

It's MacBride In '76

NEW YORK CITY—Roger L. MacBride won the Libertarian Party's Presidential nomination with a convincing first ballot victory over two rivals at the LP's national convention, held in this city at the Statler-Hilton Hotel during the last week of August. MacBride, a Charlottesville, Va. lawyer and television producer, accepted the nomination before nearly 500 cheering libertarians and vowed "in this campaign, which begins this very minute, there will be no compromise of principle!"

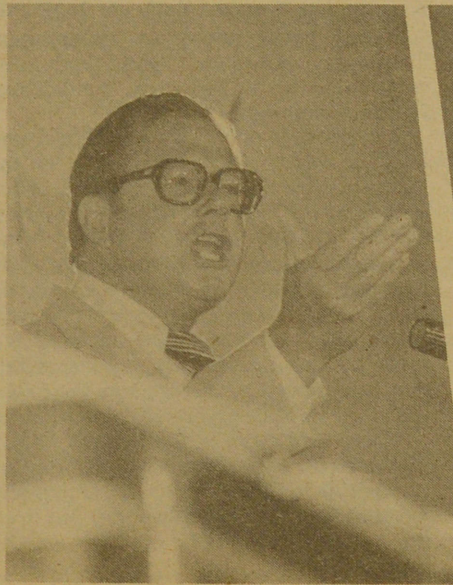
David P. Bergland, an attorney from Huntington Beach, Calif., gained the Vice Presidential nod on the third ballot. The convention received extensive national media coverage, including several minutes of prime-time television news on CBS and NBC, frequent network radio reports, lengthy articles from the UPI and AP wire services and a syndicated column by political commentator James Kilpatrick.

The highly successful five-day convention was an emotionally charged event from start to finish. Delegates and alternates from 35 states and the District of Columbia gathered in Default City to select the LP presidential ticket, hammer out a new platform and elect national Party officers.

Several workshops were also held as the enthusiastic libertarians in attendance shared experiences, theories and plans for the upcoming campaign. New York's Free Libertarian Party, which hosted the convention, received universal praise for the professionalism with which all events were conducted.

Platform Debate

The majority of convention discussion and debate centered around the new LP



ROGER MacBRIDE

platform, on which candidates MacBride and Bergland will wage their 1976 campaign. As expected, debate on many planks was prolonged and heated, although, due partly to Chairman Ed Crane's dry-humored prodding, the new platform was adopted right on schedule. The consensus was that the 1976 platform (which is considerably longer than the previous two platforms) was a successful effort at root-and-branch doctrinal purity. The vast majority of planks in the 1974 platform were amended and expanded.

The foreign policy section of the platform was expanded to give more specific examples of how the LP's non-interventionist policy applies to such areas as Presidential war powers, nuclear disarmament, international money, the law of the sea and the Middle East. The rights of children received more emphasis than in the past. The entire area of government



DAVID BERGLAND

spying, national secret police and secrecy of government information was dealt with more explicitly in light of events that have occurred since the 1974 convention.

Other changes include a more strongly worded plank favoring amnesty for those avoiding the military and a stronger plank on taxation, this time including recognition of the right to challenge taxes on moral grounds. New planks were adopted supporting freedom of religion and opposing the federal funding and regulation of political campaigns.

Committee Work

The distinguished Platform Committee, chaired for the second year in a row by Ed Clark of Los Angeles, worked virtually continuously for two days in preparing their report to the convention. After lengthy (and, as always, respectful) debate, most of the committee's recommendations were adopted by the convention delegates.

Dr. Murray Rothbard and LP NEWS editor Bill Evers had prepared a draft of changes that provided the committee with the guidelines for much of its work. For a more detailed discussion of the new platform see page 8.

MacBride's nomination gained widespread news coverage throughout the country as UPI and AP articles were reprinted in virtually every major city. In addition, a highly favorable article on MacBride appeared in the New York Times. "Our ideals are as old as America's first libertarian revolution in 1776," he was quoted as saying, "and our ideas are as young as tomorrow."

The favorable coverage was due in part, at least, to the attention MacBride gave to censorship of the media in his acceptance speech. He called for an end to all government involvement with printed and broadcast media and a strict enforcement of the First Amendment. MacBride spoke of the "velvet vise" of subtle intimidation by the FCC squeezing broadcasters in a way that effectively controls television program content.

The LP's affable and articulate Presidential candidate made several impressive speeches to the convention and to regional caucuses. He pledged a "no-compromise, hard hitting" campaign that would place emphasis on the "vital necessity of a non-interventionist foreign policy, particularly in the Middle East, and the dangers of the ever-increasing surveillance of American citizens by all levels of government."

"It is imperative," said MacBride, "that the citizens of this nation be made to realize that a real political alternative now exists. It is especially important," he said, "that we make it clear that we are not an 'offshoot' of the conservative movement—that we are as far from conservatives philosophically as we are from the liberals. This means that when we

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HQ Moves To Washington, D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The national headquarters of the Libertarian Party has been moved to the nation's capitol. The Executive Committee voted 21 to 2, with two abstentions, in favor of the move. In a related matter it was announced that national chairman Edward H. Crane will take on full-time responsibility for managing the Party's affairs and that the chairmanship will become a salaried position.

National Director Robert H. Meier will become Treasurer of the MacBride for President Committee. Meier will receive his salary from the Committee and will function as the chief coordinator of the MacBride/Bergland campaign.

"I'm very gratified that I will be in a position to devote my full energies to furthering the cause of the Libertarian Party," said Crane. Elected to the chairmanship of the LP first in Dallas in 1974, Crane was re-elected to a two-year term at the New York convention this

August. He will give up his position as a vice president of Alliance Capital Management Corporation to make the move to Washington, D.C.

In explaining his reasons for suggesting to the Executive Committee that the national headquarters be moved, Crane cited three major points: (1) The MacBride Committee should be in close proximity to Presidential candidate MacBride, and the LP can't afford to maintain a dual overhead by keeping a separate headquarters in San Francisco; (2) A meeting he and Meier had with lawyers at the Federal Election Commission indicated that the onerous accounting and reporting requirements for both the LP and the MacBride Committee would necessitate fairly constant contact with the newly created bureaucracy; and (3) The nation's political media is centered in Washington, D.C.

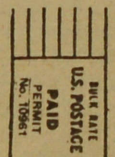
"In the past I have been strongly opposed to moving to Washington, D.C.," said Crane, "but I have reluctantly come to

the conclusion that such a move is now indicated." He said that the rapid growth of the LP has placed the Party in a position to maximize its media exposure in that city. "My fear that moving to Washington might eventually lead the Party to compromise its principles was largely allayed by the actions of the delegates at the national convention when they adopted such an uncompromising platform," Crane added. "The membership of the Libertarian Party will never tolerate the politics-as-usual tactics of 'bending' principles to accommodate political alliances," he concluded.

New National Headquarters Address
Libertarian Party
1516 P St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Note: Literature with the San Francisco address should continue to be used as all mail sent there will be forwarded to the new address for the next year.

The Libertarian Party News
1516 P. St., N.W.
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From The Chair

LP Under Attack By Conservatives

Ed Crane

The Presidential Convention booklet contained a letter from me welcoming the delegates in which I put forth the view that the convention would mark the political coming of age of the Libertarian Party. It did just that.

Whether it was CBS, *National Review*, the New York Times, or any of the multitude of media reports on the convention, one thing rang out clearly: America has a new political party that deserves serious consideration. It's been a long, hard struggle, but we've overcome our second major obstacle on the road to re-establishing a libertarian society.

The first was to actually create the Libertarian Party (for which Dave Nolan and a handful of others deserve the major share of the credit). The second obstacle was acceptance by the media, without which we had no hope of reaching those millions of Americans who in my view need little more than hear our ideas to accept them.

The opportunity to reverse the trends towards statism is now ours and with it the responsibility. We've earned that opportunity, and we have every right to be very proud of our accomplishment. Now the real job is before us. Now we must mount a serious national political effort that must withstand attacks from those interest groups and rival political forces that will increasingly feel threatened by our presence.

LP's Foes

In his outstanding acceptance speech, the new LP Presidential candidate Roger MacBride warned that we must be prepared to deal in the near future with America's anti-libertarian Establishment. Conservative columnist Kevin Phillips proved MacBride a

prophet when, shortly after the convention, he wrote a bitter attack on the LP.

The attack, however, was as illogical as it was vehement. Phillips actually did us a service by underlining (much as William Rusher did in his book *The Making of a New Majority Party*) once again the fundamental antagonism between conservatism and libertarianism. Taking New York City as a case to prove his point that libertarianism is "too optimistic," Phillips calls for "Caesarism" (his very word, honest) and cites the need for "order, authority and restraint" above all. *Ja wohl, mein Fuhrer!*

Of course, optimism would be out of character for conservatives. As Phillips points out, conservatives believe the statement of Thomas Hobbes that life is naturally "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short," and that, in Phillips' words, "the answer lies in the power of sword and state."

Reactionary

From Phillips' instinctively statist and reactionary point of view, the manifest problems caused by big government in New York City can only be solved by creating an even more powerful government—the power of the sword and all that.

Says conservative Phillips: "Take away New York's drug laws, pornography statutes, school attendance laws, welfare apparatus and all the other things libertarianism would scrap and the city would degenerate into a bloody chaos." Actually, the reverse is true.

Take those things away and with them will go the chaos that now exists. Rid New York of those tyrannical and counterproductive governmental activities,

and you'd witness a rapid, classic "Austrian School" economic recovery that would correct the forced malinvestment of human and financial resources. Crime would drop precipitously. Business would return and once again prosper. There are rational, realistic grounds for optimism.

Causes for Optimism

But let us leave Mr. Phillips with his sword and state. I, for one, am delighted to be an optimistic libertarian. And one of the greatest causes we have for optimism is our Presidential ticket of Roger MacBride and David Bergland. In them we have two of the most articulate libertarians in the land carrying our banner. Both are long-time activists, both refuse to compromise libertarian principles, and both are committed to a high-level, hardhitting, full-time campaign.

I urge each of you to join Roger and Dave in waging what promises to be the most exciting third-party campaign in the history of this country. Whether it's letters to the editor, speeches before civic organizations, planning rallies, or just plain financial support, your help can and will make a difference. We have a Presidential ticket that will so outshine anything put forth by the Republicans and Democrats that it is imperative that we take the fullest advantage of these favorable circumstances.

There isn't room in this column to give all the credit that is due to the Convention Committee in New York for the superlative job they did. The long hours they put in on the event paid off in the smooth functioning of just about everything. Congratulations to Charles Blood, convention manager; Marc Travis, convention coordinator; Andrea Millen,

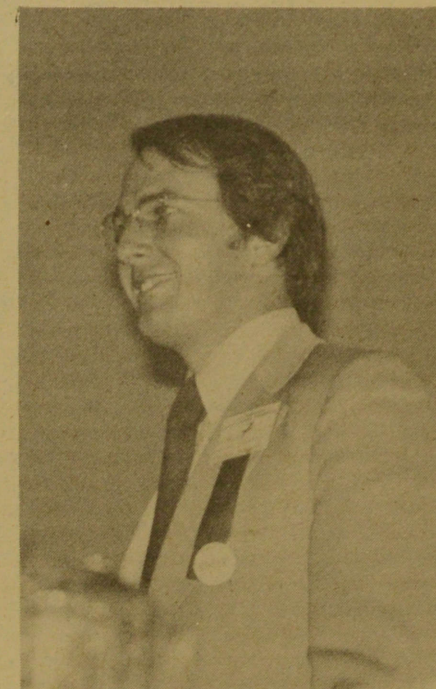


Photo by Bruce Lagasse

ED CRANE

troubleshooter; Bob Klar, personnel (a title which hardly did justice to this non-stop problemsolver); John Doswell, events producer; Linda Osborne Blood, personal accommodations; Ray Strong, budget and finance; Jean Preece, entertainment casting; Fran Youngstein, scheduler; Dolores Grande, treasurer; David Grant, media; Mike Nichols, exhibits coordinator; Carolyn Keelan, art director; Sandy Feld, production; and Laura Wertheimer, media.

Campus Organizing

Effective Student Effort Vital For '76

Tom Palmer

If the Libertarian Party is to be an effective vehicle in the struggle for individual freedom, it must have a strong campus movement. To fill this need, an effort is being made to establish Young Libertarian Alliance and Students For MacBride/Bergland chapters across the country.

All student libertarians are urged to become a part of this necessary effort. There is no better audience for a student libertarian activist to work on than other students. And this applies to high schools as well as colleges.

Regions and other subdivisions of the state parties, as well as the state parties themselves, should now select a campus coordinator for the purpose of organizing chapters on unorganized campuses, as well as to assist existing libertarian clubs and to serve as a liaison with the state LP.

All such clubs are also urged to affiliate with the Young Libertarian Alliance. (Structural plans for YLA are now being drawn up and should be ready before the end of the year. Write to the national LP office for details.)

Also, single copies of a booklet on campus organizing outlining strategies, tactics and projects will be available free from the national office. All student libertarians should have a copy of this manual.

Young Libertarian Alliance chapters should be organized on as many campuses as possible in preparation for the spring semester (quarter) of 1976. Registration is by far the best time to engage in recruiting efforts, since students tend to have more time then and are often looking for extracurricular activities. Continuous organizing through the summer of 1976

will find us with a well prepared student organization for the vital fall semester of 1976.

Importantly, out of all the '76 Presidential campaigns, none can appeal to and motivate students as much as ours can. Reagan (or any Republican, for that matter) and his tired clichés about the "Commie menace" and "loose morality" won't wash, the Democrats have never had a great organizational appeal among students, and the leftist splinter parties present no threat. We have clear sailing ahead and must take advantage of this chance if we are serious about attaining freedom.

Lone Libertarian?

If you are a "lone" libertarian on campus, contact your local LP group for information about other libertarian students attending that school or in your area. (It's best to have help starting a chapter, but it can be done alone.) You should then set up a literature table at a well-traveled portion of campus, stocked with LP and other libertarian literature (contact state or national LP) and a sign up sheet for interested persons.

Have at least one free handout (with an address and phone where you can be reached prominently printed or rubber stamped on it which you give to all passers-by. Stand in front of the table and hand them out. They won't distribute themselves simply sitting on the able. Be friendly and open to anyone and be sure to get the names, addresses and phone numbers of all potential recruits.

Once you have a list of interested persons, you should call an organizational meeting for your Young Libertarian Alliance chapter. Print or mimeo a large

number of flyers announcing the meeting (including a brief blurb on what libertarianism is) and send them to your list as well as posting them around campus (dorms, student union, walkways, etc.).

If possible, place them in dorm and faculty mailboxes. Follow up this flyer with a phone call the night before the meeting reminding your sign-ups. Contact your campus newspaper requesting them to announce and cover your meeting. Show up at the paper's office armed with LP material and ideas about what this new club will try to do. They may even run a feature story on libertarianism.

Scheduling Hints

Schedule the meeting at a time likely not to compete with other important campus events and in an easily accessible meeting place on campus. (Check with your administration or student affairs office for details.) Have a speaker talk on the general subject of libertarianism (e.g. *Libertarianism: Up Against the State* or the like) for 15 minutes or less and then have an informal question-and-answer session.

Be friendly and open to everyone present (whether they are uncommitted, hostile, or friendly themselves) and try to get interested persons and potential members involved immediately in chapter activities.

It's helpful to have some proposed action-projects ready for people to sign up to work on at the first meeting. Get them actively involved. Young Libertarian Alliance chapters must be study-and-action groups, and not mere study circles and philosophic salon gatherings.

Once you have an operating chapter and

a cadre of hard-core activists, there is no end to the list of possible activities: campaigns, National and local electoral local community issues, a regular speakers program, the list goes on and on.

One excellent project is publication of your own campus "underground" broadsheet or regular columns in the official campus newspaper articulating the libertarian alternative. Approach the editor with several of your best samples and present him or her with a chance to run an interesting column by a member of a new and growing movement.

Of course, one of the most crucial facets of the LP program for 1976 is attaining ballot status in as many states as possible. Students, when circulating petitions, should do so on campus. If an LP group assigns its student workers to drives off campus, they are often engaging in an inefficient allocation of personnel.

When setting up a literature table, leafletting, and having meetings, always have your petitions prominent. Urge other students to sign to "get this new party on the ballot." Organized canvassing of fraternities, sororities and dormitories can add a great many names to a state ballot drive.

Campus libertarian organizing is vital to the advancement of the glorious cause of liberty — and is a most enjoyable and fun experience (if nothing else, it's a good way to meet people). If you're a student, or are interested in helping student organizing, write for a copy of the YLA organizational manual. They are available from national LP free (bulk rates for LP groups or states on request). The challenge and opportunities are there, it's up to us to do something about them.

Introduction To Libertarianism

Raising High The Banner Of Liberty

R.A. Childs, Jr.

(Editor's Note: The following is a new LP position paper available from national headquarters.)

Libertarianism is nothing more nor less than the politics of Liberty. While other parties and groups seek to use the tools of politics to give some groups power over others, to enrich some at the expense of others, or to impose some set of values on those who disagree with those values, Libertarians seek nothing more than Liberty.

Holding foresquare to those ancient principles upon which this Republic was founded, we affirm that every individual has the inalienable right to life, liberty and property, and that no one has the right to seek to impose his or her values on others by violence or the threat of it.

In short, Libertarians hold that every person should be treated as an end-in-himself or herself, never merely a means to the ends of others, and that every individual is the sole legitimate owner of his or her own life—free to do with that life whatever he or she wishes.

Libertarians therefore believe that all the social affairs and relationships between human beings should be voluntary, uninhibited by the use or threat of coercion, and that the only proper use of force in society is self-defense.

Thus, we look forward to a society of human beings ruled completely by voluntary consent, where all economic and social dealings are unencumbered by the dehumanizing and corrupting element of all forms of violence, including violence in its ultimate form, political power.

Libertarians, indeed, differ from other groups seeking a just, free and peaceful social order precisely here: in holding those in government liable in terms of the same moral standards as everyone else. Thus we believe that government should not have the power to rule non-aggressive individuals against their will. The only tolerable activity undertaken by governments, as far as we are concerned, is the protection of individual rights against violence.

Instead of seeking power to establish this or that form of order on society, we propose to let individuals find their own way, resulting in a society of free and spontaneous order, a society of institutions and forms of association which individuals find congenial to satisfying their own needs. We aim to prohibit no voluntary relationship or institution; we aim only to prohibit violations of liberty. We promote tolerance of the peaceful choices of others.

In economics, Libertarians advocate the establishment of the purely free market, that is, a market unhampered by government intrusions. We advocate the free, voluntary exchange of goods and services, unhampered by attempts of government power to redistribute income from poor to rich or rich to poor, by attempting to benefit this group at the expense of that, or by attempts to restrict the free exchange of goods and services between human beings. We seek the elimination of wage and price controls of all forms which cause shortages and unemployment, the elimination of import and export quotas, the ending of subsidies, whether to big business or any other interest group.

Welfare for Rich

We include those welfare programs which enhance the power and wealth of a privileged minority at the expense of the poor and middle classes—the subsidies to Lockheed, Penn Central, Pan Am, and other big businesses existing in cosy relationships with government power.

Libertarians seek the end of confiscatory taxes—and all taxes are confiscatory—and regulations on production and exchange of all types. We seek the elimination of occupational licensure, which prevents human beings

from working in whatever trade they wish, and of all other restrictions on freedom of employment, on the right to perform any task for anyone who wishes to hire a person, at any agreed-upon wage.

We despise government-fostered forced retirement, which robs the elderly of work, dignity, and purpose. We seek an immediate abolition of our vicious drug laws, which, by prohibiting free production, exchange and use of prohibited substances, destroy individual lives, subject free individuals to arbitrary government power, limit the individual's right to self-medication—to ingest any substances he or she wishes—and foster crime, particularly organized crime. We mean to seek an end to the new prohibitionism.

Libertarians advocate the elimination of government regulatory agencies, such as the CAB, ICC, FTC and FCC, which limit the liberty to create, produce, exchange and market, which restrict competition, promote inefficiency and foster monopoly.

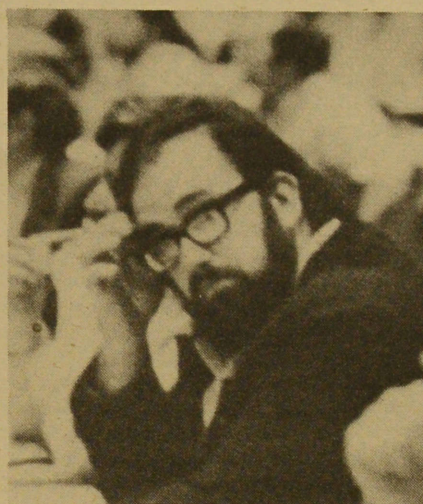
We advocate the end of government-fostered cartels, whether in individual occupations, or whole industries, including the monopoly power of "public utilities," to control essential social services.

We advocate the dismantling of the system of compulsory education, and its replacement with a network of diverse, voluntary educational institutions, and the ending of government brainwashing and enslavement of American children.

Libertarians propose to end the corruption and bribery of government officials, by abolishing their power to dispense special privileges. We intend to abolish the destructive government-fostered cartel of central banking, and government control of the money supply, and thus to end those inflationary policies which erode pensions and savings, and lead to the cruel distortions and unemployment of the business cycle.

In short, by ending incentives to parasitism and restrictions on production and exchange, we promote the ideal of a society of independent, productive human beings and aim to set the forces of the productive free market loose in working to expand and enrich out standard of living and the quality of our lives in society.

In the area of civil liberties, Libertarians are absolutists, and advocate a full restoration of civil liberty to the American



R.A. CHILDS

people. This means not only an end to government spying and robbery, to the CIA and IRS, but the elimination of all victimless crime laws, such as laws against sexual acts between consenting persons including laws against homosexual relations — laws against pornography, laws restricting any form of freedom of religion, speech or press, of any form whatever.

Only Individuals Exist

In the field of civil liberties, Libertarians hold that "group rights" are merely metaphors; all that exist are individual rights. Groups have no rights save those derived from the rights of their individual members. Thus no group, in the name of the nation, state, church, or any other institution, has the right to impose its doctrines or values on others.

In civil liberties, as elsewhere, Libertarians simply extend the principles of religious freedom and tolerance — which ended centuries of religious persecution and warfare — to cover the whole dizzying array of human social relationships, in all of their rich diversity.

Individuals must respect the right of others to live different lives, to read and enjoy different commodities, to shape their relationships, sexual and other, in their own way, to live their lives in their own way, at their own expense and risk, never forcing others to pay for their mistakes.

In foreign policy, which is today in America in utter shambles, Libertarians propose the implementation of a few simple principles. Politically, we are isolationists. We advocate the withdrawal of American troops from other countries of the world, believing that American

military forces have no business outside of American borders.

We seek an end to such illusory programs as "collective security," which merely promote ever more widespread wars and military conflicts. We absolutely oppose conscription as being a form of slavery — in peace or war. We mean to establish the reign of free trade and international peace, to end American imperialism and involvement in the affairs of other nations, whether done in the name of alleged "anti-communism," of guaranteeing American access to raw materials or foreign markets, or in the name of protecting American investments in foreign countries.

Americans should have the right to trade with whomever they wish, and to invest wherever they choose, but at their own expense and risk, without involving the American military. We mean to erase national boundaries, politically conceived, to bring to human beings the liberty to trade and travel where they will.

But most of all, we propose to abolish the age-old scourge of militarism and war, of conquest and mass murder, ending both the motives of power elites to wage wars, and to abolish the powers of governments all over the world — including the American government — to conscript, loot and kill. Nothing can excuse the mass murder of war, and nothing ever has.

We regard the politics of Liberty as the only relevant politics of our age, and do not intend to restrict the application of these principles and doctrines only to America: They apply all too clearly to the rest of the world. But it is America which we Libertarians know best, and America which, perhaps, holds out the greatest promise for the triumph of Liberty. For Libertarianism is nothing less than the completion of the ideals of the American Revolution, updated and applied to our own time.

When the American colonists heroically risked their lives, their property and their sacred honor to rebel against the tyranny of Britain, they set an example for us all. Americans two hundred years ago knew that eternal vigilance was the price of liberty, and were prepared to pay that price. Whether we are willing to pay that price today is a question which must be answered individually, by each of us. But we of the Libertarian Party have made our choice. Moved by a passion for justice, by compassion for those oppressed by State power and privilege, we have raised the banner of Liberty.

Best-Written Letter To Editor

The LP NEWS awards \$10 to the author of the best recent letter to the editor published in a newspaper. The letter must mention the Libertarian Party and should list the local or national address or telephone number of the Party.

Runner-up letters were by Bill Stanley in Sept. 10 Thousand Oaks (Calif.) News-Chronicle; Saul Rackauskas in the Sept. 3 Camarillo (Calif.) Daily News; J.L. Porter in the Sept. 2 Van Nuys (Calif.) Valley News; Edward C. Facey in the Hillsdale (Mich.) Daily News; Tom Palven in Aug. 28 issues of the Allentown (N.J.) Messenger and Millstone Press; Robin Miller in the Sept. 16 Minneapolis Star; and John Vernon in the Sept. 11 Oklahoma City Oklahoma Journal. The best letter appeared in the Aug. 28 Boise Idaho Statesman:

The Statesman article, Aug. 19, entitled "Businessmen Decide to Educate Public on Free Enterprise" was encouraging. Or, the title was encouraging. Reading the occupations of the businessmen on the speaker bureau list, one should become wary.

Representing such coercive monopolies as public education and public utilities, along with heavily regulated businesses such as real estate, banking, and broadcasting, it is almost as though Simon Legree and his slaves had been slated to explain human rights. In either case, some are under pressure to avoid reprisals and some are afraid of losing special privileges.

We certainly hope our suspicions are unfounded, in which case the public education people will argue against the compulsory attendance, tax-supported school system; the public utilities people will speak out to eliminate government-granted exclusive franchises and the power of eminent domain; the real estate people will speak out against land confiscation through government land-use planning and against tax-subsidized building programs; the banking people will speak out against such inflationary practices as monetizing the debt and against government-guaranteed loans (to people for whom the bankers wouldn't otherwise loan money); and the broadcasters will speak out in favor of

freeing cable television from all government interference.

Unfortunately, the history of business has been that of businessmen being their own worst enemies. Compromising principle in favor of special privileges or failing to take stands for fear of rocking the boat, the American businessmen are under relentless attack by demagogues whom they helped create.

They have, altogether too frequently, either advocated or yielded to the creation of a system for the private ownership of the means of production under centralized government control. Such a system is fascism, by its proper name, not free enterprise.

Free enterprise, capitalism, consent, and the free market are some different labels for the principle of voluntary human relations. If that principle is being advocated by these businessmen, the Libertarian party of Idaho supports and applauds their endeavor to spread the idea of freedom. — D. ALLEN DALTON, chairman; JAMES JERRY JONES, vice chairman, Libertarian party of Idaho.

State Parties Spread The Word

Listed below are recent developments and happenings in the Libertarian Parties throughout the various states:

ALASKA

In the Anchorage area, LP members received a large amount of favorable publicity (including coverage in the Anchorage Sunday Times) in their effort to defeat a proposal to unify a number of small government entities into a super-entity with unlimited powers. And their candidate for Anchorage municipal assembly, Jill Rodgers, received 20 percent of the vote on a budget of \$45. The Anchorage LPers showed that in ads and mailings directed to the voters, simple and hard-hitting applications of libertarian ideas have an impact.

ARIZONA

July's convention in Tempe saw the election of officers and committee members. "Arizona Liberty," the LP newsletter, has featured articles on drugs, self-defense with firearms, and occupational licensure.

ARKANSAS

The name of the Arkansas LP newsletter is "38,219." That's the number of signatures needed for obtaining ballot status in Arkansas, and it's a good reminder for Arkansas LPers of the goal they've set for themselves. LPers here are backing a proposal for taxi deregulation in Little Rock.

CALIFORNIA

LPers are busily engaged in activism up and down the state. Party members have become prominent in the discussion of such diverse issues as tax assessment levels, private airports, nude beaches, and trash collection. In addition, a survey of California legislators, ranking their votes on a libertarian scale, was written up in a Thousand Oaks newspaper along with the ratings given local representatives. The effort to place a "None of the Above" option on the state ballot is gaining momentum and is receiving news coverage from Los Angeles to San Francisco.

LP publicity has been especially effective in the Auburn-Placer region, where newspapers have reported on members' activities in redevelopment controversies.

COLORADO

Congratulations to Jan Prince, the newly-elected head of the Colorado LP. Plans are now in the works to divide responsibilities for the numerous tasks involved in running the state party. John James plans now to run for the State House here.

CONNECTICUT

The LP here received widespread media attention as it geared up for the National Convention. Articles and interviews with LP spokesmen regarding the party and its goals appeared throughout the state, including an interview with Treasurer Carl Karcutt in which he explained the Libertarian position.

FLORIDA

New South Florida LP officers were elected in the convention here in late July. Current projects include fighting the present restrictive ballot status requirements. On the candidate front, Dade County LP member Robert Huggins has filed for the Miami City Council.

HAWAII

A Libertarian Conference is in the works for this fall. Chairman Ed Crane and VP nominee David Bergland are scheduled to appear.

ILLINOIS

Party members are gearing up for the petition drive and campaigns for this fall. They have also made a concerted effort to change the minds of members of Young Americans for Freedom at their recent national convention, have set up fair booths, and have been presenting libertarian viewpoints in radio and television editorials. In the YAF presidential preference poll at its convention, 1972 LP nominee John

Hospers came in second, behind Reagan, but ahead of Jim Buckley and George Wallace.

LOUISIANA

Activities here include monitoring of elected officials to determine which are sympathetic to libertarian aims. An LP member, Robbie Daniels, has filed for the state legislature from the 45th district.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Boston Globe, the major newspaper in the state, featured an interview with David Long, the LP member who generated much publicity with his attempt to run for mayor of Boston.

MICHIGAN

The Michigan LP is scheduling its convention for October 18 and 19 near Detroit, with Presidential candidate Roger MacBride as featured speaker. Much of LP activity here is focused on the drive to get the LP on the ballot.

MINNESOTA

The LP has now installed a full-time director, Tom Piotrowski of Roseville. The gun control issue is still very big in Minnesota, and LPers are spearheading the drive to combat gun control legislation.

The LP fair booth used the issues of opposition to gun control and to marijuana prohibition to attract conservatives and liberals and to highlight the LP's consistent adherence to principle.

NEVADA

Party members in Nevada are gearing up for coming elections with thoughtful articles in "We Are Free," the libertarian newsletter. The party has also received mention in prominent Las Vegas newspapers.

NEW JERSEY

Libertarians have been extraordinarily busy in New Jersey since the convention. Many campaigns for various elective offices are under way.

Ronald Wishart, the LP candidate for Assembly from the 9th District, has probably received the most coverage. Wishart explains his position on taxation, victimless crimes, consumer protection, education, and subsidies in his brochures. His campaign activities have received attention in several articles in the local area.

Also receiving coverage was John Conard, LP candidate for Assembly from the 9th District. His opposition to a state bond issue was reported in a local newspaper.

Other LP candidates include: Ken Kaplan, 26th Assembly; Dan Piro, 37th Assembly; and Paul Geyer, 12th Congressional.

The New Jersey organization has asked for contributions to help cover campaign costs of the LP candidates. Send contributions to Libertarians '75, P.O. Box 247, Bernardsville, N.J. 07924.

NEW YORK

Much of the excitement coming from FLP circles in upstate New York has been generated by the races of Carol Cohen and Ellen Davis for elective office in upstat Dutchess County.

Davis was running for the Democratic nomination for Dutchess County Executive; Cohen tried for the Conservative Party nomination for mayor of Poughkeepsie. Both ran explicitly and uncompromisingly as libertarians, and Cohen will still be on the Free Libertarian line on the November ballot.

The results were very encouraging. Carol Cohen tied for the Conservative Party nomination with a former mayor. A recount, however, and the omission of several disputed ballots gave the victory to her opponent.

Ellen Davis ran an energetic campaign against an established leader of the Democratic Party, for the County Executive nomination. At one point, a newspaper poll showed her slightly ahead. This spurred her far more heavily financed opponent into action, as his radio and newspaper spots blasted Davis and

Libertarianism. The result showed Davis with an amazing 35% of the Democratic vote. Davis will now run for the county legislature.

A related result was LP member Virginia Walker's close race for the Conservative Party nomination for Suffolk County Executive, losing by only 192 votes out of over 2800 cast.

A third FLP campaign has begun in Dutchess County. FLP candidate Mario Caviglia has also been cross-endorsed by the Republican Party. Contributions should be sent to Taxpayers for Caviglia, 22 Corlies Avenue, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. 12601.



ELLEN DAVIS

OHIO

The LP here has elected new office holders for the campaign year. They are: John Rako, Chairman, Robert Lehman and John DeJager, Vice Chairmen; Linda Bunyan, Secretary; and Karl Peterjohn, Treasurer.

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma LPers are receiving massive publicity statewide from their attempts to modify the current ballot requirements. The party even received editorial support from a Norman, Oklahoma newspaper.

In addition, members are organizing to fight the higher cost of day care services as proposed by the Department of HEW. LP spokesmen have been in the forefront of this struggle.

Oklahoman John Vernon, who finished second in the New York City convention vote on national LP nomination for vice president, also gained a great deal of recognition for himself and the party through his race.

Ray Cunningham Waging Active Mayoral Campaign

SAN FRANCISCO—Ray Cunningham is continuing to run a very active campaign for mayor of this city. Out of the eleven candidates running, Cunningham is now considered by most political and community organizations and by the media as one of the six major candidates for the mayor's office.

It has been an up-hill struggle to gain this recognition since the other five majors are all presently office-holders. Cunningham has been averaging approximately 15 speaking engagements a week, and about a dozen media interviews a week.

He is being included in most candidates' forums and media engagements, which include only the major candidates. He is also receiving a good deal of media attention by promoting the "None of the Above is Acceptable" initiative petition drive in San Francisco.

Cunningham is garnering support from various elements in San Francisco — including small businessmen, conservatives,

OREGON

As in Oklahoma, a vice presidential candidate has won much publicity for the LP in Oregon. Tonie Nathan's efforts were recognized statewide, as was her announcement that she would challenge Democratic incumbent James Weaver in 1976 for the U.S. House of Representatives. Her activities on behalf of libertarian feminism have also received attention.

PENNSYLVANIA

LP members here are encouraged by the growth of the party throughout the state, and are making plans for the ballot drive. A regular dinner-and-speaker engagement has been set up in the western part of the state. LP member Roger Kelly appeared on a Philadelphia radio talk show to explain libertarian ideas.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Another state heard from! South Carolina has petitioned for affiliation, and the new officers include Charles Blackwell, Chairman; John Harlee, Vice Chairman; Dargan Clarkson, Secretary; and Charles Robinson, Treasurer. Congratulations!

TENNESSEE

The Tennessee Libertarian Party has filed suit to invalidate present ballot status requirements. Defendants are the Republican and Democratic Parties, and LP members are determined to wage their fight to the limit.

TEXAS

"Free Texas," the bulletin of the state LP, is devoting much space to the technicalities of achieving permanent ballot status.

Harry Robinson, Secretary of the Texas LP, has announced for United States Senate, to oppose Lloyd Bentsen.

UTAH

The LP here announced that three County groups have been organized, in Weber, Davis, and Salt Lake Counties. A recent issue of the party newsletter, "Freedom Express," included articles on county organizing and the role of money.

Items of interest include a proposed electoral challenge by LPer Steve Trotter to incumbent United States Senator Frank Moss, and that \$723.00 was designated toward the LP through Utah's \$1 tax check-off for political parties.

VIRGINIA

Activity in Virginia is focusing, in part, on Skip Beale's race for the state legislature from the Arlington area. Beale, a former state LP officer, has already received the Republican endorsement for the seat. Contributions can be sent to Beale for Delegate, Box 221, Arlington, VA 22210.

gays, students, and segments of the ethnic communities. His campaign is using door-to-door distribution and public-area distribution of several types of leaflets, issue papers, cards and signs.

On Sept. 30, the San Francisco Examiner, one of the two largest dailies, published a lengthy article by Cunningham on urban problems on the editorial opinion page.

Subsequently, Cunningham received generous coverage on KQED and KPIX television news. Much of the increased attention Cunningham is receiving is due to the efforts of recently-hired campaign manager Eric Garris and the well-mobilized efforts of dozens of volunteer campaign workers.

All things considered, Cunningham has an excellent chance of outpolling one or two of the other major office-holding candidates (a county supervisor and a state senator). Please send contributions to Ray Cunningham for Mayor, 450 Liberty Street, San Francisco, CA 94114.

National Standardbearers Named

(Continued from page 1)

discuss economic issues we must emphasize that laissez-faire is a matter of justice. Libertarian economic policy means ending regulatory barriers to entry which protect big business; it means closing down subsidies to farmers and halting price-supports, tariffs and import quotas."

Although MacBride was the pre-convention favorite to capture the nomination, Kay Harroff, the Ohio businesswoman who garnered 80,000 votes in the U.S. Senate race last year, appeared to be gaining ground as the convention neared. She had obtained commitments from over 40 delegates, including the majority of the Oklahoma and Texas delegations.

The Harroff campaign strategy, however, which appeared to be centered on picturing her as the most "pure" libertarian in the race, never seemed to catch fire. MacBride and the third candidate, New York IBM executive Guy Riggs, each presented an uncompromising libertarian approach as well.

Riggs readily admitted to his underdog position in the race, hoping that in the event of a deadlock between Harroff and MacBride the convention would turn to him. It was an eventuality that never occurred. On the first ballot MacBride received 142 votes? Harroff 62 and Riggs 34. California, which had passed on the first round, cast the votes which put MacBride over the top, and pandemonium broke out on the convention floor. It took 10 minutes for the news to get to MacBride's campaign suite and for him to get to the floor. But the cheering didn't stop, and when he arrived, it reached an ear splitting intensity.

As the new LP Presidential candidate made his way through the crowd of well-wishers, television and radio personnel pushed forward in order to provide the nation with news of the first serious 1976 nominee for President of the United States. Both Harroff and Riggs warmly greeted MacBride on his way to the podium where he was to give a stirring speech that was interrupted no less than 25 times by the cheering delegates.

After the convention recessed MacBride spoke to a well-attended press conference and described his plans for the 14-month campaign. Considerable lobbying was taking place during the break as supporters for the three Vice Presidential candidates pleaded their cases.

The candidates were *Reason* magazine publisher Manuel Klausner; former SDS member and now California LP activist Jim Trotter; and 1972 LP Vice Presidential candidate Toni Nathan. Murray Rothbard, during his nominating speech for Klausner, revealed that Klausner was the pick of MacBride.

Check & Balance

At this point, a check-and-balance element built into the LP constitution came into effect and created tension. The party constitution explicitly gives the Presidential candidate veto-power over who is to be his running mate. This provision was intended to insure the compatibility of the national standard-bearers and to facilitate their working together.

Although, in line with this, some delegates held that the convention should offer its advice and consent on a Vice Presidential nominee compatible with and approved by the Presidential nominee, others believed that the Vice Presidential nominee should be the choice of the convention alone.

These differing approaches combined with the delegates' direct preferences to affect the balloting. On the first ballot, Trotter led with 97 votes, followed closely by Klausner with 85 and Nathan with 45.

MacBride then spoke to the convention and stated that he had strong tactical reservations about Trotter's candidacy. Trotter, in turn, while respectfully disagreeing with MacBride's assessment, agreed that he had every right to make that

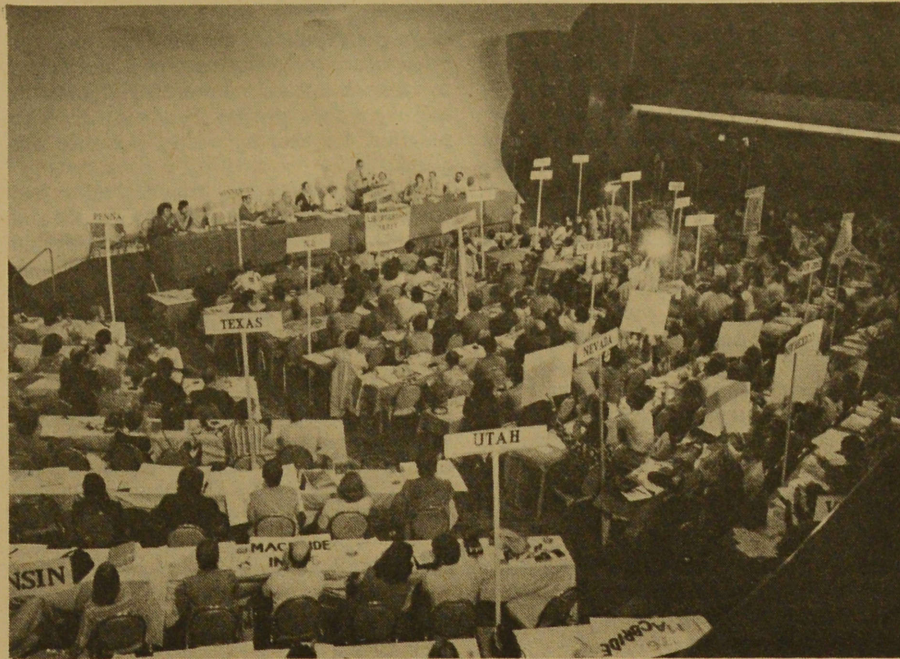


Photo by Bruce Lagasse

SCENE AT NATIONAL CONVENTION

judgment and withdrew from the race after endorsing Nathan.

Second Ballot

The second ballot put Nathan on top with 110 votes to Klausner's 87. This time, however, there were eight abstentions and 30 votes for "none of the above," thus denying Nathan a majority.

Chairman Crane then suggested a recess to allow delegates to have time to find another candidate if they so desired. After three votes, a recess until the following morning (Sunday) was approved. Several members of the California delegation felt that Dave Bergland would be a good candidate and were able to convince him to fly to New York from Southern California. Bergland has acted as statewide coordinator for the California LP's effort to put an initiative on the 1976 state ballot mandating a "none of the above" ballot option.

As voting commenced Sunday morning two other names had been added to the list of Bergland, Klausner and Nathan. They were John Vernon, an Oklahoma City restaurateur, and Walter Block, a Rutgers University economist. MacBride had earlier expressed tactical reservations about Vernon that were similar to those he had about Trotter.

When National Book Award winner Robert Nozick of Massachusetts nominated Vernon, however, he presented a strong argument against MacBride's concern that our candidates not be identified with one particular issue. MacBride then addressed the convention once more, admitted to being swayed by Nozick's reasoning, and said he would accept whomever the delegates wished to be the LP's Vice Presidential candidate.

United Spirit

From that point forward the positive, united spirit that had characterized the convention prior to the Vice Presidential deadlock reasserted itself and remained the keynote of the gathering through its conclusion.

During the tabulation of the third ballot several states changed their votes in order to give Bergland the nomination. He gave an excellent, extemporaneous acceptance speech in which he said that "the coming campaign represents the greatest opportunity for reestablishing human liberty in America since the 18th Century."

Bergland will kick off his campaign with a trip to Hawaii in late October. Bill Susel, a member of the national Executive Committee, will work closely with Bergland, who plans to spend a good portion of his time speaking on college campuses around the country.

Time constraints prevented the convention from considering most of the proposed changes to the Constitution and

Bylaws. The chairman of that committee, Bill Howell of Texas, stated that the full text of its recommendations will be made available to the delegates to the next regular convention.

Adopted Changes

Two changes that were adopted included cumulative voting for the seven at large Executive Committee positions (allowing each delegate to allocate all of his or her seven votes to one candidate, if desired) and a provision for "none of the above" in voting for the LP Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates.

Voting for the seven at large Executive Committee seats took up most of Sunday afternoon as nominating and seconding speeches were heard for 16 candidates. The results were: Phil Manger (Maryland) 135; Rich Kenney (Washington) 119; Jim Blanchard (Louisiana) 119; Dave Nolan (Colorado) 118; Bill Susel (California) 116; Ed Clark (California) 115; John Hathaway (New York) 114; Bobbi Jahn (Kentucky) 95; Bob Meier (California) 96; John Vernon (Oklahoma) 89; Frank Horn (Wisconsin) 83; J.D. Webster (Illinois) 79; Porter Davis (Oklahoma) 75; Bob Steiner (New Jersey) 61; Leland Schubert (New York) 34; and Martin Nixon (New York) 31.

In the Regional caucuses the following individuals were elected to the Executive Committee: Region 1 — Bob Meier (California), Toni Nathan (Oregon), Carol Cunningham (California); Region 2 — Dionne Baldwin (Idaho); Region 3 — John Aynsworth (Oklahoma), William Howell (Texas), Mike Thompson (Arizona); Region 4 — Dale Hemmings (Minnesota); Region 5 — Martin Jahn (Kentucky), Bill Krebaum (Michigan); Region 6 — Brian Donerly (Florida); Region 7 — Kathleen McAdam (New Jersey); Region 8 — David Long (Massachusetts), Leland Schubert (New York).

Because Meier has moved to the new LP headquarters in Washington, D.C. he had to give up his position as a Regional member of the Executive Committee. He has been replaced by LP NEWS editor Bill Evers, who was the highest non-elected vote getter at the Region 1 caucus.

National Officers

National LP officers are Ed Crane, chairman; Andrea Millen, vice chairwoman; Greg Clark, secretary; and Fran Youngstein, treasurer. All were unopposed, and all were elected by voice vote. Crane, Millen and Clark were running as incumbents.

The hard work of the Free Libertarian Party assured that there was always an extra-curricular event to attend when there was a break in the convention. Among the popular diversions was a panel on oil and politics featuring Murray Rothbard, Dennis Turner, Bill Evers and Roy Childs. Over

200 people crowded into a relatively small meeting room to hear the informative discussions (Are cartels effective? Is there a ruling elite?) that kicked off the convention on Monday night.

The workshops that were held included: campaign management (Arthur Finkelstein); campaigns and candidates (Gary Greenberg, Jeremy Millett and Woody Jenkins); the gold standard (Howard Katz); and ballot drives (Howie Rich).

Other workshops included: dealing with Congress (Scootch Pankonin and Art Carol); campus organizing (Tom Palmer, Don Feder and Don Ernsberger); and legalization of drugs (Roy Childs). The two most well-attended panels were on feminism (Fran Youngstein, Sharon Presley, Lynn Kinsky and Bobbi Jahn) and the tax seminar (Karl Bray, Jim Davidson and Hank Hohenstein).

Stirring Moment

Perhaps the most stirring moment in the convention came when Life Sustaining member Marshall Bruce Evoy of Canada delivered Patrick Henry's famous "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" speech. Introduced as "the delegate from Virginia — Patrick Henry," Evoy gave a dramatic presentation of the speech, dressed in authentic American revolutionary garb.

Throughout the convention, a series of multi-media slide presentations by John Doswell traced the history of the libertarian movement from ancient times up to the formation of the Libertarian Party. Doswell received a standing ovation for the work he put into the technical aspects of the convention, including a theatrical entitled "Trash" which featured Evoy, Jean Preece, Andrea Millen and the stage debut of Ed Crane.

John Hospers delivered a lengthy keynote address, which described in detail the suffering of a Siberian peasant, was entitled "A Bill Of Goods," and called for the Libertarian Party to warn the American public that it cannot continue to look to government to solve its problems if we are to maintain a free society.

A series of breakfast speeches featured David Friedman, Dom Armentano, Mark Tier and Jeffrey St. John. Friedman, author of *The Machinery of Freedom*, criticized Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State and Utopia* and the two authors engaged in a spirited discussion of the merits of the award-winning book. Armentano, a member of the LP's Board of Economic Advisers, discussed the growing acceptance of Austrian economic theory. Tier is the chief economist for the Worker's Party, the Australian counterpart to America's LP.

Closing Banquet

The concluding event of the convention was the Sunday night banquet which was attended by over 300 libertarians. FLP Chairperson Gary Greenberg hosted the evening which featured live entertainment and a rousing speech by "Mr. Libertarian," Dr. Murray Rothbard.

Ralph Raico, in introducing Rothbard, delivered a moving tribute to the man who used to "hold national libertarian conventions in his living room." Rothbard's speech, "The Road to Victory," was exceptionally well received by the audience. He related the history of the libertarian movement, emphasizing the tremendous spur to growth that came with the formation of the Libertarian Party. "In this Bicentennial season," said Rothbard, "we are setting out to reclaim the American dream."

National Director Bob Meier and Washington, D.C. libertarian activist Wain Dawson conducted the fundraising portion of the banquet. Indicative of the high spirits of the occasion was the fact that approximately \$15,000 was raised to help get the Libertarian Party on the ballot in at least 30 states as soon as possible. The success of the fundraising was an appropriate conclusion to a highly successful convention.

Rothbard: Timing Is Right . . .

(Editor's Note: The following is the text of Prof. Rothbard's address to the Libertarian Party convention following the Aug. 31 evening banquet.)

Fellow Libertarians—Friends and Colleagues:

For a veteran libertarian like myself, it is particularly hard to realize that this event has really taken place. Ten, fifteen, twenty years ago, when the libertarian movement had reached the mighty and august total of *five* or *ten*, this sort of week, this night, was just an absurdly remote fantasy. Perhaps you can imagine what it was like for half a dozen people to sit around and dream that *some* day we would be a mighty and recognized mass movement, with our *own* real political party with Presidential candidates and campaigns and all the rest.

Well, of course, it was something like Of Mice and Men: "Tell me George, tell me, someday we're going to have a political party, right? And a Presidential convention, George? And a candidate, and a national campaign? And all?" Yes, and here we are, it is only 1975, and we can all tell ourselves, in awe and in wonder, "Yes, Lennie, it's true, we're a real party now."

We're real, all right, real with all the glorious opportunity of a party and, yes, all the heartaches too. But now the heartaches are over, and the opportunities lie ahead.

Milestone

I am convinced that with this platform and with these candidates, this convention marks a great milestone in the history of the young and growing Libertarian Party, and in the libertarian movement itself. We—the Party and the movement—have now come of age; we are entering a new and vital period of growth and development. For with this convention, and with the Presidential campaign this year and next, we have become a *real* Party, transcending the early stages of local circles, affinity groups, and *kaffee-klatsches*.

We are now ready to make our mark in American life. We are ready to turn this country around, and we are going to do it. Welded together in one united Party, with excellent candidates, with party machinery equipped to do the job—with determination, with professional expertise, and with enthusiasm, we are ready to advance and triumph in the noblest cause of all: the cause of Liberty. In this Bicentennial season, we are setting out to reclaim the American dream.

It is obvious to everyone, both inside and outside our movement, that libertarianism has grown enormously in the last few years. But it is important to realize that we have grown qualitatively, not just quantitatively. In a few short years, we have begun to *mature*—mature ideologically and organizationally. Ideologically, we have re-evaluated the curious devotion to the Big American State in *foreign policy* which long contradicted so blatantly our opposition to that same Big Government at home.

Give us a coherent organization and we will transform America.

Propaganda Shibboleths

We have now seen through the propaganda shibboleths of the Cold War and of global intervention just as we long ago cast out the shibboleths of government intervention *within* our country.

We proudly define ourselves, not as a conservative party nor as a liberal party, but as a *libertarian* party, with our own distinctive ideology and our unique appeal to all classes and ranks of Americans.

We have begun to learn, too, to subordinate our factional squabbling over the form that the ultimate libertarian society should take. Not that these ultimate issues are not important; they are.

But we have now realized that we are at this point so far removed from *any* of our ultimate goals that it would be sheer folly to split or to cast each other into 'outer darkness' over these issues. We have begun to recognize that there is far more to unite us than to drive us apart; and that, within the broad mansions of libertarianism, it is folly to do other than unite in our common cause.

Finally, we have come to realize that short-term demands in rolling back the State do not have to contradict our long-run goal of complete liberty. And this our platforms have wisely recognized.

Organizational Maturity

We have matured not only ideologically, but also organizationally. We no longer have to be defensive about the propriety or the wisdom of forming ourselves into an organization, to band together to advance our common goals and principles, to form, yes, a coherent, effective *political party* as manifestly the best way to put our ideals into reality.

Give us a coherent organization and we will transform America.



Photo by Bruce Lagasse

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

We are abandoning the absurd notion that liberty is somehow incompatible with any form of organization, even a voluntary one.

In the belief—no, in the *knowledge*—that we *can* win, that we can begin to turn this country around, we have rejected the craven and self-defeating advice of those who would have us take our little hoard of gold coins and run off into a cave.

And in our proud boast that we are the "*party* of principle," we have come to realize that this means not only that we should cleave to libertarian principle without compromise or surrender, but also that we should form a *real political party*, and not simply a *discussion group* or *philosophy club*.

Impact of Votes

To form a real political party means to try to gain as many votes for the party as possible. For a party without votes quickly becomes a laughingstock, like the Socialist Labor Party, ineffective in influencing the public or in effecting social change. Our task is to cleave to principle, and, while doing so, to go out, spread our message, and gain as many votes as we can.

For votes will mean that the public, the media, and the politicians will begin to take us—and libertarian ideas seriously. Even now, a nationally syndicated political columnist covering our convention told a friend here that he thought our ticket would get several million votes in 1976. Wouldn't that be fantastic?

In its few short years of life, the Libertarian Party has made an enormous impact on the public, on the media, and on libertarians themselves. *First*, the impact on libertarians has been electric. All over the country, the existence of the Libertarian

Party has expanded our number and has given heart to libertarians who had begun to despair of any outlet for libertarian activity, for putting our ideals into practice, for shaping reality closer to our goals.

I have seen old friends, who had virtually given up, become reawakened and revived because the Party has provided them with a home and with a constructively outlet for libertarian activity. For there comes a point when pure discussion of libertarian theory is not enough.

Favorable Publicity

Furthermore, not only have we already garnered a vast amount of publicity, but this publicity has been—remarkably, to us veterans—favorable far beyond our expectations. It's been a deliciously long time since I've been called a *fascist*, a *crazy*, or a *Neanderthal*. Now, the typical response of the layman to libertarian ideas is no longer hysterical abuse, but: "Gee, I agree with a lot of that." Or, "are these ideas really practical?" or, even better, "Where can I go to learn more about them?"

Let us not forget that the fledgling socialist movement at the turn of the twentieth century began to drive toward victory precisely when the common reaction changed from hostility or incredulity to these very same responses.

More and more, thoughtful people everywhere are beginning to think that maybe we're right. And that's the beginning of our road to victory. And that, of course is just the beginning. Because, in the coming Presidential campaign, hundreds of thousands—millions—of people are going to hear our message and come to the same conclusion.

I am convinced that an enormous number of people "out there" are not yet libertarians simply because they have never heard the ideas expressed. In this campaign, we are going to bring them those ideas, and, inevitably, they will listen and join the cause. Especially because the *time is right*, right as never before in this century. With the right organization, the right candidates, the right ideology, and the right timing, how can we lose? How can we help but be firmly on the road to triumph?

Time Is Right

I would like to devote the remainder of my talk to explaining my firm conviction that the time is now right for a mighty nationwide libertarian effort—right as never before in anyone's living memory or even I this country.

It is right because the entire system of statism, of our American corporate state has now broken down in all of its parts and at the same time. As libertarians, we have always known that, in the long run, statism is not only immoral, criminal, and exploitative, but also that it cannot work. Happily, that long-run has now arrived, in every aspect of State activity. Arrived to the point that everyone acknowledges the breakdown, even a great number of statist themselves.

Let us examine the significant areas of breakdown. The collapse of statist economics in the last couple of years is now clear, *even* to Establishment economists, the last group where we might expect the harsh light of reality to break through the Mandarin arrogance of the self-styled elect.

Proclamations

After forty years of confidently proclaiming that Keynesian policies have abolished inflation and depression, have ironed out the dread fluctuations of the boom-bust cycle, the result of their statist planning and "fine-tuning" has merely been to bring us a boom and a bust *at the same time*, in our current inflationary depression.

We are on the edge of runaway inflation, after a bout of a myriad different forms of wage and price control only succeeded in bringing us more

inflation, in addition to shortages and economic dislocations.

Government regulation of industry, once a commonplace of the entire political spectrum, has broken down to such an extent that even its warmest supporters are beginning to call for a massive deregulation of industry. The cry is rising for the abolition of the ICC and the CAB, as it is seen that regulatory commissions only succeed in monopolizing the industries, rendering them backward and expensive, and—as in the case of our longest-regulated industry, the railroads—driving them to the edge of bankruptcy.

Subsidies To Business

The government's bailing out of business firms in trouble with gigantic subsidies is increasingly seen to be throttling free competition, and perpetuating economic dislocation. Our crippling and monstrous tax system is now more and more acknowledged to be choking off productive saving and investment. That once sacrosanct and

We should form a real political party and not simply a discussion group or philosophy club.

sacred cow, the Social Security System, is now generally recognized in the media to be a fraud and a racket on the verge of bankruptcy. The Post Office has become a joke. The welfare system is seen to be a growing cancer on the productive energies of the people, as are the swollen armies of bureaucracy on every level of government.

Imminent Bankruptcy

The happily imminent bankruptcy of the New York City government is just the cutting edge of the coming crisis of swollen urban government throughout the country. Since increasing our crippling taxes still further has fortunately become politically impossible, economic reality is at last beginning to break through, and it will force a cut in the swollen budgets of local and state governments.

And so the economic crisis is clear; but, even more hopefully, it is *also* becoming clear to everyone that the *cause* of this systemic crisis is government itself. When the 1929 depression arrived, it was easy to blame the market economy, since everyone was under the delusion that the 1920s had been the hey-day of *laissez-faire* and non-intervention by government.

No one can be under that delusion now. For everyone knows that government has intervened heavily in the economy since the 1930s, that government's own promises for a non-inflationary prosperity have been irretrievably broken, and that every act of intervention that government commits to solve the problem, obviously only succeeds in making matters worse.

Illusions Of Statism

The illusions of statism in the economic realm are finished, *kaput*. The libertarian alternative: of free markets, of getting the government out of the economic picture completely, now stands ready to provide this country with a clear, shining, and viable alternative system. No one cares to listen to critical arguments about a system while it is still seemingly working well and bringing prosperity; all of our best arguments that the seeming prosperity before the 1970s was built on shifting sands fell on deaf ears. But now the public, and the media, and the opinion-moulding groups stand ready to listen, and to listen hard.

What has happened is that a century of statism has destroyed the "fat" previously developed in the economy after a century of nearly free markets. The unfortunate consequences of government intervention, once hidden by the cushion developed over a century of near *laissez-faire*, are hidden no longer. Every statist act of government now produces an instant negative feedback.

Furthermore, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the alternatives to the

...For Concerted LP Efforts

free economy and free society were seemingly new, exciting and untried, ripe with golden promise. Now, in 1975, we all know better. The Communist form of socialism promised freedom and prosperity to their citizens; its promise of freedom has long become a cruel mockery, and its central planning has increasingly broken down, so that Communist countries are increasingly trying to find a way back—or forward—to free markets.

Middle Way

The various forms of the so-called "middle way," of the Corporate State, the Welfare-Warfare State, such as we have been suffering under in America, have, as I have been saying, either collapsed or are now in grave and irretrievable crisis.

The entire system of statism, of our American corporate state, has now broken down in all of its parts and at the same time.

The State now cannot find another way out by another form of interventionist razzle-dazzle because they have all already been tried and found wanting: fascism, corporatism, central planning, whatever. And so the State has run out of razzle-dazzle, has run out of demagogic options with which to save the statist system. There is only one way out of the present crisis—*freedom*, and we are the ones uniquely equipped to point the way. We of the Libertarian Party are the vanguard of the new birth of freedom.

But the present crisis of statism is systemic; it is not only economic. It is, for example, also social. The once sacrosanct and universally beloved public school system is now increasingly seen to be a cockpit of fierce and unresolvable social conflicts. It is a cauldron of conflict and not of genuine education, first, because compulsory attendance laws force kids into the system; so that true education, which can only be a voluntary flowering of the mind, has become a mockery. The school has become a jailhouse, and the teachers and administrators its wardens.

Tax Support

Furthermore, the tax-supported school means that conflicts over the type of education: over traditional or progressive methods, over liberal arts or vocational training, over religion or non-religion, over segregation or integration, over sex education, can never be resolved. For whatever course is taken, some strong minority or majority of parents and children are victimized and oppressed.

Only the free and voluntary selection of private schools for each group can resolve the problem and end the conflicts. And all segments of the public are now becoming aware of this fact. The public school system is no longer sacred. The high irony is that the classic argument for the public school is that it will reduce crime; but the public school, certainly in New York City, has itself become a hotbed of crime.

"Crime in the streets"—there is another growing social problem that troubles most Americans, certainly urban Americans. But again, it is becoming ever clearer that this is a problem that has been handled by government, and by government alone. Government then, must take the blame for this rising menace. For all the institutions involved in the problem have been governmental, and governmental alone. The streets have been run solely by government, as have the police, the courts, and the prisons.

Compulsory Morality

In yet another large social area, the folly of government intervention has become increasingly recognized. This is the area of compulsory "morality." The Prohibitionist mentality which almost wrecked America society in the 1920s—and gave rise to organized crime—did not, unfortunately, die out in 1933. Not only is prohibition of alcohol still with us in states and counties of America, but so are prohibition of

drugs, obscenity, prostitution, pornography, and other sexual activities.

But increasingly, Americans have been scuttling Prohibitionism, and recognizing that there can be no real crimes without victims.

Here it is important to recognize that the concept of "victimless crime" is a *libertarian* concept, pure and simple. It is up to us to point out that only the libertarian ideology provides the most consistent and fullest development of the victimless crime concept. Even unto recognizing of course, that trade and exchange are *also* victimless acts between consenting adults.

More broadly, it is libertarianism and only libertarianism that provides the indispensable linkage between civil liberty and economic liberty, between personal rights and property rights.

Intervention Abroad

If our statist system is breaking down economically and socially, it is also manifestly breaking down in other crucial areas as well. The collapse of the American client states in Southeast Asia has brought to an inglorious end virtually a century of Big Government abroad, of abandoning the original American policy of peace and non-intervention abroad for an imperial policy of global meddling and warfare.

In this century, the non-interventionist foreign policy, derided as "isolationism," was replaced by a policy of empire and "collective security" that has treated the world as the oyster of Washington, D.C., or the Pentagon.

The debacle in Southeast Asia, coming after an enormous drain of lives and blood, and after an enormous waste of resources of the American taxpayer, has begun to force a healthy rethinking of American foreign policy, of the very premises of our swollen Welfare-Warfare State, even among its former supporters.

Here again, the time is now ripe for a Libertarian Party which raises the call of *consistent principle*, of non-intervention everywhere, whether it be Asia, Europe, or the Middle East. Once again, the siren songs of statist interventionism and global crusading are no longer new or inspiring. The wars to "end war," to "make the world safe for democracy," to "expand the free world," have only brought more wars, more dictatorship, and less freedom. Again, Americans in all walks of life are ready for the consistent libertarian alternative.

Post-Watergate Morality

But perhaps the most important of

The State cannot find another way out by another form of interventionist razzle-dazzle because they have all already been tried and found wanting.

these crises, of this overall breakdown of statism, may be summed up in the phrase: "post-Watergate morality." We Americans, all of us, even libertarians, look at government in a different way now. Since the revelations of Watergate, *no one* has "faith in government" anymore. No one. And what a splendid change that is. Everyone distrusts politicians, everyone distrusts government. Everyone now realizes that the enormous coercive power of government will be abused so long as it exists, regardless of the person or party in charge.

No one considers those once sacred institutions, the FBI and CIA, sacrosanct anymore. Everyone now realizes the continuing dangers of government bugging and wiretapping, of our secret police.

It is even difficult to remember the pre-Watergate attitude of uncritical veneration of the head of our secret police, an attitude so inimical to a free society. And the media have been reawakened from their former doldrums. No longer are the media content to accept government press release handouts as the final word; the ancient and honorable tradition of public

muckraking of the hidden stables of government has been revitalized after a century of dire neglect.

No Trust

And simply, no one really trusts government anymore. No longer do people say, as statist used to say to me: "How can you be critical of government? After all, the government is us." Who now would dare to say that "Richard Nixon was us"? In his own peculiar way, Richard Nixon may have given the libertarian cause the biggest single impetus of any person in this century. For, in the enormity of his actions, Richard Nixon managed to bring eternal discredit not merely upon himself, but on government itself.

And also upon the growing despotism of the institution of the Presidency, which had burgeoned in America since the days of Franklin Roosevelt. We had gotten to the dangerous point of regarding the *President per se* as a sacred, totemic object, to the point that William F. Buckley came to write, during the Watergate imbroglio, that we must all remember that under our system, the President is *sovereign*. Well, Richard Nixon has taken care of that particular problem.

Since the revelations of Watergate, no one has 'faith in government' anymore. And what a splendid change that is.

And so it is no accident that the libertarian movement has grown so mightily in just a few short years. The growth and the expanding influence of libertarianism is a function of the irretrievable systemic breakdown of statism, in all of its parts.

We are not simply a flash in the pan, or a media hype; we really don't have to worry about "libertarian chic." We are bound to grow and expand and ultimately to win, because we supply a solid and vital need in the real world. The statist system, all of it, is in breakdown, and only we can supply the alternative. It is an alternative that can and will appeal to all strata of the population. We can appeal to the vaunted pragmatism of Americans because only our system *works*.

Idealism

We can appeal to the idealism of youth and of other Americans because our ideology is deeply rooted in consistent moral principle. We can appeal to traditionalists because we are fulfilling the libertarian hopes and principles of the American Revolution and of the Declaration of Independence, of the basic principles on which America was founded.

And all of these appeals will be sincere and not phony because they are *true*. America has lost its way; it is in a quagmire; and we and only we can supply the way out. In every problem and crisis area, moral, social, foreign policy, economic, we can supply the consistent solution. And, in the coming Presidential campaign, that is precisely what we will do.

And so we stand on the threshold of a new and glorious era, for our Party, our libertarian cause, and for our country. We have a great opportunity for the Party specifically, also, because, along with the rest of the statist system, our much-vaunted, seemingly eternal, two-party system is now in process of breakdown.

Disintegration of GOP

The fact that we have a Republican President has until now masked the important truth that the Republican party has virtually disintegrated. To test this assertion, consider: is there any chance, in the foreseeable future, of the Republican party ever again capturing either branch of Congress? Republicans have not controlled either house of Congress since 1954. There are only a handful of Republican governors. Less than a fifth of American voters now consider themselves Republicans.

As for the Democrats, consider the

quality of the leadership now jockeying for power at the 1976 convention. All the Democrats have to offer are tired hacks and has-beens, and uninspiring unknowns.

Both parties are confused, and stand for nothing except grabbing office; they have no path to offer America out of its systemic crisis. Twice before in American history a new, major party has arisen, in each case because the important issues of the time were not being faced by the existing parties. The Republican party arose in the 1850s because the Whigs would not take a stand on the issue of slavery. The Democrats arose in the 1820s because the Democratic Republicans had abandoned their original ideals to adopt the policies of the dying Federalists.

Glorious Opportunity

The disintegrating political party structure, then, provides the Libertarian Party campaign with a glorious opportunity to garner impressive support throughout the country. With old party loyalties dissolving, the interested American public may well translate their interest or support for our principles into hard votes at the polls.

As we stand, then, at the threshold of a glorious future for our Party, what can we concretely expect the Party to accomplish? It will provide an exciting opportunity for constructive activity by libertarians, yes. It will beam the libertarian message to millions, and it will enormously expand the range of libertarian support and influence among the American public, among the media, and among opinion-moulding groups. Yes again.

It may well garner a great number of votes as well as publicity. It will be a great educational force for liberty. Yes again. In the classic mould of third parties, it may well pressure the two major parties, in self-defense, into adopting more and more libertarian programs, into getting government out of more and more areas of American life. Yes, enthusiastically.

But it may *just* do something else. We may begin to take on major status, eventually to elect representatives, to elect Libertarians, to press directly for rolling back the Leviathan State. We may elect people who will pressure to repeal, to dismantle, the system of statism, to get the government off our backs at long last.

Cutting Edge

The Libertarian Party may, and hopefully will, serve as the cutting edge, the conduit, for the rolling back of the Leviathan State, and for the triumph of Liberty. This may at the present moment seem a visionary hope. But is it, I ask you, any *more* visionary than the dream of half a dozen people, ten years ago, of a nationwide Libertarian Party, of a convention such as this?

And so, fellow libertarians, let us hail the glorious future that lies ahead. Let us enter this Presidential campaign with hope and determination.

Our libertarian forebears, in the early decades of this century, were in despair. As the great Albert Jay Nock gloomily stated, they felt that they could write only for a small remnant that would understand about liberty; they wrote to keep the flame of liberty alive in a dark age of despair, an age of onrushing statism and collectivism. Let us now hail them and vindicate their lonely vigil. They knew that, in the long run statism was doomed, but the long-run seemed to them very long indeed.

Let us now go forth in the knowledge that that long-run is coming to an end. *We are no longer a remnant*; we are going to be a mighty force, and we are now on the road to the victory of liberty. The light at the end of our tunnel is now in sight. Let us go forth in a spirit of firm resolution into that light. For our cause will win.

NOTICE

The LP Executive Committee has voted to trade (for one use) the national mailing list in order to obtain other lists. Individuals who wish to have their names separated out from those traded, must notify national headquarters.

Convention Receives Full News Coverage

Libertarians went to the convention in New York City to nominate candidates and adopt a platform. These goals were accomplished. But a significant by-product of the Libertarian Party convention was the national recognition gained from widespread coverage in the news media.

Undoubtedly, the convention was a major news event. The party can no longer be labeled "not serious," for the national media is taking it seriously. When the AP, the UPI, the New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor, NBC, CBS, ABC, major radio stations, and other highly respected newspapers devote space and time to the activities of a relatively small group of people, that group has achieved significance.

Nor did the media portray libertarians as crazies or splinter-groupies. Rather, coverage of the convention was, for the most part, fair and straight-forward.

United Press International featured a pre-convention story equating the LP to other political parties: "On a more modest scale," said UPI, "[the LP] is doing just what the Democrats and Republicans will do next year — nominate candidates for President and Vice President and write a platform for them to run on."

Nomination & Platform

After the convention, UPI described the nomination of Roger MacBride and David Bergland for President and Vice President, and detailed many of the Libertarian Party platform positions. Libertarian stands on voluntarism, free speech, taxation, Social Security, victimless crimes, and foreign policy were accurately portrayed.

The Associated Press ran three stories: a preview of the convention, and separate coverage of the nominations of MacBride and Bergland. As with UPI, AP outlined party positions and stated that the LP embodies a philosophy which "champions personal rights over those of 'the omnipotent state.'"

Similar in tone was the article in the New York Times covering MacBride's nomination. According to the Times, MacBride called for "rolling back big government and guaranteeing individual freedom." His views on Big Government and foreign policy, as well as a history of the party, were mentioned.

Few editorial-page readers could have missed James J. Kilpatrick's nationally-syndicated column on the convention. Despite his rock-ribbed conservatism, Kilpatrick's assessment of LP goals was generally favorable as he described libertarian attitudes in detail.

No Flags

"No flags, no pledge of allegiance, no national anthem, no Girl Scouts, not a single 10-minute appeal for divine guidance from a cardinal, a rabbi, or a born-again Baptist. The Libertarians proclaim themselves 'the party of principle,' and a first principle is: 'No More Baloney.'" Thus did Kilpatrick lead off his column.

His conclusion incorporated a backhanded compliment to the LP: "When one considers the excesses, outrages and absurdities currently imposed upon the people in the name of civil government, one may fairly contemplate Democrats, Republicans, and Libertarians and ask, 'Who's loony now?'" Kilpatrick later

expanded his column into a less favorable story in *National Review*.

Kilpatrick's equally conservative columnist colleague, Kevin Phillips, stridently attacked LP aims in his column, sniffing, "I find libertarianism lacking in urban contemporary relevance."

"A closer approximation of truth," according to Phillips, the architect of Nixon's "Southern Strategy," "lies with Thomas Hobbes," who suggested that "the answer lies in the power of sword and state."

Anti-Libertarian Stance

Despite his vehement anti-libertarian stance and reliance on massive government control, Phillips clearly is not selling the LP short. Devoting an entire column to the perceived fallacies of the libertarian position indicates that the party is taken seriously by those reluctant to release their grasp on the reins of political power.

The Libertarian Party convention was frequently cited as an example of the rise of third parties nationally and discontent with both Democrats and Republicans. Richard L. Worsnop of Editorial Research Reports, and George Moneyhun in the Christian Science Monitor both focused on the LP in their articles about new political parties.

The Monitor described the LP philosophy as "live and let live," and quoted National Chairman Ed Crane's predictions of the eventual success of the party. Worsnop's mention of the LP included the observation the "Libertarians advocate totally free market economy, the elimination of all 'victimless crimes' and a swift termination of government inflation and taxation."

Attention on the Libertarian Party was by no means confined to the print

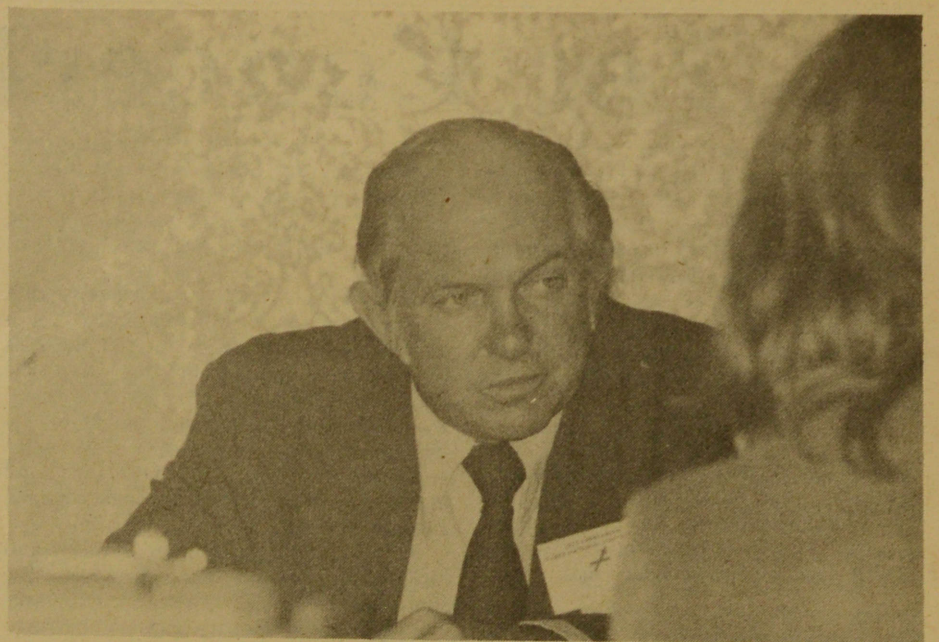


Photo by Bruce Lagasse

JAMES J. KILPATRICK AT CONVENTION

medium. During the convention, reporters from the Big Three networks, both radio and television, converged on libertarian spokesmen for interviews.

Hundreds Of Papers

The convention received significant mention in hundreds of newspapers, large and small, throughout the country, not only through the wire services and columns, but also in editorials and independent articles such as those in the Wichita Daily Star and the Los Angeles Times. *Human Events*, the *Review of the News*, and *Right Report* brought the story of the LP convention to conservative readers.

CBS reporter Dan Rather devoted a portion of the evening news to the LP, as did New York station WNBC. Libertarians such as Chairman Ed Crane, Reason editor Manuel Klausner, and former vice-presidential nominee Tonie Nathan, appeared on interviews and talk shows on

major new York stations, as well as the "Today Show" (Nathan's appearance).

In these appearances, libertarian spokesmen were able to describe the party positions on various issues, the dramatic growth of the party since its inception, and the hopes for capturing a major portion of American political preferences in this and upcoming elections.

In sum, the 1975 Libertarian Party convention brought libertariansim to the attention of millions of people who were previously unaware of its existence. After four years of dramatic growth, virtually in secret, the party is now reckoned as a potentially significant force by the media.

From such a basis, the LP can look forward to a quantum increase in awareness, interest, growth, and legitimacy. The party has now taken a giant step toward becoming a political organization that can give its principles national impact.

Convention Writes '76 Platform

Animated but orderly debate at the New York City convention produced a longer and more detailed LP platform which aimed at treatment of the salient issues of the day as well as striving for thoroughgoing doctrinal purity.

The convention delegates gave depth to the previously skimpy foreign policy section by adding planks on Presidential war powers, the Middle East, independence for American colonial dependencies, and nuclear disarmament. Other new planks were on governmental secrecy, freedom of religion, federal secret police activity, the postal service, Social Security, the civil service, and campaign finance laws.

Throughout the two-day platform debate, discussion on the convention floor was relatively harmonious and without rancor as various elements in and wings of the party sorted out their differences. The informed and well-reasoned exchanges on the issues showed clearly that LP gatherings attract a higher caliber of delegate than those observed at Democratic and Republican conventions.

Leading spokespersons within the LP for opposing interpretations of how to apply the libertarian credo to public issues made numerous efforts to find language for the platform that took account of the legitimate concerns of their opponents.

Such dialogue brought sobriety of language to the planks on disarmament, governmental secrecy, and secret police and insured that these planks had the backing of a fundamentally united party.

The new foreign policy section begins with a reworded preamble which now tells of the traditional libertarian approach to foreign relations. It points to the history of libertarian opposition to collective security, intervention abroad, and American imperialism.

Disarmament

A new plank on disarmament calls for international negotiations aimed at nuclear disarmament. The LP takes a firm position in opposition to global mass destruction. At the same time, the plank warns that precautions to protect lives and property must figure prominently in any disarmament procedure.

In another new plank, the LP calls on the U.S. government to cease its involvement in the Middle East. Further additional foreign policy planks call for giving independence to U.S. colonial possessions, including Puerto Rico, and for ending existing Presidential powers to initiate war.

New specifics in the foreign military policy plank call for withdrawal from all U.S. bases abroad and from all treaties which commit the U.S. to intervention. A revision of the plank on the international monetary system calls for American withdrawal from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and for the abandonment of all plans for a world paper money (SDRs).

In the aftermath of Watergate and recent disclosures about government secret police activities, the LP delegates sought to apply libertarian principles to current problems in this area. A major addition to the civil liberties section was the new plank on governmental secrecy.

This carefully crafted plank condemns the government's use of secret classifications to keep information from the public. As a consequence, the LP favors holding persons guiltless who disclose classified information, unless such disclosure reveals important defense plans or violates the privacy of private citizens or firms.

Another important new civil liberties plank called for the abolition of the CIA and the FBI and a return to the American tradition of local law enforcement.

Applying the axioms of individual rights to medical services, the LP opposed all laws limiting the liability of doctors for negligence and regulating the supply of legal services provided on a contingency fee basis. The platform also condemned laws which invalidate private arbitration of malpractice cases and called for deregulation of the medical insurance industry.

The LP platform plank on energy policy comes out against all policies to compel "energy independence." The Rockefeller plan for a \$100-billion energy development authority is opposed with wording that condemns all governmental subsidies for energy research, development, and operation. The plank offers various suggestions for freeing the market in oil, including repeal of state-level pro-rationing laws, decontrol of oil prices, and denationalization of public lands.

Other highlights of the new platform included calls for the repeal of juvenile status crimes, amnesty for deserters as well as draft refusers, full justice and rights for homosexuals, repeal of compulsory no-fault insurance, repeal of Right-to-Work laws, and opposition to the recreation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in an effort to subsidize uneconomic businesses.



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Count Test Ahead For Campaign Rules

The federal campaign finance law has withstood the first skirmish in the Libertarian Party's legal campaign to have the law declared unconstitutional. In a decision filed on August 15, 1975, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, by a divided vote, upheld the constitutionality of all but a minor provision of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 (FECA).

The suit, brought by the Libertarian Party and others (including the New York Civil Liberties Union, Eugene McCarthy, and several conservation groups), has been accepted for review by the United States Supreme Court and the case will be expedited in order to render a final verdict before the 1976 elections.

The challenged legislation makes fundamental, far-reaching changes in the political and electoral processes of the country; in particular, the FECA limits campaign contributions and expenditures, requires the disclosure of the names of major contributors, and provides for public funding of elections.

The Libertarian Party and other appellants contend that the restrictions on political activity violate the rights of all citizens to free speech under the First Amendment and that challengers to incumbents, minor and new parties and independent candidates for federal office, are discriminated against in violation of the First and Fifth Amendments.

The loss in the Circuit Court is little indication of the final result in the case. The D.C. Circuit, probably the most political in the country (the judges include an ex-counsel to the Democratic party and a one-time Republican gubernatorial candidate), might have been expected to uphold the challenged act. State legislation similar to FECA has recently been invalidated by the supreme courts of Oregon and Washington. And Congress itself was unsure of the Act's constitutionality (three congressmen are amongst the plaintiffs in the case). As noted above, the Circuit Court itself was badly split on the issues.

Constitutionality

The suit first challenges the constitutionality of strict limitations on campaign contributions and expenditures. As argued in the Supreme Court brief for the Libertarian Party, "Limitations on candidate and party expenditures restrict the information and opinion which political campaigns can disseminate to the public.

"Contributions have throughout our history been a principal means for participation by American citizens in the political process, and substantial contributions have enabled candidates with initially unpopular viewpoints effectively to present their cases to the electorate."

Typically, legislation with such effects would be invalidated unless the state could show a "compelling state interest" in the free speech-destroying provisions. The Circuit Court, however, with very little substantive analysis, held that "the power of money and its various uses, and abuses, in the context of campaigns" justifies "incidental limitations on freedom of speech and political association."

As noted in the Libertarian Party brief to the Supreme Court, the Circuit Court did not give the financing limitations the "searching and critical scrutiny" that they require. One liberal and one conservative member of the Circuit Court agreed with this position and dissented from that portion of the court's opinion.

Disclosure Of Names

The suit next challenges requirements that all parties and candidates report the names of contributors of over \$100. "Although disclosure of contributions over some amount may have a positive value when imposed upon the principal contenders for public office, the risks of disclosure to a party or candidate which espouses unpopular causes may be great, and may well infringe upon the First

Amendment associational and privacy freedoms of the parties and candidates and their supporters."

Laura Wertheimer, of the Free Libertarian Party of New York, testified that two persons solicited in 1974 for contributions refused to contribute because they were unwilling to have their names disclosed. Ed Crane, National Chairman of the Libertarian Party, testified that the disclosure requirements had also deterred several national contributors. Similar testimony was presented by the other plaintiffs in the case.

As noted by a dissenting judge, further proof of the chilling effects of disclosure is extremely difficult and should not be expected. However, the Circuit Court refused to invalidate the disclosure provisions because of a present lack of proof of any harassment effect.

Furthermore, the Circuit Court then turned around and ruled that, in any event, there was a compelling state interest in the disclosure requirement, although the interests suggested by the United States were all hypothetical (e.g., that minor parties might be used by a major party as a "stalking horse").

Blistering Dissent

The majority's logic was attacked in a blistering dissent by the Chief Judge of the Circuit (and possibly its most liberal member). "In the end, the court requires minor parties to prove what is obvious but unprovable, while permitting the government to hypothesize interest which are little more than plausible. This approach stands First Amendment jurisprudence on its head."

A third attack by the Libertarian Party went to the public financing provisions of the FECA. As pointed out in their brief to the Supreme Court, "Congress accorded the two major parties an entrenched position as the only serious contenders in presidential politics.

"The use of strength in prior elections as the only determinant of entitlement to federal funds during campaigns, and the denial of federal funding to new or newly

successful third parties and independent candidates until after the elections, if ever, create serious and important questions as to the fundamental fairness" of the legislation.

While recognizing that discrimination between parties does result from the legislation, the majority opinion, after considering the difficulties in drafting any distribution system, ruled that the discrimination was not so "invidious" that the legislation was unconstitutional.

Insurmountable Burdens

Two members of the court (one conservative and one liberal) directly dissented, concluding that "Congress has placed insurmountable burdens in the paths of any new parties entering our political system." The majority itself seems to have been waffling on this issue since it added that there is a "necessity for all concerned to maintain a careful scrutiny as the provisions are implemented."

Finally, the Libertarian Party attacks the makeup of the Federal Election Commission, which supervises and enforces the FECA. Four of the six members of the Commission are appointed directly by Congress. Since the Commission has many judicial and executive functions, grave separation-of-power questions are raised.

The Circuit Court was most severely split on this issue. Five judges held that the Commission and its makeup were constitutional on the surface. And while specific powers of the Commission may raise serious constitutional questions, consideration of their constitutionality was postponed until the powers were actually exercised. Three members of the Court held that the Commission was unconstitutionally formulated even on a surface level.

It is almost impossible to predict how the Supreme Court will rule. (Few, for example, predicted that the Supreme Court would be unanimous in the Nixon Tapes Case.) However, some guesses are possible. Chances for overall success is good. The Circuit Court opinion was particularly weak, and strong dissents came from both sides of the court.

The Libertarian Party's strongest attack

lies against the makeup of the governing Commission. The Circuit Court split 5-3 on this issue; and the Justice Department agreed with the plaintiffs on this issue, forcing the Commission to file its own brief on the question (typically they would be represented by the Justice Department). If the Supreme Court rules favorably on this issue, the Libertarian Party will have won an important victory, since without the Commission the campaign finance controls will be without an enforcement mechanism. However, the victory will only be temporary, since Congress need only reformulate the Commission to provide for appointment by the President with the advice and consent of Congress.

True victory thus requires a favorable ruling on the other issues in the case. The Libertarian Party is most likely to win its attacks against the finance limitations and the disclosure requirements; these provisions directly assail First Amendment freedoms, and the Court is likely to give them a close and critical scrutiny. The attack on the public financing provisions of the FECA form the weakest link in the Libertarian Party suit. To some extent, victory by the Libertarian Party depends on whether Justice Douglas, who is quoted extensively throughout the plaintiffs' briefs, is able to remain on the court until a decision is reached.

MacBRIDE COMMITTEES

As the LP NEWS went to press Roger MacBride was in the process of appointing key officials of the MacBride for President Committee and filing with the Federal Election Commission. Campaign materials will be available after November. The law requires that all Presidential campaign literature have on it the name, officers and address of the principal campaign committee. No committee may be established without the express consent of Roger MacBride. A letter to our entire mailing list will be sent out shortly, describing what procedures to take for those interested in assisting the Presidential campaign.

Tool Chest For LP Activists

Made It," discusses some successful media campaigns and how they were managed.

Kenneth P. Norwick, *Lobbying for Freedom: A Citizen's Guide to Fighting Censorship at the State Level*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975. \$8.95.

Although designed primarily as a handbook for fighting censorship laws, this book gives an excellent account of how state legislatures work and provides good tactical insight into the lobbying process. The background material on censorship laws is quite well done. The book contains model letters to the editor, sample testimony, press releases and examples of similar public relations tools.

Chester G. Atkins, Barry Hock, and Bob Martin, *Getting Elected: A Guide to Winning State and Local Office*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973.

This general guide to running a political campaign is written with an emphasis on the needs of a candidate with a shoestring budget and an amateur staff. The low-cost techniques described are ideal for municipal, county, regional and state legislature campaigns.

Edward Schwartzman, *Campaign Craftsmanship: A Professional's Guide to Campaigning for Elective Office*. New York: Universe Books, 1973. \$8.50.

This detailed work treats the whole range of areas that must be attended to in a properly run campaign. Included are such specialized topics as using telephones and handling an opponent's "dirty tricks." The section on political advertising is well illustrated.

Swing D. Meyer, *The Winning Candidate*. New York: James H. Heineman 1966.

A general survey, that can be quickly absorbed, of how to run a campaign. Such matters as handling the media and using direct mail are covered.

Claude Hopkins, *Scientific Advertising*. New York: Bell Publishing, 1960.

Claude Hopkins wrote this book in 1923. It details the principles and guidelines he used to become the most successful copywriter of his time and the highest paid of any time. This is an informative, enjoyable book to read. The introduction in the 1960 edition is by David Ogilvy, author of the well known, *Confessions of an Advertising Man*.

Rosser Reeves, *Reality in Advertising*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1970. \$4.95.

Considered by many to be advertising's greatest classic it has been translated into twelve languages and has been published in twenty-one separate editions. This is an excellent introduction to the advertising field and will assist you in your understanding of the important role advertising plays in running a political campaign.

* * *

On Sept. 25, the Federal Communications Commission, reversing a 15-year-old policy, ruled that radio and TV broadcasts of candidates news conferences and political debates will no longer automatically mandate equal-time access for all their opponents. This ruling is to be applauded since it is a further deregulation of the broadcast media. But for LP candidates, it means that achieving the status of a serious contender, whose news conferences are worth covering or who holds news-worthy debates, is more important than ever.

Profiling LP National Ticket

MacBride

Roger MacBride, the new LP nominee for President of the United States, is a television producer from Charlottesville, Va. He formerly practiced law in New York City and later had a seat in the Vermont state legislature.

MacBride was born on Aug. 6, 1929. He was an active debater in high school, at which time he was already interested in libertarian ideas.

MacBride graduated from Princeton University with a degree in political science in 1951. While at Princeton, he wrote a critique of Keynesian economic theory which appeared in the *Educational Reviewer*. His senior thesis was published in revised form as his first book, *The American Electoral College*.

From Princeton, MacBride went on to Harvard Law School, from which he graduated in 1954. This time his senior thesis concerned the controversial Bricker Amendment which was designed to prevent treaties and executive agreements with foreign powers from overriding the U.S. Constitution.

His thesis was published as *Treaties Versus the Constitution* and sold over 100,000 copies. Upon graduation, MacBride was awarded a Fulbright fellowship to study comparative constitutional law.

After completing his studies, MacBride went to work at White & Case, a large New York City law firm, where he specialized in banking law. He was to become one of the recognized experts on bank holding companies in the U.S.

During this period, MacBride developed a course on political technique of the Society for the Advancement of Management. He also created the structure for United Student Aid Funds, a private

organization intended to be a free-market answer to government proposals to subsidize tuition costs.

Around 1960, MacBride moved to Vermont to practice law. He lived in Halifax and was elected to various town offices and then to the state legislature. While holding office, he introduced numerous bills to remove fat and muscle from state government.

He entered the 1964 Republican gubernatorial primary in 1964. The Vermont Press Bureau has described his 1964 platform as one of "eliminating certain state taxes and drastically reducing the Montpelier bureaucracy." He received 25 percent of the vote in a three-man race.

In 1968, MacBride moved to Virginia. He now lives on a farm outside Charlottesville. In the last several years, he has edited three books and is currently in partnership with Ed Friendly (creator of the TV show "Laugh-In") and is responsible for the production of the "Little House on the Prairie" TV series.

In the 1972 election, MacBride was chosen as a Presidential elector from Virginia. Instead of casting his ballot for Nixon and Agnew, MacBride voted in the Electoral College for John Hospers and Tonie Nathan, the candidates of the Libertarian Party.

Bergland

Dave Bergland, the new Libertarian Party Vice Presidential candidate, is a successful attorney, a law school professor, and self-made man.

David P. Bergland was born June 5, 1935, in Mapleton, Iowa into a Norwegian-American family. He left Iowa with his family at age three and settled in Long Beach, California where (except for a few years in Santa Cruz) he lived until

entering the armed forces. He was one of six children in a soon fatherless family, and he worked at part-time jobs throughout his youth.

Bergland was educated in the public schools in Long Beach and graduated a year early from high school. In high school, he was sports editor of the school newspaper. In the fall of 1952 after graduating from high school, Bergland did not have the money for college so he worked in logging camps and saw mills in Oregon and northern California.

Then he returned to Long Beach to work in a machine shop and later in the municipal life guard service. In the fall of 1953, he entered the Army after having been turned down by the Marine Corps and the Air Force because of a knee injury.

Honors Graduate

Bergland attended Long Beach City College from 1955 to 1957. He was an English major, editor of the college newspaper, and an honors graduate from this junior college.

In November 1957, Bergland married his first wife, Carol Diane Gilbert of Seal Beach, California, and moved there. After working at various jobs for a while, he went to work in the spring of 1959 for the Los Angeles municipal fire department.

In the fall of 1962, Bergland went back to college on a part-time basis at UCLA, finally graduating in January 1966 with a B.A. in English, minoring in economics. During this time, he continued to work for and advance in the ranks of the fire department.

Political Transformation

Bergland worked in the 1964 Goldwater Presidential campaign. At that time, he considered himself a conservative. He had first come across libertarian political literature in 1961, and by the mid-1960s, he called himself a libertarian.

After graduating from UCLA, Bergland entered USC law school in the fall of 1966, on a full scholarship. He graduated as a member of the Order of the Coif, which is the national law school honor society analogous to Phi Beta Kappa on the undergraduate level. Bergland was editor of the *Southern California Law Review* during his final year in law school.

After finishing law school, Bergland took a position with the prestigious Los Angeles law firm of O'Melveny & Myers, working there until the spring of 1972 in the litigation department. This involved trial work with a primary emphasis on business litigation.

Appointed Professor

In 1970, Bergland had joined the faculty of the Western State University College of Law. Since then, Prof. Bergland has taught courses on evidence, civil procedure, and conflict of laws on a part-time basis.

Upon leaving O'Melveny & Myers, Bergland joined the law firm of Rutan & Tucker in Santa Ana, California, continuing to work in the litigation field. Bergland's first wife died in June, 1973, after a year-long illness.

In February, 1974, Bergland left Rutan & Tucker and joined two other attorneys in forming the partnership of Bergland, Martin and McLaughlin in Newport Beach, California.

In early 1973, Bergland was enlisted into the LP by those then setting up the Orange County regional organization. He became the regional treasurer that first year. In 1974, he was elected to the chairmanship of the region.

Attorney-General Race

At the LP state convention in Berkeley in February 1974, Bergland was selected as the LP candidate for state attorney-general. His campaign that year was conducted

(Please turn to page 11)

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MacBride: Press Liberty Imperiled

(Editor's Note: The following is an edited text of Roger MacBride's Presidential nomination acceptance speech.)

Fellow Libertarians, in this campaign there will be no compromise of principle. . .

We together will wage a Presidential campaign the likes of which this nation hasn't seen since Thomas Jefferson carried the day for libertarian ideas in 1800 against John Adams. In that year the increasingly authoritarian Federalist administration induced a massive reaction from those Americans who in their guts and in their minds would not be told how to behave, or to whom to bow.

The Adams regime had its undeclared war against France, and its mercantilist economic system, and the Jeffersonian libertarians erased these Federalists forever from the American political scene. The Washington politicians of the last decade — and you know who they are — have had their undeclared Vietnamese war and their corporatist economic system. Can not we modern libertarians erase them also — forever?

We start with this strength: Our ideas, our libertarian ideas, built this country and are deep in the hearts of every American. And we together will revitalize those American hearts with our thoughts, our ideas, and with our principles.

Political Action

Our means of achieving that goal — through political action but not conventional politics — is infinitely more promising than any offered to Americans in a century and a half.

From now until November 2, 1976, we Libertarians have an unparalleled opportunity. We will make heard — and we will make understood — our libertarian ideals. And to understand them can only be to agree with them.

What you and I jointly stand for is based on the axiom that every person as of right ought to be free to do as he or she wishes, so long as he or she does not use force or fraud upon another. And in this coming campaign we will articulate the ideals that flow from that axiom so completely, so thoroughly, that every potential friend will understand exactly what we mean.

Certainly we know our foes will dismiss us with smear phrases. And we can expect that some conservatives and liberals will ferociously attack our libertarian ideals. For example, all of you recall 1972's sneering tag, "acid, amnesty, abortion."

Bergland

(Continued from page 10)

mainly on college campuses and emphasized civil liberties issues.

During the course of the attorney-general campaign, Bergland met his present wife, then Nicole Norman. They were married in February, 1975.

Since early 1975, Bergland has been working on the California LP's "None of the Above" initiative. With one of his law partners, Bergland did the legal research and drafted the proposed legislation which the initiative would mandate.

Scholarly Publications

Bergland is the author of a recent law review article, "Value Analysis in the Law of Evidence," published in the *Western State Law Review*. He also has had an article on tax law published in *Reason* magazine. Together with a law partner, he is currently writing a law review article on the Internal Revenue Service Narcotics Project.

Bergland now resides in Huntington Beach, California, and has lived there for five years. He enjoys water sports, handball, and skiing. Both he and his wife are devotees of the theater.

Bergland has three daughters from his first marriage. The oldest, Jona, graduated from a high school a year early. She now works in Bergland's law office as a clerk. His two younger daughters, Brenda and Tani, are high school students.

That juicy one was fastened to Presidential candidate George McGovern by none other than his fellow Democrat Hubert Humphrey.

What bonfires George McGovern could have lighted if he had given a forthright speech about those tripe A's. That "acid" was an opponent's shrewdly evil choice of phrase to dismiss the right of an individual to handle his or her own life. That "amnesty" was a recognition that the Pentagon in Washington had no right to force *anyone* to fight in Vietnam without that person's consent. That "abortion" was a complex question almost always involving several individuals, *none* of whom is a politician or a bureaucrat. . . .

Threat To Freedoms

In this year a velvet vise of restriction is fastening upon all Americans. This restriction has three aspects:

First, Senator Frank Church, investigating the CIA, noted earlier this month that existing technology now in the hands of Washington functionaries is sufficient to detect and record communications between almost any persons in this country. What a weapon in the hands of an authoritarian-minded administration. Especially when added to the gigantic computerized files on all of us maintained by the Internal Revenue Service in West Virginia.

Second, there is the attempt disguised as campaign reform in the wake of Watergate, to institutionalize the Democratic and Republican parties. How? Congress has prevented anyone from giving more than a relatively small sum of money to a Presidential campaign, but to make up for that the Republicans and Democrats — and only they — collect and spend millions upon millions of tax dollars — government money. But not we Libertarians or any other new party — No. We are not offered tax funds and *in addition* we are barred from soliciting generous private contributions. So, how immensely more difficult it therefore becomes for us or anyone else to replace either of the dying, unprincipled major parties.

But worst of all are the continuing and ever more successful efforts by agencies of the federal government to censor the communications media by intimidation. Who can forget the barrage of fire at the television networks laid down by the ex-Vice President of the United States, Spiro T. Agnew? Or that at least one of the major networks then felt obliged to drop immediate commentary on presidential speeches.

Less Known Censorship

Probably less well known to the public are such developments as these:

—The Justice Department has engaged in lawsuits to determine who may and who may not own newspapers, and radio and television stations.

—The Justice Department has issued orders governing who shall produce and distribute TV programs themselves.

—The Federal Communications Commission has issued edicts under such euphemous names as "Equal Time" and "Fairness Doctrine" which greatly restrict political news coverage — and has given the government plenty of authority to press on television its "official view" of matters such as the Pentagon Papers disclosures.

—A year or so ago the FCC ordered local stations not to run or rerun network shows at certain times, and got away with it.

—Starting in 1975 the agency coerced the networks into conforming to its idea of program content at certain times of the day, and right now it is getting away with that demand.

—And there's more. In the last few weeks a Democratic congressman from a district not twenty miles from this hotel [the Statler-Hilton] called for outright TV network regulation. He said, "Some degree of government control of television is necessary because all three networks had

decided not to buy Jack Anderson's filmed interview with President Ford on the subject of the Bicentennial, and that in the future Americans must not be denied such important information."

Ladies and Gentlemen, this creeping censorship by intimidation must cease. America will not be crushed in this velvet vise.

If elected, one of my first acts will be to order the Justice Department to cease all activity relating to the printed and broadcast media, and scrupulously to observe and indeed over-observe, the mandate of the Constitution's First Amendment relating to freedom of expression. And secondly, I will *immediately* press to abolish *all* present functions of the Federal Communications Commission permitting it to mingle in matters of program content. . . .

In this campaign we shall of course paint the picture of the ideal world toward which we strive. But that alone is far from enough.

Brick By Brick

People want to know what happens next. It is essential therefore to describe brick by brick the boulevard from the here and now to that ideal world. What we Libertarians must do is to show *how* and where we can roll back Big Government at all levels at the *fastest possible* pace.

Therefore in this campaign we, your Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates, will stress the ideal first and as the inspiration of all our endeavors. But equally crucial points will deal with the transitional programs developed by the distinguished members of our Libertarian Party economic and policy boards.

I advocate rapid transition as opposed to chaotic change, because as Libertarians we oppose injuring others unjustly and because we as libertarians know that each successfully regained step toward individual liberty hastens the next step toward freedom. . . .

It is vital that each one of us, here today, the most committed group of libertarian *activists* in the world, participate in this 1976 campaign effort. We must help the Presidential campaign, of course — but equally important we must launch local campaigns. And it is vital that each of you organize or participate in, or be a *candidate* for local, state, or congressional office.

That's how the Republican party established itself when the Whigs were on their deathbed in 1856. They did it with a Presidential campaign combined with campaigns for other offices all over the United States! And in 1976, as the Republican and Democratic parties are going downhill, cannot we libertarians rise to the stature of a major political party in America as the Republicans did over a century ago?

Fellow libertarians, we are united in the desire to be free, to seek our individual life styles as *we* choose, to keep the products of our efforts. We are united in our devotion to the entire libertarian cause.

And we in fact share an army — an army of principles which will penetrate where an army of soldiers can not. No obstacle erected by politicians of the right or of the left or of the middle can or will arrest its progress.

This — our army of principles — will march upon the horizon of America, and it will conquer.

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News Notes For Libertarians

INFLATION COMPENSATION: Buddy's Sirloin Pit in Cambridge, Mass., is offering 2/3 off on food and drink... when paid for in pre 1964 silver coins. Explains the owner, "Restaurant prices haven't gone up in the last 10 years — your money has gone down. So if you want the old prices, pay with the old money."

SOAKED BY STAMPS: If everyone now qualified to receive food stamps were to do so, one in every four Americans would be on the dole in this program alone. According to the Chicago Tribune, a family of four with a \$15,000 yearly income can receive \$192 worth of food stamps monthly. One Congressman noted astutely that "The food stamp program has run amok. Every member of Congress knows it, and the American people know it. The only question is whether this Congress has the will to do something about it." However, as long as the food stamp program buys votes from recipients and farmers, we can expect Congressmen to continue to back the program.

To top it off, Wilbert Tatum of New York City's Office of Apparel Industry Planning and Development has proposed a clothing stamp program to soak the hapless taxpayer for an additional \$6 billion per year... The government is also testing travel stamps in West Virginia.

ONE MAN'S MEDE IS ANOTHER MAN'S PERSIAN: When the Shah of Iran is not torturing dissidents or inflating the currency at the rate of 20 percent a year, he's protecting the poor Iranian consumer. He recently decreed price cuts of up to 57 percent on 453 key products. Sure enough, prices have fallen by 15 percent, and he's only had to jail 7,500 shopkeepers and shut down 500 Tehran shops as of August. Since this is working so well, he's thinking of extending the decree to 1000 other items as well as instituting strict rent controls. Iran should have stable prices until existing inventories are gone, and they run out of shops and shopkeepers.

THE STATE IS YOUR PROTECTOR: It's good to know your government cares. Look what they've done for Robert Friedman of Chicago. He was carrying \$24,000 in small bills, so the judge wanted to protect him from people who would take his cash. Thus far, they've charged him \$800 a month for his involuntary protection in a mental institution. He also had to pay the fees for the lawyer who argued for his commitment. It's good to know the State is looking out for us.

CONSCRIPTION UPDATE: Illinois has repealed legislation enabling towns to draft citizens for a few days each year for road work. We thought that compulsory road work was abolished after the French Revolution... The national Selective Service still has a budget of \$45 million and a staff of 2,445 employees even though nobody is being drafted.

STATE MEDICINE: Dr. Stewart Jones of Palo Alto, California, is facing loss of his license to practice because he prescribes a drug for cancer which is illegal. Even though the drug is not toxic, it is proscribed to prescribe laetrile in the United States.

FOREIGN AID EMBARGO: The American Friend Service Committee is heroically defying a Treasury Department order forbidding the sending of humanitarian aid to Vietnam. Responsible officials of the organization face possible sentences of ten years in jail and \$10,000 fines for their actions. The forbidden aid includes \$325,000 worth of farm tillers, fishnets, tools for disabled war veterans, and tools for the repair of hospital equipment and instruments. The aid is aimed at restoring facilities destroyed by American bombing in the recent war.

POSTAL BLUES: After the Nixon reorganization of the Postal Service and his "break even" order in 1973, the deficit was \$14 million. The deficit jumped to \$438 million in fiscal 1974 and hit \$850 million last fiscal year. The Postal Service seems likely to borrow \$500 million next fiscal year (as it did last year) in order to stay afloat. It also seems likely that the Postal Service will raise its rates 30 percent and receive a massive hike in its subsidy from Congress. Keep those cards and letters coming!

MINOR MATTERS: California women under the age of 18 will now be able legally to obtain the pill and other birth control devices without parental consent, following the signing by Governor Brown of a bill adding abortion, delivery, and treatment during pregnancy without parental permission to the list of minors' rights.

LONG ARM OF THE LAW: A four letter word tattooed on a man's arm has been ruled an "obscene publication" by a local magistrate in Marlborough, Australia. The "publisher," who wore a long-sleeved shirt in court, was fined \$20.

ERFCO: President Ford has endorsed Rockefeller's new proposed corporate state bureaucracy, ERFCO (Energy Resources Finance Corp.), to channel \$100 billion into energy projects. The federal authority would finance construction of utilities, railroads, pipelines and the like over the next ten years or so, under the assumption that the government has better investment ideas than private entrepreneurs do. ERFCO will guarantee bonds, make direct loans to energy firms, and possibly build refineries and generating plants, then sell or lease them to "private industry." Rockefeller, energy — did we hear someone say "conflict of interest"?

MENTAL HEALTH—USA: The U.S. Supreme Court recently ruled that persons who are not dangerous cannot be confined involuntarily simply because they are judged to be "mentally ill." Supporters of involuntary commitment have lately based their defense on a supposed constitutional "right to treatment." The high court refused to rule on this matter. The unanimous decision was a milestone in the area of involuntary commitment and treatment, and may lead to the release of many persons presently imprisoned for not living up to the State's definition of normality.

PUBLIC SERVICE: A New York City bus driver, whose pensions are based on their final year earnings, in his last year ran up \$17,000 in overtime above his regular \$13,000 per year, allowing him to retire with a \$15,600 annual pension for life... The mayor of Seattle has been trying to cut down the city electrical workers' two-hour lunch period. The

electrical workers have refused to go along and are demanding a 15 percent raise... It recently took an Act of Congress to prevent Kansas public school teachers from collecting unemployment insurance over the summer.

WHAT AILS US: In Arkansas, brewers are prohibited from supplying retailers with can and bottle openers. In Kentucky, it's specifically permissible. In North Carolina, brewers can supply openers, but the openers cannot bear advertisements. In Oregon, beer advertisements cannot be objectionable (the law provides no criteria and decisions are made after the ads are run, with the brewers subject to heavy fines) and cannot show athletes engaged in competitive events.

THANKS FOR THE CLARIFICATION: In Madison County, the D.A. has ordered 326 pornographic books ripped up and fed to a paper shredder. The reason given was that he "didn't wish to be labeled a book-burner."... In Kansas, it's illegal to eat rattlesnake meat in public... An Oregon man was cited for wearing a "Planet of the Apes" mask in public.

LABOR PAINS: Al Batalha, a radical newspaper in Portugal, recently attacked the new labor law giving the State regulatory power over labor relations. An editorial in the paper said: "The labor law is really a state guardianship over workers, who are viewed as children."

"The preamble to the law reads: 'Freedom for unions, with its logical corollary, the right to free association in organization...' Article II, Section 2 says, 'In case of competition between a craft union and an industrial union, workers may join only the latter...' Where is the right to free association when by law you HAVE to join only one union or another?"

BASTION OF FREE WORLD DEMOCRACY: South Korean President Park Chung Hee has signed Emergency Measure No. Nine making it an offense punishable by 15 years to advocate or petition for the revision or the repeal of the constitution; broadcast, report or otherwise disseminate publicly any opposition to the constitution; take capital out of the country; stage any student demonstration or assembly which interferes with politics; or publicly oppose the emergency edict or report any such opposition.

ANOTHER BASTION: Israel has banned a book by one of the country's leading political commentators, Matti Golan. The author was ordered to surrender all copies of the manuscript together with any notes or documents used. The chief censor also forbade Israeli newspapers to report the banning of the book and ordered all foreign correspondents to submit all material relating to the ban... Israeli wage earner with a family of four and an income

of \$550 a month pays 62 percent of his income to the government. On an income of \$1,500 a month, the overall rate is 89 percent. This doesn't count inflation.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION: On Oct. 1, a high-ranking British judge overturned a long-standing legal doctrine that banned publication of information on the deliberations in Cabinet meetings in books and newspapers. The old doctrine banned such publication on the grounds that such meetings are confidential and that preservation of their confidentiality aids the government in carrying out its activities.

WHO'S LISTENING?: The National Security Agency eavesdrops on virtually all cable, Telex and other non-telephone communications between the United States and parties abroad, using computers to scan and record any message containing 'hot' words like "oil." The prying activities have placed massive amounts of private information at the disposal of the American government. Many items are turned over to the CIA.

SINAI TECHNICIANS: "In 1910, Ferdinand Foch, the great French commander in World War I, asserted that the British force to be stationed in France in fulfillment of the Anglo-French entente need consist of only one soldier — so long as the French could be certain he would be killed on the first day of the war. He would be a trip wire."

"Such has been the role for the past 30 years of the small Allied garrisons in Berlin. They could not possibly hold off a Soviet attack. But their early (and bloody) loss would so inflame Western opinion as to make certain a larger war." (New York Times Magazine, Oct. 12, 1975)

MANILA ENVELOPED: In a dramatic and eloquent appeal to the population, the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines recently said: "Our own time reveals that when violence, intimidation and threats put on the garb of legality, people are induced to submission and timidity. It is our responsibility to keep from falling asleep and work for the restoration of constitutional rights and legal processes..."

"Whatever martial law may mean in other countries, in ours its nature is beyond doubt. Martial law is dictatorship, the rule of one man, the president."

MILKY WAY: A farmer in Long Valley, New Jersey is defying an order from the state government to stop selling his milk at prices below the state-mandated minimum. Dairyman Gil Taylor told reporters: "I'm tired of the state telling a farmer who produces his own milk how much he can charge... We're not concerned about minimum prices. It's our farm and our milk and we have the right to sell it for what we please."

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