was with the reaction he and colleagues received at their April 15 tax protest.

had a much better compromise than last year into it from non-taxpayers," he said.

of the reason for the bet-purse was from what called, "imitators." He Nuclear Freeze backers protesting on the filing of tax returns. "Imitation of flattery," he

also said his Libertarian Party is "paying" with the winning a candidate for a seat or possibly the position this Fall when the seven councilors' terms expire.

In 1983 Tax Protest Day Activities

the *New York Times* aroused other national media with our newsworthy protest.

Months of planning by the National LP had already produced and distributed a compilation of protest ideas from prior years, a set of different flyers, and a guidebook for staging a Godiva ride from beginning to end.

The Godiva Guide illustrated that the reenactment of the legendary tax protest ride was a worthwhile project that could be undertaken successfully by a handful of activists for less than \$100. Kalamazoo County (Michigan) LP Chair Sheryl Loux decided to go for it: "It's going to be a real ride. It's a graphic demonstration of our need to be aware of taxation." She organized maps, instructions, news releases, a news conference, and leaflets for last-minute filers at the post office.

The ride was broadcast by four television stations in Kalamazoo, Battle Creek, and Detroit, as well as being covered by six radio stations in the area. The *Kalamazoo Gazette* featured four separate articles, and at least ten newspapers around the state reported the effort. United Press International and the AP picked

up the Kalamazoo story, sending articles and photos which were picked up as far away as Oregon, Georgia, and New York.

In addition to the tremendous media coverage, the Kalamazoo group succeeded in distributing

3000 flyers. Michigan LP headquarters reports inquiries still coming in. The National LP office has received 20 such responses from Kalamazoo alone! Notwithstanding the impressive results, Sheryl Loux reports: "We had a great time."

It is evident from the collage (below) identifying some of the events, cities, and individuals involved that there are hundreds of noteworthy examples. This story shows how one tax protest generated not only fantastic coverage locally and in the state of Michigan, but wire service coverage reached as far as *News Day*, a major publication on Long Island which local Libertarians have had difficulty penetrating. Past experience indicates this breakthrough will help the LP gain coverage again for local political activity.

This shows how even a small local organization can become active and what tremendous payoff there is in helping themselves as well as the larger effort. The record of our success this year speaks for itself; and the national headquarters has saved newsclippings, reports, names, etc., as a base for future protests and national projects. While National Tax Protest Day 1983 will be a tough act to follow, we can build on it and be even more effective in 1984!



In Los Angeles, Libertarians participated in a Lady Godiva ride, with Laura Crockett-Gordon playing the role of Lady Godiva. Photo by Sarah Foster.

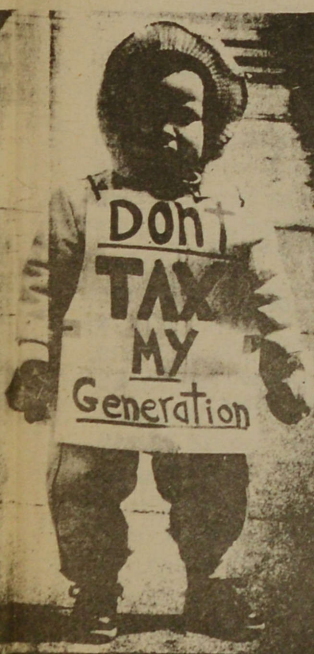
Ed Jowett, of New York, was the 1983 Tax Protest Day national coordinator.

was protest income tax for Libertarians

It's a tradition," said Edgar Ford at the post office in Birmingham, Ala. "I always turn my tax in on the last day."

such as our of The IRS as million to 10 and individual finish their d

ors fail to show



Future taxpayer?

Ann Salyards, daughter of Don and Deb Salyards, made her own little protest as she marched with her parents during a Libertarian protest at the Post Office Friday.

Lady Godiva to ride again — upstate

The Libertarian Party plans to recreate the ride of Lady Godiva in the upstate New York town of Cortland today — up to a point. The essence of the Lady Godiva legend is that the 11th Century English noblewoman rode naked through the Coventry market — and nobody looked at her out of respect for the support she gave peasants being overtaxed by her husband, the Lord of Coventry. Nobody, that is, but a serf named Thomas who broadened the language from that day by becoming the first "Peeping Tom."

The identity of the rider and her state of dress or undress will not be revealed before the event, which was scheduled to begin at noon.

Linda Brokaw, an unsuccessful state Assembly candidate on the Libertarian ticket last year, said the event was part of the party's sixth annual national tax protest day.

She said the Cortland version of the ride would begin at City Hall and follow a one-mile route to the U.S. Post Office, where party members planned to hand out anti-tax flyers to people mailing their last-minute tax returns and discuss "bare facts and high taxes."

The horse will be "shadowed" by someone with a shovel papered with 1040 tax forms, Mrs. Brokaw said.

Right-left labels don't fit Libertarians

WITH REGARD to your April 5 article on tax protesters, "Arguments against paying income tax go down to defeat," I was not aware that Libertarian Party bumper stickers were "right-wing Americans."

I've always thought of myself as neither right nor left, but rather off the spectrum altogether. This right-left continuum is rather artificial. Where on it do you place a party in favor of legalizing prostitution and drugs, as well as legalizing making a profit against both gun control and thought control? We are in favor of permitting all consensual acts between adults, whether they involve sex or manufacture.

Other parties divide rights into two groups, private and economic, and choose to suppress one or the other. We stand for freedom, pure and simple. It would be nice not to be ignored by the press in the upcoming presidential election, as we have been in the past. In your report, just remember that there are a lot more than just two parties in this country.

BRETT PAUL BELLMORE
Capac



ROLL OUT THE BARRELS — Libertarian Party members Rose Poole and Gerald Schneider model the barrels they will use this morning at 10 o'clock at the Chevy Chase Post Office, 5910 Connecticut Ave., during the party's protest of "confiscatory taxation." The Libertarians call for the repeal of the 16th Amendment to the Constitution that paved the way for the emergence of the income tax in 1913. Schneider received more than 5,000 votes in his losing bid for election to the Maryland House of Delegates last November.

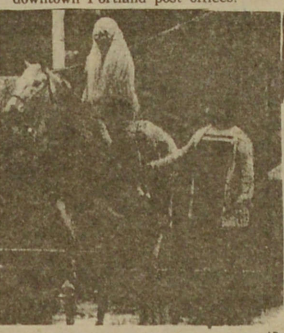
Income Tax Protest
PITTSBURGH PRESS
Members of the Libertarian Party were to picket the main post office downtown tonight to protest the income tax — for which today is the deadline.

Said protest coordinator Richard E. Caligiuri — a distant cousin of Mayor Richard Caligiuri, whose name is spelled differently: "Taxation is nothing less than legalized and organized theft on a grand scale."



Liberating taxpayers

A Hillsboro Post Office patron is greeted by Washington County Libertarian Party member Laura Ellis Friday. Libertarians passed out anti-income tax literature at the Hillsboro, Beaverton and downtown Portland post offices.



In the flesh

A present-day Lady Godiva, wearing a flesh-colored leotard, rides through Binghamton, N.Y., to protest taxes. The real Lady Godiva rode naked through the streets of Coventry, England, in the 11th century to persuade her husband to lower taxes. He did. This imitator is one of at least four who rode in U.S. cities Friday to represent the Libertarian Party, whose aim is to abolish the income tax.

NEW YORK TIMES

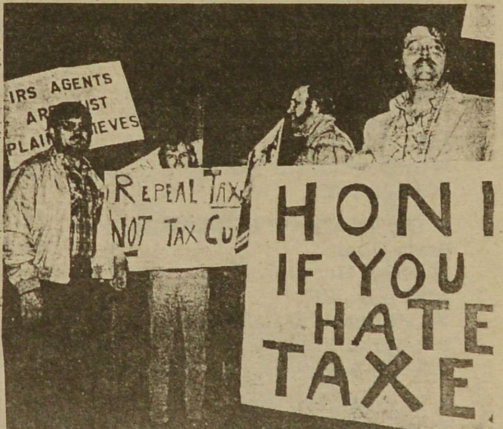
Tracking Lady Godiva

In these days of orchestrated outrage, a demonstration needs a strong element of distinction to win attention from the news media or even from casual passersby, but the Libertarian National Committee seems to have a maneuver at hand with which to catch the eye of the jaded.

The Libertarians, who regard taxation as immoral rather than merely debilitating, have scheduled a dozen or more demonstrations across the country on Friday, the day income taxes are due, each featuring a Lady Godiva riding horseback through town, clad principally if not exclusively in long blonde tresses. Her Ladyship, history reveals, made her original bareback ride through Coventry to protest heavy taxes that her husband, Leofric, had imposed on local citizens about the time of the Norman Conquest, presumably under pressure of the Anglo-Saxon defense budget.

According to Ed Jowett, an architect in Binghamton, N.Y. when he is not national coordinator of the Libertarian protest, there will be hundreds of anti-tax demonstrations across the country on Friday, mostly involving distributing leaflets at post offices, but only 12 to 20 that will boast a Godiva. At party headquarters here, Bill MacKey said the symbolic riders would be "clothed, I presume," but he acknowledged that local option would prevail since there was no Libertarian position on nudity, moral questions other than taxation being regarded as "matters of individual choice."

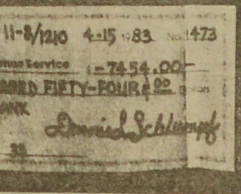
16A / The Houston Post/Sat., Apr. 16, 1983



Income tax protests, like the filing of tax returns, go right up to the wire — midnight Friday — as Libertarian Party members carry

signs at the Main Post Office on F Houston protest began at 3 p.m. end at midnight. — Post photo by

TAHOE CITY, CA WORLD



Shirt Off His Back

THEY GOT IT ALL... Building contractor Dennis Schlumpf joined what he said were thousands of Libertarian Party members who paid their taxes last week with protest t-shirts. Schlumpf's shirt said "To the I.R.S. — You can take the shirt off my back, but you can't make me like it" on the front. On the back was his tax check, written with magic marker.

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NUCLEAR FREEZE (continued from page 8)

ity—has replaced it, and the United States and the Soviet Union are roughly equal in strategic power." Former Secretaries of Defense James Schlesinger and Harold Brown affirmed this in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this spring. Brown said, "The Soviets do not have, in my judgement, anything like strategic superiority in the sense of a militarily or politically usable advantage in strategic nuclear forces." During the same hearings, Senator Charles Percy asked Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, "Would you rather have at your disposal the U.S. nuclear arsenal or the Soviet nuclear arsenal?" Weinberger replied, "I would not for a moment exchange anything, because we have an immense edge in technology."

There are asymmetries between U.S. and Soviet nuclear forces caused by geography, technology and potential enemies. The U.S. leads in some aspects of nuclear forces, the U.S.S.R. in others. Overall there is a "balance of imbalances." Massive overkill exists. The U.S. can deliver over 9000 warheads on the U.S.S.R., while the Soviets can deliver about 7000 against the U.S.

"The Soviet Union (has) the means to destroy a large part of our ICBM (inter-continental ballistic missile) force."

The scenario of a massive (over 2000 warheads) Soviet first-strike against U.S. ICBMs is simply incredible. As President Carter said in his 1979 State of the Union Address, "Just one of our relatively invulnerable Poseidon submarines—less than two percent of our total nuclear force of submarines, aircraft and land-based missiles—carries enough warheads to destroy every large and medium sized city in the Soviet Union. Our deterrent is overwhelming." Furthermore, there is great doubt about whether a massive counterforce attack would work. Many experts assert that "there are substantial uncertainties in...the outcome of such a complex, sophisticated, unprecedented and untestable attack." (Albert Carnesale and Charles Glasser, "ICBM Vulnerability: The Cures Are Worse Than the Disease," International Security, Summer 1982.)

President Reagan appears to have lessened his earlier concern about ICBM vulnerability, known as the "window of vulnerability." Under Reagan's START proposal, "the ICBM portion of our deterrent would be much more vulnerable than it currently is or would be if we had a freeze at existing levels or if SALT II were ratified." (Herbert Scoville, "Deterring Deterrence," New York Times, May 23, 1982.) U.S. Representative Thomas Downey has pointed out that the freeze, by halting all testing of Soviet missiles, would lessen confidence in their accuracy and reliability, and reduce the vulnerability of U.S. ICBMs.

"There are about 600 Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles...capable of striking our NATO allies...not offset by any comparable U.S. systems. A freeze would prevent us from restoring the balance."

Actually, an overall East-West

four U.S. submarines, each with 160 warheads, assigned to NATO. The U.S. and NATO have a total of 6000 nuclear weapons in Europe, most on short-range "tactical" launchers, but 2600 on aircraft which could reach the Soviet Union. In short, each side has enough nuclear weapons to destroy Europe many times.

For almost two decades, there have been 600 Soviet SS-4 and SS-5 missiles capable of striking Europe. The U.S. and NATO never felt a need to match that force with their own land-based missiles. When the SS-4s and SS-5s began to be replaced by more modern SS-20s, Western military officials used this as an excuse for advocating deployment of new Pershing II ballistic missiles and Ground-Launched Cruise missiles (GLCMs). Both types of missile were already under development in the U.S. and would have been proposed for European development even

McNamara dismantled these missiles—not as a measure of unilateral disarmament, but because they were vulnerable and provocative. They were replaced by the invulnerable submarine-based missiles still maintained today.

Drawback #2: "A freeze is not good enough."

It seems obvious that if U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals are to be reduced, they must first stop growing. The freeze has always been advanced merely as a first step toward reductions. The Reagan administration's START proposal will permit replacement of existing ballistic missiles by new, more accurate missiles with larger nuclear payloads. A freeze on new, more powerful missiles would do much more than the Reagan administration's proposals to stop the forward momentum of the nuclear arms race and set the stage for real reductions.



balance already exists if NATO nuclear forces—all aimed at the U.S.S.R.—are counted. The West has its intermediate-range nuclear weapons on submarines and bombers. In addition to four British submarines and five French submarines, there are

if the U.S.S.R. had not replaced its older missiles.

In the early 1960s, the U.S. did place intermediate-range Thor and Jupiter ballistic missiles and medium-range Matador and Mace cruise missiles in Europe. However, Defense Secretary

"We want significant reductions in the nuclear arms of both sides."

The U.S. position in both the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) talks and the Stra-

(continued on page 18)

Reviewed by Ross Levatter

The Ultimate Resource by Julian Simon

The thesis behind *The Ultimate Resource* is at once simple and daring. Contrary to popular opinion, but not to the teachings of economic science, natural resources (including energy) are becoming less scarce and cheaper. Population growth, both in the West and the Third World, leads to an improved standard of living and a host of other benefits. The food supply and the supply of land are both rapidly increasing, and will continue to do so as population increases. Pollution, a problem of the past, has been improving in the United States, a trend that can be expected to continue.

These truths, though controversial, are important. Libertarians, often finding themselves defending the market system against alleged imperfections putatively offered in justification of government regulations, realize their importance. Which makes it all the more unfortunate that another important truth is this: *The Ultimate Resource* is a flawed and unsatisfactory work, ultimately unconvincing.

This is a harsh judgement, perhaps, and a surprising one. After all, Julian Simon, a professor of economics and business administration at Champaign-Urbana's University of Illinois, is a specialist of some note in the economics of population growth; his earlier and more technical work on the subject was well-received, and he is quoted favorably in sources as diverse as Peter Bauer's scholarly masterpiece *Equality, the Third World, and Economic Delusion* and William Tucker's recent popular work *Progress and Privilege: America in the Age of Environmentalism*. His books are published by the highly respected Princeton University Press. Nonetheless, the harsh judgement stands. Simon's conclusions are correct, but his arguments are simply unconvincing. Simon fails to justify his economic forecasts in a sound market process analysis, and his view of government is both naive and simplistic.

The first of these difficulties is seen in the book's earlier chapters, where Simon explains that, judging by inflation-corrected price trends, food, energy, and natural resources, even with markedly increasing rates of

use, are becoming less scarce. In one of the book's best sections, Simon catalogs the numerous dread predictions history records of the world about to run out of energy—from economist William Stanley Jevons "proof" in 1865 that England's coal supply was almost exhausted to the frequent official pronouncements that the U.S. is almost out of oil that began soon after oil became a valuable commodity in the 1870s. These predictions were based on projections of "known reserves," about which Simon correctly notes:

The key idea here is that it costs money to produce information about what are called "known reserves," and therefore people will create only as many known reserves as it is profitable to create at a given moment.

So far, so good. But, for Simon, the reason "known reserves," as if by magic, always manage to keep just slightly ahead of demand is: (1) as the supply of energy (and the analysis of other goods is similar) decreases, its price goes up, stimulating (2) consumers to conserve and look for substitutes and (3) engineers and scientists to find new supplies and create substitutes. For Simon, it's as simple, and as mechanical, as that. What if scientists don't come up with something? Simon's answer appears to be: They always have.

I believe that, for those who do not already understand the market process, this explanation is simply too shallow. In fact, engineers and scientists are not sitting around waiting for prices to rise so they can find new supplies and create new substitutes. A deeper explanation is needed, and Simon doesn't have it.

For Simon, the ultimate resource is people, and the increased knowledge they provide. His book concludes on this note: "The ultimate resource is people—skilled, spirited, and hopeful people who will exert their wills and imaginations for their own benefit, and so, inevitably, for the benefit of us all." But Simon misidentifies the people and misclassifies the knowledge. The index of *The Ultimate Resource* lists 26 pages under

"technology and science," but the word "entrepreneur" does not appear. And yet the market process is powered by entrepreneurs, not scientists and engineers. And the knowledge that moves them is not the scientific kind found in textbooks; it is the unarticulated knowledge embodied in the market price system. The writings of F.A. Hayek, as well as Thomas Sowell's brilliant *Knowledge and Decisions*, make clear the importance of this type of knowledge, which is at best only hinted at by Simon. As Sowell puts it:

Price changes convey the changing relative scarcities of different resources, even to persons with no direct knowledge of any of the resources. The results can and must be compared by people unacquainted with the respective processes that produced these results. Price movements economize on the knowledge needed for given decisions.

Since this price system represents what Hayek calls a "spontaneous order," forming naturally from the logic of human action, the question "But how can you be sure it will work in the future?" so often heard after Simon's tales of the glorious technological breakthroughs of yesterday, does not come up.

This distinction between two fundamentally different types of knowledge is neither semantic nor pedantic. After finishing Simon's book, for example, you'd have no reason to expect that the optimistic projections of lower food and energy costs are not also accurate for an isolated socialist commonwealth. After all, the Soviet Union has scientists and engineers, too. But, in fact, without profit-seeking entrepreneurs responding to a market price system, real food and energy costs would soar.

Sowell, in *Knowledge and Decisions*, focuses on the incentive structure of the market system, while Simon skews the discussion to the technological contributions of individuals. Sowell also focuses on the political incentive system of government, and here we see *The*

Ultimate Resource's second major flaw. For after almost two decades of writing by public-choice economists exposing the basic self-interested nature of government decision-making, Simon persists in presenting the government as a neutral instrument for determining and enforcing social consensus, a view Roy Childs of the Cato Institute has dubbed the "Mary Poppins theory of government."

In discussing the technological benefits to farming of irrigation, Simon, quoting *Newsweek*, says that California's San Joaquin Valley, previously a desert, now contains some of the world's richest farmland, "a product mainly of multi-million-dollar Federal reclamation projects...with water from government dams." There is no mention that this represents an uneconomic subsidy to wealthy California landowners, a wealth transfer from the poor to the rich, and a waste of scarce resources, artificially increasing the amount of farmland above market demand.

Simon also reports that "respected scientists," members of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, conclude "space colonization is inevitable—and sooner than we think." High technology blinds Simon from recognizing special-interest groups clamoring for tax-funded boondoggles, feeding at the public trough. He often appears more pro-growth, even subsidized growth, than pro-market.

Simon asks "[W]hich sources of energy should the U.S. government promote?" answering that "the appropriate reasoning" is "the least cost principle." While he says, "there is little doubt...the mechanism of a free market" follows this principle most closely, he spends several pages arguing that nuclear power is safe and cheap. Simon writes here almost as a nuclear power advocate rather than a disinterested economist. No mention is made of the Price-Anderson Act, which subsidizes nuclear power insurance costs, bypassing an important free market mechanism.

As for pollution, "[A]dvanced economies have considerable power to purify their environments...All it takes is money...purification requires the will to devote the necessary part of a nation's present output and energy to do the job." Of course, "There are strong private inter-

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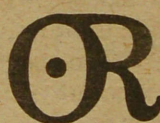
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On July 1, 1981, Bradford liquidated the retail operations and moved the business to Port Townsend, Washington, where the business has returned to dealing exclusively in its original specialty of precious metals brokerage. "The name was changed," Bradford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

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New Mexico LP Successful In Changing Ballot Law

by Christa Bolden

This April, the Governor of New Mexico signed into law Senate Bill 352. Introduced by a New Mexico state senator at the request of the Libertarian Party of New Mexico, this bill significantly reduced the requirements for third party ballot access, as well as the requirements for retaining ballot status. In addition, the bill allows third parties to participate in primaries as a means of nominating candidates and, therefore, to be defined as a major party.

The New Mexico LP was not experienced in maneuvering legislation through the legislature. However, with a little effort, we were able to bring some great results. The purpose of this article is to encourage other state LPs to try similar efforts in their states, hopefully with the same great results.

In order to draw support from non-libertarians (ie. state legislators) for changing the ballot law, we based our main arguments on equity. In studying the state ballot law, we realized that third parties were required to

collect approximately *six times* the number of signatures to gain ballot status as were major party candidates. While major party candidates needed to collect signatures totalling one percent of the votes cast for that party's candidate in the previous election, third parties were required to collect signatures equal to *three percent of the total votes* cast in the previous election.

According to Richard Winger, LP ballot law consultant, New Mexico had the second most restrictive ballot law in the country. We proposed that the law be amended to read one-half of one percent of the total votes cast in the last general election.

Our arguments on reducing the number of votes necessary to retain ballot status were basically the same—we wanted access to the ballot on roughly the same basis as the Democrats and Republicans.

When Steve Curtis, New Mexico LP Vice-chair, went to Sante Fe with the current law and our proposed changes, he pointed out these inequities and requested that the changes be made in the name of equal treatment. After

lengthy discussions, the New Mexico LP decided not to lobby the legislature after the bill was introduced, in order to keep the issue one of fairness and not one of whether or not the New Mexico LP might become a cause for concern to the legislators in the future.

When the bill was introduced, an Albuquerque journalist gave us no chance of success. But to his surprise, and our delight, the bill passed the Senate overwhelmingly and passed by a small margin in the House. When SB 352 went to the Governor to be signed or vetoed within two weeks, we went to work. New Mexico LP members made every personal contact they could with anyone in a position to influence the governor. We made phone calls, wrote letters, and made visits to the Round House.

And the effort brought our success. We would like to encourage each state to check into their state ballot laws, ballot law bills that have been introduced elsewhere, lawsuits on ballot laws that have been filed, etc. Perhaps there is a possibility in your state of getting a change in your

ballot law that could mean a great deal to the state LP's future.

Of great assistance to the New Mexico LP was Richard Winger. He can be of great assistance to other state parties interested in pursuing ballot law changes.

Christa Bolden is the chair of the New Mexico LP.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP (continued from page 5)

last summer in Zurich, Switzerland, is planning the first European libertarian convention for this summer, August 14-19 in Brussels, Belgium. Organizers of the event say they expect participants from most European countries as well as from overseas. For more information, contact: Libertarian International, Heikantvenstraat 39, B-2190 Essen, Belgium. Speakers will include LP 1980 presidential candidate Ed Clark, author Henri Lepage, Dr. Peter Breggin, and Leonard Liggio

■ The World Future Society will sponsor a conference August 11-12 in Washington, D.C. entitled "Working Now and In the Future." For more information contact the Society at 4916 St. Elmo Avenue, Bethesda, MD 20814

■ A group of school children in Easton, Massachusetts, were trying to study banking and finance, but, in the end, they learned more about law than anything else. The 11 and 12 year olds had started a bank at the school to learn about banking, lending money to other students for school lunches and such things. However, when the state bank examiners came to visit, they closed the bank down, citing it for operating without a license (which would have cost \$200,000), charging too much interest (eight percent a week), collecting loans without a license, and using the word "bank" without state authorization

BOOK REVIEW

(continued from page 14)

ests that militate against remedial actions. The outcome...will therefore depend largely on the social will and on political power." Contrast this with Peter Aranson's analysis of the Environmental Protection Agency in Robert Poole's *Instead of Regulation*:

Our examination of political decision making creates doubts that the present regulatory regime can protect environmental quality in a balanced relationship with other goals. Nor is it apparent that this regime can even protect environmental quality alone.

Sociologist Garrett Hardin calls pollution an example of "the tragedy of the commons," where common "ownership" leads toward rapid despoilage, since the benefits of pollution are individually high and collectively high. This is standard economic analysis, with terms like "externality" and "public goods"

in general use; nonetheless, these ideas appears nowhere in Simon's discussion of pollution.

The Ultimate Resource has its good spots, too, of course. The section on immigration, though confined to an Afternote, points out the economic benefits that immigrants bring (although, *contra* Simon, increasing the Social Security base and paying out more in taxes than they collect in government "services" are not benefits). A more development discussion is found in Simon's cover story on immigration in the May, 1983, issues of *Inquiry*; in addition, Yale economist Jennifer Roback's October, 1981, *Policy Analysis* on the subject is excellent, and available from the Cato Institute. In light of *Frontline's* recent unscientific but nonetheless disconcerting poll showing 56 percent of self-professed "libertarians" do not believe in the basic freedom to cross national boundaries, these articles deserve more study.

A recent *Update* editorial urged libertarians to learn the

facts, details, and specifics about issues instead of relying (only) on abstract, general economic, or philosophic arguments. I agree, and with that in mind, can recommend *The Ultimate Resource*, which, despite its faults offers a wealth of data on important economic trends in natural resources, energy, food, land, and population. But I also recommend critical reading, and study of the other books and articles mentioned in this review.

As Roy Childs says, reading is both fun and good for you. So is getting the word out in such a way as to command respect for the libertarian position and for your own opinion. The information, if not the analysis, found in *The Ultimate Resource* will allow you to do both.

Ross Levatter, a physician in Ann Arbor, MI, is a longtime libertarian activist and writer.

NUCLEAR FREEZE

(continued from page 13)

tegic Arms Reductions Talks (START) belie this statement. In both talks, the Reagan administration is seeking overall reductions not in U.S. nuclear forces but only in Soviet nuclear forces. In the case of the INF talks, possible future U.S. forces are offered in trade for existing Soviet forces. The START proposal would reduce both U.S. and Soviet warheads on ballistic missiles but would permit a more-than-offsetting U.S. increase in bombers and cruise missiles which have no counterpart in the U.S.S.R. Such one-sided positions are likely to result in no reductions at all.

Drawback #3: "A freeze would make significant arms control more difficult. The Soviets would have little incentive to agree to reductions...if they knew they could simply freeze."

The record contradicts this statement. The U.S.S.R. supports the SALT II agreement, even though it would have to dismantle 250 missiles if the U.S. ratified the SALT II treaty. Over the past 10 years, the Soviets have officially advanced five proposals that go well beyond a freeze, most of them at the United Nations. Several Soviet proposals call for "ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed." Is this propaganda or are they sincere? We will never find out until the U.S. government is willing to take these proposals seriously and enter into negotiations on them.

Drawback #4: "A freeze would cast serious doubt on American leadership of the NATO alliance."

A freeze would indeed preclude deployment of new U.S. Pershing

II and GLCM missiles in Europe, but this might well strengthen the NATO alliance. Talk of nuclear war-fighting and renewed Cold War trade embargoes by the Carter and Reagan administrations have weakened the NATO alliance. The December 1979 decision by NATO defense ministers to deploy the two new U.S. Eurostrategic missiles also called for negotiations with the U.S.S.R. to limit or cancel the deployment. The U.S. withdrew from the INF negotiations for a year. By the time the Reagan administration resumed the INF talks in November 1981 a massive European peace movement had developed. Many Europeans believe that the INF negotiations are purely cosmetic. There is tremendous opposition to the Eurostrategic missiles from political parties, the church and labor unions. It is by no means certain that the five European

nations will accept the new missiles; the Dutch and Belgians, in particular, are likely to refuse them.

"A freeze...would...be a unilateral decision by the U.S. to withdraw from this joint undertaking."

As noted earlier, the NATO decision to deploy the Eurostrategic missiles was accompanied by a decision to negotiate with the Soviets an arms control agreement to preclude or reduce deployment of new missiles. Far from constituting unilateral U.S. withdrawal from the NATO undertaking, the achievement of a mutual U.S.-Soviet freeze on the production of nuclear weapons of any type would fulfill the NATO dual-decision in the best possible way.

Drawback #5: "A freeze on all testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons would

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WASHINGTON WATCH

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or not the Senate will pass a similar resolution is still unclear; however, proponents could expect to have a much harder time of it there.

Reagan and his Cold Warriors in both the Republican and Democratic parties insist that the U.S. must regain nuclear superiority before any serious talks concerning missile reductions can take place. That position, of course, virtually insures that no such talks will ever take place. A bilateral nuclear freeze is the only reasonable and logical first step for those truly interested in arms control and reductions.

Central America

In Central America, Reagan continues to seek higher and higher levels of economic and military aid to El Salvador—even going before a joint session of Congress to plead for the aid. In that address, Reagan emphasized over and over the great importance of Central America to the U.S. Complicating the situation in the region is the escalating guerrilla war against the Marxist government of Nicaragua. Even though covert U.S. aid to the guerrillas has been coming under attack in Congress, the U.S. government's involvement in supporting and training these guerrillas is taken

for granted by many observers. As the stakes become higher for all governments involved, the chance of war grows dramatically.

Reagan, while still claiming that the Central American situation is a threat to U.S. national

security, says he will not ask for U.S. troops in the region, because they are not necessary. Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Arizona) recently urged the President to change his tune on this issue, suggesting that a threat to send in American troops if it becomes

necessary would let the enemy know just how committed the U.S. government is.

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

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NUCLEAR FREEZE

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include important elements that cannot be verified."

The breadth and comprehensiveness of the freeze makes it easier to monitor than partial arms control limits. Most parts of a freeze agreement could be checked by "national technical means"—reconnaissance satellites so accurate they can photograph license plates in Moscow, supplemented by radar and listening posts stationed around the U.S.S.R. Some aspects of the freeze would be more confidently monitored with cooperative measures, such as data exchanges, emplacement of tamperproof monitoring devices (cameras and seismic meters) and on-site inspection.

Many Americans believe the Soviets would never allow on-site inspections. This is not true. Recently there have been significant changes in Soviet policy on on-site inspection, "part of an evolutionary trend which began six years ago.... The treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes, signed in 1976 but never ratified by the U.S., included detailed inspection procedures." (Joel S. Wit, "Who's Afraid of On-Site Inspection," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 13, 1982.) During negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1978, the Soviets agreed to allow ten seismic stations on Russian soil and to permit a number of on-site inspections on demand. On June 15, 1982, the U.S.S.R. advanced a draft treaty to ban chemical weapons which included provisions for on-site inspections.

"The practical result is that the United States would live up to a freeze in all its aspects, while there would be considerable doubt that the Soviets would also live up to it."

There is no evidence to support this assertion. During the debate over ratification of SALT II, there were charges that the Soviets had violated treaties. In response to these allegations, the Department of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff, State Department and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency produced a joint position paper in 1980 which asserted that "Soviet compliance under 14 arms control agreements signed since 1959 has been good." (Congressional Record, June 27, 1980.) In an excellent article called "Treaty Compliance" (Foreign Policy, Winter 1981-82) Robert

J. Einhorn writes: "[O]fficials involved in monitoring SALT compliance in the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations acknowledge that the Soviets have tried to exploit ambiguities and have disregarded U.S. views on the spirit of the records. But they argue that little basis exists for the charge that actual violations have been committed."

The implication here is that a freeze agreement would have to be based on "trusting the Soviets." This is untrue. In fact, we would be able to detect any treaty violations long before they affect our national security. Former Director of the CIA William E. Colby testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 13, 1982:

[I]t is my considered view that a 'mutual and verifiable freeze' on the development of additional nuclear weaponry would be feasible to negotiate. We do not have to, nor should we, 'trust' the Russians.... Even if the Soviets were able to violate an agreement in some small degree without revelation to the U.S., it has to be asked whether this would have any major impact on the balance of power between us. In a world with 50,000 nuclear weapons, it is hard to imagine that the secret development of a few more would change the balance of power.

The Soviet Threat

The second half of the pamphlet, "A Freeze and the Soviet Buildup," presents a misleading and distorted picture of the history of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons programs in the 1970s.

"During the past decade... Soviet modernization efforts have far outstripped ours... [T]he Soviets have introduced an unprecedented array of new strategic weapons into their arsenals.... During the same period the United States exercised restraint."

There is no question that the "Soviet Union has mounted a sustained buildup across the entire range of its nuclear forces" in the last 10 years. But this buildup is not unprecedented; nor has it been unmatched by the U.S. over the past decade. In an interview, Bernard Brodie, who was a senior analyst at the Air Force-sponsored think-tank, the RAND Corporation, stated: "No student of the American strategic arms buildup of the '50s

could possibly consider the Soviet strategic arms buildup of the '70s unprecedented."

Paul Warnke, former Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, wrote:

For much of the 'decade of unilateral restraint' we added some three warheads a day to our nuclear forces ...and all three legs of our deterrent triad were modernized. Since 1970 we have deployed over 500 Minuteman III (three warheads each) and we've now equipped more than 300 of those missiles with a more powerful and accurate MIRVed warhead. In that decade, we converted most of our 31 Polaris submarines to carry the Poseidon missiles, with about ten warheads each—an increase in warheads on those submarines from about 500 to nearly 5000. As the decade drew to an end, we began to deploy on ten of these submarines a new Trident I missile with greatly increased range and accuracy. And in April 1979, the first of the Trident submarines was launched. In those same years, we armed our B-52s with over 1000 SRAM (short range attack) missiles.

"The Soviets introduced 12 new or improved nuclear weapons systems, while the United States only introduced three..."

This statement and the chart, "Introduction of Strategic Weapons by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. 1972-1982," distort the truth. They use a deceptive word—"introduced." Between 1970 and 1977, the United States deployed 500 new, MIRVed Poseidon submarine-based missiles and 550 new, MIRVed Minuteman III land-based missiles. Even though most of these 1050 missiles were deployed from 1972 on, they are not shown in the State Department chart, since they were "introduced" in 1970. The 930 Soviet MIRVed missiles deployed between 1976 and 1982 are included in the State Department chart because they were "introduced" after 1972.

Deceptive Omissions

Throughout the State Department pamphlet, specific comparisons of U.S. and Soviet nuclear capabilities are avoided, as is any discussion of "how much is enough?"—what does the U.S.

need to deter a Soviet nuclear attack? One paragraph makes it apparent that the pamphlet was written to frighten Americans into feeling insecure and vulnerable.

"Moreover, in most significant measures used to judge strategic forces—total number of systems, total number of ballistic missiles, total destructive potential—the Soviets now surpass the U.S. Soon they could equal and surpass us in the number of warheads, the one area where the United States has traditionally had an advantage."

The statistics cited are not the significant measures of nuclear strength! The number of systems, of missiles, the amount of destructive potential are not the important considerations in judging a defensive nuclear force. The reason for having nuclear weapons is to deter a nuclear attack by an aggressor. Deterrence requires the assured survival of enough warheads so that the enemy knows that an attack could bring down suicidal retaliation.

If, however, one wants nuclear "superiority" or the capability to fight "limited" or "protracted" nuclear wars, as this administration apparently does, then other factors besides survivable warheads become important. These include, for example: warhead lethality (a combination of accuracy and explosive power); number of warheads; rapidity of launch; and command, control and communication networks.

It is difficult to find a legitimate reason for the omission from the State Department pamphlet of central concepts such as deterrence, overkill, survivability and mutual assured destruction. Public opinion polls show conclusively that Americans who realize that the U.S. is not far behind in the nuclear arms race, when judged by these basic measures, overwhelmingly support a mutual, verifiable nuclear freeze. Americans who know the facts want a freeze now, while a stable balance exists, before a new generation of nuclear weapons put the deterrents of both sides at risk and makes a nuclear war more likely.

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