

RAY CUNNINGHAM

LP Candidates Across Nation Enter Local Election Races

SAN FRANCISCO — Although 1975 is an "off year" for political contests, many Libertarian Party candidates are contesting various state and local elections around the country. To date the most activist, professionally-run campaigns include those of Ray Cunningham, who is running for mayor of San Francisco; Dave Long, seeking the Boston mayoralty post; and three New York local office candidates, Ellen Davis, Carole Cohen and Virginia Shields Walker. Serious campaigns are also being conducted by four New Jersey LP assembly candidates.

Cunningham, Northern California Vice Chairman of the LPC, has assembled a full-time staff of five libertarians to work on his campaign. At an August 4 press conference which kicked off his campaign Cunningham said he would stress taxes, victimless crimes, and the need to improve

transportation facilities in the city. A well respected member of the San Francisco business and professional community, Cunningham is an engineer with a construction engineering firm in San Francisco. He holds a masters degree from Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he graduated first in his class.

The headquarters of the Cunningham for Mayor Committee is a beehive of activity, filled with typewriters, campaign posters, media releases and four telephone lines. He is one of six candidates who appears to be receiving serious media coverage in the race for the seat currently held by old line political boss Joe Alioto, who is not seeking re-election. "We intend to run this campaign professionally," said Cunningham, "always presenting a high level, serious and well-reasoned approach in analyzing the problems created by this city's government."

Youngstein Pattern

Much of Cunningham's emphasis in the area of victimless crime laws is patterned after Fran Youngstein's highly successful New York City mayoral race in 1973. As his main campaign brochure states, "Ray Cunningham says police should direct all their efforts toward preventing and investigating crimes with victims, such as robberies, rapes, muggings and murders. Let's get the police out of the bordellos and back on the beat."

Cunningham is also calling for revocation of the monopoly privileges of the bus and taxicab systems and opening transportation within the city to freely competing firms.

Speaking before a local police and firemen's union he boldly called for an end to the civil service system. Those interested in assisting with the campaign should send contributions to Cunningham for Mayor Committee, 450 Liberty Street, San Francisco, CA 94114.

In Massachusetts MLP Chairman Long's news conference received front-page coverage in the Boston Globe, that city's largest newspaper. At the conference he called for the abolition of the Boston School Committee, the decentralization of school control to the neighborhood level, and for a citywide voucher system.

The Globe quoted him as an advocate of power to the people "in its most fundamental sense — by granting individuals full control over their lives and property" and as working toward "the immediate deregulation and ultimate repeal of all laws regulating transportation, gambling, alcoholic beverages, sexual

relations between consenting adults, zoning, prices, wages and rents."

Libertarian Heritage

Long, a computer programmer who is in his second term as MLP Chairman, believes that the Boston mayoralty campaign is perfectly situated to capitalize on the libertarian heritage of the American Revolution. "Boston is on the verge of another Revolution," he said, "and I want this one to be a Libertarian Revolution, striking out against the growing power of government at all levels — federal, state and city." At press time it appeared that Long had well over the requisite 3000 signatures for ballot status. During his petition drive Long handed out the "It's About Time" LP blue cards to those who signed the petition and reported that the cards greatly facilitated this type of campaign work. Contributions can be sent to the Committee to Elect David E. Long Mayor of Boston, P.O. Box 2610, Boston, MA 02208.

The citizens of Poughkeepsie, New York, are being treated to further Libertarian Party campaigns hot on the heels of Sandy Cohen's publicity-generating Congressional race last year. This time Carole Cohen, Sandy's wife, and Ellen Davis, Sandy's former campaign manager, are taking libertarianism to the people in their races for Mayor of Poughkeepsie and Dutchess County Executive, respectively. Both candidates send out a continuous flow of media releases on virtually every issue that receives any attention in their country.

Media Coverage

Both candidates are receiving excellent media coverage as it appears the impact of Sandy Cohen's campaign has had a cumulative effect in terms of the seriousness with which news media take the LP. Davis, in addition to being the Libertarian candidate, is also running in the September Democratic primary.

She sought the endorsement of the Conservative Party. But the Conservatives' executive committee endorsed Poughkeepsie town supervisor Ed Schueler. Yet the Poughkeepsie Journal reported "a surprising show of strength by Ellen Davis," and even Schueler said he "couldn't understand it at all" when Davis captured over 25 percent of the committee's vote. Cohen will seek the Conservative nomination as well as running as a Libertarian.

City officials continue to harass LP candidates in Poughkeepsie, this time (Please turn to page 6)

Tonie Nathan In Race For Vice Presidency Nod

EUGENE, ORE. — Two Oregon libertarians have announced their intention to nominate Tonie Nathan for the position of Libertarian candidate for Vice President of the United States at the forthcoming national LP convention in New York August 29th. The two — Lee Carey, Eugene businessman and Gaines Smith, author, editor and journalist — say they are "forswearing all the full page ads, fund raising letters and cajoling" and say they

simply want to announce that Nathan is available. Nathan adds that she is not actively campaigning for the office, believing one should not run for second spot before the Presidential candidate is chosen.

As the 1972 LP Vice Presidential candidate, Nathan was the first woman in U.S. history to have received an electoral vote, awarded by former GOP elector Roger MacBride of Virginia, now a candidate for LP Presidential nomination. During the last four years, she has campaigned for libertarianism in 15 states and in Canada, appearing on hundreds of radio, TV and campus programs and helping to organize and publicize state parties and local candidates. She was deeply involved in getting the LP on the ballot in Washington State and was founder of the Oregon LP. She is a past vice-chairperson of the Oregon LP, founder and President of Lane County Libertarians and founder and president pro-tem of the Association of Libertarian Feminists.

Nathan has had personal experience working in public relations and journalism. As a print and broadcast journalist, she has covered such stories as land-use planning, urban renewal, and publicly-funded athletic programs that excluded women.

Before becoming a libertarian, Nathan was a liberal and member of the Democratic party. She believes that her own experience in changing political views will aid her in communicating libertarian ideas to liberals. At the same time, Nathan emphasizes that LPers must never allow pragmatism to undermine principle. "We must clarify and expand on our principles without equivocation if we are to win the support of an informed and educated electorate," she says.

Those interested in Nathan's candidacy should contact Gaines Smith, at 155 E. 19th Street, No. 9, Eugene, OR 97505.

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From The Chair

A Serious Alternative Has Impact

Ed Crane

The lead article on page one of this issue describes a very healthy and necessary evolution. Increasingly, Libertarian Party candidates are running campaigns that are designed for nothing short of victory. These are campaigns that feature full-time staffs, high quality literature and intelligent, well-thought-out policy statements.

Libertarian Party candidacies in many parts of the country are no longer being run for the pure shock value of being able to say what hasn't been said in political debate for two hundred years. The serious, professional nature of many of the campaigns now being waged by some of our fellow libertarians reflects not only the maturity and self-confidence we have gained in our four years of existence but also an increasing acceptance of our legitimacy in the eyes of the media. Media attention and the professional manner in which we conduct our activities are mutually reinforcing phenomena that must be fostered if we expect to continue our growth.

In 1976, the Libertarian Party will be in a position to run candidates for office in

every state in the nation. There will undoubtedly be hundreds of our candidates on the ballot for various state and local offices in addition to our Presidential ticket, which will be on at least twenty state ballots and possibly as many as 35. At National Headquarters, the staff and officers of the LP will do everything possible to insure that our Presidential campaign reflects the highest professional standards. It is up to the candidates and party members in the state organizations to see to it that all LP races are run in a first-rate manner.

What this entails first and foremost is a commitment on the part of the candidate to run a serious campaign. To be sure, the odds (at least for the next few years) will in most cases be fairly heavily weighted against us. Nevertheless, if the candidate is not prepared to run long and hard in order to earn the status of a serious contender for the office, he or she (and most certainly the Party) would be better off not running at all. This is not to discourage people seeking office as an LP candidate — I only wish to emphasize the responsibility that should be associated with that

candidacy.

A professional campaign requires a division of labor if there is to be any hope of success. There should be a manager to coordinate overall activities and strategies, someone in charge of media relations, a research aide to assist in assembling the raw data necessary for an intelligent discussion of the issues and several staff members to do the innumerable tasks associated with a political campaign.

All of the above is insufficient if the campaign is not properly financed. It will be some time before we can raise the amounts that the Democrats and Republicans do, but we've had enough success around the country raising money to know that it is available to LP candidates if an organized fundraising drive is conducted. The concept of investing in freedom is becoming more and more appealing to people who have had it with politics as usual.

The money is necessary to insure plentiful literature, frequent news releases, the rental of various mailing lists, telephone banks, newspaper ads, and even radio and television commercials. All of



—Photo by David Long

ED CRANE

these things are necessary to run a campaign in a manner that will attract the media and voters to the ideas of liberty that we are trying to disseminate. Political action is an efficacious way to spread the libertarian philosophy (a point no longer worth debating) and that means having candidates.

Committed Libertarian Party candidates combined with a professionally-run campaign, the rightness of our cause, and the spirit of a growing, young movement can be a tremendous political force — one capable of winning elections and rolling back the state in the very near future. The last week in August will witness the Libertarian Party's fourth annual Convention and with it is a golden opportunity to demonstrate to the nation that we are a serious alternative to the other political parties.

The National Convention is shaping up to be the greatest event in our history thus far. We will undoubtedly receive national media attention and the attention of political experts and analysts from both the left and the right. Therefore, it behooves us to conduct ourselves in a manner consistent with a political party that has come of age. Specifically, there is no reason why debate on important platform planks should take place at 4 a.m. simply because of unnecessarily prolonged debate during the day.

Each delegate and alternate will be provided with a summary of Roberts Rules of Order which should be carefully read to insure that there is a minimum of out-of-order motions and parliamentary mistakes. Comments from the floor of the Convention should be concise, to the point, and preferably not redundant. Have some respect for the ability of your fellow delegates to assimilate your ideas and evaluate them without your repeating your views on one issue several times.

One of the most enjoyable aspects of a Libertarian Party convention (as opposed to those of any other political party) is that debate is carried on in a spirit of rational discourse between delegates sincerely attempting the often not-so-simple task of applying libertarian principles to the issues of the day. If you've never been to one of our Conventions, I strongly urge you to do so (if you've already been to one, you need no urging).

LP members in Convention, exhibit both a seriousness of purpose and a sense of camaraderie. The convention scene will fill you with the energy needed in the day-to-day battle to roll back the State. Remember, you don't have to be a delegate or an alternate to attend the Convention. For information on the Presidential Convention, write to Linda Osborne Blood, 30 East 9th Street, No. 5 EE, New York, NY 10003. I look forward to seeing you in New York!

Organizing For 1976

Remedying Some Weaknesses

Bob Meier

Having established a strong and growing intellectual movement the time has now come for the Party to complement that excellence with strength in the political arena. An effective political organization can serve as a vehicle for educating the public and as a vehicle for actually making political policy changes. The LP can serve as a conduit for getting our ideas to the public and as a tool for dismantling the State. All the pieces are in place; it only remains for the proper organizational efforts to begin. The time has come to think more in political-arena terms.

We are going to have to think constantly about ballot drives, precinct and county committees, legislative study groups, fund-raising and more. The time has come to begin rigorously examining everything the Party does in light of not only principle but also its impact on moving the LP closer to electoral victory. To reach the public, we must launch electoral candidates, voter referendums and petition drives. We must recognize that we are rapidly approaching the point when the public and media will have heard of our basic philosophy and approach. From now on, more and more questions will be about how and when we will effect our transitional programs. Getting from A to B will require increasing attention on our part.

During the last four years, I have had exposure to a great many state parties and have spent considerable time discussing their organizational problems; particularly the ones that are an immediate impediment in making the transition to a full-fledged political organization.

What follows is a short list of suggestions to help local LP groups become more efficient in their day-to-day activities:

Improve Party Communications. Within months Party groups will make more phone calls, send more correspondence and issue more bulletins than ever before. National headquarters will be coordinating the Presidential race with 50 separate state organizations, the states in turn will be coordinating local races and their activities with national candidates. All of this will be an impossible task if some basic management rules are not adhered to. They

include such things as answering mail on a daily basis, informing all concerned parties of any changes in addresses or phone numbers and making sure that all important news is communicated to your membership and the LP News.

Develop Media Relations Now. The media response to our Party has by-and-large been favorable and I am sure you will find any properly directed efforts to increase awareness of your organization will be well worth the investment. If you haven't begun to work with your local media, begin by making speakers available for talk shows, and by providing them with periodic press releases. You might also want to mail them new position papers with a cover letter. Be constantly on the watch for particularly sympathetic journalists and media people, encouraging both their interest and knowledge about who and what we are.

Give A Speakers Bureau High Priority. Libertarians often miss chances to make presentations before professional organizations and similar groups. Such occasions make an excellent introduction to the Party, and they are a proven recruiting tool. It is also important to remember that in the ensuing months

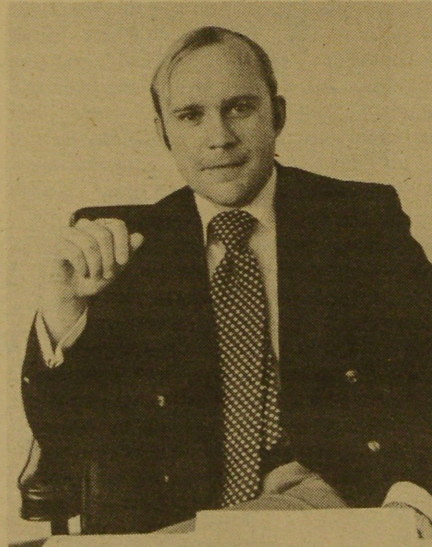
requests for LP spokespersons will increase markedly — being unable to fill those engagements with competent speakers will make for an unfortunate loss of opportunity. You should be developing an articulate, issue-informed speakers' bureau to handle such requests.

Divide The Workload. It is going to become increasingly important for the Party to systematically divide the tasks involved in running the Party organization. There are already too many examples of highly talented activists who have been "burned out" by an excessive work load. That need not be a problem if all the members will look for ways to spread responsibility as well as to encourage personal accountability for assumed tasks. Of course, with a division of labor will come the real expertise needed for us to succeed.

Closely allied to dividing the work load is the encouragement and support you give your leaders. When criticism is appropriate, make sure it is accompanied by tangible alternatives. Division of labor and leadership are as much a prerequisite to the success of the LP as they are in any other sphere.

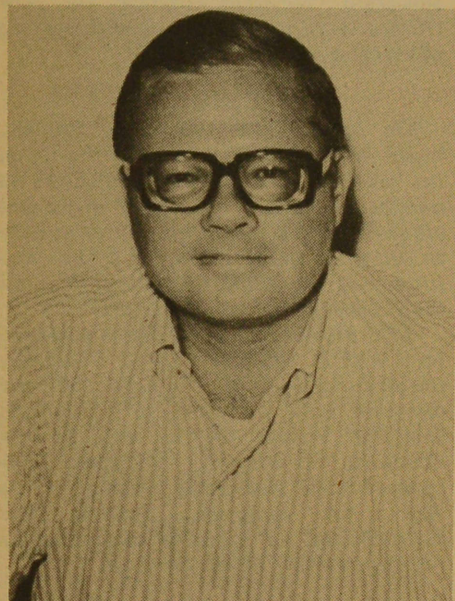
There are other areas that deserve at least brief mention. They include working constantly to improve the quality of your newsletter, finding a permanent headquarters, and developing at least a part-time staff.

1976 will be a landmark year for the Libertarian Party — the first year that we run candidates across a broad front at the state and national level. The ideal way to mobilize members to shape the Party into an effective political movement is to work for ballot status and run as many candidates as possible. Ballot status makes for the possibility of much higher vote totals for our candidates while a petition drive for a ballot position provides innumerable opportunities for one-on-one contact with the public. Successful ballot drives coupled with actively run libertarian campaigns are the way to galvanize the LP, to stimulate the LP to act in its proper, primary role as a political voice for libertarianism.



BOB MEIER

LP Presidential Contenders Speak



ROGER MacBRIDE

MacBride

We can make an enormous impact on the American political scene and on public discussion next year. Apparently there is not going to be a new, nationwide liberal or conservative political party. It follows that ours will be the only alternative to which most people can look for relief from the shop-worn statist policies of the Democratic and Republican parties. That our ideas are appealing and have merit none of us doubt. And in the many radio and television appearances I've made around this country during the last few years, I've observed that most of the reporters who interpret us to the public take a genuine interest in the libertarian message.

In order to achieve what we are after, we must mount a credible campaign for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States. It's essential that our candidates not only be pure libertarians, but also be able to advance our philosophy in an understandable and nonthreatening way to millions of people who have never heard of it or us.

Further, our candidate must be able to go well beyond abstract philosophy to demonstrate how libertarianism can and will be applied to specific issues. It's of no use to merely preach philosophy to the dissatisfied parents of children in public schools. They want to learn why the ideal we describe is preferable, how we propose to transit from the present situation to the ideal and what historical examples will help them know what to expect.

The same precise approach is required for Idaho potato farmers who know only a world with marketing controls and parity payments and for workers who want an old-age pension but do not realize that the Social Security system is bankrupt as well as immoral.

Exposition of the Libertarian philosophy is necessary, but it must be accompanied by a hard-headed application to the issues that concern us all today. The LP's distinguished Board of Economic Advisers recognizes that and has plans for position papers on an enormous number of subjects. All other areas must likewise be covered in detail, and as your nominee for the presidency, I plan to do this. I am, moreover, counting on a vice-presidential candidate who will be equally capable of such an approach.

In addition, I believe we have been negligent in the past in not aggressively seeking support on the political left and from the youth on high school and college campuses.

A successful 1976 campaign must reach out to the many liberals who share our concern for civil

liberties and our commitment to a noninterventionist foreign policy, and who are now seeing the consequences of welfare state programs in such things as the fiscal crisis of New York City. To reach them, we must make them aware of our passion for justice. They must learn that our political struggle in defense of individual liberty sees liberty as a necessary precondition of a humane society and an improved quality of life.

In 1976, the newspapers, television stations, and radio stations of America will be commenting with ever increasing frequency on what we do. As that occurs, the interest of the general populace in what we stand for will rise until we begin to make a showing in the public opinion polls. As that happens, the whole process will be self-reinforcing until, if all goes as we plan, discussion of the LP will be a substantial factor in the decisions made during the Bicentennial year and increasingly so thereafter.

At the same time, it is imperative that we never forget amid the tumult of the campaign the LP's role and destiny. We are unique among the political parties of American history — we are "The Party of Principle." Our strength comes directly from our uncompromising dedication to the principles of individual liberty.

Harroff

LP state chairpersons and convention delegates for whom we have addresses have been sent a copy of "THE HARROFF AMENDMENTS, A Beginning..." The idea for these was conceived in frustration following my Senate campaign last year when I searched for some way to force public debate on principles and issues.

I originally thought of only four or five possibilities which I felt had some chance of providing the number of signatures required in Ohio to get an initiative on the ballot. My decision to seek the presidential nomination led me to write a complete, slightly altered set. A copy of them, with a letter explaining the concept may be ordered from the Coalition for Freedom, Box 6176, Cleveland, OH 44101 — \$1/copy.

I view the Amendments, at the moment at least, more as a possible tool to use in the presidential campaign. Powerful tools, however — to be exploited in many ways. The titles are:

- I. Towards Freedom and Peace
- II. Right of Self-Determination
- III. In Pursuit of Justice
- IV. Equal Rights of Voters
- V. Rights of Protection and Self-Defense
- VI. Abolition of Legalized Theft
- VII. Abolition of Coercive Monopolies and Special Privilege
- VIII. Separation of Education and State

My main concern of the campaign, however, is the communication of the basic moral principles of the libertarian philosophy, explaining why we must learn to live without wars, taxes, slavery, injustice — and, hopefully, showing people how we can indeed do just that. If we can only reach the point of persuading people *simply that it is possible* —

then I believe our work will be very nearly finished.

To accomplish this with any great numbers of people in a single campaign seems an almost herculean task, and yet I believe I could do it — best. I should never have sought the nomination if I could have hoped or believed otherwise. Win? No. But a substantial and proud beginning, surely.

Riggs

In 1976, the Libertarian Party and its Presidential candidate will be facing their greatest challenge. Almost without doubt, the only real competition will be President Ford, and anybody reading the papers has found out he's for individual freedom, balanced budgets, decreased federal regulation, etc., etc. If it weren't for tell-tale deeds here, there and everywhere, one would think the President carried around a copy of our 1974 Platform.

Our great challenge will be getting the attention of the four out of five voters in the nation who will listen to our candidate and then to President Ford and say, "There sure isn't much difference between those two; let's go with the one we've got."

We, of course, will know there's a world of difference between the two, but how will we convey that to all those people who can't see any difference between Ford's words and our words? We will simply have to convince them with our actions as well, and that's precisely why I have proposed the establishment of a contract between me and the Libertarian Party.

If we are to be the Party of Principle, I'm convinced we've got to go all the way. We've got to bring the honorable practices of the free market we espouse into politics and that includes not only the mechanisms of that market, such as a contract and fair competition, but also those attitudes toward each other without which any society loses its savor, namely, courtesy, decency and respect.

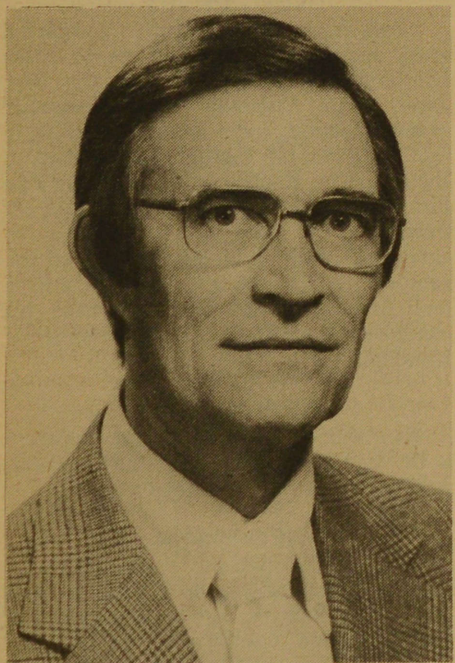
I have offered myself for hire to be your Salesman of Liberty. This means I would be trying to convince the electorate to be leaders of themselves and that, if elected, I would be first among equals.

I would point out over and over again that the contract I had with my party would be symbolic of what I'd want our relationship to be as President: a voluntary one with mutual respect and mutual benefit. I would then say that were this relationship to be attained, I'd have achieved my ultimate goal in politics: "An America where we all look at each other with a proud eye."

The words of Mr. Ford and myself would now have a far different ring when we talked about things ostensibly the same. My words would carry far more conviction when talking about increasing individual freedom, decreasing the size of government, balancing the budget, decreasing federal regulations, etc., because I would be living what I was talking about. The voters just might say, "Let's hire that guy!"



KAY HARROFF



GUY RIGGS

LP NEWS

LIBERTARIAN PARTY NEWS is published every two months by the national headquarters of the Libertarian Party. Subscriptions: \$3 for six issues; \$5 for 12 issues.

Edward H. Crane III National Chairman
Bill Evers Editor
Chris Hocker Managing Editor

State Parties Undertake Tasks...

ARIZONA

The state convention in June featured San Diego tax rebel Barbara Hutchinson. The state LP has a new monthly newsletter, *Arizona Liberty*. The newsletter contains news of public opinion poll results and excerpts from newspaper stories on such matters as compulsory medical treatment of persons who have committed no crime but whom the government believes to be criminally inclined and on warrantless searches by federal agents.

ARKANSAS

In the Clover area in southwestern Arkansas, John Lindstrand has sent out letters to the Nashville News, the Dierks Banner, the Pike County Courier, and the Glenwood Herald outlining the goals and principles of the LP.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco mayoral candidate Ray Cunningham's formal debut received coverage in the San Francisco Chronicle, the San Francisco Examiner, and front page treatment in the San Francisco Progress. His comments on police and victimless crime were broadcast at length on all-news radio KCBS, which has the largest audience in the Bay Area during commuter hours.

San Francisco supervisorial candidate Lloyd Taylor proposed a city charter amendment aimed at drastically cutting taxes. The amendment would require most city activities to be self-supporting. Taylor was a recent guest on Jim Eason's talk show on radio station KGO.

P. Thomas Cahill of Long Beach has announced his intention to run for the U.S. House of Representatives. He is seeking the 34th district seat led by Democrat Mark Hannaford.

At the recent hearings of the Santa Cruz County board of supervisors on the dispersal of revenue-sharing funds, LP member Bill Anderson called for rejection of the federal money. "Behind each dollar," he told the board, "there stands a jail keeper."

The newly-expanded newsletter of the Santa Barbara LP reports that activists there are working with a group of local homeowners and renters who oppose property taxes. Santa Barbarans are also supporting bathing-suit-optional beaches on civil liberties grounds, while trying to point out that all beach land should be private property.

The San Diego group has set local plans to help put "none of the above," on the state ballot as an initiative. They will set up tables to collect signatures in shopping centers, hold a large number of "open houses" around the city, ask owners and managers of local businesses to keep petitions in their stores, and circulate petitions in neighborhoods.

LP activist Liz Jacobsen had a column in 100th-anniversary issue of the San Francisco Daily Commercial News introducing libertarianism to its readers. Members from several regional organizations in the San Francisco Bay Area worked together to build a portable fair booth to be used at county fairs around the state. The booth was first used at the San Mateo County fair in late July and early August. Next the exhibit will move to the Santa Clara County fair and then on to Santa Cruz in September. Murray N. Rothbard addressed a joint Santa Clara-San Mateo meeting in mid-July.

COLORADO

The Colorado LP is considering backing a proposal called a "Sunset Law." This law would mandate that "no regulatory agency could be given a longer life than seven years. At the end of that maximum term, it would automatically cease to exist unless given fresh legislative authorization."

LPers are also using the time-honored device of the political picnic to raise funds

for the 1976 national campaign (the Liberty '76 Fund).

CONNECTICUT

The state LP held its convention in mid-July. There was detailed discussion of the requirements for getting the 1976 LP presidential candidate on the state ballot. There was also consideration of the state Party's symbol and mascot. Plans were set for LP booths at the Berlin and Riverton fairs. Reporters from the Hartford Times, Hartford Courant, the Hartford Valley Advocate, and a local TV station were in attendance.

DELAWARE

The state organization's petition to affiliate was accepted in July. The new chairman is William Morris, 2124 Brandywood Dr., Wilmington, Delaware 19810.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Welcome aboard to another newly affiliated party organization. The District of Columbia LP adopted its constitution in July and was thereafter recognized by the national ExeComm. The new chairwoman is Luca Carol, 101 G St., S.W., No. A503, Washington, D.C. 20024.

FLORIDA

Alchua County's LP is distributing a brochure to school and civic organizations setting forth the libertarian position and listing speakers and possible speech topics. The Orlando LP is compiling a similar brochure for distribution throughout central Florida. The newsletter for South Florida (Dade and Broward Counties) printed an analysis of federal campaign financing by national ExeComm member Brian Donerly.

HAWAII

The state LP held a special convention in mid-July to elect new officers and make plans for the coming year. Gregory Reeser addressed the gathering, speaking on "The Decline and Fall of the American Middle Class." Michael Anzis was selected as the new state chairman. His address is 1630 Liholiho St., Honolulu, HI 96822.

IDAHO

The state LP is continuing its successful campaign of letters to newspapers. Letters in the Boise Idaho Statesman have discussed the LP platform, tax-funded compensation to crime victims, and taxation as theft. Letters in the Nampa Idaho Free Press and the Caldwell News-Tribune discussed the reception given libertarian ideas by the public. The Caldwell paper and the Twin Falls Times-News covered the LP position on a proposal to build a coal-fired power plant. The news stories reported that the LP opposed government franchises to public utilities, called for abolition of the Environmental Protection Agency, and called for holding utilities fully liable for all invasions of person and property via pollution.

ILLINOIS

During June, LPers participated in a protest against a municipal gun control ordinance in Oak Park. LP members also testified against the Regional Transportation Authority in hearings held in Waukegan, Skokie, and the western suburbs of Chicago. The well-written and informative state newsletter has in recent months featured an evaluation of the voting records of Illinois's congressmen, a review of Illinois's fiscal crisis, and a critique of recent proposals for national economic planning. The newsletter also published a post-mortem on the libertarian mayoral campaign in Carbondale. Such analysis of campaign efforts and other activities needs to be developed in local LP publications as a vehicle for self-criticism of Party efforts and a way to draw practical lessons from our experience.

IOWA

The state LP held its first convention. It now has a constitution, by-laws, a platform, and officers. The state chairman, Dr. William Bockoven, can be reached at 8407 Horton, Urbandale, IA 50322.

LOUISIANA

Dr. J. Richard Trinko, libertarian

candidate for state superintendent of education, received coverage on New Orleans television for the official opening of his campaign.

MICHIGAN

On July 4th the state Party formally began its petition drive to place the LP on the ballot in 1976. The state law allows six months to collect the 20,000 signatures required. LPM's goal is 30,000 to provide an adequate safety margin. It is also sponsoring an initiative petition to limit the Michigan personal income tax.

LPM member Peter McAlpine appeared on WXYZ Radio's David Newman telephone-talk show on July 30 and discussed both the flaws in a statewide campaign reform bill as well as the libertarian philosophy. McAlpine also received local newspaper coverage of his views on campaign finance. The Metro-Detroit LP group is continuing its popular monthly dinner meetings.

MINNESOTA

The MLP held its statewide convention early in June. The day and evening event included addresses by National Director Bob Meier and by Kay Harroff who formally announced her candidacy for the LP Presidential nomination. A forum on campaign techniques was held in the afternoon. The convention was covered by KSTP-TV, WCCO radio, the Minneapolis Tribune, the St. Paul Pioneer Press and the Sun newspapers.

During the convention Richard Kleinow managed to raise \$1390 in contributions from 20 people for the State Fair Committee. He secured this sum by making the donations contingent upon the securing of a specific total in the form of pledges, in this case \$1,000 — it more than worked! Other news from Minnesota includes the appointment of Thomas Piotrowski as the state LP's Executive Director.

MISSOURI

John McCarthy (836 W. 62nd St., Kansas City, MO 64113) is the temporary state chairman, in charge of new organizing efforts in Missouri.

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey has recently completed some successful petition drives to place libertarians on the ballot for the New Jersey State Assembly in the November general election. Jack Conrad is running in the 9th Assembly District, Ron Wishart in the 11th, Ken Kaplan in the 26th and Dan Piro will run in the 37th District, taking off from his job two to four weeks to campaign fulltime. Media response to the candidacies has been excellent. On a local level Inars Gruntals has announced his candidacy for the Borough Council of Mendham.

NEW MEXICO

New Mexico's new temporary chairman is Dr. Paul Henrickson, 428 Camino de las Animas, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

NEBRASKA

Over 30 persons attended an organizational meeting in Omaha to help launch the fledgling LP in Nebraska. The event received coverage in several local papers and on local TV. Daniel Haak of Lincoln is the temporary state chairman.

OKLAHOMA

The 1975 state convention of the Oklahoma Party held this July featured some well-known libertarian speakers including Susan Love Brown, Vice-Chairwoman of the California LP; Henry Hohenstein, author of the "IRS Conspiracy"; Kay Harroff, contender for the 1976 presidential nomination; and John Vernon, former candidate for the Oklahoma City Council. Porter Davis, a



APRIL TAX PROTEST IN SAN DIEGO

—Photo by Jack Saunders

(Please turn to page 5)

...Of Educating, Organizing Public

(Continued from page 4)

member of the National ExeComm, was elected the new chairman. His mailing address is: P.O. Box 20299, Oklahoma City, OK 73120.

Media coverage on the convention was excellent, thanks to the efforts of LPO members John Aynesworth and Al Fiegel. The event was covered by several newspapers including the Oklahoma Journal and the Times in Oklahoma City. In addition, the speakers and the convention received over ten hours of radio and television time on various talk shows, interview programs, and news spots. Even more coverage was attracted the day before the convention by a press conference in which Porter Davis, as LPO spokesman, blasted Oklahoma Governor David Boren's 36 percent increase in state spending.

OREGON

This June the Oregon LP held a successful state convention at which Richard Pferdner was elected the new chairman. He has expressed his determination to turn the OLP into a viable campaign organization by the time of its next annual convention. The Party is planning an extensive display for its state fair and will use the event as an opportunity to start its petition drive for ballot status in 1976 as well as for selling books and distributing literature. The Party has accelerated its drive to organize in all 36 counties of the state and has been publicizing the ill-effects of such recent legislative boondoggles as the Oregon Bottle Bill and statewide land-use planning.

PENNSYLVANIA

The July issue of the Libertarian Penn includes an excellent article by state chairperson JoAnne Chernow on political activism. Reports also indicate that the LP chapter in western Pennsylvania is continuing to grow in strength.

TEXAS

The TLP held its state convention in June. Officers were elected (with Lonnie Brantley becoming the new chairman), delegates to the National Convention were

selected and the state platform was amended to incorporate the 1974 statement of principles of the national party. Prior to the convention a news conference was held, and an article on the LP appeared in the Austin American-Statesman. The Texas ballot drive was discussed, and success is expected with few problems. Besides the formal session the attendees had an opportunity to here talks by Kay Harroff, who is seeking the presidential nomination, and vice-presidential aspirant Jim Trotter.

UTAH

George Chapman, the state chairman, reports that serious plans are underway for the 1976 Utah elections. They will be on

the ballot and plan on running Steve Trotter for the U.S. Senate against incumbent Frank E. Moss. Karl Bray is also planning on running for governor at this time. In addition to Trotter and Bray, the party expects to run an additional 16 to 20 candidates in the state. To obtain permanent ballot status for the LP one of the candidates running must secure 8,300 votes.

WISCONSIN

The WLP recently had a successful display at the Brady Street Festival where an estimated 50,000 were in attendance; many people were introduced to the Party, names were added to the mailing list, and literature was distributed. Coming festivals in September and December will also be

used for setting up booths. The WLP will also have a booth at the Wisconsin State Fair in the first part of August.

Helen Slavens, Wisconsin's chairwoman, recently was seen on a half-hour TV show along with the conservative Nicholas Loniello, a reporter from the Milwaukee Sentinel, and a representative of *The Progressive* magazine. The special program was entitled "Target: The State" and the topics discussed included taxation, monopoly and voter apathy.

WYOMING

The new temporary chairman is Ralph McMullen, P.O. Box 244, Story, Wyoming. McMullen was formerly active in the Nevada LP.

Australian Group Now Organized

'Workers Party' With A Difference

By CHRIS HOCKER

Libertarians in the United States who believe in organized political action are not alone. Libertarians in Australia have set up an active, vocal, and eminently viable party of their own.

They call it the Workers Party.

The "Workers Party"? As in "Workers of the world, unite!"? Not quite. Australian party members answer the question, "Why the Workers Party?" with this response:

"Because the prosperity and security of any country depends upon those who work with their hands, with their minds, or with their savings to provide more production and therefore more prosperity for everyone."

The development of the Workers Party in Australia parallels the growth of the Libertarian Party in many respects. In the United States, however, there are only two major statist parties to rail against; in Australia, there are many.

These include the ruling Labor Party, and the Liberal Party (the two largest), plus the Australia, Country, and Democratic Labor parties.

Differentiation

The Workers Party does differentiate among these groups, describing the policies of the Labor Party as "dedicated socialism," those of the Australia Party as "concealed socialism," and the aims of the other parties as "watered-down, delayed-action socialism."

Some difference.

The Workers Party has developed and published a platform and constitution very similar in form and substance to that put forth by the LP in the United States. Page One explains the "Fundamental Principle" of the Workers Party:

"The aim of this Party is simple. It is to implement one fundamental morale principle, and to implement that principle fully and consistently. This fundamental principle is that of non-interference."

Platform Positions

The Platform is detailed and explicit in its stated policies, and many of the subjects mentioned are reflective of the pervasiveness of government control in Australia. In addition to outlining libertarian beliefs regarding property rights,

crime, and economic freedom, the platform includes coverage of such topics as penal institutions, health, children's rights, and investment by foreign and multi-national companies.

Another specific section deals with aboriginal Australians and advocates that "land currently held 'in trust' by various governments be returned to the aboriginal Australians with full property rights, including the ownership of minerals below the ground."

The Workers Party has managed to generate controversy and consternation among rival parties and political observers. Representatives of the party were featured last February on a television program titled "Monday Conference," broadcast during prime time by the Australian Broadcasting Commission, the state-operated broadcasting monopoly.

TV Transcript

A reading of the transcript of this hour-long program makes it obvious that the Party representatives, Chairman John Singleton and party member Robert Howard, are able to articulate and defend the libertarian position with a high degree of skill and courage. A sample from the transcript:

Lady Questioner: I'm a public servant, and you call yourself the Workers Party. What do you have to offer the worker?

Singleton: Well, I think most public servants are non-workers...

Singleton does not pull his punches. He continued:

The reason we chose the name Workers Party was to hammer home to people the fact that the Labor Party exists not for the worker but for the non-worker, the person who wants to live on hand-outs and kick-me-downs.

Singleton then asked his questioner how many public servants she worked with who really earned their money. The lady was not heard from again.

The Workers Party has hired a National Director, and is rapidly gaining adherents and branches in states throughout Australia. In the few short months of its organized existence, it has proved to be not only feisty and fascinating, but also a serious threat to the status quo. The Workers Party is presently assisting in the organization of similar groups in New Zealand and parts of the United Kingdom.

More detailed information about the Workers Party and its platform may be obtained from the Workers Party, P.O. Box 685, Darlinghurst, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia. Copies of the Party Platform can be ordered from national LP headquarters, at a cost of \$1.00 each.

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 Robert Bakhaus in the June 22 Houston Post; Pearl E. McEvoy in the June 25 Idaho Free Press and Caldwell (Ida.) News-Tribune; D. Allen Dalton in the July 6 Boise Idaho Statesman; D. Allen Dalton and James Jerry Jones in the June 1 Boise Idaho Statesman; Jack Conrad in the July 16 Asbury Park (N.J.) Press; Ernst Ghermann in the July 10 Van Nuys (Calif.) Valley News and Green Sheet; and Ellen Davis in the June 26 and July 20 Poughkeepsie Journal. The best letter appeared in the June 12 Fredericksburg (Va.) Free Lance-Star and the June 20 Richmond News-Leader:

Editor,

There is a great deal of talk among conservatives today concerning the possible establishment of a new major political party. Some conservatives recognize that many Republicans and most Democrats are continually working to expand the power of the state, thereby destroying individual rights and freedom.

James J. Kilpatrick, in a column

(June 12) in which he presents his views about William A. Rusher's new book *The Making of the New Majority Party*, states that "The Democrats...stand for something; their Liberal image is clear, consistent, and politically appealing. The Republicans, by contrast, stand for nothing." How wrong he is! The Republicans are just as consistent as the Democrats in supporting the expansion of government control over the lives of the citizens. Republicans did not earn the appellation of being the "me-too" party for nothing.

But it would seem that both Kilpatrick and Rusher, as well as many other conservatives and Liberals, are unaware of the fact that there is already in existence (since 1971) a new political party which recognizes that the state does not have the right to control, regulate, or dispose of the lives of individuals and the fruits of their labor. This new political party, which should have wide appeal among those who recognize the tremendous dangers of the ever-expanding government, has as its most fundamental principle that of individual rights (the same principle that the Founding Fathers emphasized).

In its statement of principles this new party holds that: "Since

governments, when instituted, must not violate individual rights, we oppose all interference by government in the areas of voluntary and contractual relations among individuals... They should be left free by government to deal with one another as free traders; and the resultant economic system, the only one compatible with the protection of individual rights, is the free market." The Republicans and Democrats stand for a mixed economy — a mixture which is lethal to freedom — the new party stands for full-fledged capitalism, i.e., a fully free market.

This new political party is the Libertarian Party. Unlike a new majority party visualized by some, the Libertarian Party is a grassroots endeavor that is rapidly spreading across the United States and expects to be on the ballot in about 20 states in 1976. If the Democrats and Republicans don't completely wreck this country in the next few years, the Libertarian Party will continue to grow until it will be able to offer every American a real choice at the polls — a choice between statism and freedom.

Those wishing additional information can write the Libertarian Party, 550 Kearny Street, San Francisco, California, 94108.

THOMAS L. JOHNSON

Capitol Commentary

S.1: Threat To Press Freedom

Bill Evers

Readers of the LP News may remember that in our May-June 1974 issue we reported on a proposal by the Nixon administration to recodify the federal criminal statutes. Since then legislative consideration of the Nixon administration proposal and of a companion proposal by Sen. John McClellan (D-Ark.) has proceeded apace. At the beginning of this Congress in 1974, the various recodification proposals were merged into Senate Bill No. 1 (S. 1), now pending before that law-making body. This bill is a complicated piece of legislation and as might be expected, much of it is an infringement upon individual liberty. Particularly offensive are several sections (especially those dealing with espionage) that provide a mechanism for crushing the freedom of the press to report on governmental activities.

The bill is supported by a Big Government coalition of conservatives (like McClellan and Sen. James Eastland, D-Miss.) and liberals (like Sens. Birch Bayh, D-Ind., and Frank Moss, D-Utah). It has been sponsored by both floor leaders, Sens. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) and Hugh Scott (R-Penn.), and has the backing of the Ford administration.

In opposition are the American Civil Liberties Union and the various professional associations of news media owners, editors and reporters.

The proposed law would operate somewhat like the Official Secrets Act in Great Britain in that it would prohibit and penalize disclosure in the news media of matters that the government would prefer to keep secret.

Bill's Provisions

Specifically, the new law would do at least the following:

- Subject journalists to criminal penalties if they either possess or publish the contents of any government report without official permission;

- Subject journalists to criminal penalties if in times of government-defined crisis they publish "a statement of fact, if

false" concerning the U.S. military, U.S. allies, or powers opposed to the U.S. government, or "any other matter of fact that, if believed . . . would be likely to create general panic or serious disruption";

- Subject present or former government employees to criminal penalties if they give the news media, without approval of their superiors, any classified information (which can include information about officials who have violated laws or lied to the public);

- Subject journalists to criminal penalties if they receive and publish what the government considers national security information.

Elastic Concept

"National security" is a notoriously elastic concept which can be used to encompass almost anything. And classified information, as Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-Maine) once remarked, is simply "material which any one of over 20,000 government officials might have decided — for reasons they need never explain — should be kept secret."

The New York Times notes that should the proposed bill become law, "reporting like the articles that disclosed the Pentagon papers, the My Lai massacre, the Watergate scandals and the domestic spying by the Central Intelligence Agency could be violations."

The disclosure of information about government activities was penalized in a recent case: The House Armed Service Committee has barred Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass.) from any further examination of classified information.

This act of suppression shows that there is a serious danger that changes in the federal code that are aimed at restricting the press will be enacted.

Right To Know?

Unfortunately, many people use the slippery and elusive concept of the public's "right to know" as their basis for analyzing such matters. The danger is that conservatives like William Buckley then take the formula of the public's "right to

know" to justify governmental wiretapping, secret police surveillance and other governmental invasions of the right to privacy.

For some people, this is a case of "rights in conflict," in which the conflicting rights have to be "balanced." As a matter of common sense, it is hopelessly unclear how the metaphor of balancing applies to something weightless like rights. A good rule of thumb is to beware of lawyers and politicians talking about "balancing."

The way to escape the seeming paradox of rights in conflict is to recognize that private citizens have an absolute right of privacy applying to their own persons and property while citizens and taxpayers have an absolute right to know everything about all government operations and activities. The experience of the Watergate era is eloquent testimony to the correctness of

this principle.

Libertarians should unite with other groups to head off press control under S. 1. Libertarians should also make every effort to support a bill sponsored by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), which would prohibit reprisals against federal employees who disclose government information within the limits of the Freedom of Information Act. Radio and television public affairs commentaries and letters to newspapers should be used to focus public attention on these matters. (News media people can be expected to be sympathetic to the libertarian position on this issue.) Petitions and letters to one's Senators as well as any other methods of bringing pressure to bear should also be employed. Without action on these matters, the government will have an easy way to prevent the press from reporting on many governmental activities.

Local LP Candidates

(Continued from front page)

stopping Davis from paying her petition-gatherers 25 cents per signature. She now must pay them by the hour which is less efficient but more in tune with bureaucratic mentality.

In a joint press release Davis and Cohen called for the elimination of zoning laws. "Repeal of zoning laws could be a threat to no one," they said. "On the contrary, such repeal would restore to all individuals the right to do as they wish with their property. People who fear freedom suggest that the elimination of government controls would be harmful. But objective laws to guarantee people's safety from force or fraud would guarantee that no one's life, liberty, or property could be violated. Presently, zoning laws and related controls have become political tools — they restrict individual rights, they do not protect them."

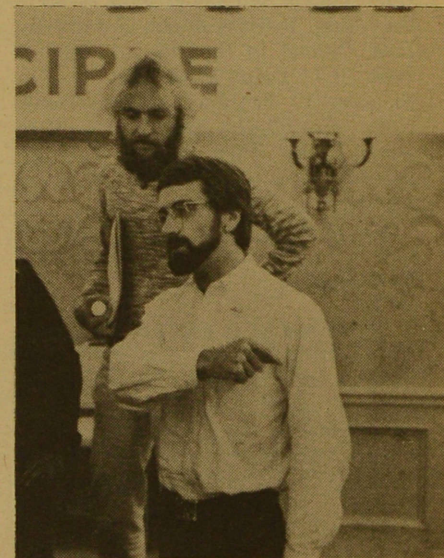
Editorial Endorsement

A recent boost to the Libertarian candidacies in Poughkeepsie came in the

form of an endorsement from the Dutchess County News. "Like the first sweet smell of April, Carole Cohen and Ellen Davis have appeared and are running for public office," read the News editorial. "They will win the coming election because of who and what they are if we, the voters of Dutchess County, admit and realize what has happened to us over the years. We've been had." Send contributions for either candidate to Candidates for Liberty, Box 1776, Poughkeepsie, NY 12601.

In New York's Suffolk county, Virginia Walker has caused a minor catastrophe for the Conservative Party's establishment by labeling their county executive candidate "an advocate of 'spending more and more money.'" She will challenge Republican John Klein in the Conservative primary in addition to running on the FLP line. Walker, 33, ran an active campaign for assembly last year and received one of the highest percentages of any Libertarian candidate in the nation.

The four state Assembly candidates in New Jersey are Jack Conard (Dist. 9), Ron Wishart (Dist. 11), Ken Kaplan (Dist. 26) and Dan Piro (Dist. 37). Conard has received the most extensive media coverage thus far and in a recent letter published in the Toms River Reporter stated that "government is economically and politically impotent to really 'cure' the so-called energy shortage. The State," said Conard, "seems to have a 'solution' to every 'crisis' except the liberty shortage." Wishart plans to address the issues of public school finance and apartment zoning in his campaign. Contributions for the four candidates can be sent to Campaign Fund for Libertarians '75, P.O. Box 247, Bernardsville, NJ 07924.



DAVID LONG

Party Line

National LP Items And Events

Current estimates out of New York set the attendance at the National Convention at about 750 with the possibility of more. . . . LP News Editor Bill Evers has collaborated with Murray Rothbard on a set of proposed changes for the National Platform. Evers and Rothbard are on the Platform Committee and have circulated their proposal to the other Committee members. Platform hearings begin August 25. . . . Speaking of Rothbard, he has been asked to be the subject of a *Playboy* interview for a fall issue. . . .

* * *

New Life Members of the LP (\$100) are: Dave Blanchard, California; John Vandyke, Alaska; Dennis Davis, Arizona; H.O. Anderson, California; Charles Durrett, Maine; James Higgins, Ohio; George Robinson, California. New Life Sustaining Members (\$250) are Kathleen McAdams, New Jersey; and Dorothy G. Olson, Iowa. . . . The Libertarian Party Board of Economic Advisers presently consists of this distinguished group of economists: Murray Rothbard, New York Polytechnic Institute, Chairman; Yale Brozen, University of Chicago; Sam Peltzman, University of Chicago; Walter Block; Warren Coates, University of Virginia; and D.T. Armentano, University of Hartford. . . . Armentano is rumored to be considering seeking the LP Vice Presidential nod. . . .

* * *

National Headquarters staff points out that members and LP News subscribers sending in changes of address must enclose an old mailing label. . . . Lance Gilmore of the Berkeley (Calif.) Gazette recently warned the Democrats and Republicans in his column. "Both major parties had better keep a weather eye on the Libertarian Party," he wrote, "which is wooing youth from the far left and the far right with its opposition to government control in any form and its emphasis on freedoms, including free enterprise." . . .

* * *

A beautiful new blue and gold poster imprinted with the slogan "A New Dawn in Politics . . . The Libertarian Party" is now available from National Headquarters. Order yours now on the enclosed order form. . . . Our "little blue cards" are a smashing success with over 20,000 distributed so far. They are currently available for 1c each but the price will go up to 2c each in the near future. . . .

* * *

Life Member Bob Steiner of New Jersey conducted a seminar on libertarianism at the recent national Annual Gathering of Mensa. Bob sold literature, passed out materials and brought in a number of new members for the LP. . . . An excerpt from a letter to National Chairman Ed Crane from George Gallup, Jr., President of the Gallup Poll: "We shall certainly endeavor to gauge the libertarian movement." Let's hope

so. . . . Much interest is developing over the FLP's gala theatrical benefit for the Presidential campaign. It's planned for Saturday night and will be directed by John Doswell. . . . A major news conference will be held at noon on Saturday for the LP's new Presidential candidate. . . .

* * *

At the Labor Day LP Convention expect contests for all offices. The following LP members have announced for national Party office: Ed Crane, Chairman; Andrea Millen, Vice Chairperson; Fran Youngstein, Treasurer; Greg Clark, Secretary; and for Executive Committee At Large: Porter Davis, Lynn Kinsky, Dave Nolan, Bill Susel, John Hathaway, Leland Schubert, Rod Van Orden, Ed Clark, Eric Garris and Martin Nixon. . . . Investment counselor Alexander (Perry) Paris being interviewed on the "Manion Forum": "I'm getting more interested in the Libertarian Party, which is a very fast growing party. It really represents the only no-compromise, free market party." . . . LPer Don Feder is heading up the Committee to Organize an Association of Libertarian Lawyers and plans a meeting at the National Convention. So far over 110 contacts in 11 states have been made. For information contact Feder at 102 W. First Avenue, Johnstown, New York 12095. . . . Your assignment this month is to bring in at least one new member for the National LP. . . .

End Of 'Rule Of Law'

Background To Recent Events In India

Sanjaya

Only very rarely in history is it possible to clearly demarcate the end of one era and the inauguration of another one. Although no one realized it at the time, Mrs. Gandhi's conviction of election malpractices early in June marked such a definite change of era in Indian history.

The emergency decrees of 26 June 1975 represent the final recrudescence in India today of the principle of unlimited sovereignty. This age-old tradition sees law merely as the promulgation of the will of an unlimited sovereign.

The brief era of colonial rule in India saw the introduction into a small part of the country, for the first time in its history, of some of the institutions and practices drawn from a diametrically opposed tradition: that known historically as the Rule of Law.

This tradition views power as undesirable in and of itself; it consistently attempts to erect effective limits to its exercise. Law is regarded as something to be discovered, by impartial, independent judges, seeking to delimit the rights of individuals. Such a concept was, and is, totally alien to India; 26 June 1975 saw the final extirpation of the only attempt hitherto to establish this tradition in the country.

In finding Mrs. Gandhi guilty of election malpractices, the Allahabad High Court acted squarely within the tradition of the Rule of Law: if the Law is independent of the particular will of the sovereign, even individuals in the highest political positions may be found guilty of illegality.

Necessity is always the plea of the tyrant, and it is on this ground that the emergency measures were justified. Censorship, Mrs. Gandhi said, was necessary to prevent a disastrous situation which would have led to national disintegration. Freedom of the press had come to mean freedom to criticize the Prime Minister, but if India disintegrated, where was freedom? (*L'état? C'est moi.*)

Barely two weeks into the emergency, the ultimate aim was made explicit: the Congress Party newspaper commended the one-party system of African states, pointing to the "antics" of the Indian opposition in the last two years.

Although 26 June 1975 marked a decisive turning point in modern Indian history, it was the culmination of a much longer process of gradual undermining of even the highly limited approach to the Rule of Law found up to that date. Under colonial rule, English Common Law was introduced into urban India. For the first time in their history, some Indians had rights as individuals and not as members of a group. Rural India for the greater part remained outside the purview of the Rule of Law, since individual ownership of land which had never been known in Indian history, was never established under British rule, either. Nevertheless, British administration tended to be far less arbitrary than the Oriental despotism which has always been the normal state of affairs in human history.

The result was that even with traditional land tenures, agricultural output rose high enough to wipe out famine by 1906; there was a substantial expansion of peasant-grown commercial crops such as tobacco, cotton, oilseeds and jute, and a general increase in agricultural, i.e., mass prosperity.

In urban India, the substitution of a settled body of law for the arbitrary whims of a series of petty princelings or other autocrats, meant that commercial enterprise could flourish on a scale seldom seen before in Indian history. By 1947, India had the world's sixth largest cotton textile industry, the world's fifth largest railway system, and a flourishing

commercial and banking sector; and it exported half the world's tea.

In India, as elsewhere, the Second World War brought the introduction of a number of economic controls: exchange and capital issues controls, price and distribution controls, and food rationing. Both the colonial administration and the various nationalist groups accepted central planning as the appropriate post-war economic policy for the country. Most of the wartime controls were retained and extended after 1947 by the nationalist government.

Since 1956, public sector expenditure has more than quadrupled. And the bulk of the investment in the Indian economy has been deliberately directed towards the industrial sector, both government and private. The latter is 'private' in name only; the cotton textile industry illustrates how closely-controlled Indian industry is.

Government permission is required to establish, expand, diversify, or even close down a cotton mill. The import of raw cotton and machinery are permitted only under government license. The holdings of stocks and the purchase and sale of cotton are regulated. A government wages board sets wage-rates. The government determines the range of textiles mills may produce. It sets prices for certain varieties. Government even determines the counts of yarn in the warp and the woof of certain textiles and the width of sari borders. Much the same sort of regulations are found in other industries.

Indian industrial undertakings are thus highly protected against domestic competition. Import and exchange controls protect them against international competition: a wide range of industrial

imports are either banned or severely curtailed. Not surprisingly, the industrial outputs produced under these conditions are not only of very poor quality, they are also two-to-three times as costly as comparable items available on world markets.

In agriculture, so-called land 'reforms' have produced what amounts to a new serfdom. Agricultural land is not saleable, rentable, or mortgageable; cultivating rights are hereditary but not transferrable. The Indian agriculturist is thus in effect bound to his land.

A large proportion of the foodgrains sold off the farm are purchased compulsorily by government at below market prices; in many areas, even harvesting requires official permission. Movement of foodgrains is restricted; in 1966, an ordinance was passed requiring the grain dealer to prove that foodgrains seized on suspicion were not being illegally transported. Rural moneylending is severely circumscribed. Dealers in agricultural commodities are denied bank advances. The flow of capital into agriculture has thus been severely reduced. In conjunction with the trebling of annual investment in industry, this has meant an approximate halving of annual investment in agriculture. Output of mass-consumption foodgrains — rice, coarse millets, pulses — has risen by much less than population.

In short, the Indian masses are hungrier and more ill clad today than in 1947. (1966 saw the first peacetime famine in 60 years; famine has not left since.) The institutions and policies responsible were left untouched by the emergency decrees.

Both agricultural and industrial controls

and the government contracts resulting from the expansion of public expenditure are further sources of economic and political injustice. Contracts are possibly the major source of illegal incomes: of Rs100 accounted to be spent on any project, Rs40-Rs60 — the estimates vary — is actually spent; the rest is distributed. Controls concentrate enormous economic power in official hands; they are thus another source of illegal incomes.

Economic controls may be used against political opponents: even ten years ago, opposition publications complained that they were denied imported newsprint and machinery, and that journalists' wages boards were used against them.

The Constitution has been repeatedly amended since 1947 to meet adverse Court decisions. The first such amendment came when certain agricultural "reforms" were struck down as contravening fundamental rights. And in previous states of emergency, as during the war with China, opposition journals charged that the regulations were applied principally against individuals generally opposed to government policies.

Nonetheless, it was still possible — before 26 June 1975 — to have a reasonably free press and a reasonably free opposition. Some urban Indians could and did discuss government policies freely. There was some approach — however limited — to a free society. What 26 June marks, then, is the return to pre-Rule of Law days in India. So far from extending individual rights from some to all Indians, the emergency decrees have instead extinguished the small enclave in which there was some approach to individual freedom.

Political Perspective

Practical Steps To Victory

Joe Cobb

You have heard the saying that "A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step." The Libertarian Party is founded on an idealistic statement of principles. If we don't betray it in the process of trying to effect political change, we will achieve our aim of an end to governmental tyranny.

The strength of the Libertarian Party today, as opposed to the myriad conservative movements in the past 50 years, is that we are committed to a long-run objective of abolishing authoritarian domination of people's individual lives. No conservative has ever been in favor of that. Some specific conservative movements have been in favor of laissez-faire capitalism, freedom of individual choice, abolishing this or that government program, but the absence of any long-run theoretical perspective has made the conservative movements worse than ineffective — "worse" because on top of their lack of success, they have presented the believers in government action with a handy set of "dirty old men" to represent as the enemy.

Utopian's Advantage

A defender of the status quo is at a disadvantage vis-a-vis the advocate of "reform, revolution, and utopia" because anyone can discover ugly spots in the status quo, but very few people can discover ugly spots in a vision of utopia. Visions are notoriously vague and unspecific. Yet visions inspire activists, and activists bring about political change. At

best, conservatives preserve the status quo.

The Libertarian Party intends to shake up the status quo and make political inroads in the direction of "reform, revolution and utopia." Let's be more specific, however. On that journey of a thousand miles, what will be the first dozen steps? It is probably not important to agree on the particular first step, or even the first dozen steps; but it is important to *think* in terms of the first dozen steps — and to stop wasting time dreaming about the last dozen steps. There will be time enough for planning the last dozen steps when the day arrives to implement the penultimate phase of the program.

Short-Run Goals

For the short-run, however, let's consider some goals. We can make a list of items to be achieved in the first 100 days of a Libertarian Party legislative program. We can make a list of specific taxes to be abolished, and a list of specific programs of the Federal, State and local governments to be cut and eliminated in the first four years of a Libertarian Party administration.

It might be useful to identify the pressure group constituencies of the particular programs, in order to focus voter attention on the great rip-off, in terms of who is receiving the fruits of the system. Everybody hates a group which lives off of exploitation. It should be our task to point the finger at the milk producers' cartel, the managers and unions who thrive on economic regulation, the bureaucrats and monopolists who operate the government,

and the various absurd schemes to control everything in sight.

Research Material

The job should be easier than it would seem at first. There is a wealth of books, articles, pamphlets, and research materials about the government and the economics of regulation. Much of this material has been developed by conservatives, but you can find material written by liberals in areas of social oppression and denial of civil liberties.

The strength of the libertarian position is that we never have to say "Yes, but . . ." It is not imperative, however, that we *must* expose our entire hand of cards at any one time. It depends on the circumstances. Sometimes talking about the ultimate goal can be counterproductive. If you are opposed to taxation, you can say, "Abolish the property tax." If questioned further, to be honest, you can go on to advocate abolition of another tax, and another, and another. Nothing should be said, whatever the occasion, that denies or contradicts our ultimate aims.

Libertarians should never lose sight of the ultimate goal; it must give us our perspective on every immediate issue. Nor should we refrain from articulating, when appropriate, our vision of a fully voluntary society. But the thousand miles to that ultimate goal can only be reached after intelligently and vigorously attacking one after another of the immediate obstacles in the path.

World News Notes For Libertarians

SPECIAL DELIVERY: Postal union officials said that agreement on a new contract would have to be reached by June 30 in order to beat a July 20 strike deadline. Ratification would take three weeks, they explained, because ballots had to be mailed to members.

BIG BUSINESS SOCIALISM: "I'm viewed as a dangerous socialist and, at the same time, as a bailer-out of the military-industrial complex." That's the revealing account that Felix Rohatyn gives of his image on Wall Street. Rohatyn, an investment banker with Lazard Freres, is the finance chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, the new agency set up to refinance the municipal debt of floundering New York City. Among Rohatyn's similar accomplishments: negotiating the refinancing of Lockheed Aircraft, advising Presidential candidate Henry Jackson to support a revived Reconstruction Finance Corporation to subsidize bankrupt big business generally, suggesting that the federal government back up all municipal bonds, and suggesting federal assumption of all welfare payments.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT: After Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's constitutional proclamation of a state of emergency and subsequent Parliamentary approval of the proclamation, her opposition's suggestion that government employees ought not to obey unjust orders was pretty much a dead letter. Four thousand members of the opposition were in jail. Of course, much of this had been seen before on a smaller scale when in previous decades the New Delhi government had seized control of provincial governments.

Everyone has his own favorite comment on this situation. But our favorite is a

comment by the Prime Minister herself: "I have always been against press censorship of any sort. But some newspapers in the recent past have been spreading and writing all sorts of stories."

AGE OF AQUARIUS: In Camarillo, Calif., a church group persuaded the city council to invoke a long dormant ordinance prohibiting the practice or study of astrology and other methods of divination within the city limits. The town's mayor had this scrambled analysis to offer: the government should not be "intruding in people's personal lives," but there should be an ordinance which would prohibit "businesses that might harm local residents."

BASTION OF THE FREE WORLD: The government of South Korea plans to raise the penalty for the smoking or selling of foreign cigarettes. Officials in Seoul say the new maximum penalty would be ten years in jail or a \$10-thousand fine. Cigarette manufacture and sales are a government monopoly in South Korea, and foreign cigarettes are banned. The current maximum fine is \$104.

A LITTLE GOOD NEWS: In its first interpretation of the provision of California's constitution upholding the right to privacy, the state supreme court has ruled that police should not pose as students merely to compile intelligence reports on college professors and actual students. But the court made the usual exception for cases supposedly involving "compelling state interest." ... A federal district judge in Los Angeles has ruled that drug-sniffing dogs cannot be taken onto private property, unless (once again a familiar exception) a court issues a warrant upon probable cause.

CARTEL ETHICS: In Oklahoma, Teri Moran has been summoned before the state board of barber examiners to determine whether her topless shampoos are in violation of the barber's professional code of ethics. Professional codes of ethics are notorious among economists as a method of policing cartel arrangements, and this attempt at suppressing competition runs true to form.

A NEW RADICAL: Economist Milton Friedman, who is usually inclined to reform solutions, has made a somewhat more radical than usual proposal. The July 30 New York Times reports him as suggesting that New York City go bankrupt. "That will make it impossible," says Friedman, "for New York City in the future to borrow any money." There are high hopes in certain circles we know of, that prominent economists will soon be advocating repudiation of the national debt. The probable consequences make intriguing food for thought.

WITHOUT A LEG TO STAND ON: A Pittsburgh man was required by a court order to have his right leg amputated, despite his objections and those of his family. The man's doctor testified to the judge that failure to amputate would endanger the man's life, although the family, respecting the man's wishes, refused to agree to the operation.

The judge admitted that he knew of no legal precedent to justify his ruling.

OOPS: A study of the "master list" of individuals and companies compiled by the Internal Revenue Service turned up the name of Donald C. Alexander, the Commissioner of the IRS.

The list of 466,441 names was a record of potential transgressors against tax laws, and was revealed by a House Government

Operations subcommittee.

Commissioner Alexander proclaimed himself to be "distressed and discomfited," over the inclusion of his name on his own list and, incidentally, by the existence of the list at all. He promised it would never happen again.

SNOOPS: It now turns out that military counterintelligence has been opening the mail of suspected criminals and spies, who usually turned out to be dissatisfied servicemen on duty in Vietnam.

The military either had to steam open the envelopes or remove the mail with specially-designed prongs. But these Neanderthal methods have been surpassed by the CIA, who has developed a scanning device which can read our mail while it is still in the envelope, unopened.

GOVERNMENTAL BARTER: Our Defense Department has shown its version of the maxim "Quality is worth the price." In order to persuade Belgium to purchase 116 F-16 fighter planes, Secretary Schlesinger agreed that the U.S. will purchase \$30 million worth of Belgian machine guns.

France, whose Mirage F-1 fighter plane was considered by Belgium, only offered to buy a large quantity of Belgian rifles and was thus eliminated from the bidding.

How badly does Belgium need 116 fighter planes? About as badly as we need \$30 million worth of machine guns.

COMPUTERS AND COW PIES: Recent news reveals that massive computerized networks of private information have been proposed by the FBI (yawn) and the Department of Agriculture (!). Each would serve the same purpose — to make available to authorities personal information on thousands of private citizens. The Agriculture network would furnish financial statements of farmers and agricultural companies.

PEACE, IT'S WONDERFUL: The tiny island of Culebra, off the coast of Puerto Rico, has long been subjected to shelling by the U.S. Navy, notwithstanding the fact that there are 1,000 people who live on Culebra.

Finally, this July, the Navy stopped shelling the island, after an 11-year struggle by the inhabitants who, for some reason, never got used to the noise and destruction.

PLAYING THROUGH: It is still possible to get arrested in Pearl, Mississippi, for playing golf on Sunday. ... Mrs. William Easton was arrested on the Fourth of July in Bloomington, Ill. for passing out copies of the Declaration of Independence. She was charged with not having the proper permit.

Tool Chest For LP Activists

CAMPAIGN FINANCING — Be sure your party group is concerning itself with the growing regulation of campaign financing at all levels. A good way to begin is by ordering Ralph K. Winter's excellent "Campaign Financing and Political Freedom." To order send \$2.50 to the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036. When you order be sure and ask for their catalog of books, position papers, and tapes. Much of their material is of immediate interest to libertarians as background on current issues.

ORGANIZING — Highly recommended are the following pamphlets for improving the organizational skills of your party members — Public Affairs Handbook, Publicity Handbook, Membership Handbook and the Ways & Means Handbook. Prices are 1-25: 10c ea.; 26-50: 8c ea.; 50+: 5c ea., from: The Sperry and Hutchinson Company, Consumer Services, 3003 East Kemper Road, Cincinnati, Ohio 45241. In addition, you may want to send to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C. 20230 for information on their "Action Course in Practical Politics" and their "Public Affairs Program" which deals with organizing groups.

POLITICAL ACTION KIT — Currently available for \$5 from the National Association of Manufacturers is their "Participate in America Action Kit," which includes the publication How America Votes — A Guide for Voting in the 50 States. The guide discusses registration and voting requirements along with other important matters. Also available from NAM is Who's Who In the Congress and the State Houses for \$2.50. It includes

reference data on the incumbents, biographical data on newly elected officials, winning percentages of the incumbents and the year of expiration for U.S. Senate seats and governorships. Both items are available from: National Association of Manufacturers, Office of Public Affairs, 1776 F. St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

PARAPHENALIA — Companies that specialize in campaign buttons, bumper stickers and similar items and that offer catalogs include: U.S. Pencil & Stationary Company, West Caldwell, New Jersey 07006 and ASCO, Dept. SE74, Winona, Minnesota 55987.

BILLBOARDS — If you are interested in

the use of billboards for campaigns, send for an introductory brochure on the subject from the National Outdoor Advertising Bureau, 520 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611. If you are already considering the use of billboard advertising, be sure to get your space reservations in early — next year will be too late!

NEW PUBLICATION — The inaugural issue of *Freedom Today* contains the informative article "Winning Elections Without Two Party Support." Included in the article is a working bibliography of "how to" books on political action. The 32 page inaugural issue of *Freedom Today* is available for \$1.50 from: RBPress, 4045 E. Palm Lane, Phoenix, Arizona 85008. Yearly subscriptions are \$15.00.

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