



RESEARCH EDITION PROJECT UPDATE

SHARON FREEMAN MITCHELL
LNC OUTREACH COMMITTEE CHAIR

Dear LP NEWS Subscriber,

You hold in your hands the first major project of the new LNC Outreach Committee.

I want to take this opportunity to thank all the fine libertarians who contributed to the success of this project, especially LNC Chair Jim Turney, Regional Rep Steve Dasbach, Marshall Fritz of the Advocates for Self Government, and Richard Winger of *Ballot Access News*.

It literally could not have been done without them, and I am grateful to have had the chance to work with such dedicated and capable libertarians.

Among my other pleasant duties as LNC Outreach Committee Chair was arranging to share with you, Party members and LP NEWS subscribers, this complementary copy of the LP NEWS Extra Research Edition.

You see, unlike regular issues of LP NEWS, this project was *funded directly from the LNC '87 Outreach budget* rather than by memberships and subscriptions, and is *intended primarily for non-libertarians*.

Still, I wouldn't feel right about it if each of you, LP members and LP NEWS subscribers, didn't get a copy.

For that matter, I'd like to put a copy in every libertarian's hands — provided, of course, that each promised to *pass it along to a non-libertarian friend or associate*.

After all, that's what Outreach is all about!

HOW IT HAPPENED

For two years now I've been at the national office, listening to the questions of the curious and concerned people who contact the LP for information — listening, and thinking about how to improve outreach.

All kinds of people call. I've talked to tax resisters and draft protesters, home school'ers, midwives, labor law and victimless crime enforcement victims, right to die and right to life advocates, Social Security and Veterans Administration victims, hard money advocates and small business owners, objectivists and voluntarists, environmentalists and Greens, ex-Republicans, ex-Democrats, and alternative lifestyle advocates of all sorts.

I think it's *a very healthy sign that so many are turning to us* for answers to difficult political questions.

All kinds of people want to know more about the the Libertarian Party, but I am especially thrilled that it is students, educators and media representatives who most often contact us.

I repeat: *more students, educators and media representatives contact the LP than any other identifiable "market segment."*

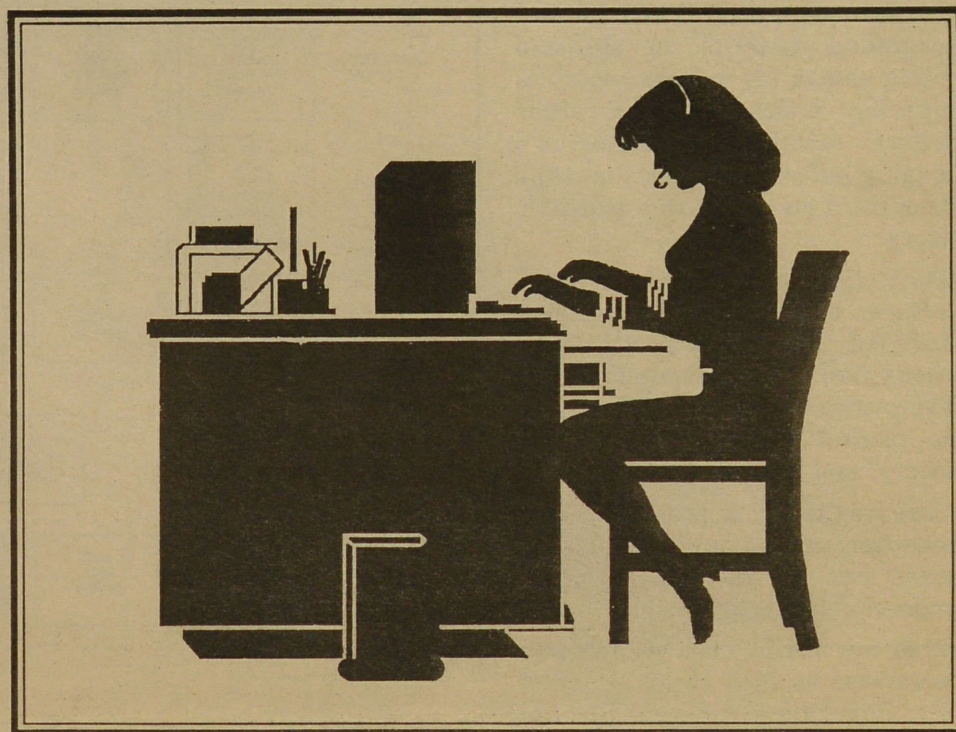
These are **highly influential market segments:** *new and potential voters, and formal and informal opinion shapers.*

The Research Edition is the *one piece of outreach material that is designed to deal with the issues most often raised by these influential prospect groups*, clear up their most common misunderstandings about the Party and the free market, and present practical alternatives to paternalistic governmental policies they see limiting freedom in their own lives.

The preliminary proposal for a student/classroom outreach issue was first presented at the November '86 meeting of the National Committee.

I hoped at that time that, if approved, a finished product could be ready for classroom distribution in the spring of '88 — exposing new and potential voters to the libertarian perspective throughout the spring and fall semesters preceding the national election.

Due to the support and cooperation of many dedicated libertarian activists we brought the project in ahead of schedule!



AN ENCOURAGING RESPONSE

The first printing of 10,000 was ready in time for presentation to the National Committee at their pre-Convention meeting and distribution at the official LP Convention booth, where it was very well received.

Since then, thousands of copies of the Research Edition have been distributed by enthusiastic petitioners, campus organizations, and state and local parties for immediate outreach efforts, and thousands more have been shipped to prospects who have recently contacted the national office for information. (With an instant membership form tucked inside, total cost on this new "info pack" is only 51¢ — less than half the cost of the old mailing package. That means we *can reach twice as many people!*

Soon to go into a revised 3rd printing, the Research Edition is already a proven and valuable outreach tool.

...AND THE BEST IS YET TO COME

Even with this tremendous response, the Research Edition hasn't begun to do what it was primarily designed for: **FORMAL CLASSROOM INSTRUCTION**. Not just to be passed out in the halls, *this paper is intended to go into the classroom for educators to teach and test from.*

What makes the Research Edition so well suited for classroom use?

Many teachers reported that they were not allowed to hand out or teach from the '86 LP NEWS Outreach issues because of advertisements and solicitations. This greatly limited outreach efforts. I especially wanted to see the LP develop an outreach piece that could *meet general administrative guidelines for materials used in classrooms* so that teachers could teach from it.

Great care has been taken to make certain that the LP NEWS EXTRA Research Edition meets the criteria most school administrations set for classroom materials.

However, you'll notice that, although it contains no advertisements or solicitations for funds from any organization, *there IS a coupon for those who want more information* (by category) on LP publications and subscriptions,

Please go to next page...

Party membership, local and state contacts, and/or bulk orders of the Research Edition itself.

OUR SIDE NOW

On the cover for all to see is the Preamble to the Libertarian Platform, the Statement of Principles, and Marshall Fritz' variation on the classic Nolan Chart. Inside is the Platform in Brief (centerfold) and the Libertarian Party membership contract.

Developed with the help of libertarians who are themselves students and educators, the Research Edition provides hard-to-find background material for students writing essays (as well as reporters preparing articles — and other curious minds) on America's changing ballot access laws and the role of third parties in this country's history.

The 12 page tabloid also includes an overview of LP history, explains principled Libertarian positions on various civil and economic liberties, and provides relevant examples of the free market in action from both "history" and "recent events."

Care was taken to emphasize that libertarianism not only makes good sense, but is in fact a truly compassionate system as well.

With articles by such well-known libertarians as Karl Hess, Marshall Fritz, David Bergland, and Richard Winger — to name just a few — you can be sure that the libertarian point of view is well presented.

Top it off with 6 humorous and insightful panels from noted cartoonist John Trevor — chosen for their straightforward simplicity and relevance to the topic at hand — and you've got a very powerful outreach tool, ready to go.

HERE'S THE PLAN

My goal as LNC Outreach Chair is to mail a sample copy of the Research Edition to every highschool social studies department and every college political science department in the country.

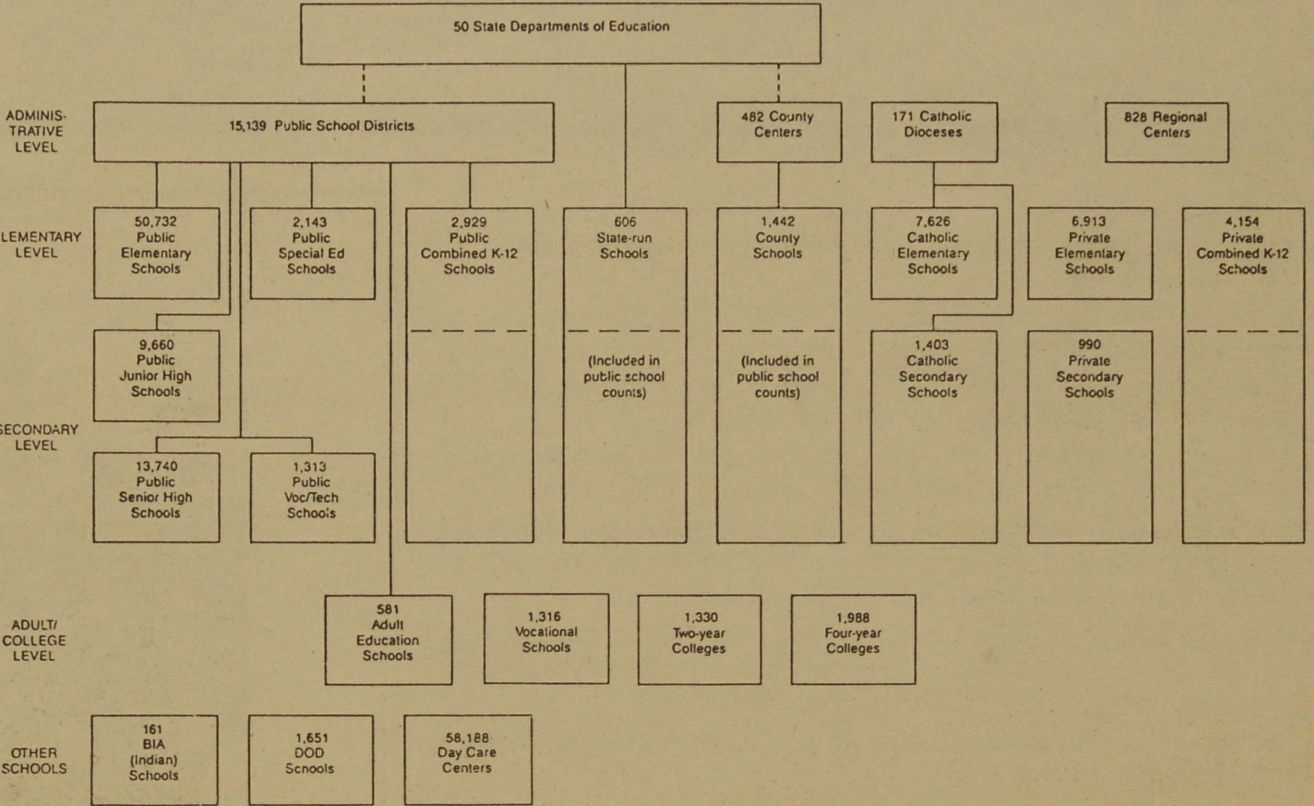
I'm including some charts on the school list market so you can see for yourself how much is possible and why I think this project is potentially so valuable to the Campaign '88 effort — and the Libertarian Party's long term membership program, too.

I want to make an offer so attractive that those educators will gladly set aside funds from their budgets to put bundles of the LP NEWS EXTRA Research Edition into their own highschool and college classrooms — into the hands of

Please go to next page (behind Research Edition)

The U.S. Education Market at a Glance

Read this chart horizontally and find all types of institutions according to grade level. Read it vertically and see administrative relationships and possible purchasing influences.



Schools Defined by Grade Level

The chart below shows all public, private and Catholic schools organized into convenient grade span classifications. It also shows which groups make up elementary, junior high, and senior high school.

Grades													Public	Private	Catholic	Total
PK	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12			
Elementary: PK/KN													505	56	109	670
K-8													6,572	4,176	6,481	17,229
K-6													36,513	1,920	896	39,329
K-3													3,609	717	59	4,385
4-6, 5-8													3,533	44	81	3,658
Junior: 6-8, 7-9													9,660	51	61	9,772
Senior: 9-12, 10-12													10,441	550	1,180	12,171
7-12													3,299	389	162	3,850
Combined: K-12													2,929	4,154	67	7,150

Private Schools by Grade Level

Private schools are a large, complex market which has experienced significant growth during the 1980s, and is of special interest to the LNC Outreach Committee's classroom outreach project.

	Day Care	Pre-K and K	Elementary	Secondary	Post Secondary
National Association of Independent Schools					
Catholic Schools					
Non-Catholic Religiously-Affiliated Schools					
Other Non-Affiliated Private Schools					
Montessori Schools					
State Licensed Day Care Centers					
National Association of Private Schools for Exceptional Children					
Military Schools					
Vocational/Trade Schools					



Libertarian Party

NEWS

Volume 2, Number 5

RESEARCH EDITION

EXTRA

Your Life, Your Way

The following basic description of the Libertarian Party has special significance in that it was written by David Bergland, the LP's 1984 candidate for the presidency of the United States. (See "LP History: An Overview" on page 2 for more on the '84 Bergland campaign.) The text printed here is available in pamphlet form (titled "What is the Libertarian Party?") from Orpheus Publications, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92626, as are other writings of Mr. Bergland (including "Don't Waste Your Vote," reprinted on page 11).

The Libertarian Party is your representative in American politics. It is the only political organization which respects you as a unique and competent individual.

The Libertarian way is probably your way—if you think about it a bit and consider the options.

Libertarians believe in the American heritage of liberty, patriotism, and personal responsibility. Those ideas made it possible for Americans to build a society of abundance and opportunity for anyone willing to make the effort. Libertarians recognize the responsibility we all share to preserve this precious heritage for our children and grandchildren.

Libertarians believe that being free and independent is the only way to live. We want a system which encourages all people to choose what they want from life; that lets them live, love, work, play, and dream their own way, at their own pace, however they wish and with whom they wish, win or lose.

The Libertarian way is a caring, people-centered approach to politics. We believe each individual is unique. We want a system which respects the individual and encourages all of us to discover the best within ourselves and actualize our full potential; a system which encourages the development of harmonious relationships among all people.

The Libertarian way is a logically consistent approach to politics based on the moral principle of self-ownership. All Libertarian positions on political issues are consistent with the idea that each individual has the right to control his or her own body, action, speech, and property. Accordingly, government's only proper role is to assist individuals when they need to defend themselves from anyone who would violate their rights.

Utopia is Not an Option

It is commonplace for politicians to promise much more than they ever deliver. Everyone should know by now that there will never be a "Utopia," no perfect place where everyone has everything they want and nothing ever goes wrong.

Although Utopia is not one of them, there are three basic options in American politics.

First, is the status quo, the way things are now. Most people are less than satisfied with current conditions. Government at all levels is too large, too expensive, woefully inefficient, arrogant, intrusive, and downright dangerous. Democratic and Republican politicians have created the status quo and do not appear disposed to change it much, if you look at the

record instead of their rhetoric.

The second option is to call on those in government to take over even more: more rules and red tape for business and the economy, more snooping into the private aspects of our lives, complete takeover of some industries, more military meddling overseas, more foreign aid, and higher taxes to pay for it all.

Not surprisingly, most Americans find this option less desirable than continuing with the status quo.

The third option is the Libertarian option. Substantially reduce the size and intrusiveness of government and cut all taxes. Let peaceful, honest people offer their goods and services to willing consumers without a hassle from government. Let peaceful, honest people decide for themselves what to eat, drink, read, or smoke and how to dress, medicate themselves, or make love, without fear of criminal penalties. The U.S. government should defend Americans and their property in America and let the U.S. taxpayer off the hook for the defense bill of wealthy countries like Germany, Japan, and Korea.

Most Americans are Libertarians

Most Americans, after giving it some thought, prefer the Libertarian option in politics. This is not surprising when one considers that most people in their private, non-governmental affairs deal with each other on the libertarian premise of mutual respect. You don't threaten your neighbors with fines or jail just because they choose careers or lifestyles different than yours.

Conversely, you would be outraged if your neighbors threatened to lock you up unless you changed your way of making a living or entertaining yourself.

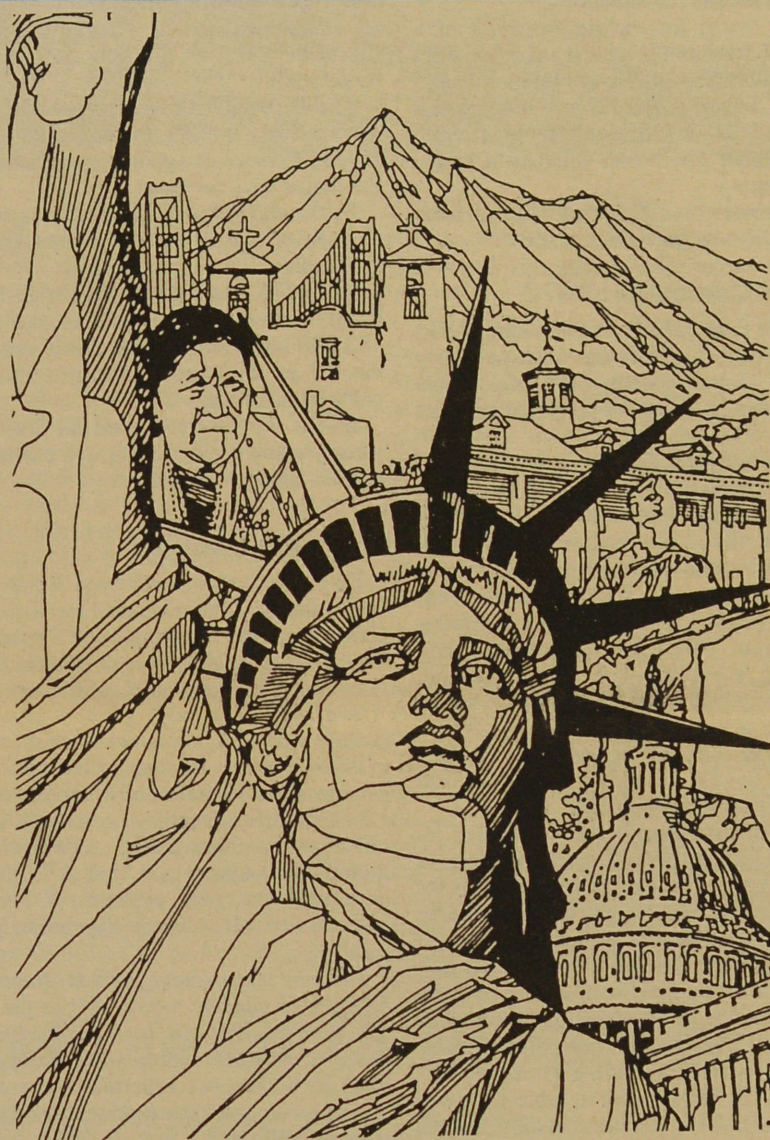
Libertarians say that the people in government should be held to the same standard. As they do their one legitimate job of protecting us and our rights, they must do it in a way that respects the rights of all citizens.

The Libertarian Party is for all who don't want to push other people around and don't want to be pushed around themselves. Live and let live is the Libertarian way.

Where the Action Is

The Libertarian Party was created in December of 1971 by a small group of young people who realized that the politicians had strayed from America's original libertarian foundation, with disastrous results. Their vision was the same as that of America's founders; a world where individuals are free to follow their own dreams in their own ways, a world of peace, harmony, opportunity, and abundance.

The Libertarian Party is America's third largest and fastest growing political party. Libertarian activists engage in a variety of projects, including electoral politics, all aimed at improving the conditions of American life by working for everyone's liberty on every issue. Libertarians are practical; we know we can't make the world perfect. But, it can be better. Libertarians intend to keep working, for as long as it may take, to create that better, freer society for everyone. As William Allen White said: "Liberty is the only thing you cannot have unless you are willing to give it to others."



Back To Basics

By Karl Hess

Democrats and Republicans once offered sensible alternatives for political action in America. They helped preserve this republic and strengthen and extend its democratic processes.

But we live in a new age.

Our sensibilities have turned from the past of collective or nationalist imagery and manifest destiny to a new day of individualism.

Our technologies have turned from a past of gigantism and faceless toiling to new tools of individual creativity, decentralized production, and miniaturization.

Our economic understanding has deepened to appreciation of individual human action and choice as against central planning.

The libertarian ethic encompasses all of this new age and is most appropriate to it. The older political parties, as they try to catch up with a century that seemed destined to leave them obsolete, reach for libertarian positions on many issues. They have power; they can and do introduce libertarian positions into major legislative discussion. Yet they remain parties without a fountainhead of principle from which constantly to fashion new and principled solutions to new and unprecedented problems.

Without the libertarian movement, where

would the older parties have looked for their "new" proposals? Without the Libertarian Party, where would the pressures be to keep pushing practical political arguments, particularly at the local level, toward free markets and a free society?

Today, regardless of what else it may or may not be, the Libertarian Party is the largest organized group explicitly supporting the free market.

Today, regardless of what else it may or may not be, the Libertarian Party is the sole political force that derives all of its positions and proposals from a clear and basic statement of principle: the principle that force should not be initiated by anyone, or any institution, to advance a social, economic, personal, or political cause.

The positions of the older parties change according to shifts in the political winds. The positions of the Libertarian Party cannot shift that way. They are anchored to the bedrock of libertarian principle.

This special issue of the Libertarian Party NEWS is dedicated to restating and reviewing statements of basic libertarian principle and the political, economic, and social positions that have been derived from them.

LP History

AN OVERVIEW

Though the libertarian philosophy can be traced back to the classical liberalism of the American Revolution, libertarianism as a modern movement is perhaps only twenty years old.

In the mid-sixties, there were a number of campus-based libertarian organizations stretching from Berkeley to Columbia, and libertarians formed influential minority factions in both the Students for a Democratic Society and the Young Americans for Freedom.

In 1971 plans for the development of a national Libertarian Party were launched from the Colorado home of David Nolan, inspired by Nixon's wage and price freeze. During that summer and fall, the original planning group contacted other libertarian activists throughout the country.

On December 11, 1971, the formal decision to launch the new party was made.

The First Campaign: 1972

At its first national convention (June of '72) LP membership had already risen to nearly 1,000. Dr. John Hospers and Ms. Tonie Nathan were nominated for president and vice president.

Due to its late start, the LP was able to get its national ticket on the ballot only in Washington and Colorado. Nonetheless, Hospers (a professor of philosophy and respected writer on philosophy and politics) and Nathan (a former journalist and TV producer) crisscrossed the country for four months, spreading the libertarian philosophy and finding and encouraging reception wherever they traveled.

The LP received news coverage in virtually every major newspaper in the country as well as on the three television networks. By election day, 1972, the LP could boast nearly 2,000 financial supporters nationally.

The LP finished third in the Electoral College when a Republican elector refused to vote for Nixon-Agnew, instead casting his votes for Hospers-Nathan. Ms. Nathan thereby became the first woman in American history to receive an Electoral vote, twelve years before that honor was to be publicly claimed by another.

By election day 1974, affiliated state parties numbered 41. The LP ran dozens of candidates across the country, garnering about 80,000 votes in a U.S. Senate race in Ohio and over 200,000 votes in a California state Superintendent of Public Instruction race.

Round Two: 1976

The LP held its 1975 National Convention in New York City and nominated Roger MacBride, a Virginia lawyer, as its presidential candidate.

MacBride, a former Vermont state legislator,

Distribution of Ideological Types in the 1970s, by Percent			
Ideological Category	1972	1976	1980
Liberal	17	16	24
Populist	30	24	26
Conservative	18	18	17
Libertarian	9	13	18
Inattentive/Divided	25	29	15

Source: William S. Maddox and Stuart A. Lilie, *Beyond Liberal and Conservative* (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1984), table 3.

was the elector from Virginia who voted for the LP candidates in 1972. His running mate was David Bergland, a California attorney and law professor.

The LP Convention received national network television and radio coverage as well as articles by several syndicated columnists and the major wire services.

By the end of the year the LP was organized in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia.

In the '76 election, the MacBride-Bergland ticket was on 32 state ballots and received 183,000 votes nationwide, firmly establishing the LP as the largest and most active third party in America.

In '78 the LP celebrated its first partisan victory when a Libertarian was elected to the Alaska State Assembly.

The 1980 Elections

Ed Clark, who had received 375,000 votes in '78 as the LP's nominee for Governor of California, was nominated for President and David Koch for Vice President at the LP 1979 National Convention in Los Angeles.

The 1980 campaign effort was very expensive. Mr. Koch donated \$2 million dollars of his own money funding a successful drive to get complete 50 state ballot access, and with LP candidates in every state, some 900 ran for office across the country. Award-winning 5 minute TV ads, which had 47 prime-time network runs, gave millions of Americans exposure to Mr. Clark's libertarian point of view.

In a year when voter apathy set records (only 53.95% of eligible voters went to the polls—the poorest turn-out in 32 years) the LP received 921,000 votes—five times the '76 total. In Alaska, two Libertarians were elected and an incumbent state representative re-elected to public office.

Elsewhere LP candidates displayed a marked increase in average percentages of the vote.

In the wake of the LP's phenomenal performance in 1980, ballot access laws across the country were "strengthened" (see related article, page 3), requiring many costly and time-consuming court battles and draining important resources from both state and na-

tional-level LP campaigns ever since.

Despite some such setbacks, '82 was a good year: Libertarians got 23% of the vote in a two-way U.S. Congress race (Louisiana) and 15% in a gubernatorial race (Alaska). Seven candidates for state legislature received 15-33% of the vote in two-way races, and twenty-three received 5-16% in three-way races. The number of states with permanent LP ballot status rose to 14.

The 1984 Campaign

In 1983, the last minute withdrawal of strong candidate Gene Burns led to an exciting contest. Seven ballots were needed before California attorney David Bergland won.

He and vice presidential nominee Jim Lewis campaigned with severely limited funds and limited ballot access, but still came away with the third highest popular vote in the '84 national election.

On the state level Alaska Libertarian Andre Marrou became the third Libertarian elected to the legislature.

1986 saw the LP's California State Treasurer candidate receive a half-million votes and Richard Winger (see page 3), running for California Secretary of State, prompted the first open endorsement of an LP candidate by a major daily newspaper.

1988

Numerous hopefuls sought the Party's '88 presidential nomination, including 4-term ex-GOP Congressman Ron Paul of Texas and AIM (American Indian Movement) founder Russell Means.

These new Libertarians in particular—long-time experienced political activists coming from widely diverse political backgrounds, determined now to work within the Libertarian Party as the best means of achieving their goals—clearly represent the growing discontent among Americans with traditional left/right politics and the growing appeal of libertarianism (see *Beyond Left/Right*, page 4).

For more information on Campaign '88 and the LP candidates call 1-800-682-1776, or use the coupon on page 11.

Who Are These Libertarians?

By Steven D. Candidus

Libertarians are a large and fast growing group of individualists who are rapidly making themselves heard all across the nation. The Libertarian Party was formed in 1971 and is already the third largest political party in the entire U.S., but just who are these people?

Basically, a Libertarian is a person who feels that he or she should have the right to live their own life without outside interference so long as they do not interfere with, cheat, steal from, or harm anyone else. They are true individualists who want to find their own way while rejecting and oftentimes resisting the restrictions imposed upon them by big government and all of its special interest groups.

Does this mean that they are cold, callous, or uncaring? Before deciding, look what they offer in return for the freedom to do as they choose with their lives.

First and foremost, they offer the same freedom in return that they would have you extend to them. They believe that the liberty that they hold so dear can only be truly obtained by returning it freely to others. Does this sound cold?

What about the poor, the elderly, and needy, etc.? By all means, do not make the mistake of thinking that just because Libertarians are individualists, that they are heartless. Nothing, absolutely nothing, could be further from the truth. Compassion, however, must be voluntary or it is nothing more than theft, be it by the government or by an armed robber in the street. It's no secret that the vast majority of the money that the government spends on its social programs is paid to their own employees who administer it. Compare this with private assistance organizations like Goodwill, the Red Cross, the United Way, etc., that traditionally deliver 90 percent of all contributions to the people it was meant for. Libertarians believe, therefore, that by freeing up the money currently taken out of our paychecks for these government-sponsored bureaucracies, that a much higher quality of assistance could be provided to the needy, even if only a fraction of the amount were voluntarily contributed. Is this callous?

A recent survey conducted by *Reason* magazine of its readers found that 62 percent of those people responding classified themselves as Libertarians. When compared to national norms, 32 percent said that they are active in civil or social causes versus 5 percent nationally; 27 percent said that they had actively worked for a political party candidate vs. 3 percent for the norm; 54 percent had written to a public official vs. 7 percent; and 34 percent had even written a letter to an editor vs. 4 percent nationally. An amazing 81 percent said that they contributed to charity and 15 percent to an environmental group. Lastly, 30 percent responded that they do volunteer work. So much for uncaring.

Libertarians care about people. They want the same freedoms for everyone, young or old, rich or poor, male or female, black or white. Liberty knows no prejudice. So the next time someone identifies himself as a Libertarian and asks you for your signature, a contribution, or just offers you a free brochure, remember that he or she is your neighbor, and that they are giving their free time so that your time and mine can remain so.

That's who Libertarians are.

Steven Candidus is chairman of the Western New York LP. This article is reprinted from the March 1986 WNYLP newsletter.

Market Protects Endangered Species

Where can one find thriving populations of the following endangered species: Indian blackbuck, Sub-Saharan beisa oryx, Japanese sika deer, South African white-tailed gnus, Armenian red sheep, Moroccan aoudad, Nile lechwe, and Persian gazelles? The answer, according to *Sports Illustrated* (September 8, 1986): the hill country of Texas. On about 370 ranches, exotic species are raised for conservation purposes, for aesthetic reasons, and as game for hunters. A 1984 census counted 120,201 animals in 59 species from all over the globe. Why are they doing so well in Texas though threatened in their homelands? Because in Texas, they are private property.

Paradoxically, where animals are pri-

vately owned and unprotected by law, they are often much more secure than when they are owned "by everyone" and in the care of government wildlife services. The paradox is not a matter of good and bad intentions or people, but of good and bad systems, of incentives to conserve or to despoil.

Under common ownership—where no one really owns at all—there is an incentive to get what one can before someone else gets it first. Hence resources tend to be depleted; animals are slaughtered indiscriminately. Government regulation often fails because wildlife officials have too little stake in doing their jobs diligently. Frequently they succumb to the temptation of payoffs from poachers. Many African wildlife services are said to be riddled with cor-

ruption, with officials sometimes killing the animals themselves for the black market in horn and ivory.

Private owners, by contrast, have strong incentives to husband their resources. Since they reap the financial (and aesthetic) benefits of conservation and long-term planning, they conserve and plan carefully. The game herds are an important source of present and future income to hill-country ranchers, hence they carefully regulate the hunting on their lands. Only "bachelors" or aging males past their breeding years are taken as trophies, and the herds thrive.

The incentive structures of private ownership are crucial to conservation. The greater kudu and the beisa oryx, not to mention the deer and the antelope, play more securely at home on the private range.

—From FEE

The Libertarian Party Membership Contract

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

The Purpose Of The Libertarian Party

I. To Educate (A.) To introduce the public to libertarian ideas and programs. (B.) To attract to our movement the type of intelligent, energetic, dedicated individuals who are capable of changing society.
II. To provide Political Activity for Libertarians (A.) To provide the means for useful and important political activity for libertarians to advance their cause in the real world. (B.) To

reinforce libertarians' commitment by finding other libertarians in each area and helping them work together.

III. To Roll Back the State. (A.) By influencing people, media, voters, opinion molders. (B.) By pressuring politicians and other parties in a libertarian direction. (C.) By getting ourselves elected in order to be in a position to dismantle the State.

What Are Ballots For?

By Richard Winger

The U.S. voter has less choice for whom to vote than his great-grandfather did.

Although the U.S. has made great strides during the 20th century in enfranchising citizens who formerly were denied the right to vote (women, Blacks, poor people), we have been losing ground on the parallel problem of what choice a voter has, once he gets a ballot.

In the 1896 general election, every single congressional district in the nation had at least two candidates on the ballot. The average district had 3.1 candidates on the ballot.

In the 1912 general election, the average election ballot had 4.1 candidates for Congress.

But in 1984, there were only 2.3 candidates for Congress on the typical general election ballot, and one-ninth of the districts (49 out of 435) had only **one** candidate on the ballot.

The modern-day voter's choice is even more limited in state legislative races. In 1984 6,881 seats were at stake. An astounding 2,815 (41 percent) had only one candidate per position on the ballot.

In some important states, such as Texas, Massachusetts, and Florida, **over half** of the legislators were elected with no one on the ballot against them.

The blame for the declining number of choices on our ballots can be laid squarely at the feet of state legislators. Many of them have made it far too difficult for candidates to get on the ballot.

Originally, there were no ballot access restrictions whatsoever in the U.S....no petitions, no filing fees, no loyalty oaths, no declarations of candidacy. The government had no control over who could run for office, or whom voters could vote for. This is because, before the 1890's, the government didn't print the ballots! Instead, parties printed them and distributed them, and any voter was free to make his own ballot or to alter a party-printed ballot.

Even after the state took over the job of printing the ballots, it was easy to get on the ballot in virtually every state. In 1924 Senator Robert LaFollette was able to get on the ballot in 47 states as a third party candidate for president, and he needed to collect only 75,500 valid signatures to achieve this. That number was one-fourth of 1 percent of the number of votes cast that year. And he didn't need to go to court in any state to get on the ballot (although he did file a lawsuit in California to get a second listing on the ballot there).

As recently as 1930, no state required more than 14,680 signatures for a new political party to get on the ballot.

How things have changed! In 1980 John Anderson needed 647,792 valid signatures to get on the ballot of all states, which was .75 percent of the number of votes cast that year, triple the 1924 percentage. And he had to sue eleven states to force them to accept his signatures, or to force them to list his vice-presidential candidate. Even though Anderson was so popular that unpaid volunteers collected all his signatures, ballot access cost him \$6 million, money that he could have put to better use, such as buying television time.

How did we get into this net of restrictions?

Restrictive ballot laws began during the 1930's. In 1931, Florida abolished all means for independent candidates and new parties to get on the ballot. In 1937 California raised the new party petition from 1 percent of the last gubernatorial vote, to 10 percent. In 1939 South Dakota also raised the new party petition to 10 percent.

The trend continued after World War II. In 1952 Ohio raised the new party petition from 1 percent to 15 percent. In 1961 Wyoming abolished all procedures by which a new party could get on the ballot. In 1966 Idaho did the same. And when Alaska came into the Union in 1959 the legislature failed to provide any means for a third party or independent presidential candidate to get on the ballot, a gap that was not corrected until 1968.

Many of these restrictions were excused on the grounds that the U.S. is a "two-party system" and that everyone was free to participate in one of the two major parties, so it didn't really matter if third parties were locked out.

However, a bad precedent had been set...the state's power over the ballot was now being used to control who could run for office, and whom voters could vote for. And the vast majority of people didn't seem to mind, or even to notice.

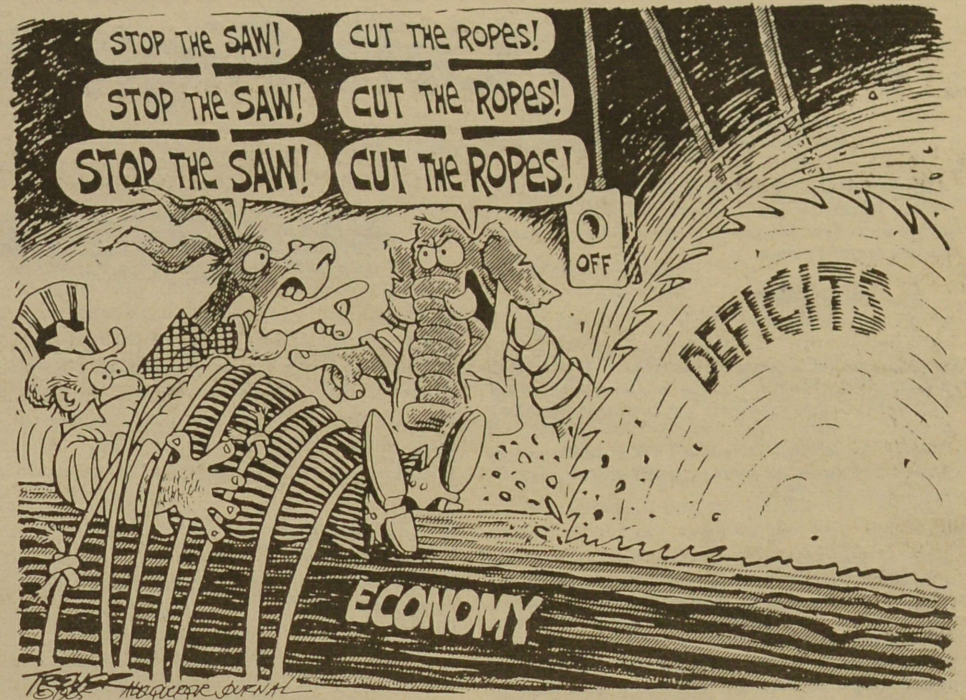
Now we are seeing the beginning of a new set of ballot access restrictions, those which make it very difficult for individual candidates to get their names on the primary ballots of their own parties. In each case, states which are making it difficult to get on the primary ballot are states which, some years back, began making it difficult for third party and independent candidates to get on the general election ballot. Examples:

MASSACHUSETTS: This state only required 1,000 signatures to get a third party or independent statewide candidate on the ballot, until 1939. That year, the petition was raised to 3 percent of the last gubernatorial vote, which ranged from 50,000 to 75,000 signatures. In 1973 this was lowered to 2 percent, which now equals 41,000 signatures. In all the years 1939 to the present, only 5 statewide independents have qualified for the Massachusetts ballot.

Since there was no public outcry against restrictions against independents, the major party politicians next moved to make it difficult for individuals to get their names on primary ballots. The statewide primary petition was raised to 10,000 signatures. And in the early 1980's, the Democratic Party passed a rule that no one could get on the Democratic Party primary ballot unless that person got at least 15 percent of the delegate vote at the state convention, regardless that the candidate had collected the 10,000 signatures.

NEW YORK: New York has never required a huge number of signatures to get on either the primary or the general election ballot, but beginning in the 1930's, it began applying the election law in a hyper-technical way to third party petitions, on selective occasions.

The first instance was 1936. The new American Labor Party, backed by President Roosevelt, could not get on the ballot unless the old Socialist Labor Party were kept off, since it was illegal for two parties to use the same word in their names. A convenient technical flaw



was discovered in the Socialist Labor Party petition, and it was kept off the ballot that year, the first time since 1888 that it had not appeared on the New York ballot.

The technique was used again in 1940, 1946, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1969, and 1982, against various third parties.

Now it is being used in Democratic primary elections. In 1980 Jerry Brown was knocked off the Democratic presidential primary, and in 1985 and 1986 hyper-technical objections have been used to keep many prominent Democratic candidates off the ballot.

We must go back to basics, and re-think the question, "What are ballots for?" Ballots are to permit the voters to vote for the candidates of their choice. If there are voters who wish to vote for a candidate, and that candidate is omitted (against his or her will) from the ballot, then the ballot is faulty. It isn't doing its job. The purpose of ballots is to facilitate the wishes of voters, NOT to control whom they vote for.

Defenders of the restrictions say that candidates who lack substantial support must be kept off the ballot. Nonsense! As the 9th Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals, said in July 1985, "A state may not require a preliminary showing of voter support as an end in itself. Denying ballot access is permissible only if and to the extent that it is necessary as a means

to further other legitimate state interests, including avoidance of the voter confusion that may result from the presence on the ballot of too many or frivolous candidates."

Yes, some requirements are needed to keep the ballots from being clogged with too many candidates, but the very slightest ballot access barriers are sufficient for this purpose. Tennessee only requires 25 signatures for an independent candidate to get on the ballot for any office, and no fee is required. In 1984 there were no independent candidates for the U.S. House on the Tennessee ballot. It's a myth that there are dozens and dozens of people who want to run for office.

Ballot access restrictions are dangerous. Even the most popular candidates can make a mistake on occasion. In 1964, a Democratic Party official forgot to certify Lyndon Johnson for the Iowa general election ballot by the deadline. The Iowa Secretary of State wisely ignored the technical violation and put him on the ballot anyway. But Johnson wasn't so lucky in Alabama, where he lost his position as the Democratic nominee in that state and couldn't qualify as an independent because an early filing deadline made it impossible. In a close election, such accidents could be catastrophic.

The Role Of Third Parties In the United States

By Richard Winger

Ever since the era of President Andrew Jackson, the voters of the United States have frequently formed third political parties when they became dissatisfied with the older two major parties.

In 1840 when it was clear that neither of the dominant major parties of that day, the Democrats and Whigs, would take a stand against slavery, the Liberty Party was formed. It polled only 7,053 votes in the entire nation for president, but it was the start of the anti-slavery movement. In 1848 the party was re-organized as the Free-Soil Party, and it polled 291,620 votes. In 1854 it was re-organized again as the Republican Party, which was strong enough to place second in the 1856 presidential election, and first in the 1860 election.

The first agrarian protest political party was formed in 1872. It only polled 26,901 votes, but the party, re-organized as the Greenback Party and then again as the People's Party, was so strong by 1894 that it elected 15 members of Congress and polled over 1,000,000 votes. The party's success was the chief cause of the first anti-monopoly legislation.

Another third party was also formed in the 19th century, the Prohibition Party, formed to bring about restrictions on the sale of alcoholic beverages. It only polled 5,588 votes in its first

presidential election, 1872, but by 1892 it had elected state legislators in fifteen states and one member of Congress. Rather than let the Prohibition Party grow any bigger, the Democratic and Republican Parties began supporting a ban on the sale of alcohol at the state level during the 1900's decade, and even at the national level during the next decade.

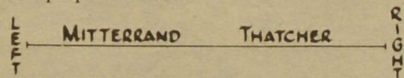
The Socialist Party was also formed in the 19th century. The first socialist presidential ticket, in 1888, only polled 2,068 votes, but by 1912 the Socialist Party had over 1,000 elected officeholders and polled 6 percent of the presidential vote. In order to keep the Socialist Party from growing still bigger, the Republican and Democratic Parties began instituting laws regulating the hours and working conditions of factories, and providing for legal recognition of labor unions.

Political scientists who have studied political parties invariably agree that the system cannot operate if the voters are denied an opportunity to form new parties, when the old ones both fail to represent them. If it were impossible for the voters to organize new parties, then the two major parties would tend to become more and more like each other...each one striving to occupy the bland middle ground, and fearful of any bold new proposals. Only the threat that a new party will be organized can counteract this process.

Beyond Left/Right

© Copyright 1987 by Marshall Fritz

The Left/Right scale is a misleading way of comparing political systems. It doesn't measure anything. In fact, it doesn't even have tick-marks to show distance between different people or ideas:



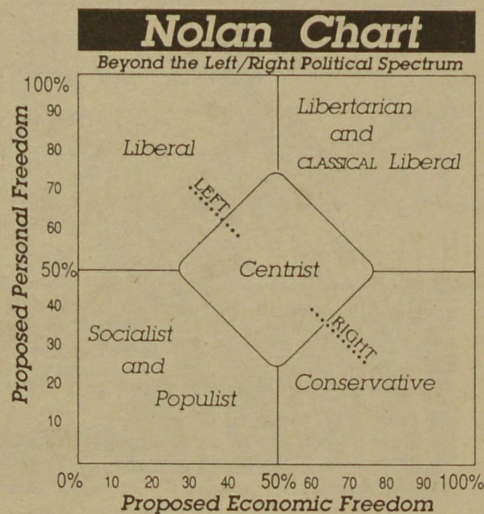
People use the left/right approach out of habit, but it leads to confusion. For example, Fascism is often placed on the Right and Socialism on the Left. Yet Fascism is "national" socialism.

Indeed, the left/right scale is not a scale at all, just an obsolete reference to the seating arrangement of the French Assembly in the 1790's.

In 1970, Denver advertising executive David Nolan invented a better approach. He divided human action into two categories. The "Economic" category includes what you do as a producer and consumer. These are your actions that can be described in money. Examples are earning a wage, buying a car, renting a motorhome.

The "Civil" (or personal) category includes what you do in relationships and in expressing yourself. These actions are *not* measured in money. Examples are the way you worship God, or don't; what books or magazines give you pleasure; your personal tradeoffs between today's fun and tomorrow's health. The Bill of Rights is aimed at your freedoms in this category.

Nolan saw how political families can be understood by the



degree of individual choice they offer in these categories. You can use this improved way of mapping political thought to better understand your local, national and international political environment.

Left/Liberals like personal choice in civil matters and central decision-making on economics. They want government to serve the disadvantaged and promote equality. Left/liberals place high value on good intentions.

They accept diversity in social behavior but seek more equality in economics. They work with libertarians in defending civil liberties and with socialists in advancing economic central planning.

Right/Conservatives like personal choice in economics and central decision-making in civil matters. They want government to defend the community from threats to its moral fiber. Right/conservatives place high value on laws and legislation.

They accept diversity in economics but seek similarity in social behavior. They work with libertarians in defending economic freedoms and with populists in enforcing community standards in social matters.

Socialists & Populists favor central decision-making in both civil and economic matters. They believe the needs of the individual are subordinate to the needs of society. They want government to "correct wrongs." While they strongly differ on particular programs, both prefer equality in economic and personal matters.

Classical Liberals/Libertarians like personal choice in both civil and economic matters. They believe government's only purpose is to safeguard people from coercion and violence. They value individual responsibility and tolerance. Libertarians accept diversity in both social behavior and in economic situation.

Centrists favor selective governmental intervention and temporary affiliations with others. They take a strong stance on few issues, preferring the middle position in most matters. Centrists emphasize practical solutions to current public issues.

ADVOCATES FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT, INC.
5533 E Swift Ave, Fresno CA 93727
209-292-1776

WHO—In the World Of Politics—Agrees With You?

Please give your opinion on the following ten statements. Your answers will be compared to common political groups such as liberal, conservative, libertarian, populist, and socialist. The result will show which political family most agrees with you.

Grading scale

AGREE	This idea would probably work. I basically agree with it.
DISAGREE	This idea is absurd. It would work rarely, if ever.
NEITHER	This idea requires more information or thought. It might work in some situations but not in others, or if changed a great deal.

Political statements about personal freedoms:

1. Military service should be voluntary and without a forced "draft."
2. Anti-drug laws do more harm than good. They should be repealed.
3. The right of the people to bear arms should not be infringed.
4. Government should *not* try to regulate sex between consenting adults.
5. TV and radio should have "Freedom of the Press" just like newspapers.

Circle your opinion:

Agree	Disagree	Neither
Agree	Disagree	Neither
Agree	Disagree	Neither
Agree	Disagree	Neither
Agree	Disagree	Neither

Political statements about economic freedoms:

6. Welfare programs should be paid for by voluntary contributions, not taxes.
7. The post office should be sold and competition allowed in mail delivery.
8. Government should stop regulating business. Let competition do it.
9. We should get rid of tariffs and other barriers to free trade.
10. Subsidies to farmers do more harm than good. They should be ended.

Agree	Disagree	Neither
Agree	Disagree	Neither
Agree	Disagree	Neither
Agree	Disagree	Neither
Agree	Disagree	Neither

TO FIND YOUR POLITICAL POSITION:

For questions 1 to 5, score 20 points for each Agree, no points for each Disagree, and 10 points for a Neither. The total score shows where you stand on:

Civil Liberties _____ %

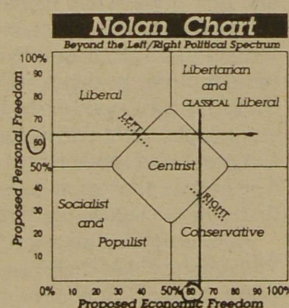
For questions 6 to 10, score the same way: 20 points for Agree, nothing for Disagree, and 10 for Neither. The total shows how much you favor:

Economic Freedom _____ %

See example on right. Mark your Civil Liberties score on the vertical scale on the Nolan Chart. Now draw a line from it straight to the right.

Next mark your Economic Freedom on the horizontal scale and draw a line straight up from it.

The two lines cross in the political family that agrees with you.



Baby Boomers And Political Trends

By Marshall Fritz

David Nolan, in his article "Classifying and Analyzing Politico-Economic Systems," in the January, 1971 issue of the *Individualist*, used this chart to predict a major shift in the dominant axis of American politics.

He begins by noting that his prediction would be incomprehensible in terms of the left-right spectrum because all possibilities have to be conceived of in terms of shifts along the line. His prediction is that "the primary political development of the next few decades is going to be a *shift in the position of the 'mainstream line' itself!*"

Nolan then predicts that "probably in the 1980's" the different political attitudes of the baby-boomers will cause a shift in the new mainstream polarization to an interventionist vs. non-interventionist polarization. Nolan then warns that the new polarization is less stable than the old, and that America will have to go one way or the other—"either toward a free society, or toward a statist one."

Howard Fineman confirms the prediction 15 years later. In an October 15, 1985 *Newsweek* article, Fineman says the political issues are better understood by dividing the political world into two camps: those who "look to action by a central authority" and those who "believe government cures are worse than the disease."

More Than One Way To Read A Chart

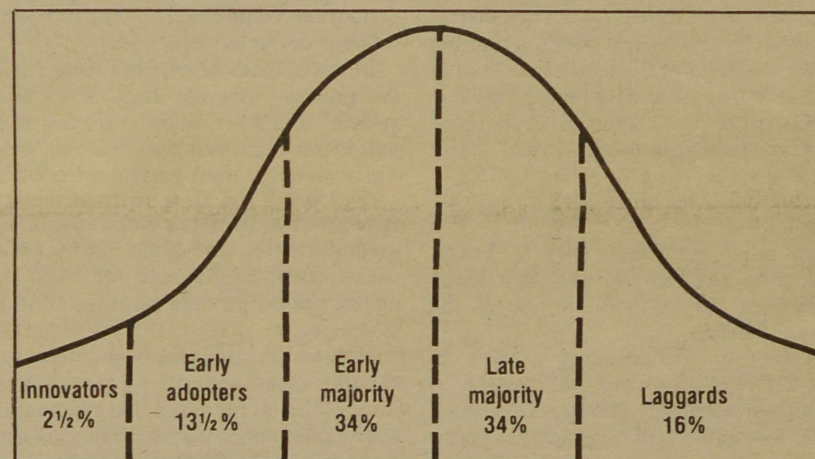
By Marshall Fritz

Philip Mitchell used the Nolan Chart in an entirely different way in the June 1984 *Time for Liberty*. Dr. Mitchell, a psychologist and communications consultant to Advocates for Self-Government, has a message which can help us more deeply understand political diversity.

The original Nolan Chart discriminates people by *what* they believe; i.e., the "substance" of their belief. Mitchell analyzes an entirely different facet of our human makeup: differences in *how* people approach political issues, not *what* the issues are.

The center area represents people who look at political issues with primary concern for *how* things are done, *how* things appear, and the *intentions* behind a person's political actions. While centrists have different positions on *what* they believe on the issues, this is not as important to them as the fact that they agree with other centrists "about the means and styles of approaching life."

Each of the corner areas represents people with clear distinctions in ideology. These differences in *what* they believe are key to their attitudes. They are deeply committed to *what* they believe.



Political Innovations

By Terry Inman

[The Libertarian Party] is a "new product" in the marketplace, sharply differentiated from existing political choices. The reason the Libertarian Party does not yet have mass support is not because it does not have mass appeal, but because it is so new.

A useful tool for examining the issue of public acceptance of the libertarian philosophy is to employ a commonly used sociological model of product acceptance, which has considerable application in marketing theory. Based in part on the Values and Lifestyles (VALS) approach to marketing, this model breaks down the population of people who eventually accept a new product into five major categories, based upon how quickly they adopt and use the product in question.

Pioneering the adoption process are a small group of Innovators, who are the first to embrace the new product (or idea). Following their lead are the Early Adopters, who together with the Innovators make up only about 16 percent of the total population. Eventually the Early Majority emerges, making up over a third of the population. Finally, another third (the Late Majority) accepts the innovation. Last, but not least, the tradition-bound Laggards come around.

While these categories are somewhat artificial, they do provide a useful means of looking at the adoption process, and tend to reflect the actual reality of product acceptance.

Everett Rogers discusses the Innovator category in his book, *Diffusion of Innovations*:

Perhaps the adopter category of greatest interest to sociologists is Innovators. By definition, Innovators are the first to adopt new ideas in their social system. However, the Innovator is not always the most respected member of a system. He prefers venture-someness to the respect of his peers.

The Innovator plays an important role in the process of change, but there is no doubt that when the Innovator adopts a new idea, he causes his peers to become aware of the innovation. If the innovation proves to be advantageous, the initial skepticism of the Innovator's peers may change to a grudging admittance of its utility.

Thus the Innovator may not be identified as influential in his social system, but he may set the stage for change by demonstrating new ideas to local opinion leaders. The new idea is injected into the social system from external sources by the Innovator.

Innovators are more educated, intelligent, rational, and able to deal with abstractions. They also are less dogmatic and fatalistic and possess greater social mobility and empathy. [They] actively seek factual information and evaluate it against their own internal standards. What they do not need is the reassurance of knowing that one of their friends has tried the product and found it satisfactory.

Helping America's Native Son



By Howard Baetjer Jr.

"The only thing I did in school every day was fight and shoot," says 27-year-old Booker Cole, with an air of bravado. "There was a time when people wouldn't even talk to me because I would either beat them up or 'smoke' them if I didn't like what they said." A member of one of Los Angeles' biggest black street-gang networks since he was ten, Cole has served time for robbery and cocaine dealing.

So begins a *Time* magazine article from Dec. 1, 1986, on the problems of many inner-city black males. Entitled "Today's Native Sons," (an allusion to Richard Wright's 1940 protest novel), it is an account of the violence, shiftlessness, promiscuity, drug use, and futility that characterizes the lives of thousands of these young men. It describes a national crisis that demands attention.

The customary approach to such a grievous problem is to ask what we (usually meaning government) can do to fix it. How can we help? What should be done? The article makes little effort to answer these questions; indeed, it points out the limitations of a number of the usual suggestions such as welfare and reform and job training. The reader senses that the authors can think of no solution at all.

Perhaps there is no solution of the traditional, government-action kind. In this case as in others, the "how can we help" approach may be exactly the wrong one, doomed only to make things worse. First we need to know the underlying causes of the problem. If government action itself causes or contributes to the problem—and we will argue that it does—then the right approach is to ask, "how can we stop hurting?" What can we (here definitely meaning government) stop doing to cause these problems.

These young men are of sound mind and body, potentially capable of building productive and happy lives for themselves without help—if only we would remove the obstacles and traps in their way. This article will examine three crucial aspects of what *Time* calls, "the Native Son crisis," to see how we might start helping by letting alone.

The problem

Before pursuing this, let us look at the dimensions of the problem. Some of the alarming statistics *Time* gives are as follows:

The poverty rate for blacks is 31%, compared with 11% for whites....[A] seemingly unshrinkable segment of urban males—perhaps as much as 50% of young black males in certain cities—still find themselves cut off from the American mainstream. ... While the national employment rate is 6.9%, for black men it is 15%, and for black teens it remains more than 40%.

The Native Son crisis is contributing to the breakdown of the family structure in the inner city, a trend that is seen as both a cause and an effect of the poverty cycle. According to Census Bureau statistics, nearly two-thirds of all black children are born to unwed mothers.

Main causes

Obstacles to employment: Nothing is more important in this crisis than unemployment; on this everyone seems to agree. Few ask, however, why there is so much unemployment among poor blacks. Indeed, *Time* treats unemployment as a basic cause of the problem, apparently not considering that unemployment itself has causes.

On this subject, economists have written persuasively—even conclusively—since Adam Smith penned *The Wealth of Nations* two centuries ago. Chronic, involuntary unemployment is caused by interferences with the labor market. That is, by restrictions on people's freedom to employ one another as they see fit. There are many thorny problems in economics; unemployment is not one of them. Long-term involuntary unemployment could be eliminated by repealing the restrictions on work.

In his book *The State Against Blacks* (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1982), Walter Williams, professor of economics at George Mason University, asserts that "it is the 'rules of the game' that account for many of the economic handicaps faced by blacks. The rules of the game are the many federal, state, and local laws that regulate economic activity...there are many laws in the United States that systematically discriminate against the employment and advancement of people who are outsiders, latecomers and poor in resources...[among whom] blacks are disproportionately represented."

Williams describes how the minimum wage makes unemployable all disadvantaged people whose work skills are insufficient to generate revenue greater than that wage. No employer will long hire someone for \$5 an hour (minimum wage of \$3.35 plus various payroll taxes) if he or she generates company income of only, say, \$4.50 per hour. Significantly, it is entry-level jobs that are most affected by the minimum wage, which prevents the unskilled from getting on the job ladder. Another kind of legal obstruction to the labor markets that Williams discusses is occupational licensing.

Apart from the "public spirited" intentions that may underlie the regulation of businesses and occupations, there are the effects of regulation that can be analyzed through economic analysis... The economic effects of occupational and business licensure are quite predictable. The most immediate effect of licensing is that the number of practitioners is smaller than it would otherwise be. The

reasons are mostly the result of higher entry costs for the licensed activity. Some licenses require many months of schooling as in the cases of cosmeticians and barbers. Others require installation of costly health and safety equipment. Yet others require the purchase of the license or "certificate of authorization" which can cost into the millions of dollars. Then some licensing jurisdictions issue only a fixed number of licenses or authorizations. All of these licensure requirements raise the cost of entry, which leads necessarily to a smaller number of practitioners in the licensed activity. (p.68)

The smaller number of practitioners, facing less competition, can generally charge higher prices; this fact, not considerations of the public interest, ultimately explains most licensing. The effect on the disadvantaged is severe. How many poor teenagers can afford, in money and time, the 1500 hours of instruction required before one may take the test for a hairdresser's license? How many poor people can afford the more than \$100,000 it costs to buy a taxi medallion (license) in New York City? These avenues of employment and advancement are shut off by law.

There are many other obstacles to employment which hurt the disadvantaged most of all. Among these are union laws, which legalize unions' exclusion of non-union workers; payroll taxes and restrictions on firing, which discourage employers from hiring, especially if an applicant looks risky; restrictions on home work; child-labor laws; and many others. Suffice it to say that unemployment does not just happen; it has causes found in law. Employment opportunities could be dramatically enhanced by repealing these restrictions.

Inferior schooling: Directly related to the unemployment problem is the education problem. If a young man is poorly educated, he will likely have more difficulty progressing up the job ladder.

Since 1950, government spending on schooling has increased more than 300 percent, adjusted for inflation. Has this increase brought about better schooling? No. The quality of inner-city schools has declined dramatically. The National Commission on Excellence in Education reported that "the education foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people." Among their findings: "About 13 percent of all 17-year-olds in the United States can be considered functionally illiterate. Functional illiteracy among minority youth may run as high as 40 percent."

A recent study by Cato Institute found that on the whole nationwide, public schools are more than twice as costly, per student, as private schools. Another study, by Dr. Joan Davis Ratteray of the Institute for Independent Education, found that in inner-city Chicago, there is great unsatisfied demand for private schools, especially in the poorest areas, as parents try to save their children from the problems of the government schools.

Because inner-cities have the worst schools, inhabitants of these areas have the most to gain from reform. To provide educational opportunity for our Native Sons, city and state governments should stop forcing people to pay for bad schools and forcing children to attend them. (For more on the subject of education, the reader is referred to *The Freeman* of November, 1986; and Thomas Sowell's *Education, Assumptions versus History*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1986.)

The welfare trap: A third crucial factor in the plight of the inner cities is welfare. On this subject, a very important recent book is Charles Murray's *Losing Ground: American Social Policy 1950-1980* (Basic Books, New York, 1984). Murray shows that when we began to fight the "War on Poverty" in the mid-1960s, historical progress against poverty slowed and

Continued on page 10

Productive Advances

WHO BENEFITS MOST?

By Joseph S. Fulda

The free enterprise system allows inventors and investors to reap the rewards of creativity and risk. But in a market economy, those who gain *most* from the productive advances thought of by inventors and funded by investors are the poor.

Let us examine several productive advances and see to whom the benefits accrue. Consider first the printing press. The very rich had scribes and private secretaries do their clerical work, but the very poor are now literate in numbers once deemed impossible. Or to move up the centuries, consider the television. The rich had hours of leisure and the funds for private entertainment to fill them. The poor, however, now have an entertainment cornucopia undreamt of in earlier ages. As a third example, consider air travel. The rich were able to afford weeks of travel by land or sea, while their properties continued to generate income. Those less well off, on the other hand, would never see distant lands or relations without air travel. Or consider antibiotics, one of the twentieth century's miracles. The rich who live in sanitary, spacious quarters have had less need of these wonder drugs than those who occupy crowded, unsanitary, slum areas. Finally, consider that mundane appliance, the vacuum cleaner. The rich often have others do their housekeeping. Their housekeepers, in contrast, have had their jobs simplified and their hourly output increased by the vacuum cleaner's invention.

From little things to big things, the principle holds. Productive advances help everyone, but most of all the less well-to-do.

This is hardly limited to inventions and discoveries, but applies to improvements in productive methods as well. Who has been helped the most by specialization, mass production, automation, and robotics? The rich consumer could always afford the work of the skilled craftsman, but the poor shopper depends on the economics of modern technology and productive methods for the wide variety of household items from which he chooses. Likewise, advances in these productive methods may enrich the factory owner, but it is his workers whose jobs over the decades have become lighter, more meaningful, and better paid. Nor is this observation true only of blue collar workers. From the pencil to the typewriter to the electric typewriter to the word processor, the jobs of the lowest-paid, white-collar workers have also become lighter, more meaningful, and better paid.

Nor have all these advances thrust millions into idleness (although there is some temporary dislocation), as the doomsayers have warned. Rather, mankind's energies have been channeled more and more into the good things of life and less and less into its bare necessities.

Government with its power to tax has not been the cause of the remarkable improvement in our standard of living over the years. Only productive advances make the same physical effort count for more and more and only economic growth so arising can truly increase everyone's rewards. And when productivity is enhanced and the economy grows, it is the poor who are most lifted by the rising tide.

—From FEE

Joseph S. Fulda is Assistant Professor of Computer Science at Hofstra University and resides in Manhattan.

"Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must undergo the fatigue of supporting it."

—Thomas Paine, 1777

The following condensation of the platform of the Libertarian Party is not a paraphrase, but uses only the actual words of the document. The full text of the platform may be obtained by writing to the LP national office, 301 West 21st Street, Houston, TX 77008.

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND CIVIL ORDER

No conflict exists between civil order and individual rights. Both concepts are based on the same fundamental principle: that no individual, group, or government may initiate force against any other individual, group, or government.

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

Members of the Libertarian Party do not necessarily advocate or condone any of the practices that our policies would make legal. Our exclusion of moral approval and disapproval is deliberate: People's rights must be recognized; the wisdom of any course of peaceful action is a matter for the acting individual(s) to decide. Personal responsibility is discouraged by society routinely denying the people the right to exercise it. Libertarian policies will create a society where people are free to make and learn from their own decisions.

CRIME

The appropriate way to suppress crime is through consistent and impartial enforcement of laws that protect individual rights. We applaud the trend toward private protection services and voluntary community crime control groups.

VICTIMLESS CRIMES

Because only actions that infringe the rights of others can properly be termed crimes, we favor the repeal of all federal, state, and local laws creating "crimes" without victims.

SAFEGUARDS FOR THE CRIMINALLY ACCUSED

Until such time as persons are proved guilty of crimes, they should be accorded full respect for their individual rights. We are thus opposed to reduction of present safeguards of the rights of the criminally accused.

JUSTICE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

We support restitution for the victim to the fullest degree possible at the expense of the criminal or wrongdoer.

JURIES

We oppose the current practice of forced jury duty and favor all-volunteer juries. We believe juries may hold all criminal laws invalid that are, in their opinion, unjust or oppressive, and find all persons guiltless of violating such laws.

SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY

We favor an immediate end to the doctrine of "Sovereign Immunity" which implies that the State can do no wrong and holds that the State, contrary to the tradition of redress of grievances, may not be sued without its permission or held accountable for its actions under civil law.

FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION

We defend the rights of individuals to unrestricted freedom of speech and freedom of the press. We oppose all forms of government censorship.

THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY

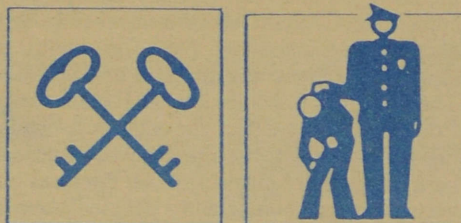
The owners of property have the full right to control, use, dispose of, or in any manner enjoy, their property without interference, until and unless the exercise of their control infringes the valid rights of others. We demand an end to taxation of privately owned real property, which actually makes the State the owner of all lands and forces individuals to rent their homes and places of business from the State.

PROTECTION OF PRIVACY

The individual's privacy, property, and right to speak or not to speak should not be infringed by the government. We oppose the issuance by the government of an identity card to be required for any purpose, such as for employment, voting, or border crossing.

GOVERNMENT SECRECY

We condemn the government's use of secret classifications to keep from the public information that it should have.



INTERNAL SECURITY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

We call for the abolition of all federal secret police agencies. In particular, we seek the abolition of the CIA and the FBI, and we call for a return to the American tradition of local law enforcement.

THE RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS

Maintaining our belief in the inviolability of the right to keep and bear arms, we oppose all laws at any level of government restricting the ownership, manufacture, transfer, or sale of firearms or ammunition. We oppose all laws requiring registration of firearms or ammunition.

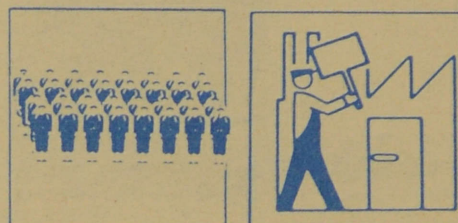
WOMEN'S RIGHTS

We hold that individual rights should not be denied or abridged on the basis of sex. We call for repeal of all laws discriminating against women, such as "protective" labor laws and marriage or divorce laws which deny the full rights of men and women. We support the right of women to make a personal choice regarding the termination of pregnancy. However, we also oppose all tax funding for abortions.

The Libertarian Pa

CONSCRIPTION AND THE MILITARY

Recognizing that registration is the first step toward full conscription, we oppose all attempts at compulsory registration of any person and all schemes for automatic registration through government invasions of the privacy of school, motor vehicle, or other records. We also oppose any form of national service, such as a compulsory youth labor program.



UNIONS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

We support the right of free persons to voluntarily establish, associate in, or not associate in, labor unions. An employer should have the right to recognize, or refuse to recognize, a union as the collective bargaining agent of some or all of his or her employees.

POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

We support repeal of all laws that impede the ability of any person to find employment, such as minimum wage laws, so-called "protective" labor legislation for women and children, governmental restrictions on the establishment of private day-care centers, and the National Labor Relations Act. We deplore government-fostered forced retirement, which robs the elderly of the right to work. We oppose all government welfare, relief projects, and "aid to the poor" programs. All these government programs are privacy-invading, paternalistic, demeaning, and inefficient.

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

Children are human beings and, as such, have all the rights of human beings. We oppose all laws that empower government officials to seize children and make them "wards of the state" or, by means of child labor laws and compulsory education, to infringe on their freedom to work or learn as they choose.

THE ECONOMY

We support the following specific immediate reforms: 1) drastic reduction of both taxes and government spending; 2) an end to deficit budgets; 3) a halt to inflationary monetary policies; 4) the removal of all governmental impediments to free trade; and 5) the repeal of all controls on wages, prices, rents, profits, production, and interest rates.

TAXATION

Since we believe that all persons are entitled to keep the fruits of their labor, we oppose all government activity that consists of the forcible collection of money or goods from individuals in violation of their individual rights.

INFLATION AND DEPRESSION

We recognize that government control over money and banking is the primary cause of inflation and depression. Individuals engaged in voluntary exchange should be free to use as money any mutually agreeable commodity or item.

BALANCED BUDGETS

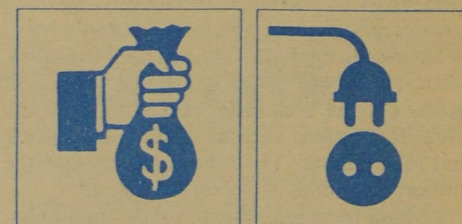
We support the drive for a constitutional amendment requiring the national government to balance its budget, and also support similar amendments to require balanced state budgets.

MONOPOLIES

In order to abolish monopolies, we advocate a strict separation of business and State. "Anti-trust" laws do not prevent monopoly, but foster it by limiting competition. We defend the right of individuals to form corporations, cooperatives, and other types of companies based on voluntary association. Laws of incorporation should not include grants of monopoly privilege. In particular, we oppose special limits on the liability of corporations for damages caused in noncontractual transactions.

SUBSIDIES

In order to achieve a free economy in which government victimizes no one for the benefit of anyone else, we oppose all government subsidies to business, labor, education, agriculture, science, broadcasting, the arts, sports, and any other special interest.



PUBLIC UTILITIES

We advocate the termination of government-created franchise privileges and government monopolies for such services as garbage collection, fire protection, electricity, natural gas, telephone, or water supplies. The right to offer such services on the market should not be curtailed by law.

TARIFFS AND QUOTAS

We support the abolition of all tariffs and quotas.

ENERGY

We oppose all government control of energy pricing, allocation, and production, such as that imposed by the Department of Energy, state public utility commissions, and state rationing agencies. We oppose all direct and indirect government participation in the nuclear energy industry. Any nuclear power industry must meet the test of a free market.

POLLUTION

Pollution of other people's property is a viola-

Party Platform In Brief

tion of individual rights. Strict liability, not government agencies and arbitrary government standards, should regulate pollution.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

We support strong and effective laws against fraud and misrepresentation. However, we oppose paternalistic regulations which dictate to consumers, impose prices, define standards for products, or otherwise restrict risk-taking and free choice.

EDUCATION

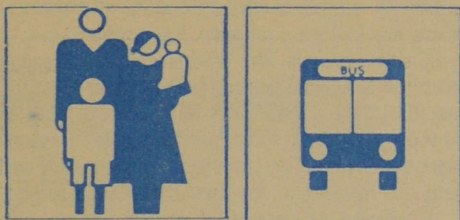
We advocate the complete separation of education and State. We condemn compulsory education laws. As an interim measure, we support tax credits for tuition and for other expenditures related to an individual's education.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL AND FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Any effort to extend the protection of the United States government to U.S. citizens when they or their property fall within the jurisdiction of a foreign government involves potential military intervention. We therefore call upon the U.S. government to adhere rigidly to the principle that all U.S. citizens travel, live, and own property abroad at their own risk.

POPULATION

We oppose all coercive measures for population control.



TRANSPORTATION

Government interference in transportation is characterized by monopolistic restriction, corruption, and gross inefficiency. We support the immediate repeal of all laws restricting transit competition. We urge the immediate deregulation of the trucking industry and advocate the immediate repeal of the federally imposed 55-mph speed limit.

IMMIGRATION

We hold that human rights should not be denied or abridged on the basis of nationality. We therefore call for the elimination of all restrictions on immigration. We oppose government welfare payments to non-citizens, just as we oppose government welfare payments to all other persons.

DISCRIMINATION

No individual rights should be denied or abridged by the laws of the United States or any state or locality on account of sex, race, color, creed, age, national origin, or sexual preference.

RESOURCE USE

Resource management is properly the responsibility and right of the legitimate owners of land, water, and other natural resources. We oppose government control of resource use through eminent domain, zoning laws, building codes, rent control, regional planning, urban renewal, or purchase of development rights with tax money. We recognize the legitimacy of resource planning by means of private, voluntary covenants.



HEALTH CARE

We advocate the complete separation of medicine and State. Recognizing the individual's right to self-medication, we seek the elimination of all government restrictions on the right of individuals to pursue alternative forms of health care.

AGRICULTURE

America's free market in agriculture, the system that feeds much of the world, has been plowed under by government intervention. Farmers and consumers alike should be free from the meddling and counterproductive measures of the federal government—free to grow, sell, and buy what they want, in the quantity they want, when they want.

OSHA

We call for the repeal of the Occupational Safety and Health Act.

SOCIAL SECURITY

We favor the repeal of the fraudulent, virtually bankrupt, and increasingly oppressive Social Security system. Pending that repeal, participation in Social Security should be made voluntary.

POSTAL SERVICE

We propose the abolition of the governmental Postal Service. Pending abolition, we call for an end to the monopoly system and for allowing free competition in all aspects of the postal service.

CIVIL SERVICE

We call for the abolition of the Civil Service system, which entrenches a permanent and growing bureaucracy upon the land.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS

We urge the repeal of federal campaign finance laws, and the immediate abolition of

the despotic Federal Election Commission, which suppress the voluntary support of candidates and parties, compel taxpayers to subsidize politicians and political views they do not wish to support, invade the privacy of American citizens, and entrench the Republican and Democratic Parties.

NONE OF THE ABOVE

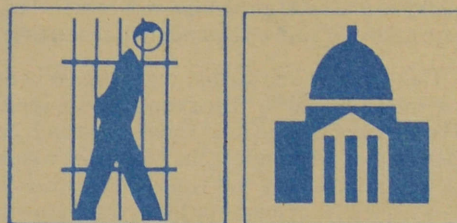
We propose the addition of the alternative "None of the above is acceptable" to all ballots. In the event that "None of the above" wins a plurality of votes, the elective office for that term will remain unfilled and unfunded.

NEGOTIATIONS

The important principle in foreign policy should be the elimination of intervention by the United States government in the affairs of other nations.

HUMAN RIGHTS

We condemn the violations of human rights in all nations around the world. We support both political and revolutionary actions by individuals and groups against governments that violate rights. We recognize the right of all people to resist tyranny, and defend themselves and their rights. We condemn, however, the use of force, and especially the use of terrorism, against the innocent, regardless of whether such acts are committed by governments or by political or revolutionary groups.



WORLD GOVERNMENT

We support withdrawal of the United States government from, and an end to its financial support for, the United Nations. We oppose U.S. government participation in any world or international government.

SECESSION

We recognize the right to political secession. This includes the right of secession by political entities, private groups, or individuals.

GOVERNMENT AND "MENTAL HEALTH"

We oppose the involuntary commitment of any person to a mental institution. To incarcerate an individual not convicted of any crime, but merely asserted to be incompetent, is a violation of the individual's rights.

FOREIGN AID

We support the elimination of tax-supported military, economic, technical, and scientific aid to foreign governments or other organizations.

MILITARY POLICY

We recognize the necessity for maintaining a sufficient military force to defend the United States against aggression. We view the mass-destruction potential of modern warfare as the greatest threat to the lives and liberties of the American people and all the people of the globe. We favor international negotiations toward general and complete disarmament down to police levels, provided every necessary precaution is taken to effectively protect the lives and the rights of the American people.

PRESIDENTIAL WAR POWERS

We call for the reform of the Presidential War Powers Act to end the President's power to initiate military action, and for the abrogation of all Presidential declarations of "states of emergency."

INTERNATIONAL MONEY

We favor the withdrawal of the United States from all international paper money and other inflationary credit schemes.

UNOWNED RESOURCES

Individuals have the right to homestead un-owned resources both within the jurisdiction of national governments and within such unclaimed territory as the ocean, Antarctica, and the volume of outer space.

COLONIALISM

We favor immediate self-determination for all people living in colonial dependencies, such as Samoa, Guam, Micronesia, the Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico, to free these people from U.S. dominance, accompanied by the termination of subsidization of them at taxpayers' expense.

THE MIDDLE EAST

We call upon the United States government to cease all intervention in the Middle East, including military and economic aid, guarantees, and diplomatic meddling, and to cease limitation of private foreign aid, both military and economic.

CENTRAL AMERICA

We oppose the current thrust by the U.S. government to establish American political control over the Western Hemisphere and its growing involvement in internal conflicts in Central America and the Caribbean.

CHINA

We condemn the growing alliance between the U.S. government and the People's Republic of China, just as we condemn the previous alliance with the Republic of China on Taiwan. China should not be considered as part of America's defense perimeter.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

We call upon the United States to cease all interventions in South Africa, including military and economic aid, guarantees, and backing of political groups, and to refrain from restricting American trade and investment in the region.

SPACE EXPLORATION

We oppose all government restrictions upon voluntary peaceful use of outer space.

How The Fed Fooled The Farmers

By Jay Habegger

Jay Habegger is a sophomore at the University of Colorado at Boulder. He was an intern at FEE during the summer of 1986.

The crisis in agriculture has moved to the forefront of national attention. Scarcely a day passes without a story on the evening news about farm foreclosures or farmers pleading for financial relief. Occasionally the tale is even more dramatic and invokes a public response. One Colorado farmer, for instance, recently crashed his tractor through the front window of the bank which holds the mortgage on his farm. When the story appeared on television, sympathetic viewers began sending contributions to a fund established to provide for his legal defense. Clearly not all is well down on the farm.

Why are so many American farmers in financial trouble? Individuals who confine discussion to nonrecourse loans, marketing orders, or target pricing will uncover only part of the answer. Evidence indicates that government intervention in the money supply, popularly called monetary policy, is responsible for many of the financial woes of agriculture.

Farmers have long recognized the importance of monetary policy. Even in post-revolutionary America a large number of the debates in state legislatures concerned the proper role of government in monetary affairs.¹ Farming interests consistently supported "easy money"—inflation. Later, agrarian support for inflation manifested itself in several political movements. For instance, the Greenback party was largely supported by agrarian interests to promote the issue of paper currency.² The Greenbackers claimed that "easy money" would cure the farmer's problems. Although their assertions have proved false, agriculture's advocacy for inflation can be explained when one understands the business of farming.

Agriculture requires a large capital investment. Even a small farm needs a substantial investment in land and the machinery. Quality farm land can cost several thousand dollars an acre, and an average farm may run several hundred acres. A tractor alone can cost a farmer upwards of a hundred thousand dollars, and this doesn't include the implements for it to pull.

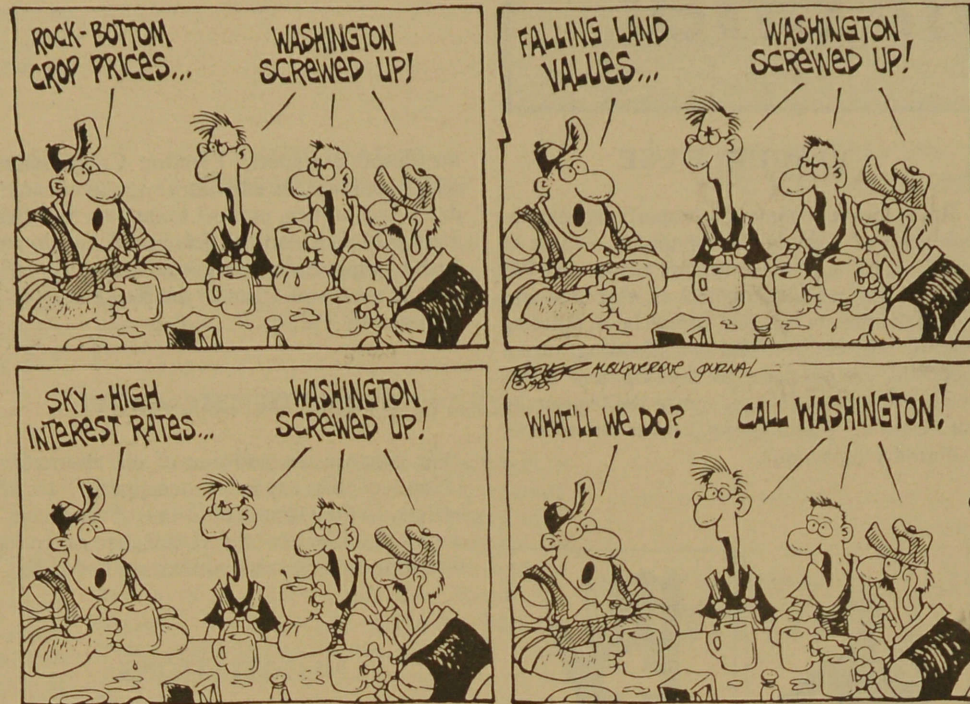
Individual farmers, however, rarely have the savings to finance even a small operation. Farmers typically obtain credit from commercial banks, savings and loans, and the U.S. government. Without credit, farmers are unable to purchase new land and machinery. In short, credit is an integral factor in agriculture.

As with any other factor of production, the terms and conditions under which credit is assumed and maintained play a major role in business decisions. The farmer is concerned not only with the terms of a loan, but the terms

"As long as the Fed is allowed to cause long periods of inflation followed by radical and sudden policy shifts, farmers will be subjected to painful readjustments."

viewed against the current state of the economy and projected economic conditions. How the economy is expected to perform over the life of the loan may be even more important than the actual terms.

Agriculture's interest in monetary policy can now be explained. Since the farmer's livelihood is directly linked to the long-term performance of the economy, the factors which affect the economy, such as monetary policy, are of paramount importance. At the very least, the farmer would like to insure that long-term economic performance does not harm his position. Even more desirable is a situation in which monetary policy favors agricultural interests.



The Power of the Fed

Agriculture is not the only special interest group with a stake in monetary policy. Heavy industry, labor, and a bevy of other groups all would like a voice in monetary policy. The question then arises about how monetary policy is formed. Who wields this enormous power over the American economy? In the United States, responsibility for monetary policy falls chiefly on the Federal Reserve Board, commonly called the Fed. Through regulation of the quantity of money in circulation, the Fed hopes to achieve an optimal level of monetary growth and credit expansion.

There is little doubt about the Fed's ability to change the rate of monetary growth. Through various instruments, the Fed influences interest rates and other credit market conditions. What is open to question, however, is the Fed's ability to prescribe an *optimal* rate of monetary expansion—if such an *optimal* rate even exists.

Can the Fed know what the proper rate of expansion should be? The simple answer is no. The Fed would need total knowledge of all the factors that might affect the economy, which clearly no group of individuals can possess. Consequently, opinions on the optimal growth rate vary widely, depending on whose interest is at stake. What one group considers optimal growth another group may find detrimental. For example, farming interests generally favor rapid growth of the money supply. Labor, on the other hand, tends to find inflation undesirable. Thus, various special interest groups try to influence monetary policy to their benefit.

In practice monetary policy is determined by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Board. Each of the seven governors is appointed by the President to a nonrenewable 14-year term. Often special interest groups try to influence monetary policy by exercising their leverage over appointments. Agriculture, for example, has used this tactic in the past. In 1922 agricultural interests persuaded President Warren G. Harding to appoint an "agriculturist" to the Board of Governors.³

Each member of the board is subject to political pressure from a variety of sources. In an election year, the administration may encourage the Fed to cause a mild inflation,

thereby stimulating the economy and aiding incumbents. Congress and the administration may also influence the Fed to monetize the Federal debt, thus causing inflation in order to finance large government expenditures. If the inflation becomes a political burden, however, Congress or the President may call upon the Federal Reserve Board to slow monetary growth.

The effect of all these political influences is an unpredictable, myopic monetary policy. A change in any one of the factors which influence the Fed may cause a major shift in monetary policy. Each policy shift causes significant fluctuations in the economy. Thus, every time the Fed alters its policy, individuals in the economy must also alter their economic activity and long-range forecasts. They must adjust to each policy shift. It is the policy shifts and consequent readjustments that have caused many of the severe problems in American agriculture.

Throughout the late 1970s, the Fed pursued a policy of rapid money and credit expansion. The resulting inflation, which lasted several years, caused farmers to believe that inflation would continue. They made their investment decisions accordingly. Federal price supports, federally subsidized credit,⁴ low interest rates, coupled with the seemingly favorable investment climate caused by the inflation, prompted many farmers to bury themselves in a mountain of debt.

The inflation caused economic distortions. Since most nominal prices rose, nominal income also increased. Rising incomes and low real interest rates convinced farmers that they were in a better financial situation than they actually were. If, as many farmers expected, the inflation continued and their nominal incomes rose, their debt payments would become less of a burden. Thus, the expectation of a continuing inflation induced farmers into investments which they never would have undertaken in a period of stable money.

But no one can predict the political future. The farmers couldn't anticipate the appointment of Paul Volcker as Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board in 1979, and the mounting political pressure to slow inflation. Following Volcker's appointment, the Fed began an erratic shift in policy that was designed to reduce inflation.⁵ While actual monetary growth varied from month to month, the overall result of the Fed's policy was to slow the growth in the money supply. As a consequence, inflation subsided. The economy began a painful period of adjustment which led to a recession.

Continued on page 9

New Cars, Used Buyers

For the sixth straight year, Japan has bowed to U.S. political pressure and imposed quotas on its auto exports. What will this mean for American consumers?

First, less competition. With fewer Japanese imports, consumers will have fewer cars from which to choose.

Second, higher prices. By restricting competition, the quotas have raised the prices of both Japanese imports and American-made cars. Estimates of these price increases run into the hundreds and thousands of dollars. By any estimate, the quotas have cost U.S. consumers billions of dollars.

Third, fewer U.S. exports. The fewer dollars we spend overseas, the fewer dollars foreigners will have to buy American goods. By restricting imports, we also restrict exports.

Fourth, no net saving in jobs. Unemployment is primarily a wage-rate phenomenon. To the extent that quotas enable U.S. auto workers to raise union wage-rates above market-clearing levels, unemployment actually rises.

—From FEE

Controls Raise Prices

A recent Canadian study provides revealing information about the effects of government regulation on prices. In 1982, Statistics Canada began to measure the rates of price increases on goods and services that are regulated by government and to compare those to the price increases on products that don't have the benefit of government regulation.

The figures show that since April, 1973, government approved or regulated prices have increased 240 percent whereas other prices, based on what the market will bear, have increased only 167 percent. At the present time, the annual inflation rate of products whose prices are approved is about 6 percent while those whose prices are determined by good old supply and demand in the market place are inflating at only 3 percent.

In other words, the unmistakable message from the Stat Can figures is that for at least the last 13 years, Canadians have gotten a better deal price-wise on those products whose prices were determined by "whatever the market will bear." The reason for this is not hard to see.

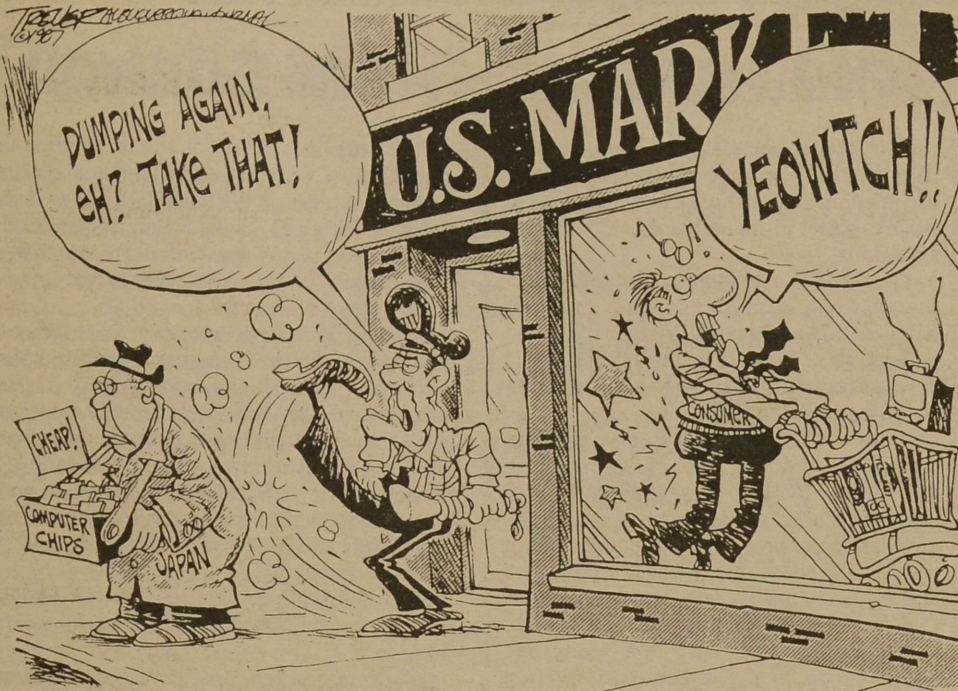
Approved or regulated prices are usually prices that are produced under monopoly or under special license from government. For example, eggs, milk, chicken, and airline travel as well as telephone calls have in common the fact that those who produce them enjoy a form of government-sponsored monopoly. The monopoly in turn is regulated by the government. The theory is that by removing the product or service from the market place and permitting a monopoly, the government will ensure that there is no duplication of facilities—e.g., eggs and milk. By regulating the price, the government also attempts to ensure that "the price is right."

The problem is that in determining the price they will allow, regulators often have to rely on information from the regulated industry to determine the costs of production and the reasonable profit that is added. What is lacking is the pressure of entrepreneurs who want to lure away their competitors' customers. In the end, what the market will bear is determined by customers and businesses looking out for the best deal, and that is why what the market will bear serves the interest of consumers better than the well-meaning regulation of government.

—From FEE

"Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none."

—Thomas Jefferson, 1801



Goodbye Mr. Chips: U.S. CREATES HIGH TECH OPEC

By Michael Becker

Playing a role usually reserved for Arab oil sheiks, the U.S. government recently created its own high-tech OPEC in the semiconductor industry. As a result, consumers will likely pay hundreds of millions of dollars more for home computers, videocassette recorders, microwave ovens, and other products which use computer chips.

The new government-enforced cartel results from a recent agreement on computer chip trade between the U.S. and Japan. The agreement, in effect, represents the Reagan administration's attempt to respond to Congressional pressure to "do something" about America's negative balance of trade figures. Egged on by the Commerce Department, an agreement has been produced which can only hurt American consumers, workers, and chip users.

The agreement has three major provisions.

The two governments agreed to fix minimum prices for chips, assign market quotas, and guarantee that the Japanese would not undercut the agreement with sales in third countries. For those acquainted with OPEC, all of this should sound familiar. Price increases, market shares, concerns about "cheating" and being undercut through third countries—this is the jargon of a cartel.

The agreement already is causing chaos in the chip market. U.S. chip users, who have come to expect declining prices, have seen prices of some chips double and triple since the agreement. Buyers faced with higher prices are cutting back on purchases. And as is often the case when government intervenes in the free market, the agreement will have several unintended consequences—consequences now beginning to show up.

One of these is reduced international competitiveness for American companies which use

chips, such as computer and electronics manufacturers. American firms faced with higher domestic prices will relocate in other countries. Immediately following the agreement, Hong Kong and Singapore were described as "mob scenes" as U.S. firms attempted to find manufacturing space overseas to avoid the premium. This will mean a loss of American jobs.

Less visible will be the jobs lost in American firms who find it impractical to move overseas, but will be at a competitive price disadvantage against foreign companies with access to cheaper chips. This disadvantage will mean fewer sales; fewer sales mean fewer jobs.

In addition to these direct costs—higher prices, fewer jobs—the agreement has produced a variety of other unintended consequences. First, it will prove difficult to enforce. South Korea, for example, is not a party to the agreement, and South Korean manufacturers can undercut the cartel's price. The Japanese companies themselves have been accused of violating the agreement by "dumping" chips in third countries. It has also proved quite easy to attach chips to circuit boards overseas and then import them duty free. After all, the restrictions are on chips, not circuit boards.

The agreement has also produced a black market in computer chips—a black market that some estimate to be a \$1 billion-a-year business. Chip smuggling already is so rampant that domestic chip distributors on the spot market are finding that it is necessary to purchase smuggled chips to stay in business. The next stage of this game is now being played as the government sends out customs agents to "crack down" on illegally imported inexpensive chips.

When the agreement is circumvented, American consumers benefit. The danger is that the agreement's unintended consequences will simply lead to more protectionism.

The U. S. government has started down a course which will require more government intervention to deal with the consequences of the chip agreement. While the chaos in the industry may not reach consumers, higher prices will. Under the original terms of the agreement, for example, the price of imported Japanese 256K memory chips doubled from around \$2.40 to \$5.00. Consumer products which use chips—personal computers, VCRs, calculators, and home appliances—will cost more. The price of an average personal computer could rise by as much as \$45, experts believe.

The chip agreement was premised on charges

raised in 1985 that Japanese chip products were engaging in predatory pricing, that is "dumping" chips into the U.S. for less than it cost to produce them. The U.S. International Trade Commission (ITC) investigation which followed produced little or no evidence to prove this. Japanese 256K memory chips, for example, prior to the agreement sold for \$2.60 in the U.S. compared to \$1.70 in Japan. Prices for Japanese chips overall were higher in the U.S. than in Japan. Despite this, the ITC simply inferred that because prices were dropping and U.S. firms were losing business, the Japanese were guilty.

The more plausible reasons for the drop in chip prices—declining demand and the obsolescence of some chips—were ignored. Also ignored was another factor which contributes to lower prices for chips: efficiency. The semiconductor industry has a "learning curve" which results in falling unit costs as producers accumulate experience in producing chips. The learning curve gives companies an incentive to price low and generate a high sales volume in order to "learn" how to produce chips more cheaply in the future. This price-cutting incentive has in fact been one of the driving forces behind the sharp price decreases and innovation which have characterized the industry.

Under the terms of the agreement, however, Japanese companies must price above the bureaucratically determined "fair price." Attempts to price low in order to take advantage of the learning curve are likely to be interpreted as predatory pricing by government regulators. As a result, this beneficial practice will be curtailed.

Essentially, the ITC and Commerce Department have declared illegal the very practices which have produced the high level of growth and innovation in the industry. In the long run, these new protectionist measures can only destroy the competition which has made the semi-conductor industry such a dynamic and productive economic force. The industry and consumers can do without a government-enforced high-tech cartel. One OPEC is bad enough.

—From FEE

Michael Becker is a policy analyst with Citizens for a Sound Economy. He is also a research fellow at the Center for the Study of Market Processes at George Mason University.

Farmers

Continued from page 8

Trapped

Farmers became victims of the recession. With monetary expansion slowing, money incomes stopped rising. Without rising incomes, many farmers faced severe cash flow problems. Their incomes became insufficient to service the massive debts they had accumulated during the inflation. The result, which we see reported on the evening news, is the foreclosures and bankruptcies of many small farmers. It should be emphasized that the adjustment problems are not restricted to agriculture, but affect every sector of the economy to some degree. The U.S. government essentially lured these farmers into a financial trap that was sprung by the Fed.

Eventually, many of these farmers will recover. Nothing, however, prevents the same cycle from repeating itself. As long as the Fed is allowed to cause long periods of inflation followed by radical and sudden policy shifts, farmers will be subjected to painful readjustments. Thus, any long-term solution to the agricultural problem must put a stop to the Fed's erratic monetary policy.

Several solutions have been proposed. Although they have one element in common—eliminating the arbitrary factors and political influences in the Fed's decisions—they differ radically in approach.

One solution, advocated by Milton Fried-

man and the monetarists, proposes greater government control of the money supply in the form of a Constitutional amendment which would require the Fed to limit monetary growth to a certain level.⁶ While this solution might enhance predictability of the Fed's actions, it faces the same knowledge problem that currently plagues the Fed. There is simply no way to know how much monetary growth will insure a given economic expansion at a given point in time. And, if the Constitutional amendment left loopholes for the monetary authorities to try to determine what the monetary growth should be, monetary policy probably would become just as chaotic as it is today.

Another proposed solution to the problems of erratic monetary policy is the institution of a completely free banking system. This would remove the money supply from government control. Such a system has an excellent historical precedent. During the first half of the nineteenth century, a successful free banking system existed in Scotland.⁷ Competing private banks issued banknotes which were redeemable in specie and individuals had the right to use the currency of their choice.

The system possessed several natural checks on inflation. Since each banknote was imprinted with a statement insuring its redeemability, banks were required to keep substantial specie reserves. When a bank wanted to expand its note issue, it needed first to acquire more specie. If a bank inflated its currency

without enlarging its reserves, the market ensured that it would suffer severe consequences. An increase in note issue caused more notes to be presented for redemption. If the bank had failed to expand its specie reserves, its existing reserves would be quickly depleted. If the bank continued the inflation for any length of time, bankruptcy would result. However, long before the bank went bankrupt, the depletion of reserves would force the officers of the bank to halt the inflation.

Perhaps an even more important virtue of free banking is that it depoliticizes the money supply. Political influences would be replaced with market forces. The supply of money would be regulated by the same market forces which currently regulate the supply of shoes and other commodities. Monetary stability would be achieved through freely acting individuals, as opposed to the Fed's attempt at monetary stability through central control. Thus, it would appear that free banking offers the best hope of an economy free from recessions and economic shocks.

The establishment of a free banking system faces many legislative barriers.⁸ It requires the elimination of the Fed and the abolition of legal tender laws which require individuals to use a specific currency. Indeed, any law which specifies the currency of payment must be repealed. The largest barrier, however, may be the U.S. government itself. The government benefits substantially from the status quo. Inflation increases its revenues and lowers the real value

of its debt.

Uncertainty introduced by the Fed's almost random policy causes severe financial distress in the farm community, and indeed the entire economy. According to Milton Friedman, the last few years have been "a striking example of the harm that monetary instability can produce." It is clear that a comprehensive solution to the problems of agriculture must include a curtailment of the Fed's ability to produce economic chaos.

—From FEE

1. Jackson Turner Main, *The Anti-Federalists, Critics of the Constitution 1781-1788* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1961).
2. Milton Friedman and Anna Jacobson Schwartz, *A Monetary History of the United States 1867-1960* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 44.
3. Benjamin Haggott Beckhart, *Federal Reserve System* (American Institute of Banking, The American Bankers Association, 1972), p. 33.
4. E.C. Pasour, Jr., *U.S. Agricultural Policies: A Market Process Approach* (Irvine, N.Y.: The Foundation for Economic Education, 1986), chapter 16.
5. Michael G. Hadjimichalakis, *The Federal Reserve, Money, and Interest Rates: The Volcker Years and Beyond* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984), p. 38.
6. Lawrence H. White, "Inflation and the Federal Reserve: The Consequences of Political Money-Supply" (Cato Institute Policy Analysis, The Cato Institute, Washington D.C., 1982).
7. For more information on the history and theory of free banking see: Lawrence H. White, *Free Banking in Britain: Theory, Experience, and Debate 1800-1845* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984) and Donald R. Wells and L.S. Scruggs, "Toward Free Banking," *The Freeman*, July 1986.
8. White, "Inflation and the Federal Reserve."

On Building Codes:

By Nils McGeorge

Has government regulation improved the quality of life? In the case of housing, I think not.

Uniform building codes, planning and zoning ordinances, along with subdivision laws, provide a blueprint for land use. It seems to make sense on paper—nice, broad, well-lit streets with middle and upper income houses in logical relationship to services such as schools, shopping malls, and recreation areas. But something happens along the way.

Imagine you are driving along the beautiful California valley of my father's youth. The rich diversity he once knew now has been replaced by row upon row of pink, blue, and brown tract houses crowded into the valley.

Why are there no houses in the surrounding hills? Because the local government prevents that—citing steep terrain, difficult drainage, and the expense of providing services. Why are the houses in the valley so close together? With the upgraded requirements for sewers, streets, wiring, and so on, the houses had to be close

together to make building economically possible.

What do the residents do as a relief from the uniformity and blandness of their environment? Aside from watching TV, they can drive over the mountains to Solvang, an imitation Dutch town with narrow, winding streets, sidewalk cafes (prohibited by the health department of my father's home town) and the diverse charms that tourists love.

And what about people who can't afford the well-built houses in the valley? Do the poor live in smaller, less well-built homes? No, they don't. There is no way to build houses they can afford and still meet the requirements of the building department. The very poor wind up living in the streets, in the culverts, and under the overpasses.

Mr. McGeorge is an eleventh grade student at Hellgate High School, Missoula, Montana. This article is adapted from his winning essay in a contest sponsored by the Montana Council of Organizations, on the relationship between land-use regulations and private property rights.

Private Solutions

For several decades, environmentalists have fought the energy companies over the use of public lands. But they have learned to work together in a small corner of southern Louisiana.

The 26,800-acre Rainey Wildlife Sanctuary is a natural habitat for birds and other wildlife. It also contains deposits of oil and natural gas. Since the mid-1950s these deposits have been carefully extracted, without disturbing the habitat.

What is different about Rainey is that it doesn't lie on public land, but is owned by the Audubon Society. Being privately owned, arrangements could be worked out so the environment is preserved, consumers get oil and gas, the energy companies earn a profit, and the Audubon Society receives approximately a million dollars a year in royalties.

The Rainey Sanctuary is a promising, private model for the use and conservation of scarce resources.

—From FEE

Rent Control:

The battle lines over rent control seem to be clearly drawn. On one side stand the landlords; on the other side are the tenants. And the issue seems clear enough: Should powerful landlords be prevented from raising rents above reasonable levels? When viewed in these terms, rent control attracts many adherents.

But there is another way to look at the rent control issue, and a third party which is almost completely ignored. This third party is the prospective tenants effectively locked out by rent control. Controls prevent these people from bidding for apartments, thereby creating a housing shortage. These people have to wait for someone to vacate a controlled apartment, crowd into uncontrolled housing, or live in another community.

Thus, the real rent control issue is: Should outsiders be prevented from bidding for apartments?

Of course, when apartments are decontrolled, prospective tenants tend to bid up the rents of previously controlled units. But in so doing, they provide incentives for new construction. As time passes, this new construction relieves the housing shortage created by rent controls, and brings rents down to market-clearing levels. When rents are controlled by supply and demand, and not by political edicts, landlords have no more power than their ability to offer attractive apartments at reasonable rents in a competitive housing market.

It is difficult to identify the prospective tenants locked out by rent control. Thus, they have no organizations and no politicians eager to champion their cause. But they surely include many people who, frustrated by the housing shortages created by rent control, pursue careers in more hospitable parts of the country. These people will get by, and many of them will prosper, but the rent-controlled community will be poorer without them.

—From FEE

NEW CRIME ALERT:

We have invented a new victimless crime that is sparking a groundswell of opposition—driving without a seatbelt. A number of people are convinced that seatbelts save lives, and they presumably would buckle up whether or not the law required it. But others are impressed by the occasional accident in which an unbuckled person survives by being thrown clear.

The issue is not, of course, whether statistics prove that seatbelts reduce accidents. The issue is the right of individuals to evaluate risks for themselves. Is it a proper function of government to forcibly decide such issues for us? For a growing number of people, mandatory seatbelt laws are the equivalent of Prohibition in the twenties. And we all know what a success that was.

—From FEE

Helping America's Native Son

Continued from page 5

then stopped. Just as we spent many additional millions to help people become independent, more people became dependent. As we worked harder to care for poor families, poor families began to break up at dramatic rates.

Murray argues that our governments' very efforts to help the poor made them worse off in the long run. Generous payments to relieve the distresses of poverty unfortunately provided new incentives to be poor to qualify for some of the money. Hence more and more people fell into the trap. Much of the *Time* article corroborates this thesis. For example, it points out that "many black youths are unwilling to accept the low-paying, low-prestige jobs that their forebears held." At least part of the explanation for this is that thanks to welfare and unemployment compensation, they simply don't need to accept such jobs—or any job—to get by.

Murray describes at length how the incentives generated by welfare encourage family breakdown, since welfare mothers can collect more when there is no man around, and since the costs of bearing a fatherless child are so much less than in old days. *Time* provides illustrations of this incentive and comments: "Percy Steel, president of the Urban League chapter in Oakland, says of an unemployed father: 'If he has feelings for his family, he gets lost. Welfare is tearing these families apart.'"

George Gilder, in his influential book *Wealth*

and Poverty, goes into the psychological effects

of welfare on the "Native Sons" themselves: Nothing is so destructive to the male values... of confidence and authority..., respect from the wife and children, and motivation to face the tedium and frustration of daily labor..., as the growing imperious recognition that when all is said and done his wife and children can do better without him. The man has the gradually sinking feeling that his role as provider... has been largely seized from him; he has been cuckolded by the compassionate state... In the welfare culture money becomes not something earned by men through hard work, but a right conferred on women by the state. Protest and complaint replace diligence and discipline as the sources of pay. Boys grow up seeking support from women, while they find manhood in the macho circles of the street and the bar or in the irresponsible fathering of random progeny. (pp. 114-115)

Murray proposes a solution to the problems of welfare at the end of *Losing Ground* (p.227): "The proposed program... consists of scrapping the entire federal welfare and income-support structure for working-aged persons, including AFDC, Medicaid, Food Stamps, Unemployment Insurance, Worker's Compensation, subsidized housing, disability insurance, and the rest. It would leave the working-aged person with no recourse whatsoever except the

job market, family members, friends, and public or private locally funded services. It is the Alexandrian solution: cut the knot, for there is no way to untie it." (For a short excerpt of *Losing Ground*, and a good introduction to Murray's thinking, see his "The Constraints on Helping," *The Freeman*, February 1986. For further insight into the ill effects of misguided good will, see Robert J. Bidinotto's "Paying People not to Grow," *The Freeman*, October 1986.)

Time says, "The problems facing black America's impoverished youth cannot be solved simply by more government spending." Perhaps they can be improved, in fact, by less.

Triple jeopardy

The problem of unemployment, crime, dependence, and despair in our inner cities is complex. We have considered three important contributing factors: legal obstacles to employment, mismanaged schooling, and the welfare trap. It is unlikely that any of these three, in isolation, or even any two of three, could bring about the calamity that has befallen so many of our poor young men. If there were no obstacles to employment, they could get their education on the job, and they would spurn welfare for real economic advancement. If quality inner-city education were accessible, they would find ways around employment obstacles and out of the welfare trap. If economic necessity required

Pretending It Works

It's a Barnum and Bailey world. At least it is in New York City's South Bronx, where local officials have pasted decals over the windows of abandoned apartments. The decals, paid for by a \$300,000 Federal grant, depict curtains, shades, shutters, and flower pots. To a passerby, it almost looks as if the buildings are inhabited.

But, tragically, these buildings aren't inhabited. Forty years of rent control, combined with escalating taxes, have forced New York landlords to abandon thousands of apartments. In the real world, landlords respond to economic incentives—a fact which no amount of decals can paste over.

—From FEE

it, they would get education despite the awful schools, and find ways over or around the job barriers.

But the combination of these three factors is devastating. Obstacles to employment shut out the poor from entry-level jobs. Terrible schools prevent the education required for higher-level jobs. And welfare makes the resultant dependency bearable. In fairness to disadvantaged Americans of all colors, we should remember that most of them escape to honest, self-supporting lives. But for a tragically high proportion, the grasp of these three claws is too tight. They systematically remove the means, the knowledge, and the will to support oneself.

What can we do to help our "Native Sons?" We can do less: less interfering with the labor market, less interfering with schooling, and less subsidizing of poverty. This may not be the whole solution, but it is a necessary start.

—From FEE

Privatization Further Down The Road

By Daniel Klein

Private ownership of "public" resources may be an idea whose time has come. There are proposals for the privatization of Grand Coulee Dam, National and Dulles airports, Conrail, and Amtrak. State and local governments are studying private urban transit, garbage collection, and prisons. If privatization maintains its momentum, we will have to consider a logical candidate: the roads.

The best way to understand the notion of private roads is to examine the literature on America's own era of private turnpikes. In 1821 there were over 4,000 miles of private roadway in the state of New York. Between 1792 and 1840, some 230 New England turnpike companies built and operated 3,800 miles of road. It was private enterprise that really got the show on the road in America.

In early America, routes had not been beaten through the wilderness, and roads were sorely needed. People wanted to move westward, and commercial interests in the coastal cities sought to tap the trade of distant areas. State and local governments instituted feeble systems of mandatory labor and taxation to provide roads, but their failures were manifest.

In the 1790s, the road business was opened up to private enterprises throughout New England and the mid-Atlantic region. Private turnpike companies constructed and operated their own roads. They were equity financed and operated for profit. User payment was made at tollgates along the route. No government financial assistance was made, except in Pennsylvania (where 30 per cent of total turnpike stock was held by the state) and in New Jersey (where a small amount of aid was given to the Newark Turnpike Company).

Between 1795 and 1830 turnpike construction was brisk, crisscrossing the Northeast with private roads. During the same period, public construction virtually ceased. In New York between 1790 and 1821, for example, the state's expenditure of \$622,000 on the construction of roads and bridges is dwarfed by the investment in similar private concerns: \$11 million in turnpike companies and \$850,000 in bridge companies. A mixed system of private and public roads emerged.

Not only did private enterprise boost road mileage in America, it greatly improved the qualities of the country's roads as well. As the leading transportation historian B.H. Meyer stated, "It is evident that the turnpike movement resulted in a very general and decided betterment of roads."

Although the turnpikes were private, the government maintained tight control through heavy regulation. Most important were the limits on tollrates and the restrictions on the placement of tollgates. These regulations made

turnpike profits practically nonexistent. It wasn't long before everyone knew that there was no money to be had by way of turnpike dividends.

Despite the poor direct returns that resulted from government interference, turnpikes still found enthusiastic support for the indirect benefits they conferred. Local merchants, farmers, and landowners bought turnpike stock because the turnpike would make their businesses, produce, and holdings more valuable through improved transportation.

During the mid-1800s the state governments brought the era of private roads to a close by gradually reclaiming control of the roads, although a few private turnpikes survived into the 20th century.

What lessons can we draw from America's experience with private roads? Clearly, with today's technology, road provision through private enterprise could be even more successful. Electronic metering devices could make stopping at tollbooths obsolete. In Hong Kong, Japan, and elsewhere authorities are experimenting with tamper-proof electronic plates, the size of cassette tapes, which are placed on cars. The plates interact with equipment built into the road surface to register the driver's toll, which he pays through the mail. If this system is feasible, private enterprise could provide roads as easily as it does movie theaters.

Think about recent advances in technology: personal computers are quickly becoming household items, as are laser compact disc units;

supermarket cash registers now speak to us; automatic teller machines handle our banking; innovation in motion pictures and television is rampant; Blue Cross now issues credit card-sized "Lifecards" that can contain the equivalent of 800 pages of medical information; air travel has become a casual matter for the middle class; new automotive dashboards look like something from outer space.

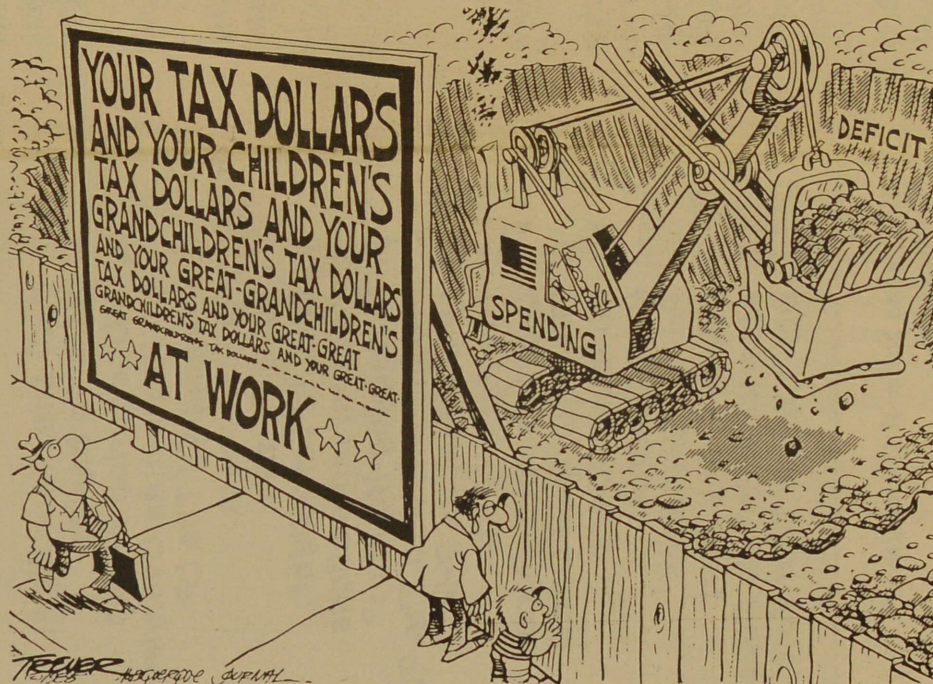
Now think about the roads you drive on: How much improvement have you seen in the past fifteen years? How much do you expect to see in the next fifteen? Nil, in both cases. The reason: government control.

Private roads may sound far-fetched, but a familiarity with American history casts the idea in a different light. There was a period when private enterprise was able to provide such "public goods." Private turnpikes engendered important social benefits even though returns on investment were small, primarily due to legal restrictions on tollrates and on the placement of toll houses.

The idea of privatizing the roads is beginning to be taken seriously. Even the federal government's National Research Council held a conference last summer on "Roles of Private Enterprise and Market Processes in the Financing and Provision of Road Services." The future may be closer than we think.

—From FEE

Daniel Klein is a fellow of the Austrian Economics Program at New York University.



Don't Waste Your Vote

By David Bergland

In your entire lifetime, you will probably never vote in an election where your one vote decides the outcome. So why bother to vote?

The correct answer to that question, the purpose you should have in mind when you enter the voting booth, is: my vote can make a difference because it tells the politicians in office what I think is right. My vote says, "this is the direction I want you people in government to take."

An election is not a horse race or an athletic contest. You should not vote just to "pick a winner," just to be able to say you voted on the winning side. Nor is it wise to vote negatively merely to prevent the more evil (or stupid or corrupt or whatever) of two candidates from being elected. After all, the "lesser of two evils" is still evil.

Nor does it make sense to decline to vote for a candidate because he or she has little chance of being elected. A vote for the candidate who best represents your view is the most effective vehicle you have for telling future officeholders what you want. By contrast, any vote you cast for candidates who hold views at odds with yours only tells them you like what they've been doing to you and you want them to keep on doing it. Now, there is a wasted vote!

Why vote? Because your vote can help move American politics and government in the direction you think is right. If you are like most Americans, you are not pleased with the direction government, at all levels, has taken in recent decades.

America grew to greatness during a time when government played a very small role. Immigrants from the old world flocked to America to make better lives for themselves and their families. Taking advantage of the opportunities liberty provided, they worked hard, took risks, succeeded, failed and tried again. With our traditions of liberty, personal responsibility, and patriotism, Americans prospered as no other people ever had.

As originally conceived, our government's role was to protect the rights and property of the citizens, not to police the world and be a nanny to everyone. But today government, federal, state and local, is everywhere. It is undermining the churches and temples, the family, the service clubs and free enterprise as valuable social institutions, while our taxes keep going up to pay for it all. And the results are almost always dismal. Big government doesn't solve problems, it creates them.

Have you noticed how bureaucracy keeps growing and your freedom to act keeps shrinking? You can't just do what you want to do when you want to do it anymore. Regulations, red tape, forms, taxes, permits, inspectors, agencies, cops, social workers, licenses, controls, etc. No wonder there are so many lawyers. We all need to consult legal counsel before taking action because there's probably some law we'd run afoul of if we didn't. It wasn't always that way.

Big government is not only a straitjacket, it's a cookie-cutter. The bigger it becomes, the less it respects us as individuals. Government treats us like numbers or standardized robots. But, people aren't like that. Each of us is a unique individual with our own background, values, dreams, desires and potential. The more control government has over us, the less opportunity each of us has to actualize our own potential or help others do the same.

Creativity, exploration and futuristic vision have always been valued and nurtured in America. But, with big government has come big bureaucracy which fears innovation and change. Scientific and productive creativity is being stifled, not only by bureaucratic roadblocks, but by the crushing tax burdens that cut down what individuals and businesses can spend on research and development. Americans will not be able to meet the challenge of the future unless the political obstacles to innovation and creativity are removed.

YES! I'm interested in the LP—please send more information about:

- ☐ LP membership
- ☐ LP publications/subscriptions
- ☐ CAMPAIGN '88
- ☐ local contacts and activities
- ☐ bulk orders of this LP NEWS Research Edition
- ☐ high school & college teaching guides for the Research Edition

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____

Mail to: The Libertarian Party • 301 West 21st • Houston, TX 77008

A Project of the Outreach Committee of the National Committee of the Libertarian Party.

Editor for this special edition: Sharon Freeman Mitchell.

Many thanks to FEE for the numerous articles reprinted from *The Freeman* and *Econ '87*, their outstanding student newsletter. Subscriptions to these fine publications are available to any interested person in the United States for the asking; write The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, NY 10533.

Preamble To The Libertarian Platform

As Libertarians, we seek a world of liberty; a world in which all individuals are sovereign over their own lives, and no one is forced to sacrifice his or her values for the benefit of others.

We believe that respect for individual rights is the essential precondition for a free and prosperous world, that force and fraud must be banished from human relationships, and that only through freedom can peace and prosperity be realized.

Consequently, we defend each person's right to, engage in any activity that is peaceful and honest, and welcome the diversity that freedom brings. The world we seek to build is one where individuals are free to follow their own dreams in their own ways, without interference from government or any authoritarian power.

In the following pages we have set forth our basic principles and enumerated various policy stands derived from these principles.

These specific policies are not our goals, however. Our goal is nothing more nor less than a world set free in our lifetime, and it is to this end that we take these stands.

Statement Of Principles

We, the members of the Libertarian Party, challenge the cult of the omnipotent state and defend the rights of the individual.

We hold that all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives, and have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to live in whatever manner they choose. Governments throughout history have regularly operated on the opposite principle, that the State has the right to dispose of the lives of individuals and the fruits of their labor. Even within the United States, all political parties other than our own grant to government the right to regulate the lives of individuals and seize the fruits of their labor without their consent.

We, on the contrary, deny the right of any government to do these things, and hold that where governments exist they must not violate the rights of any individual: namely, (1) the right to life—accordingly we support the prohibition of the initiation of physical force against others; (2) the right to liberty of speech and action—accordingly we oppose all attempts by government to abridge the freedom of speech and press, as well as government censorship in any form; and (3) the right to property, such as confiscation, nationalization, and eminent domain, and support the prohibition of robbery, trespass, fraud, and misrepresentation.

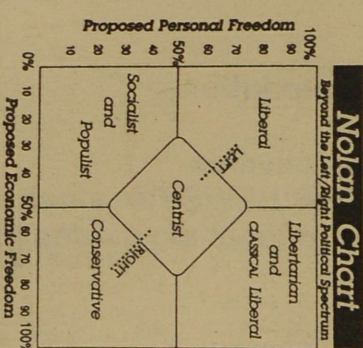
Since governments, when instituted, must not violate individual rights, we oppose all interference by government in the areas of voluntary and contractual relations among individuals. People should not be forced to sacrifice their lives and property for the benefit of others. They should be left free by government to deal with one another as free traders; and the resultant economic system, the only one compatible with the protection of individual rights, is the free market.



Libertarian Party NEWS

WHAT'S INSIDE:

1. Your Life, Your Way
Back To Basics
2. A Libertarian Profile
LP History: An Overview
3. Purpose Of The LP
Ballot Access
Third Parties
4. Beyond Left/Right
Political Innovations
5. Is Helping Helping?
Productivity And The Poor
- 6/7. LP Platform In Brief
8. The Farm Crisis
Controls Raise Prices
9. The High-Tech OPEC
10. Building Codes
Rent Control
Private Solutions
A New Crime Alert
11. America's Private Roads
Don't Waste Your Vote



WHO
AGREES
WITH
YOU?
TEST
YOURSELF
PAGE 4

TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

National Headquarters Office
Hours: 9:30-6:00 pm CST, Mon-Fri.

1-800-682-1776 (outside Texas):
For information on LP membership, publications, local contacts and activities.

713-880-1776: Business number; answering machine nights and weekends—CALL FOR BULK ORDERING INFORMATION.

304-263-7526: Libertarian Party
NEWS advertising or news

Libertarian National Committee

301 W. 21st St.
Houston, TX 77008

Address Correction Requested

new and potential voters, to be read and studied before the '88 presidential elections.

I wouldn't mind if we had trouble keeping up with the orders because they were coming in so fast.

WHAT IT TAKES

Lists of educators will have to be purchased for the promotional mailing.

Then, as more names and orders come in, funds will be needed for occasional updates of the Research Edition itself, and expanded list purchases.

We can't expect educators to order if they never receive a

sample copy for review.

So, here we are.

A growth need has been identified. An answer has been proposed, approved, produced and presented, complete with a distribution plan.

Now it's up to you.

Please, read this complimentary copy of the Research Edition, and then look over the market information provided. Think about how much difference this project can make, about how much difference YOU want to make, and then — make a contribution to the education of America's next generation of voters.

THIS PROJECT WILL GO AS FAR AS WE CAN AFFORD TO

TAKE IT, AND THAT IS UP TO YOU.

THE BOTTOM LINE

A \$25 donation will put the Research Edition in the hands of 50 college or 100 highschool teachers. That's list purchase, printing and mailing costs combined.

\$50 can reach 100 to 200 educators, \$100 can reach 200 to 400.

\$1000 will fund 2000 mailings to university Political Science instructors or 4000 mailings to highschool Social Studies teachers.

From there — think how many students we can reach!

I hope you will use the coupon below

and give us the support we need to put the Research Edition into the hands of tens, hundreds or thousands of students.

For the children, and the future,

Sharon Mitchell

Sharon Freeman Mitchell
LNC Outreach Committee Chair

P.S. Thank you for ordering the Research Edition when you need handouts for a speech or outreach material for a campaign mailing. Be sure to tuck an instant membership card and your campaign flyer or local newsletter inside — it's a winning combination.

If you know students and/or educators who might be interested in the LP, you can use the coupons below to add them to the nationwide LP NEWS EXTRA Research Edition mailing.
Include addresses and 50¢ per name to cover production and postage.

Yes, I want the Research Edition studied in the classroom, and I'M GOING TO MAKE THE DIFFERENCE. Here's my contribution of ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$1000 ☐ other_____.

Name _____ Address _____ City _____ State/Zip _____

Cash ☐ Check ☐
Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐
CC# _____
CC Expiration Date _____
*Occupation _____
*Employer _____
*Optional: Federal Election Commission requires we ask.

Use the Business Reply Envelope enclosed, or
Mail to: The Libertarian Party, 301 W. 21 St. Houston, TX 77008

Reach out to Students

Use this coupon to put the students in your life on the Research Edition mailing list. Just send their names and addresses, plus 50¢ production and postage each, to the national office. Use the enclosed Business Reply Envelope, and make the difference!

1. _____	6. _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
2. _____	7. _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
3. _____	8. _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
4. _____	9. _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
5. _____	10. _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Reach out to Educators

Use this coupon to put the receptive educators you know on the Research Edition promotional mailing list. Send their names and addresses (don't forget the zip) plus 50¢ production and postage each, to the national office. Use the enclosed Business Reply Envelope, and make the difference!

1. _____	6. _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
2. _____	7. _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
3. _____	8. _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
4. _____	9. _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
5. _____	10. _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Which age group
is:

most impressionable?

most open-minded?

least committed to
a philosophy other than
Libertarianism?

pro-free market?

mostly liberal on social issues?

most interested in the LP?

old enough to vote?

18 to 24 year olds.

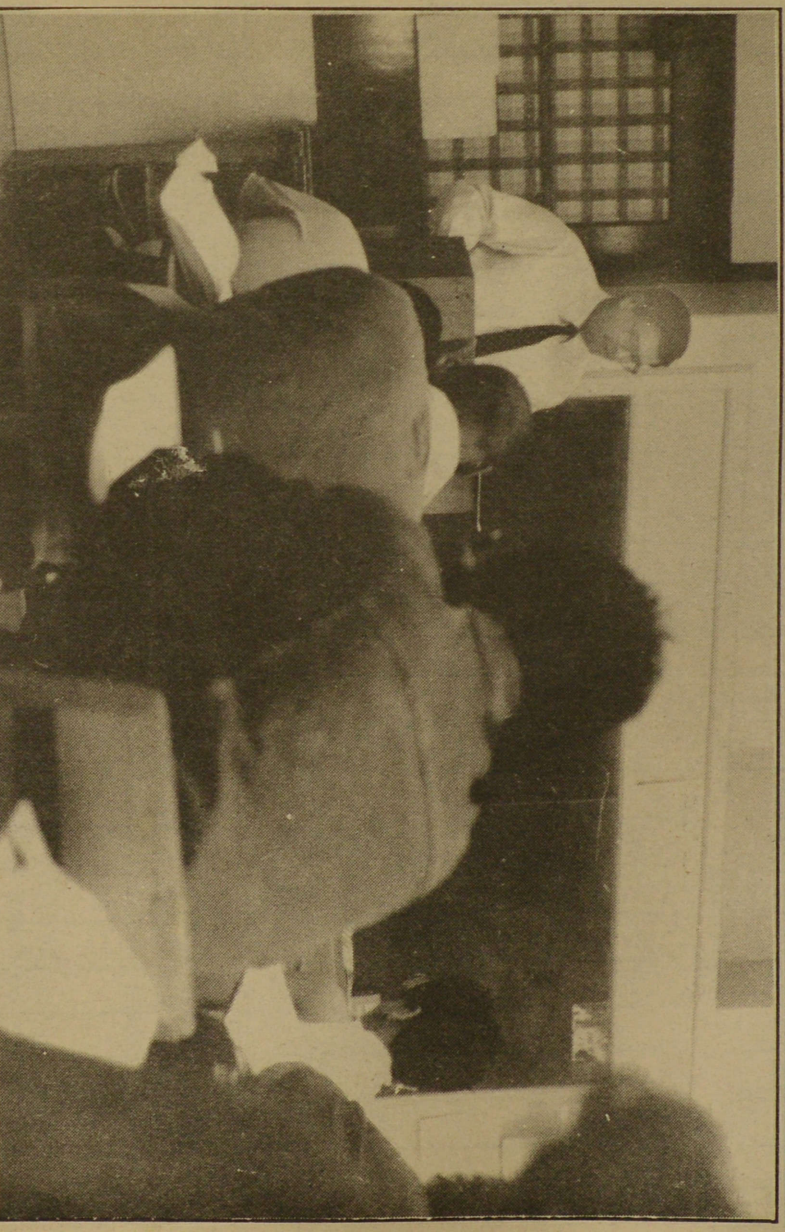
Only 6 out of 26 million in this
age group voted in 1986.

How many could we persuade to
vote Libertarian in '88?

That's up to us!



**LP NEWS EXTRA
RESEARCH EDITION
& PROJECT UPDATE**



LP NEWS in the Classroom

The Libertarian Party
301 W. 21st St.
Houston, TX 77008

Address Correction Requested

NON-PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
SUBURBAN MARYLAND
PERMIT #6101