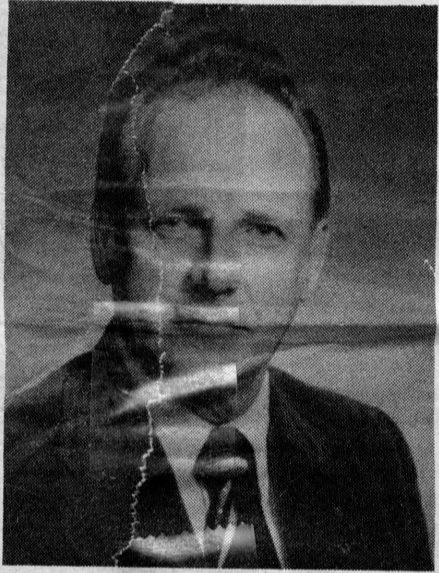


Wisconsin Libertarian NEWS

Larson Runs for U.S. Senate

B.J. Larson's campaign for the U.S. Senate is off to a running start. Mr. Larson, a Libertarian candidate seeking Gaylord Nelson's seat, has campaigned in towns across southern and central Wisconsin.



In southern Wisconsin Larson has visited Kenosha, Beloit, Janesville, Fort Atkinson, Racine, and Watertown. Media coverage throughout the area has been excellent. Jake Erkmann, a well known columnist for the Racine Shoreline Leader newspaper, said "He (Larson) is sincere, honest, hard-working, and about as down-to-earth as you can get. If that is an endorsement, so be it." With coverage like that, the Larson campaign stands to gain terrific momentum.

More recently, Larson has made the news in Baraboo, Portage, and Poynette. Radio and newspaper interviews in those towns have focused on his staunch libertarianism. As B.J. says "You have the right to live your life in whatever manner you choose, so long as you do not forcibly interfere with that same right of others." He adds that young people often seem rather stunned to hear a middle-aged businessman with short hair and a suit tell them drug laws should be repealed. Conservatives, on the other hand, are challenged by his views on foreign policy and the draft. It all goes to show that Larson's libertarianism is impressively consistent.

But his calm determination is equally impressive. A newspaper reporter in Baraboo noted that "Unlike some of his opponents, Larson isn't employing any circus-like media events to capture the public's attention. There are no brass bands, no whirling helicopters, and no motorcades. Instead, he is travelling by himself, going from town to town, and discussing his Libertarian principles with anyone who will listen." He plans to

spend as much time as possible campaigning. Only a lack of money, he says, would hold him back. The Larson for Senate Committee, 8136 W. Forest Garden Ct., No. 28 in Greenfield, Wisconsin (53220), is currently accepting contributions and hopes to overcome this obstacle with the help of Wisconsin libertarians. They're in the black now, but a hefty sum is needed to oppose Gaylord Nelson, that "typical professional politician," as Larson observes, who is a big spender and creator of government bureaucracies.

The only other obstacle to Larson's campaign is a law requiring two thousand signatures for ballot status. Nearly seven thousand signatures have already been collected to put Libertarian presidential candidate, Ed Clark, on the ballot in Wisconsin for the general election, as well as give the Libertarian Party a separate ballot column this November. Those signatures had to be collected from ten different counties, and the total from each county had to make up a certain percentage of the total from every county combined. The signatures to put Larson on the ballot, however, can be collected from anywhere within the state. This will make his petition drive relatively easy. By the time it's finished, Clark's campaign will be in full swing. Ed Crane, Clark for President communications coordinator, has notified the three television networks that the Clark for President Committee intends to purchase from each of them twenty five-minute prime-time ads beginning in June and gradually accelerating toward election day. Larson's campaign, and all other Libertarian campaigns in Wisconsin, will benefit tremendously from all of this publicity. Separate ballot status for the Libertarian Party in Wisconsin is another favorable circumstance. Since Clark and Larson will be listed in one column together, and not merely strung out as independent candidates, Clark supporters may easily recognize Larson's affiliation and vote accordingly (and vice versa).

Of course, Larson's stands on the issues will bring in more votes than anything else. Inflation, he says, is uppermost in the minds of the voters and deserves priority. It's an issue of special importance for the Larson campaign mainly because of the suffering it brings to many Americans, but also because the incumbent Senator, Gaylord Nelson, apparently doesn't know—or doesn't want to know—how to stop it.

According to Larson, the proposals that Nelson flaunts for the sake of fighting inflation actually have no effect on inflation whatsoever. For example, Nelson says "One option that might

actually help to reduce the high rate of inflation is a payroll tax cut. Changes in payroll taxes can be implemented quickly, and the impact on output appears to be quite similar to changes in personal income taxes...A payroll tax cut is likely to reduce prices slightly. The employers contribution to Social Security is a business cost. A reduction in this cost...will be passed forward to consumers through lower prices and passed backward to workers through higher pay increases." Nelson goes on to describe a bill he has proposed that would cut social security taxes. Larson is all in favor of cutting taxes, but he is also quick to point out that prices are determined by supply and demand, not costs; so Nelson's claim that his bill would tend to lower prices is ridiculous. The best way to fight inflation, according to Larson, is to go back on a gold standard for now and repeal and legal tender laws somewhat later. A return to the gold standard would end the growing reluctance to invest in Federal Reserve Notes, which is the real cause of inflation, and elimination of the legal tender laws would stabilize our economy by allowing private entrepreneurs to supply currency just as they supply food, clothing, shelter, and many other necessities. This is not to say that Larson wouldn't support Nelson's proposal to cut social security taxes. On the contrary, B.J. finds fault with the bill for not cutting taxes enough. In fact, he goes one step further and says that every citizen should be allowed to buy private insurance instead of participating in the social security program. This would be a lot cheaper, he says, and private companies could provide far better coverage than the federal government.

Larson's remedies for inflation and the social security mess typify his entire approach to politics. Unlike Gaylord Nelson, he does not offer us band-aid solutions for major problems. In the area of education, as an example, he would give parents a 100% tax credit if they would rather send their children to a private school. He would attack that cozy partnership between big business and the government which brings us ever closer to fascism. He would say NO to Chrysler, Lockheed, and every other big shot with a penchant for gouging the taxpayers; and he knows that the so-called energy crisis was made, lock, stock, and barrel, in Washington, D.C.

Larson shows a healthy contempt for any kind of jingoism too. We are a nation of sovereign individuals, in his view, not an empire. He concludes that neither the president nor anyone else can rightfully keep American athletes from competing in the Olympic games, or reinstate the draft, or send American citizens, against their will, to fight and die on the sands of the Persian Gulf or anywhere else. Ed Clark expressed Larson's attitude perfectly when he said, "The American people have been angered by the mountainous level of taxation imposed upon them, by the inflation which eats away at their standards of living, by government-created energy shortages, by the policies of deficits and unemployment, of sacrifice and no-growth, of conscription and the threat of war. They want and need a new alternative, a new political vision, a chance to believe once again in the promise, the ideals, and the future of this country."

Emerling Workshop

Michael Emerling, an at-large member of the Libertarian National Committee, was in Madison on June 7 and 8 to do his "Art of Political Persuasion" marathon workshop. Libertarians from around the state received eighteen hours of lectures, discussions, and group activity to improve their effectiveness as political activists and leaders.

Emerling stressed the fact that libertarianism has something for everyone. But other political groups, he said, often reject libertarian ideas because of the way they're presented. He said that libertarians can overcome this obstacle by using a technique called "political cross-dressing," "using right-wing

words, evidence and arguments to support civil liberties, and left-wing terms and reasons to support the free market. Effective political cross-dressing requires fluency in the major political languages—of the left, the right, the feminists, the socialists, the ecology movement, and so forth."

Emerling said that the technique works mainly because it "...does not require an immediate, radical change in the listener's political philosophy. It is a piecemeal approach to liberty, selling one conclusion at a time. As the person accepts one pro-freedom stand after another, he will soon reach a point where the libertarianism comes naturally."

From the Director Ideas and Political Action

In traveling around the country and collecting signatures for the Libertarian Party, I met a lot of people. Cab drivers, doctors, business men, school teachers and lawyers—you name it and I probably met someone who fits the description. Most of them were interested in what I had to say. Many of them expressed their own opinions about libertarianism. This in itself is very good news. It means that we are getting our message across. It means that people have heard of the Libertarian Party and know what it stands for. It means that all the work and effort to get on the ballot is paying off. Of course, we're not on the ballot in every state yet, but it looks like we will make it by 1984 at the latest. Think for a moment, if you haven't already, about the significance of that achievement. No third party has done as much in over half a century. No third party could do it again for another half a century. Nationwide ballot status will open a lot of doors for Libertarian candidates. One of those doors—the chance to meet Democrats and Republicans in national debate—may vault the Libertarian Party into prominence overnight.

Something remotely similar to this happened in California when Ed Clark met his challengers in the gubernatorial race. Starting from a relatively narrow

base of popular support, Clark went on to capture nearly 400,000 votes. Many people think this sudden surge of support was a direct result of Clark's participation in one particular debate or question and answer session that occurred shortly before the election. Clark's opponents simply could not stand comparison when it came down to a confrontation over the issues. And don't forget, his opponents included Jerry Brown—the so-called philosopher prince of American politics.

A nationally televised debate between Clark and Carter or Reagan would shake the two party system to its roots. The intellectual bankruptcy of Clark's potential opposition makes this all too obvious. Wallowing in ignorance, Carter expresses the sum total of his understanding by whining about 'excess' or 'unearned' profits, which is quite possibly the most meaningless phrase in American politics. And Reagan is no better. William Buckley inadvertently made that clear in a recent installment of Firing Line. Buckley asked Reagan why he thought the economy should be deregulated. Reagan said "Well Bill, I just have faith in the free enterprise system." It sounds like something off the back of a Wheaties box. In a confrontation with Clark, Carter and Reagan would be well advised to drop their oars in the water

and quietly paddle away.

The moral of all this is just that ideas are important—crucially important. Most Libertarians are well aware of this; it's partly why they became Libertarians. In fact, the Libertarian Party recently reaffirmed its dedication to a belief in the importance of ideas by choosing Ed Clark as the Libertarian presidential nominee. But take a deep breath and you may still notice a few who insist that we must get away from any more theorizing. This attitude is often expressed as a (false) dichotomy between thought and action. Now it is true that people often have to act before they think. F.A. Hayek has said that in general "man acted before he thought and did not understand before he acted." But thinking always gets in on the act sooner or later. So we might as well face this inescapable fact and continue working on our ideas or theories to make them as good as possible. Of course, we should do that anyway. My only point here is that further theorizing, in addition to being a valuable end in itself, is also good strategy: when we finally debate the Democrats and Republicans under the bright limelight of national television, only our ideas will make us the victors and therefore preferable to anyone else in the minds of the voters. As Ayn Rand has

said most forcefully, "Ideas cannot be fought except by means of better ideas. The battle consists not of opposing, but of exposing; not of denouncing, but of disproving; not of evading, but of boldly proclaiming a full, consistent and radical alternative."

The American people are ready for an alternative and the Libertarian Party is ready to give them one. But we will fail if we follow those who say we should end our quest for even better ideas and simply get down to business. (I.e., thinking is not business, or at least not to be taken seriously.) Anyone who attended the 1979 presidential nominating convention knows that these people are near. One of them addressed the entire convention and expressed this very idea. Certainly, we must translate our ideas and theories into effective action, but that is not enough. We must protect our ivory towers—we must think and theorize constantly. Above all we must criticize our own beliefs. Only in this way will we find better ideas; ideas such as we need to maintain the confidence and support that the Libertarian Party deserves today.

by Ken Hopf, Wisconsin Director

Vote Libertarian

Survey Results Encouraging

The staff of the Clark for President campaign commissioned a recently completed national survey by Opinion Research, Inc. of Princeton, New Jersey to analyze voter sentiment. Of particular significance to the Libertarian Party and its candidates are the following findings:

1) 47% surveyed said they believed a strong third party would revitalize our political system; only 39% disagreed, and 14% had no opinion.

2) 45% said they would support a third party candidate whose two major planks were much lower taxes and much less American intervention in the affairs of other nations; 45% said they would not, and 10% said they were undecided.

3) 69% favor a Constitutional amendment to require the federal government to balance the budget.

4) 71% believe the Social Security system is not financially sound.

5) In a trial heat with Reagan, Carter, and Clark, the results were: Carter 50%, Reagan 20%, Clark 8%, and the remainder undecided.

6) 63% favor giving federal income tax credits to assist parents in sending their children to the school of their choice.

7) 57% disapprove of the United States getting involved in the domestic affairs of other nations; only 25% said they

approved of such intervention.

8) 69% said that the approximately 60% of our defense budget that goes to defend other nations was too high.

9) 60% said that anti-American sentiment in the Third World was a direct result of U.S. intervention and only 30% said such sentiment was the result of other factors.

**CLARK
PRESIDENT**

Convention Elects New State Libertarian Committee

Leslie Graves Key, Madison, WI, is the new chairman of the Wisconsin Libertarian Party. Leslie has been active in the Wisconsin LP since 1976, when she collected signatures to put Roger MacBride on the ballot, through her recent tenure as director of the Wisconsin LP. She is also a member of the Libertarian National Committee and the midwestern regional coordinator of the Clark for President campaign.

Richard Ralph was elected to another term as Wisconsin LP vice-chairman. Rich has been active primarily with the development and rewriting of the Wisconsin Libertarian Platform.

Gary Gates and Ann Sedlachek were elected as members-at-large. Gary has, in the past, served as Finance Chairman of the Wisconsin LP and also is a member of the Madison City Council. Ann Sedlachek has been active in the Milwaukee area for several years and is currently working as B.J. Larson's media coordinator.

Gary and Dianne Gletty were elected to the respective positions of treasurer and secretary. Both made important contributions to the 1979 Wisconsin LP ballot access drive and are also active in B.J. Larson's senatorial campaign.

These elected representatives join

affiliate representatives Helen Slavens from Madison, Carl Chantelois from West Bend, John Anderson from Marshfield, and Art Jackson from Janesville to comprise the entirety of the Wisconsin Libertarian Committee, which is charged with building the Libertarian Party in Wisconsin. It holds quarterly meetings, the next of which will be in Green Bay on July 12-13, in conjunction with a campaign appearance of B.J. Larson.

WLP NEWS

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Libertarianism & the Liberal Ethos

by Dr. Peter Breggin

The candidates have been nominated, the platform has been written, the convention is over, and now the campaigning begins. Soon thoughtful Americans throughout the country will be hearing about the Libertarian Party: its views on the menace and irrationality of big government, on the causes of inflation, and on the threat to privacy. They will hear about non-interventionism in foreign policy, the capacity of the private sector to handle government services, and the virtues of deregulation. If they delve more deeply, they may learn about natural rights, the principle of voluntary exchange, and all the other favorite libertarian themes so amply and thoughtfully presented at the 1979 convention.

But none of this will be the deciding factor for the thoughtful, idealistic liberal voter. Instead, he or she will be asking, "What are the intentions of these people called libertarians? Are they well-intentioned? And more especially, are they well-intentioned toward the disadvantaged, the minorities, and the poor?" The idealistic liberal voter's greatest fear will be simply this: that libertarians are self-interested egoists callous to the needs and feelings of others less fortunate than themselves.

Most people who take the time to think about politics, and most people who consider themselves remotely intellectual, are not primarily motivated by self-interest in their thinking. If they were, "The War on Poverty" would have failed as political propaganda, and President Kennedy would never have dared to intone, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." Nor is it the liberal alone who remains focused on altruistic concerns. Humanists, humanitarians, Christians, Jews, and idealists of almost every persuasion are often more concerned about others than about themselves in their political thinking.

We libertarians assume our good intentions, of course, and we stand on our rational principles. But we must be aware that others will doubt our good intentions, especially toward the disadvantaged, and that our reputation may rise or fall upon how well we communicate to the public both our rational policies and our good intentions.

We must win over the constituency which I call "the advantaged liberal idealists." These are people who believe that they have benefited from the American political system more than others, and through their politics they plan to make amends for this. Often they are youthful, and typically they are educated. Often they are community leaders, and they virtually dominate the education and media businesses. If we are to grow much larger as a party, we must learn to understand these idealists and to communicate with them. For much of my life I was in many ways a caricature of the advantaged liberal

idealist, and much of what I say about him, I might say about myself as I once was.

I believed in government intervention to help the disadvantaged classes of this nation, and of all nations.

I had no clearly defined political philosophy but believed that more people of good intentions were needed in the government, and for a time I was one of them.

I participated in the Washington Peace March, and I signed newspaper petitions against the War in Vietnam though it put me in some jeopardy as an officer in the U.S. Public Health Service.

The poor actually do worse as government power increases. What the poor need is freedom, freedom from government.

I was almost a pure libertarian on civil rights, except for the typical mistake of wishing to force others to give up their prejudices in their private economic lives.

I was leftist in economics, and like most liberals, I occasionally read Marxists, but never conservatives. Similarly, I often discussed economics with liberals, and sometimes with Marxists, but never with conservatives. I was deeply biased against everyone from the right, both personally and politically, and saw them as dangerous bigots seeking their own selfish gains. If I had read about libertarians, I'm sure I would have mistaken them for conservatives.

I knew *nothing* about the principles of the free market.

My background was also typical of many advantaged liberal idealists. My father was a first generation Polish Jew who arrived in America at the age of nine and yet managed to work his way from poverty to the Board of Directors of a major corporation. He was a liberal, and though a member of the corporate hierarchy, always identified with those beneath him on the economic ladder rather than with his equals or with those above him.

I went to the best suburban schools, and the best colleges and universities; and had my higher education paid for by my parents. I escaped Vietnam by joining the Public Health Service for a two-year stint as a physician, and ended up with a very prestigious and cushy job in the nation's capital. I was very advantaged compared to others because of my "middle class" family background, my suburban schooling, my higher education, and my ability to gain entry to government privileges and largesse.

I felt very guilty about my advantages, and often thought about ways to help the disadvantaged classes. I often did this to my own disadvantage and at some self-sacrifice. In psychiatry, where I had first-hand experience, I was already a libertarian. I knew about the evils and frustrations of involuntary "therapeutic"

relationships, and knew that I would never want anyone treating me against my will. I was also moving toward libertarianism in my personal life. I wanted to pursue my own happiness in my own way, free of interference from other persons. But when I thought about government interference in my life and in the lives of others, I largely dropped the principles which I had learned to value in my personal life and as a psychiatrist. I was too concerned about the "disadvantaged" to consider a sharp curtailment in government expenditures and control.

It is essential to remember that the advantaged liberal idealist attributes his advantaged status entirely to luck or good fortune. In taking this position, he will often ignore the fact that his parents worked very hard to provide him with most of his advantages, and he may forget that they took great risks in coming to America or in taking up a new trade or business. Even if he himself worked his way out of poverty, he will believe that he is more fortunate than others in family background, racial advantage, or perhaps in genetic endowment. He is "lucky" to be more intelligent or more ambitious than others.

Of course good fortune does play a major role in the success of many people, including advantaged liberals. But the individual I am talking about focuses wholly on good fortune or luck in the achievement of his advantaged status.

This is in sharp contrast, for example, to the hard-line conservative who also sees himself as advantaged, and even as superior, but who attributes this to anything but luck. Instead he sees his advantage as a matter of "good family," hard work, or religious morality.

The advantaged liberal idealist feels that his luck is unfair or unjust. In his heart he wishes everyone to have as much good luck or good fortune as he had. Extremists among advantaged liberal idealists are willing to sacrifice all of their good fortune even if it won't do anyone any good at all. Such an idealist is willing to sacrifice himself merely to "even the score" without advancing anyone's benefit.

The liberal idealist is not only concerned with improving the luck of the disadvantaged, but he may also wish to handicap the most highly advantaged classes, especially those whom he sees as having a considerably greater advantage than himself. This includes those who have inherited great wealth or earned it through business enterprise, but not those who have earned it through music, art, literature or other activities which he happens to respect or enjoy. Much as I saw myself through my earlier life, this advantaged liberal idealist sees himself in a no man's land, or worse, in a free fire zone, standing between the most highly advantaged classes and the utterly disadvantaged. He sees himself in the righteous if terrifying role of leveling the

disparities between the two extreme classes.

Amazingly, this means that in almost all cases the advantaged liberal idealist wants everyone to have exactly his own luck. He wants everyone to be like him—neither better nor worse off. If he worked his way up from poverty with the encouragement of his parents, he wants everyone to have ambitious parents. He will even call for government programs to encourage ambitious parents. If he sees himself as having gone to better schools, he will call for this as well, and ask the government to enforce it. If his father footed the bill for him to begin a small business, then this will seem to him the "natural" level of good fortune for all people.

The advantaged liberal idealist is lacking in a sense of persons as separate and independent from himself. In his guilt toward the "lower classes," and his resentment toward the "upper classes," he lives amid a meshwork of relationships from which he cannot disentangle himself as an autonomous, separate, self-determining entity. He is not aware of himself as much as he is aware of his relationship to others.

Ironically, he is more aware of the "plight" of the disadvantaged classes than of the hard work or ethical conduct which may have given rise to his own status. He is likely to have read and to have studied many books and statements of principle aimed at explaining how social and economic forces are at the root of all personal failures among the disadvantaged classes; but he is not likely to have read or studied a single book of principle which helps him to understand how any of his or his parents' success resulted from personal responsibility and courage. In my own case, for example, though my immigrant father began life in America with few advantages and many burdens, my father encouraged me to focus almost wholly upon the unfairness of life to disadvantaged persons, while wholly

"The modern ghetto is a dull and lifeless place with little upward mobility - because of government controls."

neglecting to note that he himself had risen from extreme disadvantage by dint of sheer will power and hard work. This is a major characteristic of the advantaged liberal idealist—his greater focus upon understanding others than upon understanding himself, and in particular, his extraordinary attention to explaining away the inevitable failures of others while disregarding his own personal responsibility for success. While an idealistic concern for those less fortunate than ourselves is a fine and enduring human value—one that should flourish in a libertarian society—this lopsided, self-denigrating emphasis on the part of the

advantaged idealist can only be explained on the basis of guilt.

To defend against his guilt, the advantaged liberal idealist develops the identity of "good guy with good intentions." He thinks of himself as someone who "means well." Out of this orientation grows the familiar figure of the "do-gooder." This form of liberalism, as I lived it myself for many years, is not really a philosophy or a political ideology. It is a psychology of good intentions whose aim is not so much to bring about change in the outside world as it is to assuage guilt within the inner personal world.

The advantaged liberal idealist says to himself: "However much I have been unfairly favored by luck or fortune, I am well-intentioned." He not only builds his political identity around this distorted self-image, he reinforces it by contrasting himself with conservatives, and perhaps with libertarians, whom he sees as being ill-intentioned.

This advantaged idealist typically discriminates among political parties and political leaders almost wholly on the basis of their intentions rather than their principles. He may have almost no ideological commitment beyond his own good intention to support others of good intention. But because his motivation is guilt, he is largely willing to forgive any bad intentions among the disadvantaged. They may be violent, hateful and resentful. He "understands" and "forgives" them. He hopes in turn they will forgive him his unfair advantages. But as far as he is concerned, anything that remotely smacks of conservatism is wholly lacking in ideals and wholly devoid of good intentions.

While the advantaged idealist feels that he had had an unfair share of good luck, he doesn't feel "lucky." Instead his advantages weigh on him as terrible burdens. Often this extends far beyond the political sphere and corrupts his personal life so that he cannot be happy. Especially, he cannot take joy in his advantages. He may feel superior to the underprivileged; but unlike the conservative, he takes no pride in this,

and receives no satisfaction.

Partly because he cannot overcome his guilt despite his good intentions, the advantaged idealist typically feels very dissatisfied with his own lot in life. He develops a deep conviction that "nice guys finish last." Nice guys just like himself! Translated into politics, this means he will become victorious when "nice guys" run the world. Carried to its frequent extreme, liberalism reflects little more than a desire to have the "nice guys like myself" take over the world.

Since the advantaged idealist is hardly joyful despite his advantages, he comes to a dreadful conclusion—that without his advantages he would have become an abject failure. The disadvantaged who survive at all become heroic in his eyes, while he himself becomes an impotent anti-hero.

The righteousness of the advantaged liberal idealist smacks of religiosity, and indeed, the "liberalism" of this person comes much closer to religion than to politics: He seeks through his liberal humanitarianism to find redemption for the sin of being born with unfair advantage. Unlike the traditional Christian, his struggle is not with the temptation to enjoy sex, alcohol or secular philosophies. His temptation is to enjoy his undeserved advantages. But his struggle with this awful temptation is no less difficult than that of the religionist.

It is well known that most liberals reach their bloom early in their teens, and then must struggle with more conservative tendencies as they grow older. Adolescent liberalism qualifies as a religion because it aims at the absolution of personal guilt rather than at the solution of political problems. Commonly, the adolescent is too immature to focus objectively on the plight of others and has little or no familiarity with political or economic theory. His "liberalism" is from the heart; and typically this is a guilty heart.

This liberal, humanitarian adolescent, in his desire to overcome personal guilt, wishes to infuse the whole world with his good intentions. Naively believing the propaganda he is fed in school and through the media, he begins to see the

government as a potential source of power through which to generate and project his personal good intentions. He hopes for or looks forward to a government of good intentions.

How can a government have good intentions? How can it have any intentions? The adolescent does not think this through. He is not interested in analyzing the effects of systems. The guilt, plus the impotence felt by nearly every adolescent, leads him to hope and pray for a government that will represent nothing more nor less than "the best of me!" Adolescent liberalism is an enormous expansion of every adolescent's belief that everything would be better "if only I were in charge."

Adolescent liberal idealism—the idealism of the advantaged—explains why faith in government has not been wholly destroyed by Vietnam and Watergate, or even by inflation. The idealist blames men, not governments. Get rid of General Westmoreland. Get rid of President Nixon. Put good men in charge. Yes, the faith is wearing thin, but it has not been shattered.

To the extent that big government in this country reflects the infusion of government with a personal religion aimed at the absolution of guilt, it reflects a state religion.

This analysis of advantaged liberal idealism enables us to understand otherwise incomprehensible phenomena.

How can intelligent, well-intentioned people go from one do-good project to another despite failure upon failure? Because they are not so much interested in doing the right thing as in trying to do the right thing. They are oriented to their guilt, rather than to objective conditions in the world. Trying is a good way to absolve guilt. Accomplishing may actually exacerbate guilt. Failures can always be blamed on the need for more trying and greater good intentions. If trying becomes a personal sacrifice, all the better to assuage the guilt. In its more extreme religious form, good works matter not at all. What matters, as in extremes of religion, is bearing witness to the faith.

How can so many advantaged idealists embrace the new politics of no growth, no energy and no luxuries? Because despair is setting in, and when desperate, the advantaged idealist would rather give up his advantages than continue to bear his guilt over unequal advantage. As a corollary we can explain the extraordinary willingness of individual liberal idealists to buy unsafe, flimsy, gas-saving cars in order to "conserve energy" when they know full well that their neighbors own a couple of gas guzzlers plus a motor boat or two. The advantaged liberal is often concerned only with overcoming his own personal guilt. If others wish to go on sinning and suffering, that is their own business. Unhappily, not all liberals are so inclined and many ultimately turn to enforcing their religion upon their neighbors, if only to save their neighbors' souls.

Why do liberals support equal opportunity programs which at times seem libertarian? Because in their naivete they believe that equal opportunity will mean that all people will become equal in achievement. When they find this to be false, their guilt motivates them toward special treatment programs and affirmative action programs to make sure that everyone will turn out the same. Thus the liberal moves toward communism.

What do liberals read, associate with and even defend communists, but never conservatives? Because communists are seen as suffering from exaggerated good intentions while conservatives are seen as having bad intentions. When the liberal sees the continued failure of his programs, he too may turn to "exaggerated good intentions," if only to level everyone's "luck" to a state approaching zero.

Why do liberals fear and distrust articulated philosophies and logical principles? As a personal religion aimed at assuaging guilt rather than changing the world, liberalism is subjective, personalistic and relativistic. As such, it does not dare test itself against the logic required to formulate rational principles. Nor does liberalism wish to articulate its aims with sufficient clarity to test them



ATTEND THE 1ST SLS NATIONAL CONVENTION

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

POLITICS...

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

SPEAKERS...

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

SPECIAL EVENTS...

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

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

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

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against results.

If the liberal were truly able to solve the problems he addresses, he would find himself in serious psychological trouble. His personal guilt would now lack an object of focus. He would have to turn inward to find more personal sources of guilt, particularly in his family life and upbringing, and in his own independent adoption of irrational viewpoints. Far better for the problems he faces in the world to remain unsolved, thus obscuring the true causes of his personal anguish. A newspaper story recently quoted Joan Baez as saying that she only feels happy when fighting for a cause because otherwise she must face her own unsatisfactory personal life.

We cannot approach the liberal by telling him that he is "irrational" or "motivated by guilt." In any given case, we may be wrong. And unless "motivations" are an agreed upon point of discussion, it's dirty playing to focus on them.

We don't want to fall into the trap of discrediting others by psychologizing about them as the liberals tried to do with Barry Goldwater. But such considerations can give us a direction, a thrust in dealing with these persons. It tells us where we must place special attention. This doesn't mean that we sell our principles short and turn to mere propaganda or emotional appeal. It means that we pay special attention to certain issues of concern to every advantaged idealist.

First and foremost, libertarians must realize that appeals to the self-interest of the advantaged liberal idealist will not necessarily sway him. His guilt often makes it nearly impossible for him to consider such arguments in any detail, and ultimately, he doesn't want to be told that he too is suffering. True, all of us are disadvantaged by the government; but the disadvantaged idealist wants to hear about the suffering of others. The natural bent of the libertarian is to talk about self-interest, for he assumes that all persons primarily pursue self-interest, and he believes that freedom is in everyone's self-interest. This is a belief that the public and the media do not share.

In my own private practice of psychotherapy, it is sometimes very hard for my clients to learn that the pursuit of their own self-interest in their own private lives makes them more loving and more productive, and greatly benefits every person of good faith with whom they deal. Even then my clients often fail to take the next step and to apply the lessons of their private lives to their public religion—liberalism. It cannot be over-emphasized that appeals to self-interest along will never win over the advantaged liberal idealist in his or her political thinking.

"The Libertarian Party is the party of freedom. We must show that freedom is consistent with a desire for all honest human beings to prosper."

The Libertarian Party, remember, is not the party of pure egoism, though some libertarians may be egoists. Even less so is the Libertarian Party the champion of petty selfishness. There may be room for these viewpoints within the party; but this is not the aim or the fundamental principle of the party. The Libertarian Party is the party of principle—and the principle is freedom, everyone's freedom.

Second, once we have shifted some of our emphasis away from pure appeals to self-interest, we must recognize that the single most important issue for the intellectual, advantaged idealist is the fate of the disadvantaged person. The Libertarian Party must demonstrate with

overwhelming data and iron-clad arguments that the fate of the poor, the disadvantaged and the underprivileged will improve under libertarianism. The subject merits not one speech or one book, but many, many speeches and many, many books.

Libertarians can show that the poor do the worst as government power increases. This is because the seats of power are always held by one advantaged class or another, and so long as seats of power exist, government will serve those in power and take advantage of those who have the least power. In every state in the world since the dawn of history, the disadvantaged poor have exercised the least power. Only when seats of government cease to exist will the poor have a chance to compete with those who have been born with greater advantage.

The liberal should be reminded of motion pictures he has seen and books he has read about the thriving "ghettos" of the turn of the century in this country. They bustled with activity. On every corner, vendors sold their wares—everything from clothing to food. People went from house to house offering their services as carpenters, plumbers or electricians. Whole families, including teenaged children, found employment, and added to the sum of the family income. Wages were low but not so low that most families could not improve themselves vastly over their previous lot in life. Individuals saved and then started businesses on shoestrings, and built them into mighty stores and chains of stores. People lived in poverty, yes; conditions were often very difficult, yes; but the poverty was alive, and the ghetto was a gateway into the American way of life. As countless autobiographies have demonstrated, many people thrived in these ghettos, and as they strove to better themselves, they left the ghettos behind, making room for others to immigrate into the country and to restart the cycle of revitalizing themselves and their new country.

Now contrast this with the modern "ghetto." It is a dull and lifeless place. Much of the "action" on the streets often consists of crimes of violence or the sale of drugs and stolen goods. The people often feel downtrodden, humiliated and hopeless. Whole families are unemployed rather than employed. There is little upward mobility and much frustration.

Surely some of this stagnation results from a racist exclusion of certain groups from the mainstream of society, as well as from historic factors, such as slavery and its lingering effects. But the greatest cause of all is government control over the lives of the citizens in the ghetto. For example, in my own city, Washington, D.C., vendors are not allowed upon the streets without a government license, and these licenses are given out in limited numbers to those who know how to get them. As for the selling of fruits, vegetables, fish or other readily available food produced from nearby farms and waters, this is made impossible by a host of public health and business restrictions. Anyone offering his services as a carpenter, electrician or plumber would immediately run into a myriad of restrictions. Of course, he would be shut out of government protected trade unions. But even working on his own he would have to be licensed, and then his work would have to be approved by inspectors seeking graft or imposing legal standards set for upper middle class homes. The entire ghetto family could rarely be employed because the minimum wage laws create unemployment by making it virtually impossible for small, local businessmen to profitably employ wholly unskilled youngsters. Indeed, welfare payment

makes it unprofitable for many adults to work, and further encourages the stagnation. As for starting a business, it takes a genius (or a person with payoff money) to figure his way through the labyrinth of regulations and building codes. And finally, immigration quotas make sure that no new blood will be infused into these ghettos, creating for the first time in American history a fixed lower class, rather than a mobile lower class working its way upward, while new classes of poor flood in to the land of freedom and opportunity.

"We must be aware that others will doubt our good intentions, especially toward the disadvantaged, and that our reputation may rise or fall upon how well we communicate to the public both our rational policies and our good intentions."

This image—the old ghetto versus the new ghetto—can demonstrate to the liberal a new starting point for helping the disadvantaged. The poor need freedom—freedom from government control. Freedom is what made America a haven for the poor, and freedom is what made it possible for the poor immigrant parents of the advantaged liberal to work their way into a position of advantage.

I had a dismaying example of what government control does to the poor and the disadvantaged when my wife, Phyllis, decided to start a nursery school. She is the ideal person to run a school for little children under age four or five. She loves to sing children's songs and to play the guitar, she enjoys reading aloud and making up games, she delights in cooking good lunches, and she has mastered the art of control through firmness and love. She had part-time people eager to work for her—including a qualified nurse—and she planned the nursery school in our home, literally under the supervision of a physician and psychiatrist (myself) who himself had once been a consultant in education for the government and for private schools. She had an ideal physical environment for children, an old basement that had been refinished years ago with three large rooms, including a bathroom and a kitchen. And finally, she was willing to work for a small profit. Had Phyllis been attempting her project at the turn of the century, she could have created a thriving nursery school in a month or two, and perhaps a chain of them in a year. She would have earned money and provided a desperately needed community service.

Instead, she sent away for the county regulations. It turned out that for Phyllis to have any function in this proposed nursery, she would have to go back to school to take hour upon hour of worthless courses in child education. Second, she would have to rebuild the basement according to regulations aimed at providing the richest child in town with an ideal environment, including ceilings of a certain height and windows of a certain size. In fact, it was impossible to make the changes in our basement. Third, fourth, fifth...the regulations went on endlessly. Even as the wife of a physician earning a high income, she couldn't afford to meet the standards.

Now imagine a poor person of equal personal qualifications trying to set up a school in the ghetto! No wonder the ghetto is a dying place. No wonder the entire society is becoming moribund.

Libertarians need not be ashamed of their intentions toward the poor; we are the only party which holds out any hope for the poor.

Third, libertarians and the Libertarian Party must develop an ideal which

includes a rational justification for caring about others - not out of guilt - but out of what Adam Smith has called "fellow-feeling." Libertarians must realize that they fight for freedom not out of personal self-interest alone but also out of idealism. Libertarians must emphasize that personal freedom is not only compatible with love for others but that personal freedom is the optimum context for feeling and expressing love. We wish the oppressed to become free, and thus to be enabled to make their own ways in the world. True love for other human beings urges us to grant them freedom. This is one of the messages I develop in my forthcoming book *Psychology of Freedom*, and it is a message without which libertarianism as a movement cannot grow and thrive.

Fourth, we must make clear that in addition to good theories and to good principles, we have good intentions, especially toward the disadvantaged. In fact, we must show that people who love freedom are the best-intentioned people in the world. In particular, we must acknowledge that in dismantling the state there will be painful dislocations. People who grew to old age investing their savings in social security cannot be left in the lurch. We cannot flippantly declare "It's their own fault for trusting the government." Nor can we blithely assume that private charity will immediately step into the void. We must make clear that a government run by libertarians will move cautiously and carefully down the road of freedom while doing its best to ease the inevitable dislocations and sufferings that will follow. We must have a longterm view of what we are doing, and that view must include concern for the human suffering involved in any massive social change. Especially we must make clear that overall human suffering will be vastly alleviated in a libertarian world, and we must be prepared to show how and why this is so. This will require the attention of many libertarians for many years.

Fifth, libertarians must remind the public again and again that programs to help the disadvantaged will not be the first programs to be cut. Indeed, cutting programs for the poor and helpless is how the other parties operate to cut costs. Our first major cuts should be aimed at arenas from which the rich most benefit - the defense establishment with its monopoly contracts to big business, direct subsidies for big businesses and big farmers, the regulation of industry which forces inflated costs on the consumer, the tariffs that keep out cheaper foreign goods like Japanese cars and force higher prices on the consumer, the government-supported unions which shut out the poor and the black from the trades, the medical monopoly which limits the supply of physicians and makes it possible for them to become wealthy in a field in which many, many well-intentioned people would choose to work for far less if only they could become physicians.

In other words, the liberal, the humanist and the humanitarian must learn that we are not only well-intentioned toward the disadvantaged, but we are the only party which is badly-intentioned toward those groups which have grown fat off government power.

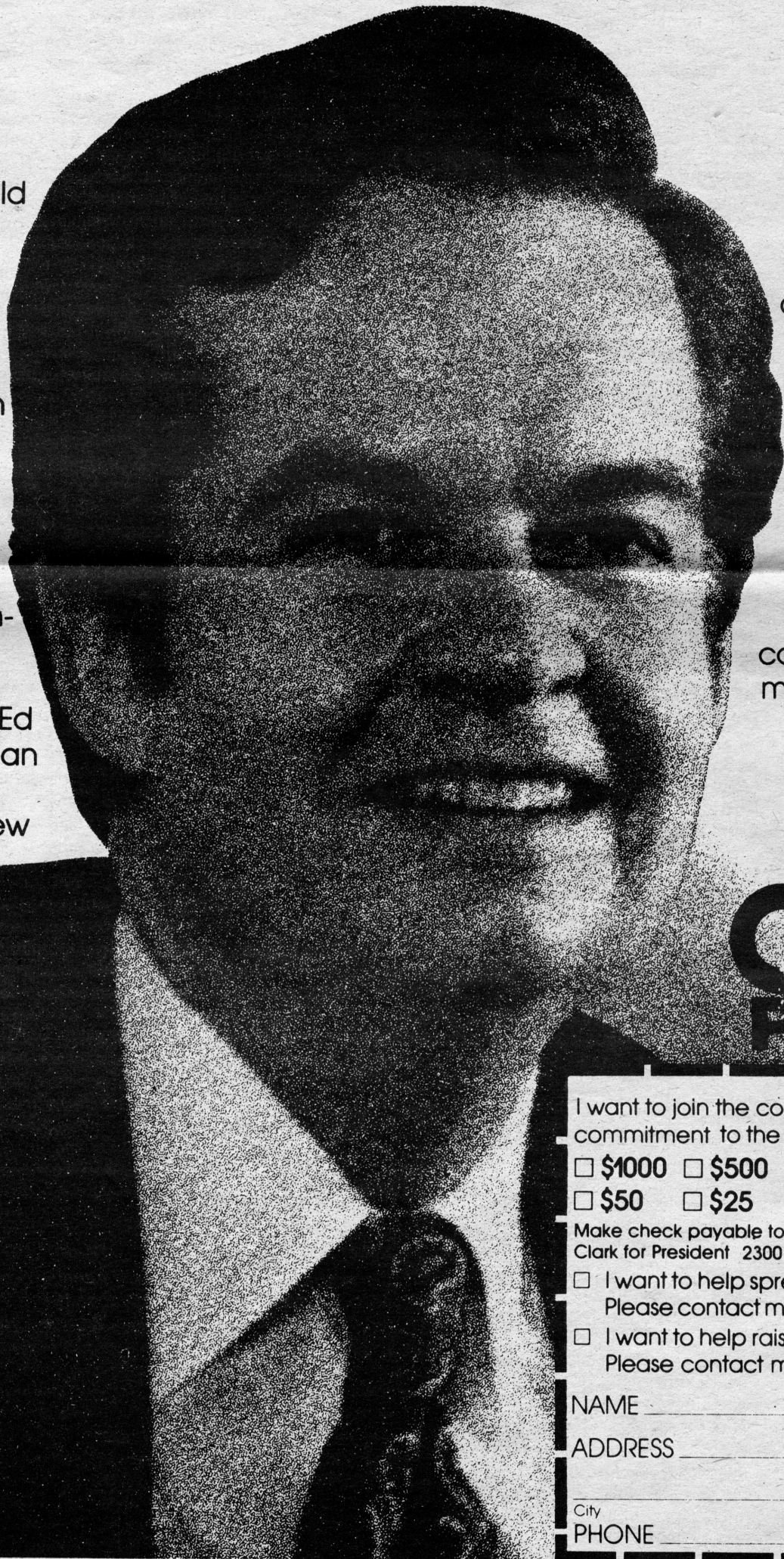
The most highly advantaged classes fear a free market economy. Most super-wealthy families like the Rockefellers and the Kennedys worked hand in hand with big government to make their millions. The free market, the public must see, favors the honest producers of valuable goods, while government control favors the dishonest manipulators of government power.

Whenever I talk about libertarianism, my audience is at first surprised that we (continued on page 7)

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(continued from page 5)

don't have a great deal of support from big industry. That's how badly intentioned they thing we are. We must show them that we will never have the support of anyone who lives off government influence and power, but that the Democratic and Republican parties alike support a fascistic government which gives unfair advantages to the large corporations while stifling the smaller ones.

Sixth, in foreign policy, the liberal, humanist and humanitarian is again motivated by his concern about the disadvantaged. Too often libertarians single out Israel among all nations for criticism, in part because of its theocracy and its socialism, as well as its military. But liberals single out Israel for support precisely because they envision Israel as disadvantaged, first through the suffering of the Holocaust, and second through the constant threat to its survival. To lambast Israel without recognizing at the same time that it was born out of a desperate necessity - for the survival of individual Jews - is to ignore reality. What European Jew with any courage would not have fled to Israel during and after World War II? Instead of ignoring the agony out of which Israel grew, and instead of ignoring its precarious position, Libertarians must demonstrate that the Middle East conflict was generated not only by Nazi atrocities, but by closed national borders. Had the greatest liberal of them all, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, been willing to admit European Jews into America, the Holocaust might have been averted. Instead, Roosevelt responded to political pressures from every sector (including organized medicine, which was afraid of competition from Jewish doctors) and held the immigration quotas for German Jews below the quota for Germany itself.

This is not to say that the Jews of Israel are in the right and the Arabs of Palestine in the wrong. Instead, we have two aggrieved, disadvantaged parties locked into a tragic conflict which would never have been born in the first place in a libertarian world. This emphasis will serve libertarians and the truth as well.

Still on the subject of foreign policy, libertarians must avoid associating themselves with South Africa in any way whatsoever. Of course the Libertarian Party loathes apartheid and the police state tactics of South Africa. No political party could be more against South Africa than the Libertarian Party. Yet there are tendencies among individual libertarians to create a kind of romance with South Africa, and this tendency is strong

enough for the Party to make it especially clear that it stands wholly against the policies of South Africa. Because South Africa contains gold mines and diamond mines which appeal so much to libertarians, libertarians are bombarded with pro-South African material advocating not only investment in that country, but white-washing its politics. But gold in its earth does not make a libertarian nation! One book sold through a libertarian catalogue (not affiliated with the Party) actually shows pictures of happy blacks playing in their compounds. To my great shame, early in my libertarian career, I too got caught up in the romance of investing in South Africa, and the liberal in me tells me that I deserved the beating I took when South African gold stocks fell. Recently I chatted with a warm and lovely person, a truly sensitive libertarian, who nonetheless tried to argue that apartheid is "no worse" than American slavery had once been. What kind of argument is that? Another libertarian at the table argued that everyone living under Communist rule in Russia or China suffers more than the blacks in South Africa. This is not only patently false, it is irrelevant. But furthermore, it overlooks the perniciousness of separating one race within a country for special treatment as subhuman. This is far more personally degrading than living in a nation where all citizens are equally suppressed.

Nothing will mean quicker death for the Libertarian Party on foreign policy issues than continued attempts by individual libertarians to single out Israel as an especially pernicious nation, or the continued attempts of individual libertarians to foster a romance with South Africa. Happily the Party itself in its official posture remains free of such irrationality.

Seventh, in our love of liberty, we must never associate ourselves or the Party with the idea of making a hero out of someone who exploits the poor. Sure, it is humorous and ironic to call a pimp or prostitute a hero of free enterprise. But the pimp is often an exploiter of the poor. And the prostitute may be a person suffering from personal degradation, and from extreme poverty. Let us not be too "clever" in our analogies. These are serious issues to idealists, and they should be.

Eighth, we must help redefine the whole concept of advantage. One person's advantage is not necessarily another person's disadvantage. Sometimes an advantage is purely the result of something good that an

individual or his family has accomplished. He has worked hard and contributed to the community, and he has been rewarded for this. He now passes this advantage onto his children, who themselves are in a better position to contribute to their own lives and to the life of the community. In a free society, one person's advantage in most cases will make him more productive and thereby increase the advantages of others. This is not news to libertarians, but it is a shocking revelation to humanistic and humanitarian liberals. To couch the issue in terms of "one person's advantage is often another person's advantage" may help the liberal idealist in understanding what is being said, for unfair advantage is his greatest concern.

Finally, and perhaps most difficult for most libertarians, we must admit that we don't have all the answers. In advance of taking over and dismantling the government, we cannot have a foolproof blueprint to meet every contingency. I cannot tell you how many liberals have breathed a sigh of relief when I had admitted, "Of course we don't have all the answers. But we know the direction we want to go in - toward limiting the power of the government while increasing the freedom of the individual." Within the party there are debates about various solutions. David Friedman, for example, has pointed out how difficult it will be to solve certain problems such as building dams in a libertarian society. Let's admit it. Let's admit we'll have to learn as we go along. The liberal idealist will feel better about us, and rightly so; smugness almost always masks arrogant stupidity about the complexity of human life. Emphasize the coherency and cogency of our principles. Point out that many alternative explanations have been proposed for handling government monopolies throughout the private sector. Explain further that the toughest problems won't require solution until we are well along the way to reducing the size and the power of the government. Then we can take stock and worry about whether or not all the bridges and tunnels can be privately owned, or whether the water supply of every city can be handled by free enterprise. We have more immediate and pressing problems, like cutting taxes, reducing the budget, slowing inflation, stopping the draft, increasing civil liberties, and the like, before we will have to deal with some of the more difficult issues. By then we will have more experience, more research, more fine ideas, and increasing leadership. This is not a compromise; this

is not a request to give up thinking through the toughest problems; this is a statement of reality. We don't need all the answers to win over others to our side. We will win over more reasonable people if we emphasize that we have a thrust - a thrust toward freedom - and that many of the details will require further thought, analysis and experience.

Ultimately, we can speak of love - love for people and love for freedom. We can explain, as I have tried to do in my *Psychology of Freedom*, that love leads us to defend the liberty of our loved ones, and that a true love for humans in the abstract - as much as it is possible - leads us to an equal love for freedom in the abstract. Love for others makes us joyful over their freedom. It makes us respect the achievements of free individuals. And it also gives us sympathy for those who have suffered unjustly. This "fellow feeling" of Adam Smith leads us toward charity in a free society.

The Libertarian Party is the party of freedom. We must show that freedom is consistent with love for others, and especially with a desire for all honest human beings to prosper. We must, more than any other party, become the advocate of the poor and the disadvantaged, and become known to idealists as the party of good intentions. Ultimately, we are the best intentioned party that has ever existed on this planet. We are the only party to enter the political arena with the sole purpose of destroying politics as such instead of using politics to our own selfish advantage.

Liberals appreciate lofty idealism. Libertarians often distrust it as hypocrisy. But I want to conclude with my own belief that we are the party of lofty idealism - and we should be proud of it. We believe in the loftiest ideal of all - individual freedom. We must teach our fellow idealists that freedom is the most just advantage, and the most important advantage in anyone's personal and political life. Then we must show these idealists how we plan to increase everyone's freedom, including the underprivileged and the disadvantaged.

Peter R. Breggin is a psychiatrist in Bethesda, Maryland. "Libertarianism and the Liberal Ethos" is a transcript of his speech given at the Libertarian Nominating Convention in Los Angeles in September, 1979. This transcript first appeared in *Libertarian Review*, 1620 Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94111.

National Committee Meets in Dallas

The most recent Libertarian National Committee meeting was held in Dallas, Texas the weekend of May 2-3, in conjunction with the kick-off of their ballot access drive.

On a crowded agenda, the two items of most significance were the appointment of a Finance Chairman to replace Ray Cunningham, who resigned last September in order to have sufficient time to chair the Clark for President Committee. In his two years as Finance Chairman, Cunningham brought the finances of the national Libertarian Party into a stable and consistently productive state for the first time. His replacement, picked in Dallas, is LP vice-chair Mary Louse (M.L.) Hanson, from Denver, Colorado.

Secondly, a Standing Platform Committee was constituted and its ten positions filled. The Standing Platform

Committee is charged with the responsibility of developing new platform planks, developing a study guide to the platform, and working to ensure that adequate time is allowed at national LP conventions to revise the platform. Lack of such time was perceived as a major problem at the most recent Libertarian National Convention in Los Angeles. The next National Convention, incidentally, will be in Denver, Colorado in 1981. Denver was chosen for primarily sentimental reasons. It was the site of the beginning of the LP in 1971.

The National Committee also approved David Bergland's appointment to the position of National Publications Director of Michael Burch from Arlington, Virginia. Burch is responsible for developing new LP publications and upgrading current publications, including the national *Libertarian News*.

by Leslie G. Key, Region 11 Representative, Libertarian National Committee

New WLP Director

The Wisconsin Libertarian Party has had a new director since February of 1980. Ken Hopf, experienced libertarian activist and national petitioner extraordinaire, has taken over for former director, now chairman, Leslie G. Key.

The responsibilities of the Wisconsin LP director include organizing local affiliate, fundraising, membership recruitment and candidate recruitment. In addition, the director is expected to assist local and state libertarian

campaigns, edit and assist in the production of the newsletter, and supervise day-to-day activities at Wisconsin LP Headquarters in Madison.

It was the feeling of the Wisconsin Libertarian Committee, who unanimously voted to approve Hopf's appointment to this position, that he was ideally suited—by virtue of his extensive experience in campaign management and campus organizing—to perform these functions.

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The Cato Institute is sponsoring two Seminars in Political Economy during the summer of 1980. An eastern conference will be held at picturesque Dartmouth College from June 28 through July 5. A western conference will be held at Stanford University July 19-26. The entire cost for each conference is only \$275. And if you are a student, the cost is even less: \$95 will pay for everything! There are even a few travel scholarships available.

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

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