



# Libertarian Party

# NEWS

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Special Issue

Autumn 1986

## Libertarianism

# Your Life, Your Way

*The following basic description of the Libertarian Party has special significance inasmuch as it was written by David Bergland, the LP's most recent candidate for the presidency of the United States. The text reprinted here is from one of three pamphlets prepared by Bergland for the LP and available for .20 apiece, for orders of 25 (.09 apiece for orders of 500-999) from Orpheus Publications, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92626. The pamphlet reprinted here is entitled "What is the Libertarian Party?" The other two titles are "Don't Waste Your Vote" and "What is Libertarianism?"*

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Utopia is Not an Option**

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

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

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

record instead of their rhetoric.

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

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

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

### **Most Americans are Libertarians**

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

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

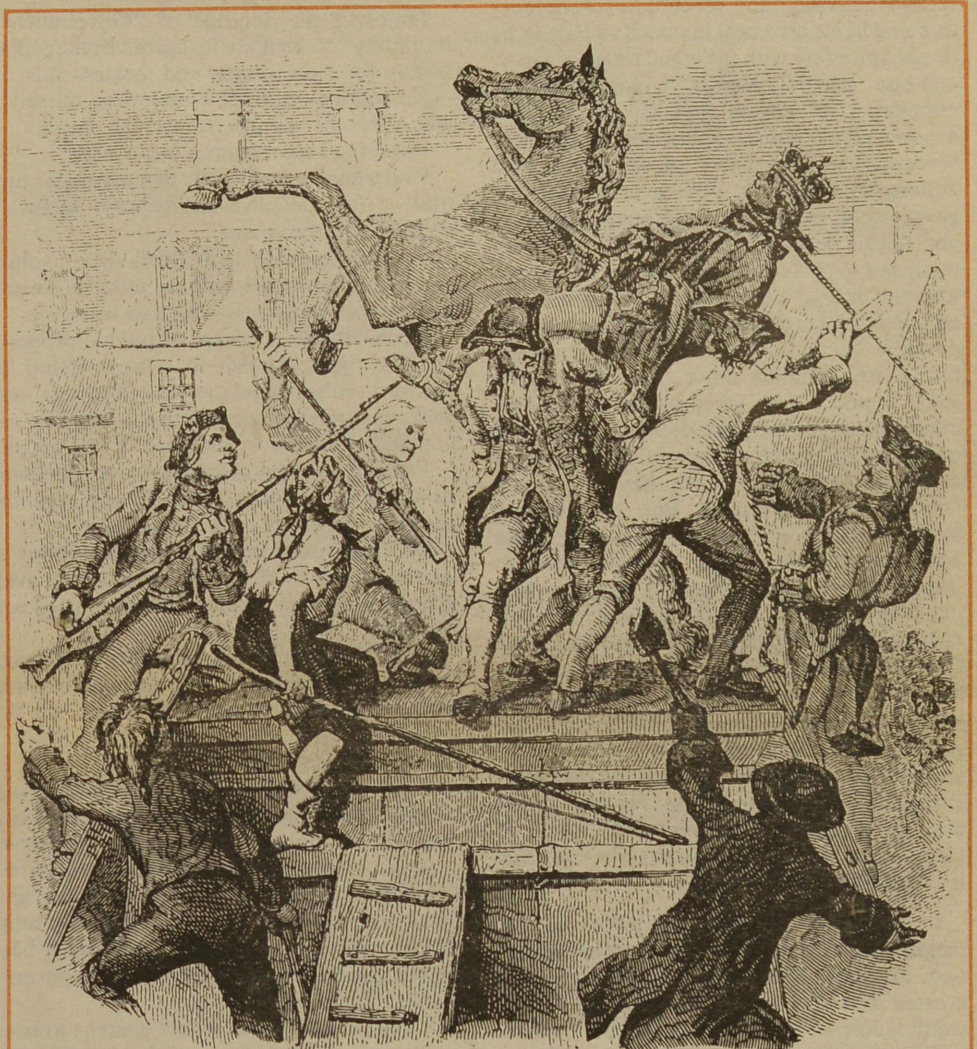
Libertarians say that the people in government should be held to the same standard. As they do their one legitimate job of protecting us and our rights, they must do it in a way that respects the rights of all citizens.

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

### **Where the Action Is**

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

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



Toppling unjust authority over the individual is a central activity of the Libertarian Party. Against the symbols, monuments, and methods of authority, the Libertarian Party puts forward its peaceful principles of non-aggression, self-ownership, and voluntarism. For an overview of the entire platform of the Libertarian Party, see page 12.

## Back to Basics

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

But we live in a new age.

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

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

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

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

Without the libertarian movement, where

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

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

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

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

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



# Would You Sign This?

SOONER OR LATER, the time comes when people find it necessary to reject the government that rules over them and demand respect for the sovereignty to which they are, by their very nature, entitled. Consideration for everyone affected compels them to explain the reasons for the change.

It is obvious that every individual is free and independent and has certain basic rights—for example: the right to live peacefully and honestly, and to pursue whatever ends he (or she) sees as being in his own best interests so long as he doesn't interfere with the equal rights of everyone else. The only legitimate purpose of government is to ensure that no one violates anyone else's rights. Therefore, a just government can only serve those people who voluntarily support it. Whenever any form of government exceeds its legitimate authority and begins destroying the very values it was instituted to protect, it is the right of the people to either change it or abolish it, and to set up a new government designed in such a way that its power is strictly limited to its proper functions. Of course, common sense says such drastic steps should not be taken except in extreme circumstances. And, historically, people will tolerate a great deal of oppression rather than change a system with which they have grown familiar and comfortable. But, when a long series of abuses, invariably pursuing the same goal, demonstrates a plan to reduce them to virtual slavery, it is their right (indeed, it is their duty!) to reject such government and institute a new system to provide for their future security. Such is the situation in which Americans now find themselves and the reason they must, once again, demand emancipation from a dictatorial government. The history of the present government is a history of insidious and incessant erosion of rights which has resulted in an absolute tyranny over the lives and property of the good people of this country. The evidence is overwhelming:

It has made absolute the power of the majority to rule over individuals, and by legislation, executive order, and judicial decree has created and encouraged a system which rewards indolence and penalizes productive effort.

It has redefined fundamental rights as "privileges" and required people by regulations and licensing restrictions to obtain its permission merely to be left in peace to trade honorably in the marketplace.

It has outlawed numerous peaceful, honest activities and occupations and, in areas not entirely prohibited, required free citizens to give up some of their rights in order to enjoy others—rights which are priceless to honest people and a danger only to despots.

It has created a massive bureaucracy with unending reporting requirements in order to bury our people in forms and paperwork and, thereby, wear them down and beat them into submission.

It has harassed, jailed, and murdered individuals who bravely resisted its invasions of their rights.

In single-minded pursuit of its goal to reduce free people to abject slaves, it has failed utterly in its responsibility to protect people from criminal aggression.

It has severely restricted the freedom of individuals living under other oppressive governments to move here to seek refuge and the opportunity to be freely productive and, thereby, contribute to the betterment of all.

It has caused the judiciary to degenerate into a kangaroo court of arbitrary powers that is a mockery of justice.

It has made its own courts arbiter of disputes to which it is itself a party.

It has created innumerable new offices and "administrative" and "regulatory" bodies sending forth swarms of officers and agents to harass our people and devour the fruits of their labor.

It has maintained, even in times of peace, a standing military force of frightening and wholly unnecessary proportions.

It has made both military and police forces superior to and beyond the control of civilian authority.

It has imposed upon us laws and edicts which are abhorrent to a free people:

Maintaining large numbers of armed agents among us far beyond what is needed to assist individuals in their self-defense.

Imposing the doctrine of "Governmental Immunity" to insulate its agents from responsibility for their wanton and reckless acts.

Restricting our trade both among ourselves and with other people around the world.

Imposing taxes without our consent.

Undermining and finally destroying the jury trial—a free people's last defense against a dictatorial government.

Conscripting free individuals into involuntary servitude in the military to have life and limb wasted in pointless foreign wars.

Abolishing the concept of private property and the rights implicit in self-ownership by arbitrary rules, regulations, ordinances and codes in a relentless expansion of its domination and control over the lives of free people.

Taking away our most cherished freedoms including the rights to life, liberty, and the peaceful, honest pursuit of happiness.

Declaring itself invested with the power to legislate for us in all matters whatsoever, even including how our children shall be raised and educated.

It has abdicated its responsibility by ignoring victims of aggression and, instead, naming itself complainant in criminal cases, all the while preying on honest people for its support by violence and extortion.

It has plundered our wealth, corrupted our money, and far exceeded its income, creating a massive debt impossible to legitimately retire.

It has raised up large armies of mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny already begun with a cruelty and ruthlessness scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous age, and totally unworthy of the government of a civilized nation.

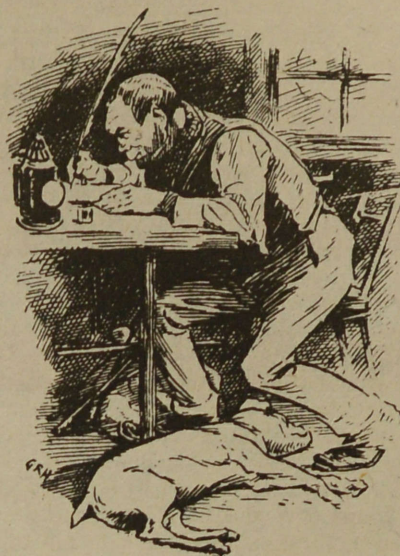
It has employed our fellow citizens to bear arms against us, to become the extortionists and executioners of their friends and families, or to fall themselves to government intimidation.

It has caused domestic discontent and has recklessly challenged other dictatorial powers (such as the government of the Soviet Union whose known method of conquest is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions), threatening to bring nuclear annihilation down on us in defense of foreign governments.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A government whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a dictatorship, is unfit to rule over a free people.

Nor have we neglected to admonish our fellow citizens. We have warned them many times of attempts by this government to extend an unjustified jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the principles which formed the foundation of this republic. We have appealed to their sense of goodness and justice, and we have begged them in the name of our common heritage to disavow this renegade government that is leading us inexorably to our doom. However, they have been deaf to the voice of reason and fairness. We must, therefore, of necessity, hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, until such time as they renounce the initiation of force and, thereby, demonstrate their peaceful intentions so that we may once again consider them friends in peace.

We, therefore, as sovereign individuals living in the United States of America, together and



singly, relying on the justice of our cause, solemnly publish and declare that we are, and of right ought to be free and independent people; that we are absolved from all allegiance to the United States Government, and that all political connection between us and the Government of the United States is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent people we have the full power to defend ourselves, make alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent people may, by right, do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm belief in the inevitability of a social order whose highest value is the non-initiation of force, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

*As you have probably guessed by now, the document you have just read is a faithful paraphrase of the Declaration of Independence of the colonial states of America. It was prepared by a libertarian activist and freelance writer, Timothy J. O'Brien, of Troy, MI.*

*In past experiments, when the original text has been circulated to American audiences, the overwhelming response has been one of rejection. At an American airbase, for instance, most of the people who were asked to sign the declaration refused and gave as their reason their belief that the document was radical, revolutionary—and communist!*

*The paraphrased version, using more modern language and omitting clearly dated references or bringing them accurately up to date, undoubtedly would strike many people as downright treasonous. And, of course, when the original was published it was treasonous. Yet, think carefully about it: Isn't it a valid, if extreme, statement of the way many citizens could reasonably be expected to view their own government these days? Is not that government, in many areas, literally at war with its own citizens?*

*To be sure, America remains the most free nation on earth. It remains for many people of the earth a steady and beckoning beacon of hope and freedom and opportunity.*

*But, on balance, wouldn't it be prudent to revive the spirit of our original Declaration of Independence? And isn't that declaration most perfectly reflected, these days, in the positions of the Libertarian Party and in the principles of the libertarian movement?*

*How would your neighbors react to a request to sign the Declaration of Independence today—particularly our modernized version? Could this be a way to "feel out" politics in your area? Could this document be used as a support for your own libertarian statements if they are attacked as being too radical?*

*It is offered here for whatever use you can make of it—or simply to test your own politics. Would you sign this document? Would you have signed the original? And aren't these truly basic questions for any American?*

*Above all, this reminder of our American heritage is meant as a reminder also of the reflection of that heritage in the Libertarian Party and in the libertarian movement.*

## Who are These Libertarians?

By Steven D. Candidus

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That's who Libertarians are.

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

*The believing mind reaches its perihelion in the so-called Liberals. They believe in each and every quack who sets up his booth on the fair-grounds, including the Communists. The Communists have some talents too, but they always fall short of believing in the Liberals.*  
—H.L. Mencken



# Liberty Step by Step

*In advocating a free society, libertarians often are seen as impractical idealists seeking perfection. On the other hand, when they advocate political action at any practical level they are often seen as compromising their ideals and their principles by being involved in any way with state power or legislation. To seek a cut in taxes or in welfare programs, rather than demanding immediate abolition, would be an example. To contract out government operations, as an interim measure, rather than demanding immediate abolition, would be another. Here is a reasoned defense of just such actions by a long-time libertarian who is a professor of philosophy at Auburn University, Auburn, AL. This article was excerpted from a paper delivered by Machan at the Third Libertarian World Congress in Stockholm this year.*

By Tibor R. Machan

Libertarianism is, among other things, a life-supporting political theory. Its aim is to help advance life, not to defeat it. It is thus genuinely progressive, unlike communism, which talks of the impossible progress of the collective whole of humanity, all at once.

Progress requires taking steps to bring about a better state of affairs, to improve the existing conditions of life. It requires, in short, incremental steps, going from condition A to B, and the rest, until one gets to whatever is the most clearly conceived possible best alternative.

The temptation is here to say that, "Well, this is right but it implies for libertarians that we must do nothing other than try to convince others of the correctness of our view." This idea reminds me of the view that there can be no cure of an illness other than one that instantaneously leads the patient from illness to full-blown health. Unless the doctor's measure accomplishes this result, it betrays the profession of medicine.

Similarly, to move from ignorance to the state of "learnedness" requires taking steps, but these steps do not achieve the end result in one instance. Rather, from ignorance one moves to various stages of partial education, until one reaches the optimum stage.

To some, however, libertarian gradualism is acceptable only if it is not tinged at all with the evil of statism, a position that would rule out such things as educational vouchers. What is permissible, in this view, is only to try to persuade people, which admittedly must take time and go through stages of relative success. But any actual acceptance of half-way measures is said to involve betrayal. Let us move on to some hard cases.

When Ed Clark ran as the Libertarian Party

candidate for president of the United States, he proposed certain tax reforms. Libertarianism regards all taxation as morally and politically impermissible: no ifs, buts, or maybes. (I assume there is no debate about this here!) Was, then, Ed Clark betraying libertarianism?

To answer, consider the doctor who knows that his patient would be optimally healthy only if he stopped his addiction to heroin cold turkey. But he is also aware of the fact that his patient is hooked and is psychologically unable to kick his habit fully. If, however, he first undergoes a methadone program, the chap can advance to a stage from which the further advance toward kicking his drug dependency is more likely, albeit not guaranteed. Would the doctor betray his profession by recommending this course of conduct? It is clear that he is not at this moment recommending the full attainment of an idea or optimal state, but it is also clear that he is doing the right thing. So may indeed have Ed Clark in proposing tax reform!

The basic reason for this is that morality is always constrained by the principle that "ought implies can." Whenever one says that "A should do X," this could only be true if X is itself a doable deed for A. Recommending half-way measures which indeed are the optimal means for reaching closer to the fullest realization of one's standards or principles is itself fully justified by one's standards or principles.

Consider another, perhaps more apt, analogy. A peace or police officer is fighting crimes—of course, crimes with real victims. Our officer is conscientiously striving to do her duty but it turns out that in order to catch or remove from the midst of a free society a menacing private tax collector—in other words, a thief—she must cooperate with a pickpocket who, though himself a thief, is in fact far less menacing than our private tax collector. Without this measure, the defender of private property will only be able to remove the pickpocket from our midst but through this measure he can catch the more menacing criminal, without necessarily condoning the pickpocket but merely postponing his steps to deal with him. Are we to say that our peace officer is betraying his principles? I don't think so.

Here emerges an important principle of libertarian revolutionary ethics. It is clear that such ethics must be consistent with a central ingredient of libertarianism itself: namely, that it is essentially a life-supporting political theory. *Self-sacrifice cannot be required in such a political theory.* Nor can its practical policy proposals include self-sacrificial measures. And its ethics of political change, including its revolutionary ethics, preclude those measures that are self-sacrificial.

Let me emphasize that none of the above condones the policy of betraying one's principles for advancing one's narrow self or vested interests. If a libertarian cooperates with the

statist for purposes of gaining a better salary or obtaining a position in a better climate—to give you some clear cases of narrow self-interest—or merely to advance his standing in the organization—a case of promoting one's vested interest—then he is clearly betraying principles. Let me give you a case in point.

Governments distribute a lot of money these days and it is very tempting to go along with the game and dip into the coffers just because there is nothing much one can do to combat the policy. After all, when governments distribute wealth, some of that wealth belongs to the people to whom it may well be distributed, so it

might be argued it is just getting even to get some of it from the state.

If you had a gang of burglars in your community, with no legal authority to retaliate against it, and the gang occasionally gave some of its loot away, it might be sufficient to know that the goods do not belong to the gang in the first place and some of it belongs to you, in order to justify standing in line with your hands out. But there is the added dimension that you also have an obligation to fight the gang, so unless you use this measure for combatting the gang, taking the loot may well be a betrayal of

Continued on Page 6

## Test Yourself!

YES NO

☐
☐

1. Does our government have too much control over our everyday lives?

☐
☐

2. Would you support a repeal of our victimless crime laws?

☐
☐

3. Is it wrong to forcibly steal from one person to give to another?

☐
☐

4. Are taxes too high?

☐
☐

5. Should U.S. citizens stop paying for the defense of countries that are fully capable of defending themselves?

☐
☐

6. Is the military draft a form of modern day slavery?

☐
☐

7. Should the draft be permanently abolished?

☐
☐

8. Do you vote mostly for the "lesser of two evils?"

☐
☐

9. Should you be free to do whatever you want as long as you don't harm anyone else?

☐
☐

10. Do you feel that most elected officials represent themselves more than they represent you?

If you answered "yes" to more than half of these questions, we invite you to join with us to restore and preserve your freedom.

Clip and mail the coupon below.

—From the Western New York LP Newsletter, March 1986.

## GLAD YOU ASKED!

by Joe David

Did you know that the schools are experimenting on the minds of your children?

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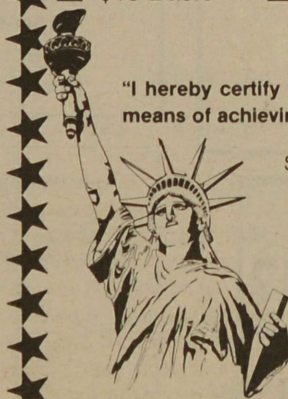
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# The Death of Politics

By Karl Hess

How does the argument of this widely circulated, 17-year-old article, concerning a free society without traditional politics, fit into the agenda of a political party such as the Libertarian Party? Is it a paradox or refutation of any sort of political activity? It is, in the author's view, neither. A free society, without politics as we now know politics (power-based, hierarchical, and coercive), does not figure to occur in a magic instant. It will grow from the determined changes in attitudes, skills, and ethics of real people in real time and over substantial time.

Some of the progress will be through inventions which liberate people for individualistic activity unencumbered by the need for large organizations. Computers, cybernated machine tools, genetic engineering, and efficient solar energy are among those inherently libertarian tools. But it will also be the activities people working in the political forums to protect existing liberties, to create new ones, and to struggle against the restrictive legislation imposed on social freedom by conservatives and on economic freedom by liberals. All of that, someday, could lead to the true "death of politics."

The article reprinted here first appeared in the March 1969 issue of Playboy magazine, received the magazine's award as best article of the year, and generally has been considered to be the first major, modern popular exposition of an explicitly libertarian viewpoint.

This is not a time of radical, revolutionary politics. Not yet. Unrest, riot, dissent and chaos notwithstanding, today's politics is reactionary. Both right and left are reactionary and authoritarian. That is to say: both are political. They seek only to revise current methods of acquiring and wielding political power. Radical and revolutionary movements seek not to revise but to revoke. The target of revocation should be obvious. The target is politics itself.

Radicals and revolutionaries have had their sights trained on politics for some time. As governments fail around the world, as more millions become aware that government never has and never can humanely and effectively manage men's affairs, government's own inadequacy will emerge, at last, as the basis for a truly radical and revolutionary movement. In the meantime, the radical-revolutionary position is a lonely one. It is feared or hated, by both the right and left—although both right and left must borrow from it to survive. The radical-revolutionary position is libertarianism and its socioeconomic form is laissez-faire capitalism.

Libertarianism is the view that each man is the absolute owner of his life, to use and

dispose of as he sees fit; that all man's social actions should be voluntary; and that respect for every other man's similar and equal ownership of life and, by extension, the property and fruits of that life, is the ethical basis of a humane and open society. In this view, the only—repeat, only—function of law or government is to provide the sort of self-defense against violence that an individual, if he were powerful enough, would provide for himself.

If it were not for the fact that libertarianism freely concedes the right of men voluntarily to form communities or governments on the same ethical basis, libertarianism could be called anarchy.

Laissez-faire capitalism, or anarchocapitalism, is simply the economic form of the libertarian ethic. Laissez-faire capitalism encompasses the notion that men should exchange goods and services, without regulation, solely on the basis of value for value. It recognizes charity and communal enterprises as voluntary versions of this same ethic. Such a system would be straight barter, except for the widely felt need for a division of labor in which men, voluntarily, accept value tokens such as cash and credit. Economically, this system is anarchy, and proudly so.

Libertarianism is rejected by the modern left—which preaches individualism but practices collectivism. Capitalism is rejected by the modern right—which preaches enterprise but practices protectionism. The libertarian faith in the mind of man is rejected by religionists who have faith only in the sins of man. The libertarian insistence that men be free to spin cables of steel as well as dreams of smoke is rejected by hippies who adore nature but spurn creation. The libertarian insistence that each man is a sovereign land of liberty, with his primary allegiance to himself, is rejected by patriots who sing of freedom but also shout of banners and boundaries. There is no operating political movement in the world today that is based upon a libertarian philosophy. If there were, it would be in the anomalous position of using political power to abolish political power.

Perhaps a regular political movement overcoming this anomaly, will actually develop. Believe it or not, there were strong possibilities of such a development in the 1964 campaign of Barry Goldwater. Underneath the scary headlines, Goldwater hammered away at such purely political structures as the draft, general taxation, censorship, nationalism, legislated conformity, political establishment of social norms, and war as an instrument of international policy.

It is true that, in a common political paradox, Goldwater (a major general in the Air Force Reserve) has spoken of reducing state power

while at the same time advocating the increase of state power to fight the Cold War. He is not a pacifist. He believes that war remains an acceptable state action. He does not see the Cold War as involving U.S. imperialism. He sees it as a result only of Soviet imperialism. Time after time, however, he has said that economic pressure, diplomatic negotiation and the persuasions of propaganda (or "cultural warfare") are absolutely preferable to violence. He has also said that antagonistic ideologies can "never be beaten by bullets, but only by better ideas."

A defense of Goldwater cannot be carried too far, however. His domestic libertarian tendencies simply do not carry over into his view of foreign policy. Libertarianism, unalloyed, is absolutely isolationist, in that it is absolutely opposed to the institutions of national government that are the only agencies on earth now able to wage war or intervene in foreign affairs.

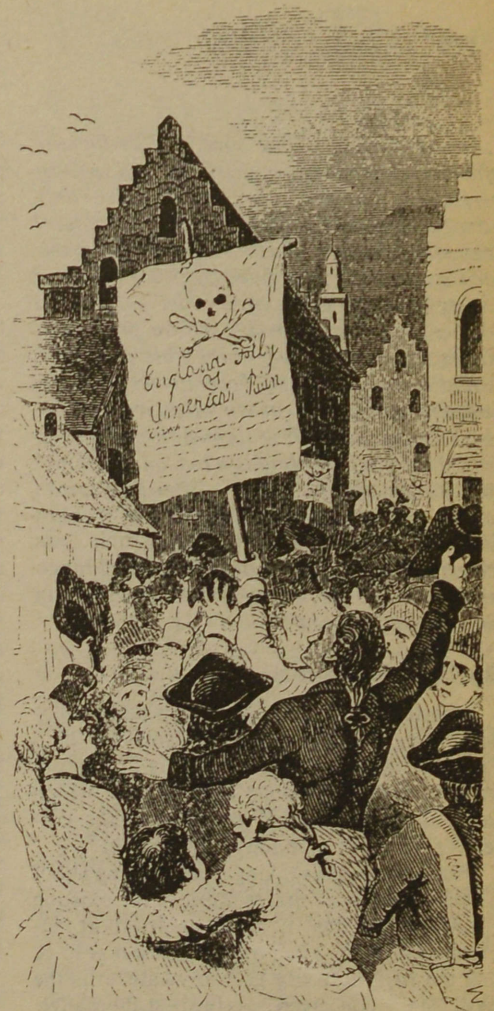
In other campaign issues, however, the libertarian coloration in the Goldwater complexion was more distinct. The fact that he roundly rapped the fiscal irresponsibility of Social Security before an elderly audience, and the fact that he criticized TVA while speaking in Tennessee, were not examples of political naivete. They simply showed Goldwater's high disdain for politics itself summed up in his campaign statement that people would be told "what they need to hear and not what they want to hear."

There was also some suggestion of libertarianism in the campaign of Eugene McCarthy, in his splendid attacks on Presidential power. However, these were canceled out by his vague but nevertheless perceptible defense of government power in general. There was virtually no suggestion of libertarianism in the statements of any other politicians during that year's campaign.

I was a speechwriter for Barry Goldwater in the 1964 campaign. During the campaign, I recall very clearly, there was a moment, at a conference to determine the campaign's "farm strategy," when a respected and very conservative Senator arose to say: "Barry, you've got to make it clear that you believe that the American farmer has a right to a decent living."

Senator Goldwater replied, with the tact for which he was renowned: "But he doesn't have a right to it. Neither do I. We just have a right to try for it." And that was the end of that.

Now, in contrast, take Tom Hayden, at that time of Students for a Democratic Society. Writing in *The Radical Papers*, he said that his "revolution" sought "institutions outside the established order." One of those institutions,



he amplified, would be "people's own anti-poverty organizations fighting for Federal money."

Of the two men, which is radical or revolutionary? Hayden said, in effect, that he simply wants to bulldoze his way into the establishment. Goldwater said he wants, in effect, to topple it, to forever end its power to advantage or disadvantage anyone.

In foreign policy, particularly, there arises a great impediment to the emergence of a libertarian wing in either of the major political parties. Men who call upon the end of state authority in every other area insist upon its being maintained to build a war machine with which to hold the Communists at bay. It is only lately that the imperatives of logic—and the emergence of antistatist forces in eastern Europe—have begun to make it more acceptable to ask whether the garrison state needed to maintain the Cold War might not be as bad as or worse than the punitive threat being guarded against. Goldwater has not taken and never did take such a revisionist line—but, among Cold Warriors, his disposition to libertarian principles makes him more susceptible than most.

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KARL HESS  
Editor

RANDY LANGHENRY  
Managing Editor

BILL EVERS  
MURRAY ROTHBARD  
Associate Editors

BLUELINE GRAPHICS  
Charles Town, WV  
Typesetter

ADDRESS CHANGES  
LP NEWS Address Changes  
c/o Libertarian Party  
301 W. 21st St.  
Houston, TX 77008  
713-880-1776

THERESE HESS  
Production Manager

JENNIFER ROBACK  
DAVE SCHOLL  
PAT WAGNER  
JANE WILLIAMS  
Contributing Editors

COMPRINT  
Gaithersburg, MD  
Printer

NEWS/PHOTOS/LETTERS  
Libertarian Party NEWS  
P.O. Box 173  
Kearneysville, WV 25430  
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PLANT LIGHTS, CO2, HYDROPONICS



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## God of Modern Liberalism

This is not merely a digression on behalf of a political figure (almost an *antipolitical* figure) whom I profoundly respect. It is, rather, to emphasize the inadequacy of traditional, popular guidelines in assessing the reactionary nature of contemporary politics and in divining the true nature of radical and revolutionary antipolitics. Political parties and politicians today—all parties and all politicians—question only the forms through which they will express their common belief in controlling the lives of others. Power, particularly majoritarian or collective power (i.e., the power of an elite exercised in the name of the masses), is the god of the modern liberal. Its only recent innovative change is to suggest that the elite be leavened by the compulsory membership of authentic representatives of the masses. The current phrase is “participatory democracy.”

Just as power is the god of the modern liberal, God remains the authority of the modern conservative. Liberalism practices regimentation by, not quite so simply, revelation. But regimented or revealed, the name of the game is still politics.

The great flaw in conservatism is a deep fissure down which talk of freedom falls, to be dashed to death on the rocks of authoritarianism. Conservatives worry that the state has too much power over people. But it was conservatives who gave the state that power. It was conservatives, very similar to today's conservatives, who ceded to the state the power to produce not simply order in the community but a *certain kind of order*.

It was European conservatives who, apparently fearful of the openness of the Industrial Revolution (why, *anyone* could get rich!), struck the first blows at capitalism by encouraging and accepting laws that made the disruptions of innovation and competition less frequent and eased the way for the comforts and collusions of cartelization.

Big business in America today and for some years past has been openly at war with competition and, thus, at war with laissez-faire capitalism. Big business supports a form of state capitalism in which government and big business act as partners. Criticism of this statist bent of big business comes more often from the left than from the right these days, and this is another factor making it difficult to tell the players apart. John Kenneth Galbraith, for instance, has most recently taken big business to task for its anticompetitive mentality. The right, meantime, blissfully defends big business as though it had not, in fact, become just the sort of bureaucratic, authoritarian force that rightists reflexively attack when it is governmental.

The left's attack on corporate capitalism is, when examined, an attack on economic forms possible only in a collusion between authoritarian government and bureaucratized, nonentrepreneurial business. It is unfortunate that many New Leftists are so uncritical as to accept this premise as indicating that all forms of capitalism are bad, so that full state ownership is the only alternative. This thinking has its mirror image on the right.

It was American conservatives, for instance, who very early in the game gave up the fight against state franchising and regulation and, instead, embraced state regulation for their own special advantage. Conservatives today continue to revere the state as an instrument of chastisement even as they reject it as an instrument of beneficence. The conservative who wants a Federally authorized prayer in the classroom is the same conservative who objects to Federally authorized textbooks in the classroom.

Murray Rothbard, writing in *Ramparts*, has summed up this flawed conservatism in describing a “new, younger generation of rightists, of ‘conservatives’...who thought that the real problem of the modern world was nothing so ideological as the state vs. individual liberty or government intervention vs. the free market; the real problem, they declared, was the preservation of tradition, order, Christianity and

good manners against the modern sins of reason, license, atheism and boorishness.”

The reactionary tendencies of both liberals and conservatives today show clearly in their willingness to cede, to the state or the community, power far beyond the protection of liberty against violence. For differing purposes, both see the state as an instrument not protecting man's freedom but either instructing or restricting how that freedom is to be used.

Once the power of the community becomes in any sense normative, rather than merely protective, it is difficult to see where any lines may be drawn to limit further transgressions against individual freedom. In fact, the lines have not been drawn. They will never be drawn by political parties that argue merely the cost of programs or institutions founded on state power. Actually, the lines can be drawn only by a radical questioning of power itself, and by the libertarian vision that sees man as capable of moving on without the encumbering luggage of laws and politics that do not merely preserve man's right to his life but attempt, in addition,

to tell him how to live it.

For many conservatives, the bad dream that haunts their lives and their political position (which many sum up as “law and order” these days) is one of riot. To my knowledge, there is no limit that conservatives would place upon the power of the state to suppress riots.

Even in a laissez-faire society, of course, the right to self-defense would have to be assumed, and a place for self-defense on a community basis could be easily imagined. But community self-defense would always be exclusively defensive. Conservatives betray an easy willingness to believe that the state should also initiate certain *offensive* actions, in order to preclude trouble later on. “Getting tough” is the phrase most often used. It does not mean just getting tough on rioters. It means getting tough on entire ranges of attitudes: clipping long hair, rousting people from parks for carrying concealed guitars, stopping and questioning anyone who doesn't look like a member of the Jaycees, drafting all the ne'er-do-wells to straighten them up, ridding our theaters and

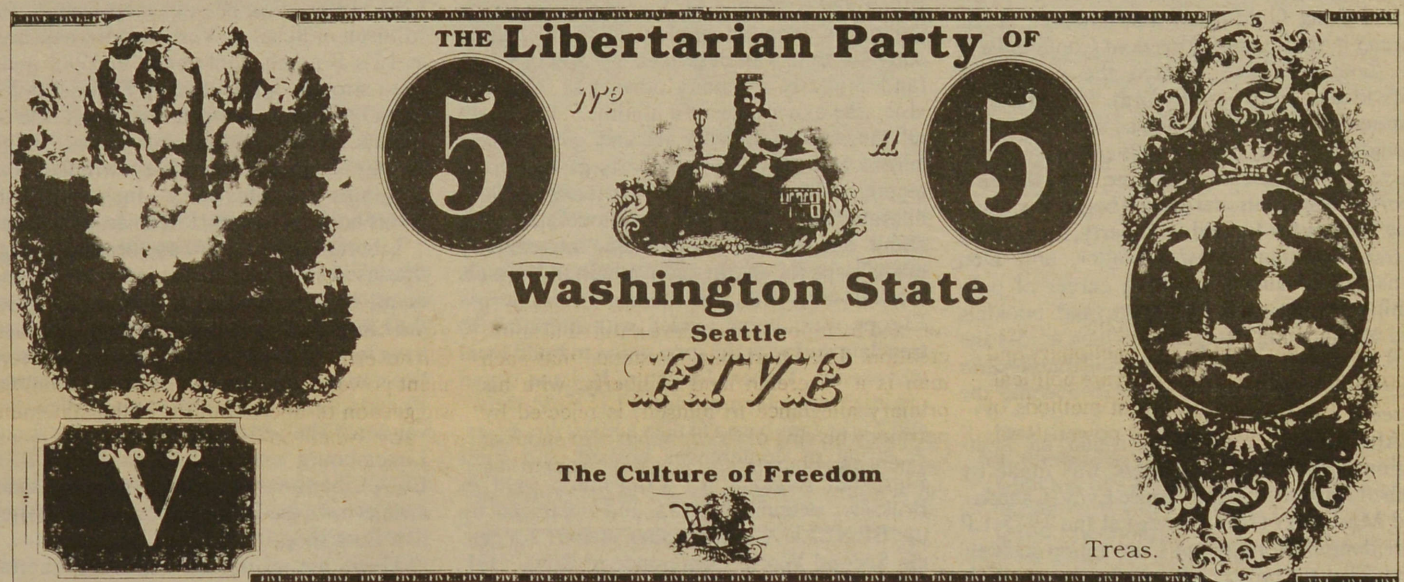
bookstores of “filth” and, always, and above all, putting “those” people in their place. To the conservative, all too often, the alternatives are social conformity or unthinkable chaos.

Even if these were the only alternatives—which they obviously aren't—there are many reasons for preferring chaos to conformity. Personally, I believe I would have a better chance of surviving with a Watts, Chicago, Detroit, or Washington in flames than with an entire nation snug in a garrison.

Riots in modern America must be broken down into component parts. They are not all simple looting and violence against life and property. They are also directed against the prevailing violence of the state—the sort of ongoing civic violence that permits regular police supervision of everyday life in some neighborhoods, the rules and regulations that inhibit absolutely free trading, the public schools that serve the visions of bureaucracy rather than the varieties of individual people. There is violence also by those who simply want to shoot their

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# Libertarian Spirit Spreading Worldwide

By Vincent H. Miller

Observers of the North American libertarian movement may be forgiven for mistakenly coming to the conclusion that libertarianism is a distinctively American phenomenon. "Here in America," they say, "there is a great tradition of liberty and individualism that is lacking most everywhere else."

Happily, we are finding that this is not the case. We should remember that in the first place the roots of libertarian ideology were transported from Europe to America—where they indeed did flower. But it was the ideas of freedom of John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith, and later Friedrich Bastiat and Cobden and Bright (and many others of course—including Gandhi and Ayn Rand) that created the foundations of our present movement. And indeed these ideas, after lying dormant for many years, are being resurrected—by overseas libertarians themselves.

It was only in the late 1960s that the modern libertarian movement evolved. In the U.S., the split among Goldwater conservatives at the Young Americans for Freedom Conference in St. Louis in 1968 created the nucleus of individuals who would form the explicitly political movement which was later to grow to include the third largest political party in the U.S. It was also at this time that the first libertarian educational groups began to sprout. The Society for Individual Liberty, founded by Jarret Wollstein, David Walter, and Don Ernsberger, launched a long career of publishing educational pamphlets and booklets and encouraging campus activities across the U.S. It was also in that time period that *Reason* magazine emerged and grew to become the success it is today.

Although an attempt to found an international libertarian movement was made by Hubert Jongen (Holland), Bruce Evoy (Canada), and Mark Tier (Hong Kong) at the 1975 LP Presidential Nominating Convention in New York City, the project fell on infertile ground. It wasn't until August 1980 at the regional Great Lakes Libertarian Conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan, that—inspired by calls for organizing libertarians on a worldwide basis by Institute for Humane Studies president Leonard Liggio and 1980 LP presidential candidate Ed Clark—

Vince Miller, then president of the LP of Canada and editor of Roger MacBride's *Mercury International Digest*, founded the Libertarian International. Up until that time, and indeed for many years to follow, little interest was shown by U.S. libertarians in libertarianism as a worldwide phenomenon; the non-interventionist foreign positions of libertarians almost seemed to exclude the export of libertarian intellectual influence as well.

During those early years, however, individuals in other countries, intrigued by the exciting new developments in America, did observe quietly. They subscribed to libertarian journals, studied libertarian books, and corresponded with many of us in the movement. Gradually, small groups began to form—particularly in England, Belgium, Holland, Norway, and even some Third World countries.

But, following the founding of the International, things began to change rapidly and quite dramatically. The historic first Libertarian International World Convention in Zurich, Switzerland, in August of 1982, organized by Miller and Canadian LP founder Bruce Evoy, ignited a veritable explosion of libertarian activism that was described by Alicia Clark (and similarly by many others) as "remarkable...the experience of a lifetime." It brought all the various individuals and groups from across Europe and other parts of the world together. The Europeans, heartened and exhilarated by this meeting, and about finding out about one another's existence, immediately made plans for another convention in Brussels the following year, and members from across Europe went home loaded with literature to translate and with the inspiration to build local movements. Hubert Jongen of Holland began organizing regular meetings of LI "Euro-Reps" and Europeans began to plan activist strategies. A string of conferences ensued: the First European Regional LI Convention held in Brussels, Belgium (1983), and organized by the BENELUX group under Hubert Jongen; the Second World Conference at Royal Holloway Castle, near the Field of Runnymede, England, in 1984 co-hosted by the English Libertarian Alliance under Chris Tame; the Second European Regional Conference held in a ski lodge north of Oslo, Norway, in 1985, organized by the Libertariansk Alliansen under Bjorn Kjolseth; and the latest World Convention held in Stockholm, Sweden, this past August, co-hosted by the Libertarian Foundation of Sweden under Mattias Bengtsson and John-Henri Holmberg. These events drew the

top intellectual figures in the world movement, including France's Henri Lepage; *Reason* magazine's Bob Poole; IHS's Leonard Liggio; Canada's Walter Block; Professor Walter Williams; Madsen Pirie, the chief architect of the Thatcher deregulation; Leon Louw of the Free Market Foundation of Southern Africa; Ed and Alicia Clark; LP NEWS' own Karl Hess; and many, many more. These conferences routinely attracted heavy news coverage—interviews on prime time national TV of up to 12 minutes in length and generally positive writeups in daily newspapers, including some full-page reports in Scandinavian papers.

Although many of the LI's members are non-political, there is a significant amount of influence by libertarians in the European "liberal" political parties there—"liberal" in the European "classical liberal free-trade" tradition. Indeed, Carl Hagen, a sitting member of the Norwegian parliament and president of the quasi-libertarian Progress Party of Norway, attended and spoke at LI's 1985 Oslo conference. Guy Verhofstadt of the Flemish Liberal Party has been elected Deputy Prime Minister of Belgium. Verhofstadt was a speaker at LI's Brussels conference in 1983 and has been strongly influenced by Professors Frank van Dun and Boudewijn Bouckaert, the libertarians at the University of Ghent, Belgium. He has conducted extensive internal education programs within his party—including distribution of books by Hayek, Friedman, and Rothbard.

Libertarians in Norway, besides being enthusiastic supporters of the international movement, have formed their own organization—the Libertariansk Alliansen; Danish libertarians have formed the Libertas Society; the Swedish libertarians formed the Swedish Libertarian Foundation to co-host the recent World Convention. The libertarian groups in Belgium, Luxembourg, and Holland have their BENELUX Libertarian Center and the English libertarians have the Libertarian Alliance/Alternative Bookshop.

There are of course explicitly libertarian parties in Canada—a National Party, a very active Ontario provincial party with one of the most impressive offices and bookstores in the movement, and an active group now emerging in British Columbia. The Australians formed the libertarian "Workers" and the "Progress" Parties in 1975—both explicitly libertarian. The Workers Party later changed its name to Libertarian Party of Australia and very shortly thereafter merged with the Progress Party.

In South Africa, in the mid-1970's, liber-

tarians Leon Louw, Andre Spies, and Eustace Davie formed the "Free Market Foundation of Southern Africa." A few years back, Louw wrote a constitution for Ciskei, one of the black homelands. His constitution eliminated race laws, corporate taxes, zoning laws, and virtually all regulations on small businesses, and transformed the country almost overnight from the "dustbowl" of South Africa to a mini-Hong Kong—a country whose economy is booming with people entering from neighboring countries (including South Africa) to find work. Two other homelands have contacted Louw asking him to "out-Ciskei" their economies. Louw's number one best-selling book *South Africa: The Solution*, which suggests a libertarian solution of decentralizing South Africa into Swiss-style cantons, each with self-rule, is a hit right across the political spectrum. At Libertarian International's Stockholm conference in August, both Leon Louw and his wife Frances Kendall Louw, who co-authored the book, were awarded LI's "Freedom Torch" gold medals in recognition of their work to find a peaceful solution to the South African crisis. Dr. Murray Rothbard has remarked that, "In a profound sense, the alternative in South Africa is Leon Louw or chaos!"

In light of these practical applications of libertarianism, Louw has been asked to apply his libertarian principles to two other countries besides the "homelands"—one Mediterranean country and one in South America.

## A Growing and Diversifying Movement

LI has now grown to where it has members in 40 countries with formal representatives in 21, and is busily building a network of reps and contacts in Third World countries—just recently having added a regional representative in Pakistan.

Under the umbrella of Libertarian International, LIFHAS (Libertarian Foundation for Human Assistance), a libertarian charitable foundation, has been incorporated in Holland. This was done because we wanted to show that, contrary to the opinions of our critics, libertarians are caring and charitable. Although very small at this point, LIFHAS has already provided a small grant to a private, non-government supported organization now assisting the Pygmies in Zaire, and funding has been provided to help an Eastern bloc student study under libertarians in a Belgian University. Future funds are already being considered to help contacts in Third World and authoritarian

Continued on Page 8

## Step by Step

Continued from Page 3

your belief in property rights because it contributes to the legitimization of the process the gang is engaging in.

Similarly, if you take a hand-out from the state but use it to help destroy the very process that makes giving hand-outs possible, there is nothing necessarily wrong with what you are doing. But if it merely serves to enhance some other goal, including your narrow self or vested interest, then, in light of your obligation to promote justice, what you are doing is wrong.

Now, finally, if you believe that I have not managed to come up with a very precise criterion for distinguishing justified from unjustified cooperation with the state, let me plead guilty. The simple fact is that when one must carry forth with dignity and decency in highly complex, morally muddled situations, then discretion is indispensable and no reliance on firm, stable rules is possible. No libertarian can escape from the requirement of clear thinking, which involves invoking very general principles to highly diverse, unanticipated concrete contexts. In short, no code book of revolutionary conduct can be written. But neither is it the case that anything goes.

One need not become a Leninist and abandon moral considerations in fighting the good fight. But one cannot fight the good fight if one insists on living by arid rules, the implementation of which already presupposes that the freedom revolution has been successfully won.

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### Headquarters Staff

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## LP Position Paper

# Should You Be Protected from Yourself?

What old-line political party would dare reprint, much less stand by, its positions of campaigns past? Unless a political party is based upon unchanging principles, positions are as changeable as clothes and often for the same reason—fashion.

During its 1980 presidential campaign, the Libertarian Party issued a series of position papers. Although many of the statistics in those original papers have changed, the principled position of the Party has not. In demonstration, four of those position papers are reprinted in this issue. They are identified as "LP Position Papers."

No sensible person wants to live in a society where he or she is not protected against violent and aggressive acts by others. There may be reasonable differences of opinion as to how the protection should be provided, but very few people will quarrel with the idea that there must be some effective form of prohibition against such acts as murder, rape, robbery, and similar overt assaults on persons and their property.

Likewise, almost everyone will agree that we also need some form of protection against those who would do us harm through the subtle instrument of fraud. For the swindler who takes your money and gives you nothing in return and the merchant who sells you shoddy goods by misrepresentation have robbed you just as surely as the stickup artist who uses a gun.

### The Libertarian View

Libertarians strongly support prohibitions against the use of force and fraud, as these two activities are the two basic means by which human rights are violated. Indeed, we maintain that these are the *only* means by which anyone can violate another person's rights. If someone does not initiate force against you, and does not try to defraud you, he cannot violate your rights.

Libertarians further maintain that the *only* legitimate function of government—if we are to have government at all—is to protect individual rights; i.e., to protect people from the use of force and fraud by others. It is *not* a proper function of government, we believe, to assist some people at the expense of others, or to prevent individuals from harming *themselves*.

Increasingly, however, we find our governments at all levels enacting laws whose avowed purpose is to protect people not from predatory acts by others, but from their own alleged incompetence and poor judgment. With every passing year our rulers become more paternalistic—telling us that, like little children, we must be prevented from doing something else that might be bad for us.

An especially gross example of this kind of thinking at work is the requirement—imposed by all but a handful of states—that motorcyclists wear crash helmets.

Now it may well be true that crash helmets contribute to the safety and well-being of

motorcycle riders. Then again, the exact opposite may be the case; there is considerable evidence that wearing a helmet reduces a cyclist's peripheral vision and thereby significantly *increases* the likelihood that an accident will occur.

But that is not the crucial point. Whether or not they prevent motorcyclists from injuring themselves, helmet laws are an arbitrary and dictatorial infringement of each individual's right to make his or her own choices and take his or her own risks, so long as he or she does not violate the rights of others by force or fraud.

In all the debate over helmet laws, nobody has ever claimed that motorcyclists should be forced to wear helmets because lack of a helmet poses a threat to anyone else. The debate has been purely and simply over whether or not an individual has the right to risk *his or her own* life and well-being. And so far, the advocates of self-determination in this area have been losing.

Of course, laws for motorcyclists are not the only examples of Big Momma "self-protection" legislation.

### Wherever You Turn...

Automobiles are required to be equipped with safety belts...and there is increasing talk that drivers be compelled by law to fasten them.

Regulations have been proposed limiting the potency of the vitamins you may buy.

Cigarettes must already carry a "health hazard" warning, and they may no longer be advertised on television; talk of banning their sale completely is being heard.

Laetrile, claimed by some to be a possible cancer cure or retardant, cannot be purchased in the United States, thanks to the Food and Drug Administration.

Marijuana and other "pleasure" drugs are outlawed completely under federal statutes, and banned by virtually every state as well.

Now, in each of these cases, it is quite possible that the laws in question do in fact protect people from their own folly.

Seat belts may well save lives, and overdoses of some vitamins are undoubtedly harmful. Cigarettes may cause cancer, while laetrile may not cure it. It is not unlikely that excessive use of marijuana does fog the brain and cause other harm, as its detractors claim. And so on and so forth, for each and every "self-protection" law on the books.

But once again, this is not the crucial point. The key point is that if you accept the Libertarian premise that your life is your own, and not the State's, the government has no business telling you what you can and cannot do, except for prohibiting you from using force and fraud against others.

It is one thing to say, "You cannot do X, because by doing X, you will harm someone else." It is something else entirely, however, to say "You cannot do X because by so doing you might harm yourself."

## The Individual

The individual is the true reality in life... the individual has always been and necessarily is the sole source and motive power of evolution and progress. Civilization has been a continuous struggle of the individual or groups of individuals against the State and even against society, that is, the majority subdued and hypnotized by the State and State worship...the living man cannot be defined; he is not a part of this or that; he is whole, an individual whole, a growing, changing, yet always constant whole.

—Emma Goldman, *The Individual, Society, and the State*

I came here to say that I do not recognize anyone's right to one minute of my life. Nor to any part of my energy. Nor to any achievement of mine. No matter who makes the claim, how large their number or how great their need.

I wished to come here and say that I am a man who does not exist for others.

It had to be said. The world is perishing from an orgy of self-sacrificing.

—Ayn Rand, from Howard Roark's speech to the jury in Miss Rand's novel, *The Fountainhead*.



And it is the difference between these two ideas which sets the Libertarian Party apart from all other political parties in the United States. The Libertarian Party alone stands uncompromisingly for the idea of self sovereignty; all other parties are dedicated, in some degree, to the idea that the individual is a ward of the State.

### The Central Issue

For the issue raised by "self-protection" laws goes far deeper than the specific debates over helmet laws and vitamin potencies. It is the central issue of our time: the question of

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who owns your life.

On one side are those who say, at least partially, that "society" or "the government" has the responsibility to "take care" of "its" citizens (as opposed to simply protecting them from aggression). These are the people who maintain that the government has the right and duty to feed people, clothe them, provide them with housing, education, medical care, employment, and so forth.

And if one accepts this premise, then one must also accept the things which go with it—the taxation and regulation and "self-protection" laws which are required to maintain a nation of sheep. After all, if Big Momma is going to take care of your every need, it is not unreasonable to have laws that prohibit you from hurting yourself.

If, on the other hand, you reject the Big Momma concept of government—if you want to be free to make your own decisions and take your own risks and accept the consequences—then you belong on the other side, with the Libertarian Party, and we welcome your support.

The choice is yours. But remember—there is no middle ground. Either your life is your own, or it is the State's. So choose well.

This position paper was prepared by David F. Nolan, a co-founder of the Libertarian Party.

### RECOMMENDED READING

*Licit and Illicit Drugs*  
Edward Brecher  
*Food Safety Regulation*  
Rita Ricardo Campbell  
*The Incredible Bread Machine*  
Campus Studies Institute  
*The Machinery of Freedom*  
David Friedman  
*A New Dawn for America*  
Roger MacBride  
*Abortion, Baseball and Weed*  
Douglass North and Roger Miller  
*Regulation of Pharmaceutical Innovation*  
Sam Peltzman  
*For a New Liberty*  
Murray N. Rothbard

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# Free Markets Deter Monopolies' Growth

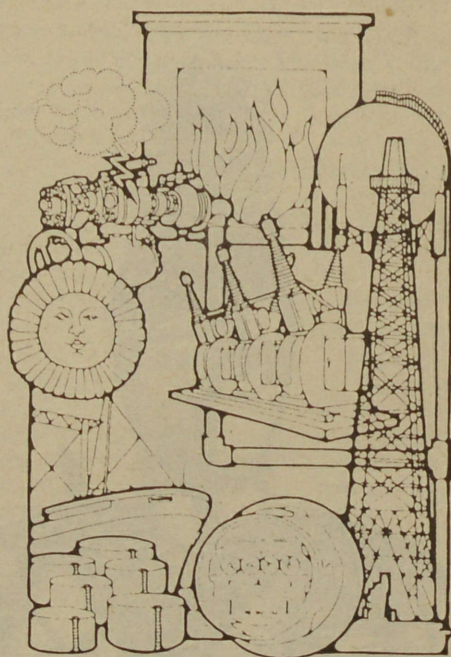
By Robert W. Poole, Jr.

The question of monopoly always arises when people discuss the free market. Critics claim that in a free market—the base of libertarian economics—monopolies would form and prevent customers from having a wide range of choices, while forcing prices sky high and, in short, exploiting everyone. Here, in a discussion of an area in which monopolies have indeed arisen, an informed champion of the free market shows that monopolies most easily arise outside of the free market and are most effectively fought by the free market.

Wave upon wave of deregulation has washed across America during the past decade. Tightly knit transportation cartels—in airlines, trucking, railroads, bus lines, and even taxicabs in some cities—have been swept away. The results have been lower prices and more choices for consumers.

Our public utility services, however, are still protected monopolies, almost completely closed to entry by would-be competitors. Yet even here, in these so-called natural monopolies, the barriers to competition are being chipped away. New technology is a major factor:

- Telecommunications firms are building huge teleports for satellite dish antennas, connecting them by fiber optics or microwave to nearby corporate offices, letting those firms bypass the local phone monopoly to reach long-distance carriers.
- Cellular phone systems offer much greater flexibility and could ultimately compete directly with hard-wired phones.
- The cable TV monopoly is being eroded by satellite master antenna systems for apartment complexes—and by ordinary VCRs and video stores.
- Even electricity bypass is starting to occur, as large users develop on-site cogeneration plants or build tie-lines to lower-cost out-of-state suppliers.
- Recently, the town of Geneva became the first Illinois municipality to stop buying its electricity from Commonwealth Edison. Gene-



va saved \$2 million—and forced Edison to lower its rates for its other customers—by purchasing its power from Wisconsin Electric.

These new moves toward competition have many people worried. After all, we've always been told that public utilities are natural monopolies. Due to economies of scale, we're supposed to be better off with a single large firm than with several smaller firms whose unit costs are higher. That's why government grants exclusive franchises, forbidding competition, and regulates the rates these legal monopolies can charge, to protect us from monopolistic exploitation. At least, that's how it was supposed to work.

Economists have been questioning that rationale for at least a decade now. Gregg Jarrell, for one, went back and studied the early years of this century, when competition was still common in electricity service. He found that electricity prices and profits were consistently lower in the states where competition prevailed than in those states that had out-

lawed competition on the "natural monopoly" premise. Other researchers found similar results for the competitive years of telephone service (1894-1907).

Another group of economists has studied the way public utility regulation worked in practice. Monopoly status and rate-of-return regulation gives utilities a real incentive to over-invest in costly plants and equipment. If the regulators permit you to earn, say, 10 percent a year on your installed capital (the rate base), you'll obviously earn a lot more dollars if your rate base is \$20 billion rather than \$10 billion. So utilities over-invest, and consumers end up paying higher rates.

High-cost equipment tends to be long-life equipment, depreciated over 20, 30, or even 40 years, so protected utilities also have a strong incentive to keep in place not-yet-depreciated equipment that has, in fact, been made obsolete by new technology. It hardly makes sense to shelter investments that have been made obsolete, and force the ratepayers to foot the bill.

Still other economists have sought out evidence that public utilities aren't really natural monopolies after all. Walter Primeaux, for example, has documented 23 American cities with fully competing electric utilities. In cities such as Lubbock, Texas, a homeowner can switch from one electric company to another on three days' notice. Primeaux found that electricity rates were 23 percent lower in the competitive cities. Apparently, the extra costs of duplication of the lines and equipment are offset by the cost-cutting incentives provided by competition—the very real threat of customers choosing another supplier.

While most economists are skeptical that duplicate systems would be cost-effective for water or natural gas, Hazlett points out that merely the effective threat of entry by a competitor would prevent exploitive pricing by a de-facto but unprotected utility monopoly. If the would-be entrant managed to sign up a majority of a town's householders to exclusive-dealing contracts (with a 15 or 20 year life), the incumbent monopoly, having lost most of its

customers, would have little choice but to sell its distribution system to the newcomer. The threat of such distress sales would be a very effective check on exploitation.

Though economists are coming to favor utility deregulation, how likely is it to happen? What sort of coalition might emerge to work for opening up utilities to competition? Three groups may join forces on this issue:

1. *Enlightened utilities* whose managements chafe at regulatory restrictions that related firms don't have to face. Executives of Ameritech and Virginia Electrical Power, for example, have been advocating utility deregulation for years.
2. *Enlightened consumer groups* whose leaders come to understand that rate-of-return regulation forces consumers to pay for bad investment decisions rather than utility stockholders. And freedom of choice is a powerful consumer issue, especially when lower prices are part of the deal.
3. *Enlightened regulators* who do their homework and understand current economic thinking on the benefits of competition and entrepreneurship. Both (Republican) Mark Fowler at the FCC and (Democrat) Philip O'Connor, former chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission, have served as role models for the new breed of regulators who will usher in the competitive era.

Exclusive franchises and rate-of-return regulation have not typically protected consumers. And while they have shielded utilities from the rigors of competition, they have done so at a high price in innovation and creativity. It's time we learned a lesson in history and economics. Those natural monopolies aren't—and perhaps never were.

Robert Poole is president of the Reason Foundation, a California think tank. He is editor of *Unnatural Monopolies: The Case for Deregulating Public Utilities* (Lexington Books, 1985). This article is based on a speech presented at a forum sponsored by The Heartland Institute in April 1986.

## International

Continued from Page 6

countries fund translation and production of libertarian books. Also under LI's umbrella is

libertarian books. Also under LI's umbrella is LISTS—the Libertarian Institute for Strategic Studies—organized to study international activist strategies.

### A Trans-Movement Organization

At a very early point it was decided that LI would not be a political organization per se but rather a networking/support organization dedicated to helping members communicate and function more effectively (acting either as individuals or within their own chosen organizations) but leaving the form of activism up to the members themselves. As a result we include among our members political activists and Libertarian Party people, non-political educational types, and anti-political Voluntarists, to name just a few. To facilitate these activities LI maintains a large computer data base of member activities and is working on developing a computer-networking bulletin board.

Libertarians interested in keeping tabs on the growth of the world movement may join Libertarian International for a minimum of \$20. The fee includes a monthly newsletter—plus occasional supplements. A sample newsletter and information package is available for \$1 from Libertarian International, 9308 Farmington Dr., Richmond, VA 23229. Phone: 804-740-6932.

Miller is chairman of the Libertarian International.

## The Roots of State Power

Government (the State) derives virtually all of its power through its ability to seize the lives and property of individuals for its own purposes. The three principal tools it uses to this end are conscription, confiscation, and counterfeiting.

**CONSCRIPTION:** Compulsion into involuntary servitude to the State for "public" purposes—most commonly, war and civil construction projects.

**CONFISCATION:** Seizure of land and property through various devices—most commonly taxation and eminent domain.

**COUNTERFEITING:** "Watering down" the economic currency for the purpose of "skimming the profits." Done by debasing precious-metal coins with base metals in earlier times; now done primarily by paperwork and electronic manipulation.

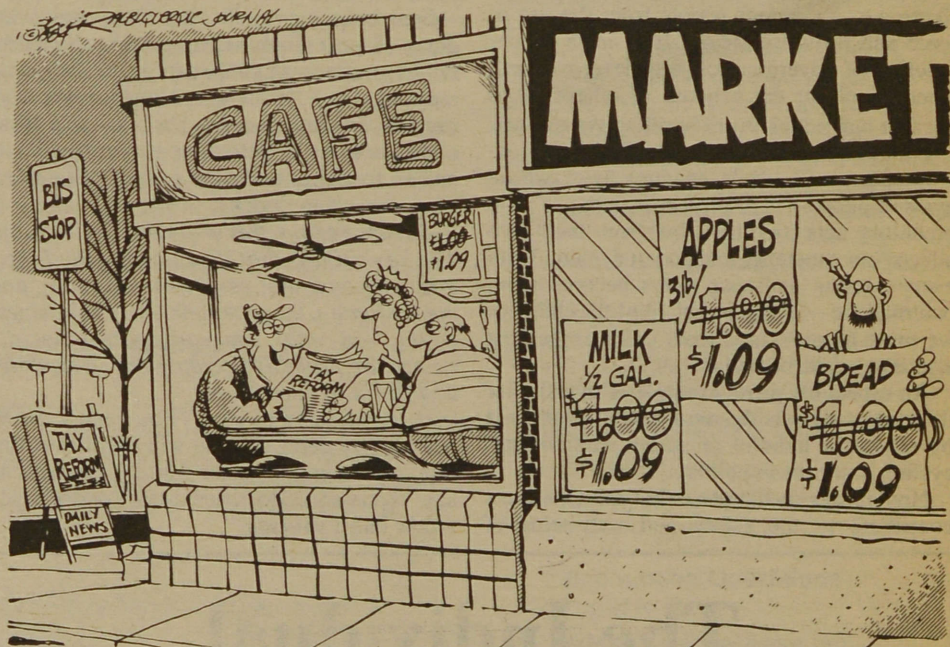
These three methods of robbing the people are the tools of tyranny. If we are to be free, they must go!

—David F. Nolan,  
a founder of the Libertarian Party.

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# LeFevre's Philosophy of Ownership

When Robert LeFevre died this year, the libertarian movement lost one of its most persistently decent, honest, and principled voices. A long-time critic of the Libertarian Party, fearing that its activities legitimized state authority, LeFevre hewed always to the root of things, to the pure principles. Nowhere was his critical eye sharper than in viewing the meaning of ownership in a free society. Although the Libertarian Party, as a political party, moves in political arenas where pure principles can, at best, only be reflected and certainly not always put into pure practice, its members are part of a philosophical movement of far greater breadth—a movement in which the thoughtfulness of the LeFevres, the von Miseses, the Rothbards, the Nozicks, the Rands, the Hayeks, and others can never be forgotten, no matter the press of so-called real-world political pressures.

The comments on ownership presented here have been selected from LeFevre's book, *The Philosophy of Ownership* (available from Pine Tree Press, 3646A Aspen Village Way, Santa Ana, CA 92704, at \$5.95 plus \$1 postage). The selection was edited by Roberta Floden and is presented here by permission of Lois LeFevre.

## Property and Ownership

Property is anything that is subject to ownership. Property exists whether owned or not. In a virgin area, where men have not yet penetrated, the land and all the natural appurtenances are property. The advent of man does not change the character of the land, as when men acquire this land. I would identify this kind of property before the appearance of an owner as *unowned property*...

A second classification of property encompasses *property that is correctly owned*. In this relationship an owner (man) has assumed sovereign control over that property which he claims as his own. Assuming that there are no prior or rival claims to the property, and thus decisions respecting the property derive from the authority of the rightful owner, and assuming that the exercise of authority is limited to the property owned, then the ownership is complete and a condition of correct or proper ownership ensues.

A third classification is *property that is incorrectly owned*.

1. A man may presume to own something that is not property.

2. A man may acquire ownership of a property through theft or fraud wherein the rightful owner is deprived of what is his through the establishment of a conflicting claim resting solely upon the physical possession or control of the property, but denying the rightful claim of the real owner.

3. A man may acquire a property, paying for it in full, yet find that another man or a group of men, who have not paid for the property, are empowered to interfere with his sovereign control of the property, thus denying his authority over what he owns...

...It is instructive that in those nations which have adopted socialism either under a communist banner or the banner of a welfare state, a kind of state capitalism ensues. Government becomes ever more active as a partner in economic matters, serving as producer, manufacturer, distributor, and financier. Thus socialism does not lead to the abolition of capitalism; it leads to the abolition of the private ownership and management of capital goods.

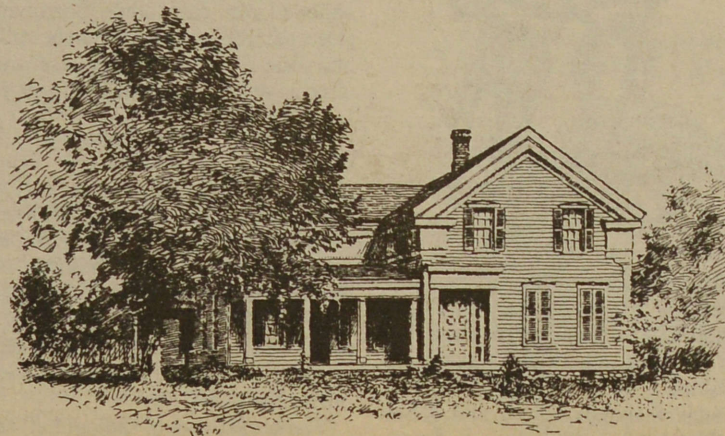
The correct antonym of socialism is individualism. In an economic system of individualism, private ownership and management of the tools of production, distribution, and finance would be preserved.

## Coercion and Ownership

Trespass of private property became one of the earliest taboos, substituted for still earlier taboos against tribal trespass. Here is the early root of the Golden Rule, and even of the late

development of the Decalogue. Moral behavior was in essence the recognition of another's ownership over a given property whether the owner is present or absent. It was the kind of behavior one hoped to obtain from others. Thus, in one of the first *quid pro quo* concepts, the individual refrained from trespass with the unspoken assurance that if he so refrained, others would similarly restrain themselves...

...At the core of modern thinking is the assumption that property cannot be protected and that the state must act after the fact in bringing a belated balance after criminal violation...What has been overlooked is the enormous susceptibility of mankind to correct understanding concerning property. Yet it is as simple to instruct children and adults in the inviolability of property ownership as it is to instruct them in the sacredness of Baal, Buddha, Vishnu, or any other religious way-shower. And people who have been thoroughly



and correctly trained simply will not become thieves. The problem is an educational and not a retaliatory problem. Given a community in which trespass will not occur because of prior conditioning and training, such a community will require little or no policing on any retributory basis.

## Self-ownership

Each person owns himself and all of his functions, including those of sex, digestion, cognition, and so on. Among the greatest satisfactions available to human beings are those which recognize other persons as equals in the property ownership of self. Although a man may wish an exclusive association with a particular friend, and while it may be possible to contract for such an exclusive relationship, the fact remains that each party to any association always remains the owner of himself...From man's recognition that he owns himself, and from the idea of private ownership which begins at this point, if not chronologically at least rationally, it is but a step to the creation of one kind of improper ownership, the condition in which it is presumed that one person owns another...I would set down as the fundamental instances of incorrect ownership: the ancient practice of a possessive marriage; possessive child-parent relationships; and the control of the slave obtained in battle or in any other way.

## Rights and Property

We say that a man has a "right" to his life. What we mean is that he is the proper owner of his life, of his own person, of anything that is functionally related to him as a living being...The value of the concept lies in its universality. By setting forth the doctrine of rights, we set forth the proposition that all men are equally endowed, "rightfully" (properly, morally), as property owners...Seen in this light, a right is a kind of property which cannot be sold or transferred...A right exists for a man to acquire any property he wills to possess. Any man may do precisely as he pleases with what he has totally and honestly acquired...The final test of

absolute ownership is to inquire whether the owner may *rightfully destroy* the item owned...

Unfortunately, in the development of this country, a general theory of societal interest in major properties has been maintained so that absolute private ownership of land and the appurtenances to land, such as buildings and other improvements, is not viewed as possible...This is an invasion of the total concept of property, and an unfortunate inheritance from savage and barbarous times which preserves the practice of collective ownership...

...If we presume that a man's conduct can cancel his rights, then we would have to dismiss the concept of rights as having no usefulness or validity...If rights can be transferred on the basis of human behavior, then no system of equal and universal rights can even be imagined. The only usefulness in the concept is the supposition that rights arise from the nature of man, that they are equal, and that

they are unalienable, in spite of human character or human behavior...Either all men have equal rights or no such concept is possible...The idea of equal rights for all men as property owners has never been fully recognized in the United States.

## Authority and Responsibility

Rightful authority is that which a person exercises over himself and what he owns. There is no other rightful authority...Just as property is an extension of the person of the owner, and hence subject to his authority in much the same way that each is the authority over his person, similarly, responsibility for property owned resides with the owner. Authority and responsibility go hand in hand...Correct use of property, including its retention by the owner, its maintenance, preservation, and protection, rightfully descends along the same line that authority arises...I have used the term, sovereignty, in relation to ownership to convey the idea that the owner of a property can do no wrong in respect to what he totally owns. He is sovereign of his property, and his decisions, whether wise or foolish, are not subject to the review of a non-owner...

It is immoral and a violation of rightful authority to force people to pay for something on the assumption that they are "owners" when in fact they cannot control what is owned, they cannot exercise authority over it, and they cannot make use of what they have hoped to provide if political policy and their own personal wishes are in opposition at any given moment...

If private ownership of property is ever to develop in full, the total responsibility for the property owner must accompany the total authority over the property owned. Each owner must be at liberty to provide whatever protection he deems advisable and for which he is willing to pay in order to make certain that his property is not taken from him by stealth or force. If his protection is inadequate for any reason, there is still no justification for imposing some penalty upon the members of society at large. Yet this is the current practice...

In such a move toward private responsibility we would have to discard almost entirely the ancient concept of justice which still rests upon the idea that retributive justice is desirable and feasible...What is desirable is a condition of non-theft. If private persons protect their own property and are viewed as being responsible in the matter of providing their own protection, then the victim of an act of theft is no more victimized than he would be if a fire destroyed his property...He may not seek to involve all of society with his losses, any more than he can rightfully be made to share his gains with all of society.

Too often, in our present state of moral understanding, punishment of the thief or the transgressor is deemed the highest of motivational forces at work. And this presumes a collective responsibility in place of personal responsibility of the property owner over what he owns. Yet this entire idea of retaliation or retribution has, in the centuries it has been tried, led us into every war, and nearly every act of torture and murder that has been performed by the state...The solution to these enormous problems will only be found by accepting the idea of private ownership of property along with the idea of total acceptance of responsibility for his property by each owner...

## The Desire to Share

While it is true that, at the outset, the desire to own property privately must result in an exclusive relationship in which the whole world is excluded from the property owned, there is a countervailing desire which exists in us all. Having acquired a property which is valuable to us, we wish to share it with others so we may win their admiration in respect to what we have acquired...All of this desire on our parts to let others benefit by what we have learned or what we have produced is a part of our urge to share what we have with others. Of course, sharing becomes meaningless unless we are first the exclusive owners. If we own nothing, then we can share nothing...

This is one of the deep and underlying motivations toward charity and voluntary giving. The fact that a man may be able to give away some of his substance is a remarkable satisfaction that he can receive from his own action...It is claimed, in certain quarters, that when a man gives up something, either a property, an idea, or something of himself to another, it is because he values the other more than he values himself. This is an absurdity. To be able to share, as a host or benefactor, is one of the deepest and most meaningful experiences he can have insofar as his own value of himself is concerned. All gifts are expressions of self-realization. The man in a position to give is in a position to satisfy himself. That another may experience joy in receiving a gift does not in any way reduce the joy of the donor. On the contrary, the more the recipient experiences honest satisfaction from the gift, the more the donor experiences honest satisfaction from the act of giving...

...It is probable that this urge to share is one of the dominating emotions which grip virtually all holders of political office. Politicians are so eager to share that they are willing to take property not belonging to them so they can bask in the glow of having given it away...

...Taxation and theft generally are intrusions against this area of self-satisfaction. No productive people will endure such practices forever. Unless they are halted, those who are productive will either stop producing, flee to a territory where they can enjoy private ownership, or rise up to overthrow those who impose such usages upon them.

...A society built upon the solid foundation of private property and respect for the property boundaries and values of others, becomes an orderly and peaceful society of necessity. Here, the market dominates and voluntary exchanges leading to human satisfaction become the rule.



## SIL Position Paper

# Free Trade: The Historic Way to Peace

Perhaps the most extensive collection of libertarian position papers now available is the collection prepared for the Society for Individual Liberty by outstanding libertarian commentators, journalists, academics, and authors. Although many of the papers are a decade old, with dated statistics and references, they are, as with the Libertarian Party's own position papers reprinted elsewhere in this issue, based upon sound and unchanging principles and remain, therefore, useful guides for libertarians. (Each SIL statement reprinted in this issue is identified as "SIL Position Paper.") The complete set of 45 SIL position papers is available, for \$4.75, from the Society for Individual Liberty, P.O. Box 338, Warminster, PA 18974.

By Joe Cobb

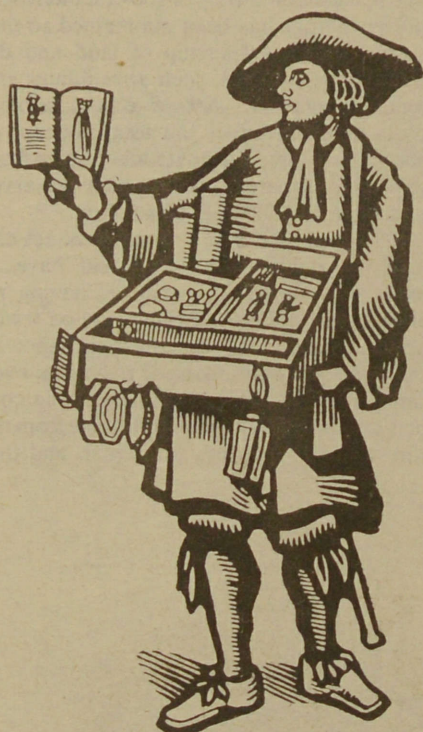
The Black Muslims have purchased farm land in Alabama, Georgia, and several other Southern states. Segregationists sold it to them. In Alabama they own more than 1,000 acres and hope to acquire 100,000 altogether. The late Elijah Muhammad said that cold cash melts the hearts of even the most die-hard segregationists. One seller, Roy Wyatt of Pell City, Alabama, a segregationist former state senator, received threats and suffered damage to his business property when it was learned that he was trading with "the enemy," but he refused to call off the sale.

If the Muslims had approached Wyatt and said, "Please donate your land to us," they would have had the door slammed shut in their face. If they had wanted to use the public park in Pell City, he probably would have opposed it. They could have pulled guns and ordered Wyatt to clear out, but the Klan may have returned and shot them all. Yet, because they offered him something, he talked with them reasonably and they reached an agreement.

### Trade v. Authority

In society, there are only two mechanisms of interaction which bring together strangers in a systematic way: trade and authority.

In small groups of friends, we observe affection, mutual goals, and common concerns; but the small group model cannot be expanded to include society at large because nobody has time enough to learn, to exchange enough information, to "make friends" with



enough people. Politicians claim to be your friend, but this is hypocrisy and everyone knows that their handshake is not worth a cup of coffee, and that their smile won't lower taxes if they are elected.

So with strangers, acquaintances, and all but your closest friends, you either have to trade, request, or demand what you need. But very few people think of trading when they want something special done. How many people are willing to walk up to a stranger's house and request to use his bathroom? If it were socially acceptable to offer him a dollar, there would be no problem (unless, of course, he is afraid of strangers).

### Trade and Hospitality

There's something about trade which brings men together for mutual benefits which most people don't understand. In fact, trade is considered low class, crude, unfriendly, impolite, and selfish by many. It was the aristocrat's idea of virtue to give freely of one's hospitality, to refrain from monetary affairs,

and to take care of his serfs when there was famine.

It seems curious that aristocratic notions and prejudices against trade should endure in a modern democratic society. The French Revolution tore apart the social structure upon which aristocracy was based, but the upper classes won the greater victory. There was no revolution in the styles and values of the people—everyone wanted to adopt the aristocrat's lifestyle. Even the New Left counter-culture carries forward this prejudice against trading, but with a difference—everything is supposed to be free (as if everyone was everyone else's closest friend).

Often times, even with good friends, it is socially unacceptable to request too much (or to accept payment when too much has been requested). Instead, everyone feels secretly annoyed with each other. Borrowing someone else's car, for example, might be called "trading on your friendship" because you are not offering anything in return except your thanks.

One reason that people don't trade more often is that it points out very clearly just how close your friendship really is. It would seem logical to bridge the gap by offering some compensation, perhaps in money; but that is today socially taboo. No one is willing to spell out the fact that he doesn't like you enough simply to give you all his possessions, his spare bedroom, or his car. Yet it is foolish to pretend that all men are brothers; and no one values all others the same.

The breakdown of radical Left social theory usually occurs when it is argued that all men should act like brothers, without recognizing that such relationships are possible only within small groups where communication is rich and frequent, and where many goals are common to everyone in the group.

Radical Libertarian social theory argues, instead, that all relationships between strangers or mere acquaintances be trading relationships, and that authoritarian relationships are illegitimate.

The state, of course (even the democratic state), is an authoritarian institution based ultimately upon its use of authoritarian relationships and its power to enforce those relationships.

Trade or authority are the only two organizing principles of the large society—beyond

the small friendship group where everyone can be brothers.

### Property and Peace

Since private property is the basis for trade—you can't trade anything which you don't somehow own—clearly private property is important in the free society. Private property is the cornerstone of a free utopia.

Most radicals and revolutionaries have failed to see this. Mikhail Bakunin, who was ignorant of economics (but intelligent enough to know it), was aware from the beginning that the state socialism of Marx was pure authoritarianism. The radical libertarians today emphasize the function of free trade and private property in society simply because the alternative is centralized authoritarianism. Libertarians are radical decentralists.

If the brotherhood of man concept is based upon an error in social analysis, it will never even be approached, much less attained. The hope for universal peace and freedom among men, however, is *not* a pipe dream.

Free trade, based upon the decentralized ownership of property (reflecting the decentralized location of economic information in society), is a viable alternative to power and authority once the authoritarians now in power are removed. To be radical—to be a radical libertarian—is to know that there is a workable alternative to the authoritarian institutions which modern society has carried down from the dark ages.

There may soon be no alternative. Liberation is a demand which is being voiced today in every country on earth. It is the attempt to impose and maintain authority over free men which arouses armed resistance. This is exactly why men who believe that a peaceful and free world must be built, know that *that* world must be maintained through the principle of FREE TRADE!!!

*Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the government's purposes are beneficent. [People] born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil-minded rulers. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding.*

—Justice Louis D. Brandeis, from his dissent in *Olmstead v. U.S.*, 1928

## Central Planning Unmasked

By John Majewski

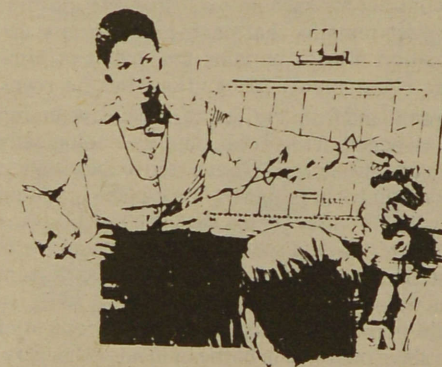
It is a concept that has gripped minds ranging from 19th Century science fiction writer H.G. Wells to 20th Century Nobel laureate Wassily Leontief. From Western democracies to the Eastern Bloc to the Third World, the idea is being adopted by many countries around the globe. And now it is quickly gaining popularity in the United States under the guise of "information gathering," "economic democracy," or "industrial policy."

Yet no matter who advocates it, who practices it, or what its name is, the idea is the same. If adopted here, national economic planning—the notion that an economy can be built much as an engineer constructs a building—will disrupt our economy and spark destructive political rivalries.

That is the conclusion reached by economist Don Lavoie in his provocative book *National Economic Planning: What is Left?*, published by the influential Cato Institute in Washington, D.C. Following a long line of literature that began in the 1920's with economist Ludwig von Mises's *Socialism*, Lavoie demonstrates that all central-planning schemes suffer hopeless contradictions.

A critique of central planning is badly needed. Intense competition from abroad and technological change at home have spawned a crisis climate susceptible to "new ideas" to correct economic and political problems. Thinkers across the ideological spectrum have advanced planning proposals. These include the "economic democracy" of the left and the "industrial policy" of some people in the corporate world.

Lavoie responds by revealing two basic flaws of all central planning. First is the "knowledge problem" faced by planners. Building on the work of Nobel laureate F.A. Hayek and scientist/philosopher Michael Polanyi, Lavoie argues that free markets—property, prices, profits, losses—generate critical information that would be unavailable to planners. This information transmits signals to people, providing incentives to act in ways that enhance society. For example, prices help entrepreneurs calculate the most efficient way to produce things that consumers want. Profits signal success; losses encourage entrepreneurs to redirect resources to better uses. This kind of knowledge, which is everchanging and mostly tacit, allows an economy to grow to the



incredible complexity and sophistication that ours exhibits today.

The information produced by the market differs vastly from the statistics on which central planners would rely. It simply cannot be gathered or computed by a planning bureau, whether that bureau is part of Tom Hayden's economic democracy or of financier Felix Rohatyn's industrial policy. Indeed, the best that planners could do is crudely imitate existing markets.

The upshot is that planners are unable to efficiently plan an economy for the benefit of consumers. But a second problem is that they may not wish to do so. History shows that government agencies are easily captured by, if not originally created at the behest of, special-interest groups looking for political favors. As

Lavoie points out, America's brief experiment with central planning in the 1930's (the Reconstruction Finance Corporation) was riddled with political intrigue; decisions were based on favoritism instead of efficiency.

The problem of special-interest takeover leads to a broader difficulty for supporters of planning. Lavoie calls this the totalitarian problem. Many national-planning advocates, especially those on the left, argue that economic problems are caused by a particular bad group—for instance, corporations. Yet if corporations are really the source of all evil, what would prevent them from controlling the planning agency? If anything, government planning will make the job of the "bad guys" easier by centralizing and legitimizing the power to manipulate the economy.

Lavoie argues that our economic problems are not caused by evil corporations or by "structural deficiencies." They are caused by government intervention, which works against the coordinating forces of the market. Whether it's defense spending, social-welfare spending, regulation, tariffs, or monetary manipulation, government intervention impedes economic growth. National planning would only make things worse. The alternative, as Lavoie's book argues so eloquently, is the free market.

John Majewski is a fellow of the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University.



## LP Position Paper

# A Fundamental Means of Self-Defense

The term "gun control" is a misnomer. Since they are inanimate objects, without wills or the ability to act on their own, there is obviously no need to control guns. "Gun control" is in actuality *people control*. It consists of depriving people, to one degree or another, of the most effective means of self-defense: firearms.

### Gun Ownership a Victimless "Crime"

Libertarians are adamantly opposed to any form of gun control. As advocates of individual freedom, we seek the repeal of all victimless crime laws, defined as laws which criminalize conduct not entailing the initiation of force. Obviously, laws which prohibit gambling, drugs, and prostitution are victimless crime laws. What isn't as apparent is that *gun control is also a victimless crime law*, perhaps the most oppressive.

Victimless crime laws involve the prohibition of non-coercive individual or consensual conduct. The State plays Big Brother, prohibiting its citizen-children from owning and using certain articles, or performing certain acts which it had adjudged harmful to them. These prohibitions abrogate the right to property, whether that property be a censored book or the property which is one's own body. But gun control, since its goal is to remove a crucial survival tool from the arsenal of self-defense, strikes at the right to life itself—from which all other rights are derived.

How have you harmed anyone by peacefully possessing a gun for defensive purposes (or for hunting or target practice)? If, by simply owning a gun, you haven't aggressed against another person, then the State has no right to restrict your ownership. Gun control is *immoral*—and not because the Constitution guarantees the right to keep and bear arms, but by virtue of man's natural right to self-defense.

### Guns Needed for Self-Defense

There are numerous examples of individuals whose lives have been saved by the intelligent use of firearms. Of course, it can be countered that many tragic deaths result from gun accidents. But is it sensible or just to penalize the cautious gun owner because a minority are negligent? If so, why not ban the automobile? More people manage to kill themselves and others each year through the reckless operation of a car than all of the accidental and deliberate gun killings combined.

There is a definite relationship between the spiraling crime rate and the State disarming its citizens. There is no more appealing target for the professional criminal than an individual who is incapable of offering resistance. It may well be that this is why states with more repressive restrictions on gun ownership tend to have a higher crime rate than less controlled areas.

You cannot depend on the police to protect you from violent crime. Police forces are geared toward apprehending criminals after the crime has been committed, not preventing crime. Even if the police wanted to protect you, their limited manpower and material resources make this next to impossible.

If you want protection from those bent on murder and mayhem, you will have to provide it yourself. Which brings us to guns. Handguns are the perfect instrument for personal defense. They can be employed by an individual who isn't exceptionally strong. Years of instruction are not a prerequisite to their successful use, as is true of karate and the other martial arts. Lastly, they are portable and deadly at a distance. They can be employed to protect yourself from individual attack or mob violence.

The more vehement gun controllers readily admit that their real goal is *prohibition*. Robert diGrazia, Police Commissioner of Boston, stated in a public interview:

*I am not asking for registration or licensing or the outlawing of cheap guns. I am saying*

*that no private citizen, whatever his claim, should possess a handgun. Only police officers should.*

Even if the intent of gun control is only regulation, the reality is prohibition. In most areas with gun control, licensing is the responsibility of the local police or sheriff's department. Unless you want to challenge them with a lengthy, costly law suit, the police have complete discretion over who gets a license; a discretion they often exercise with a vengeance. Naturally, "bad characters," those thought to be prone to criminal conduct, stand no chance of obtaining a permit. Ironically, blacks and poor urban whites—who probably need guns the most, living as they do in high crime areas—are often the butt of police discrimination.

Just how unreasonable the police are about issuing licenses is illustrated by the reality of gun control in New York City. In 1971, of the 24,354 pistol permits then in effect, only 564 were issued to individuals not employed as bank guards, night watchmen, or in similar security positions. Out of a population of close to eight million, this represents a virtual ban on the legal ownership of private handguns.

### Disarmed Citizens vs. Armed Criminals

Gun control laws have proven totally ineffective at keeping guns out of the hands of criminals. The controls restrict only those who are willing to obey them. Instead of having been purchased from a reputable dealer, it is far more likely that the gun a robber carries was covertly manufactured, stolen, or smuggled from abroad. In New York City, which has one of the toughest gun control laws in the country, over 100,000 unregistered guns change hands each year in the so-called street blackmarket: bars, pool halls, and dealers' apartments. Obviously these sources do not require a pistol permit from potential customers.

Statistical evidence points to the ineffectiveness of gun control. In 1966, 87 percent of all gun crimes in New York City were committed with unregistered weapons. In Detroit, in 1971, 75 percent of the shootings involved unregistered handguns. Perhaps the best rebuttal of the arguments for gun control is a statistical comparison of the per capita homicide rates of states with and without strict controls. In 1970, states with strict gun control had a murder rate of 4.1 per 100,000 people. In the same year, states with more Libertarian laws regarding guns had 3.9 murders per 100,000 people.

Further evidence against gun control is provided by a comparison of two cities in the same state—Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Philadelphia enacted severe restrictions on gun ownership in 1968. During the next two years, it experienced a 17 percent increase in homicides (increasing to 37 percent in the following year and a half). During the same period Pittsburgh, with a relatively Libertarian gun law, had a 1 percent *decline* in homicides.

The foregoing statistics show that gun control is certainly no panacea for the murderous misuse of guns. It illustrates also a fact of prohibition of which Libertarians are well aware: The State cannot effectively ban *any* commodity—be it alcohol, drugs, "adult literature," or guns—for which some individuals have an intense desire. The human mind is too ingenious in devising ways to obtain contraband, despite the penalties involved. Consider heroin. New York State recently enacted laws of unparalleled severity against selling heroin, including life imprisonment. Yet a recent article in *The New York Times* was headlined: "Illegal Narcotics Traffic Worst Here in 5 Years."

### Crimes of Passion

It seems that gun control doesn't inhibit professional criminals. But will it perhaps decrease crimes of passion? A crime of pas-

sion, as the expression implies, is not a premeditated murder; rather it is a homicide committed in the heat of passion. Quite often an inter-familial killing, it is usually perpetrated by individuals without criminal records.

If the object of gun control is not to prohibit gun ownership, but merely to keep guns out of the "wrong hands," how could this affect crimes of passion? Will the State administer a psychological test to gun license applicants, to determine who might become violent at some indeterminate future time? Since it is impossible to predict who might commit these crimes, how will gun control keep weapons out of their hands?

Of course, the theory that gun control will prevent crimes of passion presupposes that the absence of a gun will thwart the crime. This is absurd. Murderers have been known to knife, strangle, and bludgeon their victims. As Dr.

and a means toward the pursuit of happiness for hunters and sportsmen.

### Dictators Dislike Private Guns

Finally, there is also this argument which weighs heavily against gun control: Individuals need guns to protect themselves not only from criminals but also from the depredations of *criminal governments*.

Robert Kukla, in his book, *Gun Control*, details the disarmament techniques of totalitarian states:

*Techniques for gun confiscation in foreign countries have not been uniform, but certain patterns are nevertheless discernible. For example, coincidental with the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia...the arms registration lists of that country were seized by the Fifth Column and public disarmament thereby facilitated. Similarly, just before the Red puppet government assumed control of Hungary about 1948, all public and private shooting clubs were disbanded by police decree, and all private arms were taken into custody to "protect the people."*

It should also be noted that upon assuming power in Cuba, Castro utilized the gun registration instituted by Batista to confiscate privately-owned guns. The Greek military junta, which overthrew that nation's democratic government in 1967, also launched an offensive against private ownership of guns.

Now it's not that we're "paranoid"—the Nazis have gone to that Great Beer Hall in the sky; and we do not anticipate an imminent invasion by the communists. Let's just say that, given the mania to rule exhibited by our aspiring masters on the Potomac, we sleep a little better knowing there are 90 million guns in private hands in America.

The situation can also be viewed this way. A famous bumper-sticker proclaims: "When Guns are Outlawed, Only Outlaws Will Have Guns." To which we would add: "When only the police have guns, the Police State is just around the corner."

*This position paper was prepared by Donald A. Feder, a practicing attorney in New York State, and President at the time of the Association of Libertarian Lawyers.*

### RECOMMENDED READING

*Gun Control*  
Robert J. Kukla  
*To Keep and Bear Arms*  
Bill R. Davidson  
*For a New Liberty*  
Murray N. Rothbard  
*The Virtue of Selfishness*  
Ayn Rand  
*Human Rights and Human Liberty*  
Tibor R. Machan



Marvin Wolfgang, of the University of Pennsylvania writes in *Patterns of Criminal Homicide*: "Few homicides due to shooting could be avoided merely if a firearm was not immediately present, for the offender would choose some other weapon to achieve the same destructive goal."

### The Campaign Against Gun Owners

In the face of reason and facts, there is being waged today a campaign of almost unprecedented vilification of peaceful gun owners. Not only are the motives of those who own guns for self-defense ridiculed—incredibly—as "paranoia," but those who use guns for hunting have been held up to public contempt by persons in the media and others, not all of whom are vegetarians. Ironically, even attempts by gun owners and their associations to *defend their legitimate rights* are viewed as a sinister conspiracy.

But as controls become more stringent, as it becomes increasingly difficult to possess firearms legally and without harassment, a quiet civil disobedience is developing in this area. People are turning a deaf ear to the politicians and police bureaucrats who tell them that guns are the root of all evil. To take the example of handguns again, according to Bronx Attorney Mario Merola: "There are an estimated two million illegal handguns in the City (New York). We know there aren't two million criminals." Each year the Chicago police confiscate more illegal pistols than the total number registered. Increasingly, people are refusing to act as if guns were some sort of malevolent supernatural force, destructive in and of itself. They recognize them for what they are when used properly: tools of survival,





*The following condensation of the platform of the Libertarian Party is not a paraphrase, but uses only the actual words of the document. The full text of the platform may be obtained by writing to the LP national office, 301 West 21st Street, Houston, TX 77008. An order form for this and other LP material appears elsewhere in this issue.*

## INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND CIVIL ORDER

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

## FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

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

## CRIME

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

## VICTIMLESS CRIMES

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

## SAFEGUARDS FOR THE CRIMINALLY ACCUSED

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

## JUSTICE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

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

## JURIES

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

## SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY

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

## FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION

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

## THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY

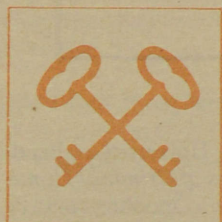
The owners of property have the full right to control, use, dispose of, or in any manner enjoy, their property without interference, until and unless the exercise of their control infringes the valid rights of others. We demand an end to taxation of privately owned real property, which actually makes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

## PROTECTION OF PRIVACY

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

## GOVERNMENT SECRECY

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



## INTERNAL SECURITY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

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

## THE RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS

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

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS

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

## CONSCRIPTION AND THE MILITARY

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



## UNIONS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

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

## POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

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

## CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

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

## THE ECONOMY

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

## TAXATION

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

## INFLATION AND DEPRESSION

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

## BALANCED BUDGETS

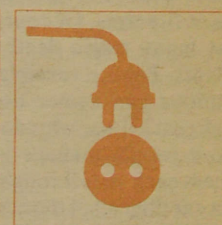
We support the drive for a constitutional amendment requiring the national government to balance its budget, and also support similar amendments to require balanced state budgets.

## MONOPOLIES

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

## SUBSIDIES

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



## PUBLIC UTILITIES

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

## TARIFFS AND QUOTAS

We support the abolition of all tariffs and quotas.

## ENERGY

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

## POLLUTION

Pollution of other people's property is a viola-



# Platform in Brief

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

## CONSUMER PROTECTION

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

## EDUCATION

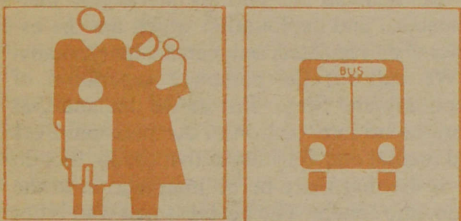
We advocate the complete separation of education and State. We condemn compulsory education laws. As an interim measure, we support tax credits for tuition and for other expenditures related to an individual's education.

## INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL AND FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

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

## POPULATION

We oppose all coercive measures for population control.



## TRANSPORTATION

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

## IMMIGRATION

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

## DISCRIMINATION

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

## RESOURCE USE

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



## HEALTH CARE

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

## AGRICULTURE

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

## OSHA

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

## SOCIAL SECURITY

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

## POSTAL SERVICE

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

## CIVIL SERVICE

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

## CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS

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

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

## NONE OF THE ABOVE

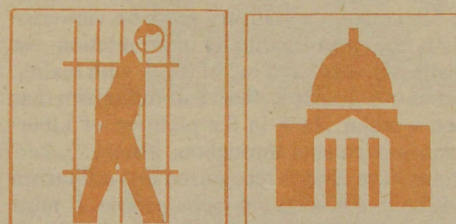
We propose the addition of the alternative "None of the above is acceptable" to all ballots. In the event that "None of the above" wins a plurality of votes, the elective office for that term will remain unfilled and unfunded.

## NEGOTIATIONS

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

## HUMAN RIGHTS

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



## WORLD GOVERNMENT

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

## SECESSION

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

## GOVERNMENT AND "MENTAL HEALTH"

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

## FOREIGN AID

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

## MILITARY POLICY

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

## PRESIDENTIAL WAR POWERS

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

## INTERNATIONAL MONEY

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

## UNOWNED RESOURCES

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

## COLONIALISM

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

## THE MIDDLE EAST

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

## CENTRAL AMERICA

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

## CHINA

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

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

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

## SPACE EXPLORATION

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



## LP Position Paper

# Politics and Business, Red Tape and Risk

In the historic year of 1776, Adam Smith published his influential book, *The Wealth of Nations*, a comprehensive critique of the economic system of his time—mercantilism. Smith attacked mercantilism for being based on a close partnership between business and government, for being bloated with privilege and, consequently, teeming with inefficiency. In place of mercantilism, Smith proposed the Libertarian alternative of the free market. The free market system would be directed neither by government regulation nor by cozy government-business power alliances. Rather, it would be guided solely by the voluntary decisions of producers and consumers as reflected in the price system, in what Smith called "the invisible hand."

The clear-cut separation of economy and State—*laissez-faire*—has been the rallying cry of Libertarians ever since.

Libertarians favor the unhampered market system for two separate but related reasons. First, we are deeply suspicious of power. Historically, every time business and government have "worked together," the result has been the creation of a privileged class of specially-favored businessmen who are both protected from competition and spared the necessity of earning their profits by serving the consumer.

Second, Libertarians support a *laissez-faire* market system because it has proved far and away the best method of getting the most out of what we have; as economists would say, it is the most efficient way of allocating our scarce resources.

In other words, the more the government deviates from the free market—in the direction of mercantilism—the more it generates of injustice and poverty.

## Unfettered Creativity Triumphant—Almost

The 19th Century American economy, while not completely *laissez-faire*, often closely approximated an unhampered market system. The results were spectacular. Pent-up creative energies were unleashed and applied to solving the age-old problems of want. Secure in the knowledge that the fruits of their investments would be safe from governmental confiscation (either through taxation or through inflation), the people saved and invested. The new breed of businessman was willing to assume greater risks—on his own—on more long-range projects. Such men plowed back profits into new and expanded business firms. They found new uses for a rapidly developing technology.

These "enterprising Americans"—free farmers, hard-working laborers, and unfettered entrepreneurs—created a vast and productive economy. Among the benefits that flowed to all segments of society was the continual rise in real wages, even though the population was multiplying enormously.

The system of *laissez-faire* capitalism was approximated, but, unfortunately, it was never fully realized. The ties between business and government had never been entirely severed. Near the turn of the 20th Century, a new mercantilism began to emerge in full panoply.

Competition was often anathema to the businessman who had made it to the top of his industry through years (or perhaps through his family's generations) of hard work. Owners of fresh combinations of capital were often "hungrier"—more aggressive—than their older, more established counterparts. They were often more adaptive to swiftly changing circumstances, and therefore more competitive.

It takes hard work, savings and skillful entrepreneurial judgment to compete in already developed industries. It was, once again, much easier to go to one's friends in government and receive licenses, subsidies, charters, contracts, tariff protection, land grants, etc., which assured one of a secure position without having earned it.

Many of the businessmen from the largest industries and the older firms, therefore, curried favors through their friends and clients in the government. Through them, businessmen were able to set up and influence, for instance, so-called "regulatory agencies" for their respective industries, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Bureau of Corporations, the Food and Drug Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, and perhaps most importantly of all, the Federal Reserve System. In this way, the big corporations, through their representatives, were able to "regulate" themselves, to discourage competition, and to lay the foundation for what was to become the semi-monopolistic 20th Century American Corporate State.

## Militarism vs. the Market

It is highly unlikely that the interface of United States business and government as we now know it—the American Corporate State—could have grown as it did had it not been for the massive interferences into the economy caused by 60 years of war, militarism, and war preparations. "War," as Randolph Bourne aptly put it, "is the health of the State." The corollary of Bourne's insight can be stated thus: Militarism is the kiss of death for the free market.

War and militarism create vested interests which, even after the formalities of actual war cease, continue to foster relations of interdependence and interpenetration between business people and government officials.

War preparations are truly the cement which holds the partnership of American business and government together.

The well-developed system of defense contracts, cost-plus arrangements, interlocking directorates among the Pentagon and pivotal sectors of American business, etc., makes a mockery of free enterprise. And those who continue to prate about "free enterprise" while pushing for even larger military outlays, and for an even greater penetration of our economy by "Pentagon capitalism" must be viewed—this is the most charitable interpretation—as hopelessly naive and out of touch with reality.

It is no accident that anti-militarism has been a major plank in the platform of Libertarian movements throughout history. Libertarians have always recognized that militarism and the free market are incompatible. It must be emphasized here that Libertarianism is not a philosophy tailored to simpler days and less anxious times. The regime of liberty always was and today remains the only viable alternative to the economic turmoil and authoritarian social relationships caused by militaristic aspirations and adventures. Our view is that Libertarian economic policy is the requisite for peace, harmony, and expanding economic welfare in all times and under all circumstances.

## Socializing the Cost of Risk

The hallmark of the private property, free market system is that those who take business risks must bear the responsibilities for their decisions. For the profit and loss mechanism to function effectively, losses must be privately borne as well as profits personally reaped. As we enter the last quarter of the 20th Century, the private responsibility for risk-bearing is a declining reality for a growing sector of the business community.

Dinosaur firms which ought to fold and go out of business—thus shifting capital to new and dynamic enterprises—are, for "overriding social purposes," kept alive with tax dollars, credits, and government loans. Lockheed and Penn Central are only the most famous examples of a long list of such waste of precious capital. Foundering financial institutions are rescued from the full impact of their imprudent loan decisions by Federal Reserve bailouts and coverups.



There has even been discussion of reviving the archetypal New Deal agency for "bailout capitalism," the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This new RFC would stand by to socialize the costs and risks of any firm deemed necessary to the "national interest" or any firm whose failure would result in a "hardship" for a significant sector of the economy. It does not take much imagination to figure out who will determine which businesses are "in the national interest" (a term which is just as elastic as "for reasons of national security"). More and more, what used to be private business decisions are crowded out of the market sector and are now determined by political pull and hidden alliances. And, to top it off, the consumers and taxpayers are left to pick up the bill for an increasingly inefficient system.

## The End of the "Invisible Hand"?

Decades of interventions into the market system have created deep contradictions and misallocations, as well as a disharmony of interests among the various sectors of the economy—the very opposite of what happens in a purely free market system. These decades of governmental interventions have slowly but systematically begun to destroy the nearly automatic self-coordination mechanism of the market process. In case after case, the "invisible hand" of the free market has been replaced by the all too visible iron fist of tougher, "no nonsense" regulations.

Since there are well-heeled interests who keep benefitting from the assorted regulations, it becomes increasingly difficult to dismantle them. Just look at the howl coming from the transportation and airline industries recently when it was suggested that deregulation begin in their protected sectors! And in order to "make the system work," more comprehensive regulations and tighter controls have been imposed on the whole business community. These controls have occasionally been loosened; but then they seem to get tighter than ever with each succeeding round of economic crises.

## We Stand with the Competitive Sector

The result of all this has been to heap enormous power and privilege on a relatively few, but very influential and strategically positioned, business leaders, corporations, and financial institutions. But, there are still tens of thousands of businessmen—both large and small—who do not make their living primarily through government, and who do not have a say in making regulatory and tax policy. For them

regulations are a nightmare of bureaucratic red tape and exasperating and costly paperwork, and threaten their very existence.

The effects of regulations imposed on the economy thus fall unevenly on the business community. This has led to the formation of two clear—though not always distinct—sectors within American business. First there is the privileged, or what we can call the "protected sector." Second there is the part which, rather than being aided, is exploited—what we can call the "competitive sector."

It is with this competitive sector and with the consumers that we Libertarians align ourselves, as we demand an end to privileges, inefficiencies, and exploitation which are the essence of the regulated, neo-mercantilist economy.

We call for the complete separation of Economy and State. Just as we demand that there be no intervention in our personal lives and mental and spiritual activities, so, too, do we insist that there be no intervention in the economic sphere. The businessman who is not using force or fraud should remain unhampered by government (there should be no prohibition of "capitalist acts between consenting adults"); by the same token, the government should not underwrite business in any manner: no favors, subsidies, bailouts, tariffs, regulatory agencies, credits to exporters, loan guarantees and so on. Libertarians look forward to the day when *all* businessmen operate solely in the competitive sector and none remain in the privileged protected sector. We will fight the political battle until the protected sector no longer exists.

*This position paper was prepared by Walter Grinder, a leading exponent of the Austrian school of economics. He is the author of numerous articles on economic theory.*

## RECOMMENDED READING

*The Road to Serfdom*  
F.A. Hayek  
*The Triumph of Conservatism*  
Gabriel Kolko  
*As We Go Marching*  
John T. Flynn  
*The Higher Circles*  
G. William Domhoff  
*The Permanent War Economy*  
Seymour Melman  
*A New History of Leviathan*  
R. Radosh and M.N. Rothbard, eds.  
*America's Emerging Fascist Economy*  
Charlotte Twilight



## SIL Position Paper

# War and Peace, Collectivism vs. Capitalism

By David K. Walter  
and Jarret B. Wollstein

Whenever there is talk of war and peace, one still hears the old canard that "Capitalism equals Imperialism equals War." Any examination of the capitalist system gives lie to this assertion.

### Peace and Capitalism

A free market economy (i.e., free enterprise or capitalism) requires peaceful cooperation. It bursts asunder when people turn from exchanging goods to fighting one another. What does a free trader care how large "his" country's boundaries are? There is nothing to gain by conquest that can't be obtained by mutual exchange through free trade (a definitional prerequisite of any capitalist system).

During the latter part of the 19th Century, talk of peace began to be seriously considered. The 19th Century English liberals, gathered in the "Manchester School," held hope for a durable peace under free trade which they expected to bring prosperity to the freer nations. They realized that democracy was not all that was needed for peace. In addition, governments must act by the principle of *laissez faire*. These liberals were among the first to realize that free trade was a prerequisite for the preservation of peace. With no trade or migration barriers, there would be no incentives for conquest.

Unfortunately, the "Manchester School" could not stem the rising tide of collectivist thought and sentiments of those who considered trade "base" and conquest "noble." The resulting political dominance of totalitarianism produced the great world wars in the 20th Century.

### Interventionism and War

We may well ask why modern nations do prefer aggression and nationalism to international free trade. In a *laissez faire* world, causes of international conflict disappear. But in a world of government intervention, conflicts develop. In a system that sets pressure groups one against another, a system where one human being is told to sacrifice his good for that of others, a system where individual rights are not recognized—hostility and conflict take root and grow. Interventionism means economic nationalism and gives every citizen a direct interest in the size of his country's boundaries.

In a world divided into antagonistic nation-states, all anxious to intervene in the affairs of each other, conquest means relief from the domestic economic and social problems created by nationalism. Interventionism diverts public attention from these problems and offers the prospect of raising living standards in one country by looting the wealth of other nations. If raising one's living standard and improving one's position within a nation is impossible because of stringent economic controls and elitism, then war and aggression offer the only prospects of a better life.

Thus the more regulated an economy becomes, the more citizens are taxed, the less one's material rewards have to do with productivity and the more they have to do with politics, the more likely it is that nations will engage in trade wars, interventionism, and violent international conflict. This conflict of vital interests can be eliminated only by rejection of nationalism and collectivism, and embracing the philosophy of individual rights, free trade, and non-interventionism. What the world needs, in brief, is more capitalism, not more treaties, world government, and collectivism.

### Consumer Sovereignty and War

What is it that the apostles of collectivism see as despicable about capitalism? Perhaps it is the fact that consumers, not the government,

direct the capitalist system. But consumers seek more comfort and a higher living standard, not more weapons and war.

Domestically, consumers maximize their welfare by specialization and free trade. Similarly, internationally, nations maximize their welfare by international division of labor (so each area produces what is most efficient and profitable) and world free trade. War upsets free trade and the international division of labor and forces nations to become more self-sufficient and lose access to more efficient foreign production.

It is thus not the interests of consumers which are served by war and the preparation for war. To the extent that consumers control their society and act in their self-interest, they will eschew war and embrace peace. Only the economic delusions fostered by government and political ends are served by war.

In past generations, war was always detrimental to the interests of society, but today it is potentially disastrous and completely intolerable. Modern weapons of mass destruction threaten not simply harm to society but its total obliteration. Thus, in the 20th Century, peaceful cooperation between nations is not simply beneficial but absolutely essential. We can no longer afford to have politicians dictating war and peace.

The attempt by one nation to impose its will upon another (nationalism and international economic barriers to trade)—not capitalism—is the cause for war. As the eminent economist Dr. Ludwig von Mises sums it up: "Interventionism generates economic nationalism and economic nationalism generates bellicosity."

### Competition, Statism, and War

Some people point to competition in the capitalist system and assert that this naturally leads to "dog eat dog" and war. Competition, it is claimed, breeds aggression.

However, this contention presupposes that in seeking riches one necessarily impoverishes others. This assumes that the amount of wealth in the world is static and that capitalists are really ill-disguised looters (like collectivists). In fact, the amount of wealth in the world is not static but a dynamic function of human productivity: Wealth is a product of human thought and effort applied to the raw materials of nature. In a free society, wealth is produced not by decreasing what others have but rather by transforming comparatively less valuable raw materials of nature into forms more valuable to human beings. This process decreases the wealth of no one, increases the goods available to everyone, and does not involve looting in any form. As the free market economist David Friedman has commented, "Socialism tried to divide up the social pie, with everyone getting ever-smaller pieces. Capitalism bakes new pies for everyone."

What kind of society is dedicated to looting? Not one based upon productivity and free trade, but rather societies based upon the redistribution of wealth and regimentation of men. In other words, it is socialism and collectivism that are dedicated to and based upon looting. These societies regard men as natural resources, to be used and taxed and regulated according to the will of the leaders for the supposed benefit of society as a whole. A society which regards men as objects obliterates human rights. A society which violates the rights of its own citizens can hardly be expected to respect the rights of citizens of other countries. The principle upon which collectivist and socialist societies operates is looting; whether that looting is domestic or international is merely a matter of detail.

Capitalist societies have nothing to gain by war. Even the United States—which has an economy which is a mixture of socialism and capitalism—has nothing to gain by aiding aggression by other countries or by engaging in

war itself. Subsidizing foreign arms sales and expending the wealth of this nation upon foreign adventurism merely robs U.S. taxpayers while contributing to the devastation of the world.

Only the socialist elements in the U.S. economy—subsidized corporations and political factions seeking to increase their power over the American people—benefit by war. Only complete distortion of the essential nature of freedom and capitalism could enable one to claim that corporations which now rely upon government subsidies and arms contracts are examples of free market capitalism.

### The Free Society and War

A society based upon respect for individual rights and complete free market capitalism is in principle and in practice fundamentally opposed to war.

In the first place, a society based upon respect for individual rights has an inherent bias against the violation of any person's rights, regardless of where they live.

Secondly, participants in a free market have no incentive to loot since they can attain all of their material objectives far better through cooperation and trade. War and anything else that threatens that process are of no value to men in a free society.

Third, in a free society, the costs of war would be borne by private citizens directly. And no one citizen could ever hope to recoup through war, victorious or not, what he lost through taxation or voluntary assessments. It is only in statist countries which uphold the principle that it is proper to redistribute the wealth of others, that one could hope to profit from aggressive war.

Capitalism holds markets through competition. Statism holds victims through legalized

aggression. Of what use is a war-conquered territory unless one hopes to receive special privileges from the vanquished by force?

The foreign policy of capitalism is quite simply free trade: ending barriers to commerce, tariffs, and special government privileges.

### Government and War

It is government that allows "pull" that encourages war profiteers. Every subsidy, every special license, every benefit government's favored war manufacturers get is at the expense of competing corporations and taxpayers as a whole. Such special privileges are not justified by capitalism but rather by the statists who uphold the concept of "public interest" in the first place.

Who took the U.S. into the world wars? Not the businessmen who were smeared as isolationists and "America Firsters." It was rather the collectivist reformers, the "do-good" moralizers. Each war meant more totalitarianism and less freedom, hardly benefits to advocates of economic freedom.

The system which benefits from war is that system which advocates unlimited power for the state, the establishment of social governing elites, and the denial of individual rights. In a word, it is collectivism.

Advocates of free market capitalism do not have to apologize for their system's alleged tendency to encourage war. Such charges are simply not true. Historically, international aggression mounted as the libertarianism and capitalism of the 19th Century waned, as is logically inevitable.

Capitalism does not promote war. Rather, war is a consequence of the collectivist ideologies which proclaim: "Good can be achieved through political power, the freedom of the individual must be subordinated to the goals of society, and the ends justify the means."



## Gandhi on Liberty

*To some libertarians, Mohandas K. Gandhi remains an unalterably despicable figure. They remember and revile his preachments against personal wealth and for economic equality. But beyond all of that there was the Gandhi who spoke for the libertarian ideals of individualism as against state collectivism. It is from that aspect of the writings of Gandhi that long-time libertarian activist Carol Moore has selected these excerpts.*

**ON FREEDOM:** The spirit of political and international liberty is universal and, it may even be said, instinctive...The attainment of freedom, whether for a man, a nation or the world, must be in exact proportion to the attainment of non-violence by each...There is no such thing as slow freedom. Till we are fully free we are all slaves. All birth takes place in a moment...I want freedom for the full expression of my personality. I must be free to build a staircase to Sirius if I want to...No action which is not voluntary can be called moral. So long as we act like machines there can be no question of morality...Any action that is dictated by fear or by coercion of any kind ceases to be moral...Freedom of the individual is at the root of all progress...

**ON GOVERNMENT:** Government control gives rise to fraud, suppressions of truth, intensification of the black market and artificial scarcity. Above all, it unmans the people and deprives them of initiative, it undoes the teaching of self-help...I look upon an increase

in the power of the State with the greatest fear because, although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the heart of all progress...We find the general work of mankind is being carried on from day to day by the mass of people acting as if by instinct. If they were instinctively violent the world would end in no time....

**ON NON-VIOLENT ACTION:** Civil disobedience becomes a sacred duty when the State has become lawless or corrupt. And a citizen who barter with such a State shares in its corruption and lawlessness...Every citizen is responsible for every act of his government...A government that is evil has no room for good men and women except in its prisons...There is only one sovereign remedy, namely, non-violent cooperation. Whether we advertise the fact or not, the moment we cease to support the government it dies a natural death...My method is conversion, not coercion...I hope the real (self-rule) will come not by the acquisition of authority by the few but by the acquisition by all to resist authority when abused.

**ON MEANS AND ENDS:** Violence breeds violence...Pure goals can never justify impure or violent action...They say the means are after all just means. I would say means are after all everything. As the means, so the end...If we take care of the means we are bound to reach the end sooner or later...



# Libertarian Innovators

By Terry Inman

There is an aspect of politics which, as everyone seems to know, is very much like the marketing of ordinary commodities. Packaging, advertising and, finally, market acceptance are involved. How does the Libertarian Party, dwarfed by the statistics of the two older parties, stack up in that market? Is it hopelessly outclassed? Should it just merge its efforts into one of the older parties? Is it worth the effort to keep plugging away, year after year, without piling up the numbers that some analysts revel in? One substantial positive answer to those questions was provided in the November/December, 1985, issue of the *Libertarian Party NEWS*. It is reprinted here as an ingenious description of the way in which Libertarian Party influence may be seen as far greater than any simple statistics might suggest.

If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer.

—Henry David Thoreau

After a dozen years now, with LP candidates still receiving just about 2 percent or so of the vote (where we have candidates), Libertarians have rightly begun to wonder whether our message only appeals to a very narrow segment of society. Or have we, through all of our hustling just to get LP candidates on the ballot, forgotten something crucial?

While it may be too soon to fully answer that question, a review of contemporary marketing literature and available data on what current LP supporters are actually like, begins to shed some light on this issue. One heartening conclusion which seems justified is that our current state of development is largely the result of the fact that we are a "new product" in the marketplace, sharply differentiated from existing political choices. The reason the Libertarian Party does not yet have mass support is not because it does not have mass appeal, but because it is so new.

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

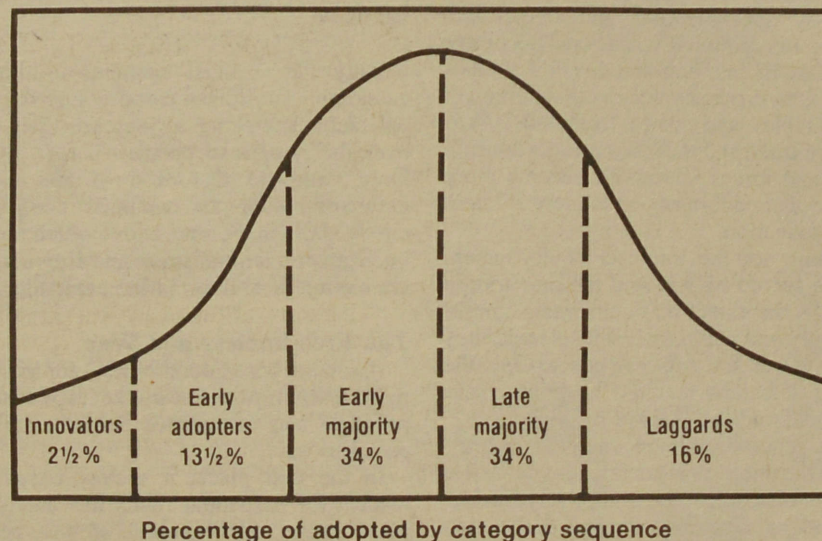
As shown in Tables A and B, these categories reflect a traditional bell-shaped curve, with the first people to accept a new product constituting a very small percentage of the overall population.

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

While these categories are somewhat artificial, they do provide a useful means of looking at the adoption process, and tend to reflect the actual reality of product acceptance. The growth of the personal computer industry, for instance, largely mirrors this model, with technical-oriented computer hackers (the Innovators) leading the way. In this product market, we seem to be past the Early Adopter stage and into the Early Majority phase, where most of the potential market for PCs is already being served. The remaining skeptical computer buyers are slowly being won over by new and better equipment and software.

TABLE A

The Sequence and Proportion of Adopter Categories Among the Population that Eventually Adopts



## Innovators and Libertarians

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

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

*The Innovator plays an important role in the process of change. The Innovator may not be a respected "leader" of change, but there is no doubt that when the Innovator adopts a new idea, he causes his peers to become aware of the innovation. If the innovation proves to be advantageous, the initial skepticism of the Innovator's peers may change to a grudging admittance of its utility.*

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

But where does this leave Libertarians? While there has not yet been a great deal of research into the sociological makeup of existing libertarians, preliminary results of one academic study were released in the spring of 1983. Conducted by John C. Green and James L. Guth for the Department of Political Science at Furman University in Greenville, SC, their initial analysis was entitled "The socialization of a third party elite: the case of the Libertarians."

While the conclusions in this study indicated that the libertarian appeal was rather narrow,

these researchers appeared to err in their assumption that the traits they found were necessarily special to libertarians, when actually they were traits shared by any Innovators of any new product.

The following comparisons are illuminating: • Douglas Mellot in his text, *Fundamentals of Consumer Behavior*, says: *Innovators are the first to adopt new products and comprise 2.5 percent of the market. They are venturesome and are "risk takers" in many respects. There is evidence to suggest that Innovators are very different in personality and lifestyles from others. In terms of lifestyle, they are cosmopolitan, having friends outside the community in which they live.*

Compare this to Green and Guth's finding that despite the relative youth of Libertarians, "they had lived in an average of three different states since age 21. This mobility, together with their high level of education, suggest that Libertarians are largely 'cosmopolitans' rather than 'locals'." Only 6 percent of the libertarian activists surveyed were very active in "local community affairs" while 55 percent were "rarely" active.

• The Innovators' "sources of information also reflect their cosmopolitan orientation," explains Mellot, transcending the local community and including other Innovators and impersonal and scientific sources.

Contrast this to the Furman University survey which noted that 63 percent of Libertarian activists were found to consider books very important sources of information, with 46 percent support for opinion magazines and 33 percent for political newsletters. Absolutely no Libertarians surveyed reported considering

clergymen, TV news, radio news, trade association union, or professional publications very important information sources.

• According to Mellot, Innovators "are often above average in income for their age group and are young, well-educated consumers. They read widely and are generally well informed and hold some degree of opinion leadership."

The libertarian survey found, while "most Libertarian activists are quite young, recent entrants into the political system, they do exhibit very imposing absolute levels of education...Almost a quarter have PhDs."

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

Accordingly, Green and Guth found that "for Libertarians, party choice is a particularly intellectual one, not based on pre-rational or a-rational factors."

## Early Adopters and Libertarians

After the Innovator category comes the Early Adopters. Green and Guth were wrong in concluding that Libertarians are cosmopolitan per se. With a new product, the first users are bound to be cosmopolitan. But the next group, the Early Adopters, tends to be quite different.

Mellot explains:

*The three major characteristics of the Innovator—cosmopolitan, venturesome, and risk-taking—are not possessed in large amounts by the Early Adopters, who account for 13.5 percent of the market. In fact, their localite lifestyle contributes to their exhibiting the greatest amount of opinion leadership of all the adopter groups. Because they are locals, they are likely to hold positions of leadership in the community and are respected as good sources of information and advice about the innovation. Early Adopters are highly integrated socially and seek the respect and approval of fellow community members. They tend to watch the Innovators closely, and as soon as it appears that they have adopted a product, they too, become adopters.*

It is likely that LP candidates who run successfully for local office will tend to fall more into this category, since they have stronger ties to their communities and more often will already exhibit a degree of leadership in their immediate community. It is also likely that the first candidates from other political parties who begin to pick up and use the libertarian arguments will fall into this group. Since major party politicians often are more concerned with electoral success than with the content of their ideas, we might reasonably expect a veritable flood of "born again" libertarians from the major parties once an Early Majority adopter category begins to emerge.

How the Libertarian Party decides to deal with this transmission process of libertarian ideas into the political mainstream may well prove to be our biggest challenge in the future.

## Applying the Lessons

The adopter categories, including Innovators, Early Adopters, the Early Majority, and so on, are paralleled by the adoption process itself, beginning with problem perception, awareness, interest, comprehension, etc.

Problem perception is equivalent to what Murray Rothbard calls the "objective conditions." These are real-world existing political conditions, and it is this stage which inspired the creation of the Libertarian Party. Awareness is the next stage, which may well be the one in which the Libertarian Party currently operates.

Continued on page 17

TABLE B

Adopter category	Description	Relative % within the population which eventually adopts
Innovators	"Venturesome"—willing to accept risk	2.5
Early adopters	"Respectable"—regarded by many others in the social system as a role model	13.5
Early majority	"Deliberate"—willing to consider innovation only after peers have adopted	34.0
Late majority	"Skeptical"—overwhelming pressure from peers needed before adoption occurs	34.0
Laggards	"Traditional"—oriented to the past	16.0
		100.0



## LP Position Paper

# Inflation: Playing Politics with Money

Inflation, in the popular terminology, may be defined as a persistent rise in the cost of living, or in the level of consumer prices. Looking at it another way, inflation is a persistent decline in the value—the purchasing power in goods and services—of the dollar or other currency unit. Inflation has been an acute social problem ever since at least the Roman Empire, and has been a chronic and accelerating problem in the United States and most other countries since World War II.

What is the cause of inflation? Many contrasting theories have been offered, to explain both the current inflation and the numerous inflations of the past. Merchants, speculators, big business, aliens, unions, consumer greed—have been some of the groups offered up as scapegoats for public condemnation. (Conservatives who blame unions for inflation strike a particularly bizarre note, since (a) wages generally lag behind consumer prices during inflations, as they have done during the current inflationary crises; and (b) there weren't any unions at all during the numerous inflations before the 20th Century.)

### What's a Price?

In order to understand inflation, and to make some sense out of the chaotic welter of explanations offered, we must step back and analyze what a *price* is. A price is the amount of money paid for a specific amount of a certain product. The two major elements of the transactions, then, are money and goods, each of which bid against the other—or rather, are bid by buyers and sellers—in arriving at the market price of any good. The more money bidding against goods, the higher the price, and *vice versa*. In the time-honored but correct cliché, “prices are determined by supply and demand.” If, for example, there is a particularly good corn crop this year, more corn will pour out on the market, and the price of corn will fall; if, on the other hand, there is a poor crop, the supply of corn will drop, and the price of corn will rise on the market. The price of a product tends to move inversely to its supply on the market. It is for that reason, for example, that TV sets have fallen drastically in price—and for a higher quality product—from the late 1940s to the present, and this in spite of the sharp rise in general prices. The decline occurred because of the enormous expansion in the supply of TV sets as they reached a mass market during this period.

### Why Are Prices Skyrocketing?

Left alone, the general trend of the capitalist economy will be a fall in prices, as the supply of goods expands—TV sets being a striking example. Why, then, has the general trend over the centuries been an inflationary rise in prices?

If we look at the collection of all goods and services, it should be clear that for inflation to be caused by the *supply* side, there would have to be a steady and persistent *fall*, in the production of the economy. Obviously, the facts have been happily just the reverse; except for a few brief years during depressions, the supply of goods and services goes up, year after year, decade after decade.

If inflations, then, cannot be accounted for by cuts in the supply of goods, the cause must be from the *demand* side: that consumers have more and more money, year after year, to spend on goods and services, thereby bidding prices up and up. And if we check the facts, that's what we will find: Long-term inflations are accompanied by long-term increases in the supply of money; briefer but acute bouts of violent and runaway inflation are fueled by rapid and accelerating increases of that supply.

Suppose, for example, that the Angel Gabriel descended on us tonight and magically, overnight, doubled everyone's stock of money, of dollars, doubled everyone's bank account, money in purse or wallet, or under the floorboards. Everyone would *think* themselves twice as well off, would bless the Angel Gabriel, and rush out to spend the new money. But the stock of capital equipment, of resources and goods and services in the economy, would not have changed. So, while the supply of goods and services remained the same, the doubled supply of dollars would quickly bid all prices to roughly twice the height that they were before the bonanza. As a whole, we would be no better off. Except: that those people who rushed out early in the morning to spend the cash would benefit, while those who waited until prices rose, would lose out during this interim period.

### Money Supply Is the Key

The culprit, then, is the money supply. Where does it come from, and who controls it? In the free-market economy, money is invariably a supply of a useful commodity, almost always a precious metal such as gold. The supply of money is whatever gold has been dug out of the ground, and the currency unit is some unit of weight of gold. (Thus, in the 19th Century, “the dollar” was roughly equivalent—another name for—one-twentieth of an ounce of gold.) It is true that sudden gold discoveries can increase the supply of money and send prices upward, but generally gold is a costly and rare metal, as well as a durable one, so that the annual production of gold is a small fraction of its accumulated stock in the economy. Generally, too, the free market increases the production of goods and services faster than new gold is mined, so that the trend of unhampered capitalism is a gently falling price level.

pand our influence far beyond our numbers by rounding up our potential allies for activities which we organize.

Understanding the marketing process of any product, especially ours, should enable us to understand how best to reach our goals. Once we do these things, we will reach a much larger constituency. We will reach all of our potential Innovators. They in turn will reach multitudes of Early Adopters, who through their combination of expertise and active community involvement exercise the most opinion leadership of any adopter group.

It is through our Early Adopters that we will galvanize the support of a large segment, if not yet the majority, of the American public.

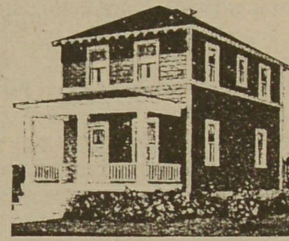
*Terry Inman is a marketing graduate from the University of Missouri, where he founded the UMSL Libertarian Students. He is a former secretary of the Missouri Libertarian Party and is a regional liaison for the Libertarian Student Network.*

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for this  
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This sturdy two-story home contains big living-room, dining-room, kitchen, pantry, rear porch, three bed-rooms, bath and closets. A complete home.



### Government Control = Inflation

Why, then, the persistent tendency throughout history of inflation? The answer is that governments persist in tinkering with the supply of money—indeed, have managed to seize absolute control over the supply of money. Governments are now able to increase the supply of money at will, now that “dollars” are no longer pieces of gold metal but instead are pieces of paper issued by the central government which must be legal tender for all debts (in the United States, it is the federal government's Federal Reserve System that prints the money). Governments, in short, print as much money as they want, and—the nature of man and or power being what it is—they therefore tend to print as much as they can get away with. The government today does what is essentially “legalized counterfeiting” through the banking system, by “printing” new bank deposits via its absolute control of the nation's banks. In practice, it does so partially by “lowering reserve requirements,” and largely by Federal Reserve purchasing of assets. The way the system is structured, every time the Fed buys \$1 billion of assets (nowadays, government bonds) it rapidly generates a roughly \$6 billion increase in checking deposit money, and still more in savings deposits.

Even as you read these lines—and *whenever* you read these lines—the Fed is busy pumping new reserves, and therefore new money, into the system, while assuring businesses, unions, the housing market, and consumers that it will “furnish an adequate supply of money,” will ease anyone's “liquidity crunch,” etc. Whatever the rationale, it means that the Fed is going to keep inflating the money supply, thereby accelerating the inflation menace. Part of that menace results from the fact that the government is *not* even as beneficent as the dubious Angel Gabriel: for when it inflates money, it doesn't double everyone's coffers, but ladles the money out to itself and to favored political and economic groups, with the average person suffering from getting the new money last, and sometimes never. The upshot will be an eventual acceleration of inflation to the runaway stage, and the total collapse of the dollar and the monetary system.

It is, of course, no accident that all sorts of groups are blamed by one faction or other in the government for the inflation. For this diverts the attention of the public from the *real* culprit: that supposedly heroic fighter against inflation, the government itself.

### Remove Government from the Marketplace

How to stop the disastrous inflation should now be crystal clear, though not so simple in practice. It is to *stop the government* from increasing the money supply and artificially expanding bank credit. In addition to the importance of educating the public on what's going on, one immediate way to do this would be to pass a law forbidding the Fed from lowering reserve requirements or from buying new assets ever again. A more fundamental reform would be to eradicate all influence or control by the government over the supply of money, by, for example: abolishing the power of the federal government to print dollars; abolishing the Federal Reserve System; and returning to the dollar as the definition of a weight of gold and forcing the government to disgorge the hoard of gold which they seized from the public during the “depression emergency” of 1933 and never relinquished. It is not enough to allow private citizens to own gold, as has recently been done; we must also have the right to redeem our private property, the gold that was seized from us by the government in 1933 and never returned. The ultimate libertarian objective is a return to the only stable monetary system—one in which the *marketplace* determines the nature and quantity of money.

These libertarian reforms would put an end to the menace of inflation. And while this subject is too complex to go into here, it would end recessions and depressions as well, for they are the result of previous inflationary booms in bank credit, made possible by what in essence is the counterfeiting activities of the federal government.

*This position paper was prepared by Professor Murray N. Rothbard, Chairman, at the time, of the Libertarian Party Board of Economic Advisors.*

### RECOMMENDED READING

*Essentials of Economics*  
Faustino Ballve  
*Inflation and Price Control*  
F.A. Harper  
*The Theory of Money and Credit*  
Ludwig Von Mises  
*What Has Government Done to Our Money?*  
Murray N. Rothbard  
*Fiat Money Inflation in France*  
Andrew D. White

*Whenever you hear a man speak of his love for his country it is a sign that he expects to be paid for it.*

—H.L. Mencken

*An idealist is one who, on noticing that a rose smells better than a cabbage, concludes that it will also make better soup.*

—H.L. Mencken

*The difference between a moral man and a man of honor is that the latter regrets a discreditable act, even when it has worked and he has not been caught.*

—H.L. Mencken

Do you need an easy-to-read book which summarizes the case for liberty to loan to friends? **A Liberty Primer** is the solution! Send \$7.95 + \$1.00 postage (NYers add sales tax) to: Genesee Valley Society for Individual Liberty, Box 10224, Drawer LPN, Rochester, NY 14610

## Innovators

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We need to speed up and complete this stage, since once people are aware of us and our program, interest will develop and everything else will come along naturally.

There are many things which can be done right now to speed this process along. We should encourage and assist as many libertarians as possible to regularly write letters-to-the-editor—the more the better. We should establish contact and build bridges with as many individuals and groups as possible who are oppressed by the State. In turn, these groups can use libertarian philosophy to more soundly underpin their statements to the public and news media.

A final initial step is for the LP to take a major part, if not the predominant element, in anti-tax, anti-paper money, and anti-war activities. In addition to participating in rallies and forums organized by others, we can ex-

## Irrepressible

Libertarianism is principle—and people. It is the irrepressible spirit of the people that brings the principle to life. An example: The Libertarian Party NEWS recently received a postcard. Handwritten, it proclaimed itself a “Press Release.”

The text: “Government bureaucrats look out! Kim Zapata Smith has been accepted to the University of Florida College of Law for the spring, 1987, semester. She has every intention of putting her knowledge to work for libertarian causes, including defending her husband, John Wayne Smith, as necessary!”

(John Wayne Smith, as detailed in this paper's May/June 1986 issue, is constantly challenging the right of politicians to make him obtain a license to ply his trade as a cab driver and owner.)



# New Right Assaults U.S. Constitution

By David Boonin

Next year will mark the 200th anniversary of the drafting of the U.S. Constitution. It is likely to be accompanied by a large celebration, but judging from recent developments in parts of the legal community, it ought also to be accompanied by a new debate over what the Constitution is.

Conservative legal thinkers, including many who have been appointed to the federal bench, are on the offensive. Arguing that the modern courts have usurped powers from the legislative and executive branches of government, they call for what they regard as a more literal understanding of the Constitution. But in doing so, they threaten to undermine the very rights the Constitution was designed to protect.

That this is likely to be the effect of the New Right's view of the Constitution is coming to be more widely appreciated. The threat to individual rights that the New Right represents runs far deeper than the status of any one case or the protection of any one right. The funda-

mental issue at stake is nothing less than the purpose of the Constitution itself.

As Stephen Macedo, a professor of government at Harvard University, makes clear in a new study published by the influential Cato Institute, *The New Right v. The Constitution*, the modern conservative movement's view of jurisprudence is characterized by an unwarranted emphasis on the powers the Constitution grants the government rather than on the powers it denies the government. Contrary to conventional understanding of the Constitution as a sweeping restriction on the role of government ("Congress shall make no law..."), the New Right's view portrays the Constitution primarily as a set of rules to set up "the mechanism of democratic choice," as Judge Robert H. Bork put it. The consequences of this grave misunderstanding are profound.

In the first place, as Macedo perceptively notes, this approach to the Constitution, based on the vague and dubious principle of the "original intent" of the framers, establishes a

dangerous double standard. Judges, on this account, should acknowledge only those rights plainly contained in the Constitution; lawmakers, on the other hand, are free to do anything not plainly prohibited by the Constitution.

More fundamentally, this form of constitutional analysis subverts the role of rights, which is so crucial to the American system of government. As the Founding Fathers clearly recognized, people have rights independent of government. These rights are, as Jefferson described them, inalienable. It was for the protection of such rights that people united to form a government in the first place and the framers gathered in Philadelphia to draft a Constitution.

The Founding Fathers, that is, turned to democracy as a means of protecting rights. But in strictly limiting its powers through the Constitution, they revealed their keen sensitivity to the danger that government posed to liberty.

This important lesson, however, seems lost on the judges and legal scholars of the New Right. Rather than recognizing the restrictive nature of the Constitution, they accuse the modern courts of inappropriately restricting the powers of the legislature. As Macedo observes, "When conservatives...treat rights as islands surrounded by a sea of government powers, they precisely reverse the view of the Founders as enshrined in the Constitution, wherein government powers are limited and specified and rendered as islands surrounded by a sea of individual rights."

The bitterest irony in all this surely lies in the deceptive nature of the New Right's political agenda. Masquerading behind the cloak of original intent, the New Right is in fact initiating a revolutionary turn away from the noble ideals of the Founding Fathers.

*Boonin is a fellow of the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University.*

## The Death of Politics

Continued from Page 5

way into political power otherwise denied them. Conservatives seem to think that greater state police power is the answer. Liberals seem to think that more preferential state welfare power is the answer. Power, power, power.

Except for ordinary looters—for whom the answer must be to stop them as you would any other thief—the real answer to rioting must lie elsewhere. It must lie in the abandonment, not the extension, of state power—state power that oppresses people, state power that tempts people. To cite one strong example: The white stores in many black neighborhoods, which are said to cause such dissatisfaction and envy, have a special, unrealized advantage thanks to state power. In a very poor neighborhood there may be many with the natural ability to open a retail store, but it is much less likely that these people would also have the ability to meet all the state and city regulations, governing everything from cleanliness to bookkeeping, which very often comprise the marginal difference between going into business or staying out. In a real laissez-faire society, the local entrepreneur, with whom the neighbors might prefer to deal, could go openly into business—selling marijuana, whiskey, numbers slips, books, food, or medical advice from the trunk of his car. He could forget about ledgers, forms, and reports and simply get on with the business of business, rather than the business of bureaucracy. Allowing ghetto dwellers to compete on their own terms, rather than on someone else's, should prove a more satisfying and practical solution to ghetto problems than either rampages or restrictions.

The libertarian thrusts away from power and authority that marked the Goldwater campaign were castigated from the left as being "nostalgic yearnings for a simpler world." (Perhaps akin to the simplistic yearnings of the hippies whom the left so easily tolerates even while it excoriates Goldwater.) Goldwater's libertarianism was castigated from the right—he received virtually no support from big business—as representing policies that could lead to unregulated competition, international free trade and, even worse, a weakening of the very special partnership that big business now enjoys with Big Government.

The most incredible convulsion in the thinking that attacked Goldwater as reactionary, which he wasn't, rather than radical, which he was, came in regard to nuclear weapons. In that area he was specifically damned for daring to propose that the control of these weapons be shared, and even fully placed, in the multinational command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, rather than left to the personal, one-man discretion of the President of the United States.

Again, who is reactionary and who is radical? The men who want an atomic king enthroned in Washington, or the man who dares ask that the divine right of destruction become less divine and more divided? Until recently, it was a popular cocktail pastime to speculate on the difference between the war in Vietnam under "Save-the-world-from-Goldwater" Johnson or as it might have been under wild Barry, who, by his every campaign utterance, would have been bound to share the Vietnam decision (and the fighting) with NATO, rather than simply and unilaterally going it alone.

### A Civil Rights Movement

To return to the point: The most vital question today about politics—not in politics—is the same sort of question that is plaguing Christianity. Superficially, the Christian question seems simply what kind of religion should be chosen. But basically, the question is whether any irrational or mystical forces are supportable, as a way to order society, in a world increasingly able and ready to be rational. The political version of the question may be stated this way: Will men continue to submit to rule by politics, which has always meant the power of some men over other men, or are we ready to do it alone socially, in communities of voluntarism, in a world more economic and cultural than political, just as so many are now prepared to go it alone metaphysically in a world more of reason than religion?

The radical and revolutionary answer that a libertarian, laissez-faire position makes to that question is not quite anarchy. The libertarian, laissez-faire movement is, actually, if embarrassing for some, a civil rights movement. But it is antipolitical, in that it builds diversified power to be protected against government, even to dispense with government to a major degree, rather than seeking power to protect government or to perform any special social purpose.

It is a civil-liberties movement in that it seeks civil liberties, for everyone, as defined in the nineteenth century by one of Yale's first professors of political and social science, William Graham Sumner. Sumner said: "Civil liberty is the status of the man who is guaranteed by law and civil institutions the exclusive employment of all his own powers for his own welfare."

Modern liberals, of course, would call this selfishness, and they would be correct, with intense emphasis on self. Many modern conservatives would say that they agree with Sumner, but they would not be correct. Men who call themselves conservatives, but who operate in the larger industries, spend con-

siderable time, and not a small amount of money, fighting government subsidies to labor unions (in the form of welfare programs). They do not fight direct subsidies to industries—such as transportation, farming, or universities. They do not, in short, believe that men are entitled to the exclusive employment of their own powers for their own welfare, because they accept the practice of taxing a good part of that power to use for the welfare of other people.

As noted, for all the theoretical screaming that sometimes may be heard from the industrial right, it is safe to say that the major powers of government to regulate industry were derived not only from the support of businessmen but actually at the insistence of businessmen. Uneconomical mail rates are cherished by businessmen who can profit from them and who, significantly, seem uninterested in the obvious possibility of transforming the postal service from a bureau into a business. As a business, of course, it would charge what it costs to mail things, not what is simply convenient for users to pay.

The big businessmen who operate the major broadcast networks are not known for suggesting, as a laissez-faire concept would insist, that competition for channels and audiences be wide open and unregulated. As a consequence, of course, the networks get all the government control that they deserve, accepting it in good cheer because, even if censored, they are also protected from competition. It is notable, also, that one of the most fierce denunciations of pay TV (which, under capitalism, should be a conceptual commonplace) came not from the *Daily Worker*, but from the *Reader's Digest*, that supposed bastion of conservatism. Actually, I think the *Digest* is such a bastion. It seems to believe that the state is an institution divinely ordained to make men moral—in a "Judeo-Christian" sense, of course. It abhors, as does no publication short of William Buckley's *National Review*, the insolence of those untidy persons who today so regularly challenge the authority of the state.

In short, there is no evidence whatever that modern conservatives subscribe to the "your life is your own" philosophy upon which libertarianism is founded. An interesting illustration that conservatism not only disagrees with libertarianism but is downright hostile to it is that the most widely known libertarian author of the day, Miss Ayn Rand, ranks only a bit below, or slightly to the side of, Leonid Brezhnev as an object of diatribe in *National Review*. Specifically, it seems, she is reviled on the right because she is an atheist, daring to take exception to the *National Review* notion that man's basically evil nature (stemming from original sin) must be held in check by a strong and authoritarian social order.

Barry Goldwater, during his 1964 campaign,

repeatedly said that "the government strong enough to give you what you want is strong enough to take it all away." Conservatives, as a group, have forgotten, or prefer to ignore, that this also applies to government's strength to impose social order. If government can enforce social norms, or even Christian behavior, it can also take away or twist them.

To repeat: Conservatives yearn for a state, or "leadership," with the power to restore order and to put things—and people—back in their places. They yearn for political power. Liberals yearn for a state that will bomb the rich and balm the poor. They too yearn for political power. Libertarians yearn for a state that cannot, beyond any possibility of amendment, confer any advantage on anyone; a state that cannot compel anything, but simply prevents the use of violence, in place of other exchanges, in relationships between individuals or groups.

Such a state would have as its sole purpose (probably supported exclusively by use taxes or fees) the maintenance of a system to adjudicate disputes (courts), to protect citizens against violence (police), to maintain some form of currency for ease of commerce, and, as long as it might be needed because of the existence of national borders and differences, to maintain a defense force. Meanwhile, libertarians should also work to end the whole concept of nation-state itself. The point here is that libertarians would start with no outstanding predispositions about public functions, being disposed always to think that there is in the personal and private world of individuals someone who can or will come along with a solution that gets the job done without conferring upon anyone power that has not been earned through voluntary exchange.

In fact, it is in the matters most appropriate to collective interest—such as courts and protection against violence—that government today often defaults. This follows the bureaucratic tendency to perform less-needed services—where the risk of accountability is minimal—and to avoid performing essential but highly accountable services. Courts are clogged beyond belief. Police, rather than simply protecting citizens against violence, are deeply involved in overseeing private morals. In black neighborhoods, particularly, the police serve as unloved, and unwanted arbiters of everyday life.

If, in the past few paragraphs, the reader can detect any hint of a position that would be compatible with either the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or the National Association of Manufacturers, he is strongly advised to look again. No such common ground exists. Nor can any common ground be adduced in terms of "new politics" versus "old politics." New or old, the positions that parade today

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# The Libertarian Play's the Thing

By Neil Steyskal

The following plays are all short enough to be presented at conventions, supper clubs, and demonstrations/rallies. Or, for non-activists, they are just good reading. Few of the plays are explicitly libertarian, but all oppose some aspect of the statist mentality. Addresses for obtaining the scripts are at the end.

Feedback on the list will be appreciated, including suggestions for additions and for how it could be more useful.

**Answers**—Tom Topor; 3 men. A suspect is being grilled by two policemen, who eventually force a confession but leave doubts about the suspect's actual guilt. Dramatists Play Service (DPS).

**Antigone**—Sophocles; 5 men, 3 women, chorus. Antigone defies the ruler of the city to bury her rebel brother. In most libraries.

**Bury the Dead**—Irwin Shaw; 20 men, 8 women. In the war to come, the dead soldiers refuse to be buried and their disobedience spreads rapidly. DPS.

**Contempt of Court**—Neil Steyskal; 3 men, 3 women. A jury deliberates the case of a man who refuses to register for the draft. One juror attempts to sway the others to vote "not guilty." Order from playwright.

**Final Orders**—Jean-Claude van Itale; 2 men. Two astronauts follow a prearranged daily schedule until even their amusements seem programmed. Is there any question whether they'll push the button when the order comes? DPS.

**Fools and Masters**—James DeFelice; 5

men. A high diver in an Italian circus is foiled by fascist safety rules which compel him to swim, which he cannot do, as well as dive. Playwrights Canada.

**The Informer**—Bertolt Brecht; 1 man, 2 women, 1 child. Parents grow to fear that their child will misinterpret careless remarks as disloyal and turn them in to the Nazis. Samuel French (SF).

**In Search of Justice**—Bertolt Brecht; 5 men, 1 woman. Perversion of the judicial system in Nazi Germany. SF.

**It's All in the Game**—Valerie Maskell; 3 men, 3 women. A family prepares to watch the government-sponsored super game on TV, but their son arrives to reveal that it's all a gigantic con. They decide that the game is real if they believe in it. SF.

**The Jewish Wife**—Bertolt Brecht; 1 man, 1 woman. A scientist in Nazi Germany allows his wife to leave him in order to help his career. SF.

**Leader**—Israel Horowitz; 3 men, 2 women. As the followers raise various fears and problems, the Leader always replies, "It's not important." Finally the Leader is revealed as a robot, and the followers lapse into babbling lunacy. DPS.

**The Legacy**—Paul Elliott; 3 men, 3 women. A family attempts to escape from a future in which children are prohibited and the strong consume the weak. SF.

**Marching as to War**—Rose Goldemberg; 4 men, 2 women. Panorama of U.S. wars. DPS.

**Massive Retaliation**—Neil Steyskal; 3 men,



1 woman. Through accidents and poor planning, the U.S. is temporarily without a nuclear deterrent. The president stops a Soviet ultimatum by threatening to hunt down the Soviet leaders individually. Order from playwright.

**Nothing for Thanks for Nothing**—Jerome Small; 7 men, 8 women. An anti-establishment Memorial Day ceremony. SF.

**Rubbers**—Jonathan Reynolds; 11 men, 2 women. The state legislature debates a requirement that stores publicly display contraceptives. DPS.

**Solitaire**—Robert Anderson; 4 men, 3 women. A future in which marriage is banned, and life is lived in mechanized motel rooms. DPS.

**Striptease**—Slowamir Mrozek; 2 men. An unseen force manipulates two men. One resists; the other rationalizes compliance. Their fate is the same. Grove Press.

**The Trial of Lucullus**—Bertolt Brecht; flexible. His victims judge a Roman general. SF.

**Trojan Women**—Euripides; 3 men, 5 women, 1 child, extras. Portrays the sufferings of a people defeated in war. In most libraries.

## SOURCES

Dramatists Play Service, 440 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10016.

Grove Press, 196 West Houston St., New York, NY 10014.

Neil Steyskal, Literary Manager, Woolly Mammoth Theatre Company, 1317 G. St. NW, Washington, DC 20005.

Playwrights Canada, 8 York St., 6th Floor, Toronto, M5J 1R2, Canada.

Samuel French, 25 West 45th St., New York, NY 10036.

*Steyskal is active in the professional theater in Washington, D.C. His compilation is reprinted from Free World Chronicle, the journal of the Libertarian International.*

## SIL Position Paper

# Saving Our Cities

By Donald C. Ernsberger

Throughout the nation, urban decay has focused attention on the question of "How can the problems of the slums be corrected?" I will state at the beginning of this article that the massive problems that exist are not the results of discrimination and white racism, but rather that the blame lies squarely at the feet of those humanitarian, altruistic, and well-meaning idealists who have tried to attain equality by destroying and attacking the only hope and answer to the problem of slums: the free market.

## Slums and Government Interference

Since the New Deal, government intervention into the free market has been expanded to include aid to workers and unions, suburbanites, farmers, and welfare recipients. But at what price?

The price has been the growth of slums. True, slums existed before the New Deal, but they were then stepping stones to acculturation. Now they have become a way of life for millions.

To begin with, all of the problems of family structure, housing, education, health, initiative, illegitimacy, etc. are basically economic. Certainly not all of these problems would disappear if the slum dweller becomes richer overnight, but the elimination of these problems requires an economic cure.

The slum dweller is an individual or family member who has been forced out of the job market by federal and state minimum wage laws and by union monopoly powers, as well as by certain present government economic policies. Slums themselves are created by decline of jobs in cities, poor housing due to government interference in the market, and by harmful tax policies. In addition, general social-cultural problems resulting from policies of the welfare state and economic recession lead to the creation of slums.

## Unemployment and Minimum Wage

Professor Milton Friedman, former Univer-

sity of Chicago economist and Nobel Prize winner, has stated: "Of all the laws on the statute books of this country, I believe the minimum wage laws probably do the Negro most harm. It is not intended to be an anti-Negro law but in fact it is."

Why? Because the minimum wage prices unskilled, untrained people out of the wage market, particularly in the big cities. This elimination of jobs perpetuates the cycle of poor education, poor environment, and guarantees the existence of slum conditions. Every increase in the minimum wage prices more and more unskilled and young workers out of the market because their productivity is lower than the minimum wage.

It takes little investigation to see who is priced out of jobs: not the affluent middle class, but the poor, the young, the black and the uneducated—precisely the group which can least afford such hardship.

In addition, the minimum wage drives industry and useful jobs in general out of the city because it makes it impossible to find workers at an employable price even while contributing to rising business costs by fostering crime among the now unemployable.

It is all well and good to declare that "everyone should be paid" at least the minimum wage, but the reality is that no one can afford to pay more than the market value of a person's labor and stay in business. The major effect of minimum wage is thus not higher paying jobs, but simply fewer jobs.

## Unions, Housing

Union power is another cause of slum unemployment. The ability of powerful unions to exclude certain members of society from membership has resulted in the loss of opportunities for thousands of workers. And what do liberals and even radical leftists offer as a solution to this problem? Economic freedom? No, their only answer is more government regulations—which is what caused the problem in the first place.

The power of unions to exclude certain people from the labor market can only be ended by the abolition of laws which give unions the legal power to monopolize employment in certain businesses (such as many construction firms). The evidence from states with "right to work" laws supports the contention that there is less unemployment when union power is curbed. But the best argument for ending such power is simply that it is unjust to allow unions to compel businesses only to hire their members.

In the area of urban housing, we see further evidence that government intervention lies at the root of the problem. Decent housing is an economic problem which in part stems from the slum dwellers' low income. But even greater is the need for a free market in housing. What is needed in the long run are more slumlords and thus more housing, more competition and thus improvement of housing conditions.

Government interference in the economy through the housing market has destroyed the incentive for market expansion. Through rent control, the number of housing units has declined because new investment is deferred and uneconomic properties are simply abandoned. Through an outdated tax structure in most cities, improvements are discouraged; and finally, through the massive federalization of zoning, housing codes, and regulations, new entrepreneurial efforts in housing are stifled.

Because of such interference, the building owners have to settle for fixed rent rates and are forced to cut costs by letting their properties decay. Recognize that slum owners do not want to let their properties decay, but they are forced to when government rent controls make that the only viable way to do business. Most slum owners would greatly prefer to fix up their properties to maintain or increase their market value with funds from increased rents, but the government makes that economically impossible.

## Slums and Capitalism

Notice that all of the attendant social, cultural, and moral problems of slums are derived from their economic problems: Crime is rampant because many residents cannot get jobs. Promiscuity is high because slum residents have much idle time on their hands and cannot afford to take economic responsibility for a family, and they can do better on welfare and aid to dependent children, which prohibits

having a man in the house.

The development of the slum community must begin with the establishment of an economic base—a foundation of individual and community self-support. In many ways, the slum faces problems like those of underdeveloped nations. The slums are outside of the general social cycle of production and consumption and investment. Capitalism must be allowed in the slums to produce jobs, investment, and consumption and restore the slum dweller to the mainstream of economic life. New industry must be encouraged in the slums to foster economic development.

The economic development of the slums requires not more government aid and programs, which only perpetuates dependency without developing positive skills. No. Rather, what is needed is an end to the economic policies which have created slums in the first place.

Rent controls should be removed.

Minimum wage laws should be ended.

The coercive power of unions to create "closed shops" and thereby exclude social minorities should be eliminated.

Taxes on businessmen should be ended and government regulations on business should be eliminated.

Slum businesses should be made exempt from licensing and other business fees which often make it difficult or impossible for the poor and uneducated to start their own businesses.

Taxes on the poor should be immediately and completely ended, increasing their disposable income.

Zoning laws should be liberalized or ended entirely to foster the development of business.

Taxes on investments in the slums should be ended to provide a tax incentive for investment in these areas.

If these programs are followed, the disposable income of slum dwellers will immediately be raised, housing will improve, it will become much easier to start businesses in these areas, employment will increase, and investment will be stimulated.

The solution to the problems of the slums is not misguided government paternalism, which has largely contributed to the problem. The solution is rather to get government out of the slums and keep it out.



# The Death of Politics

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under these titles are still politics and, like roses, they smell alike. Radical and revolutionary politicians—antipoliticians, if you will—should be able to sniff them out easily.

Specific matters that illustrate the differences would include the draft, marijuana, monopoly, censorship, isolationism-internationalism, race relations, and urban affairs, to name a few.

As part of his aborted campaign for the Presidency, Nelson Rockefeller took a position on the draft. In it, he specifically took exception to Richard Nixon's draft stand, calling it the "old politics" as contrasted with his own "new politics." The Rockefeller position involved a certain streamlining of the draft, but nothing that would change it from what it patently is—forced, involuntary servitude. Rockefeller criticized Nixon for having asserted that, someday, the draft could be replaced by a voluntary system, an old Republican promise.

The new politician contended that the Nixon system wouldn't work because it never *had* worked. The fact that this nation has never offered to pay its soldiers at a rate realistic enough to attract them was not covered in Rockefeller's statement. Nor did the new politician address himself to the fact that, given a nation that not enough citizens can be attracted to defend voluntarily, you probably also have a nation that, by definition, isn't really worth defending.

The old politician, on the other hand, did not present quite as crisp a position on the draft as the new politician tried to pin him with. Nixon, although theoretically in favor of a voluntary military, was—along with the presumably even more conservative Ronald Reagan—opposed to trying voluntarism until *after* the Vietnam war. Throughout the conservative stance one sees a repetition of this position. Freedom is fine—but it must be deferred as long as a hot war or the Cold War has to be fought.

All should be struck by the implications of that baleful notion. It implies that free men simply cannot be ingenious enough to defend themselves against violence without themselves, violent—not toward the enemy alone, but to their own persons and liberty as well. If our freedom is so fragile that it must be continuously protected by giving it up, then we are in deep trouble. And, in fact, by following a somewhat similar course, we got ourselves in very deep trouble in Southeast Asia. The Johnson war there was escalated precisely on the belief that Southern Vietnamese freedom may best be obtained by dictating what form of government the south should have—day by day, even—and by defending it against the North Vietnamese by devastating the southern countryside.

In foreign relations, as in domestic pronouncements, new and old politicians preach the same dusty doctrines of compulsion and contradiction. The radical preachment of libertarianism, the antipolitical preachment, would be that as long as the insanity of war between nation-states remains a possibility, free nation-states will at least protect themselves from wars by hiring volunteers, not by murdering voluntarism.

## Great Comic Figure

One of the most mediocrally fascinating minds of the twentieth century, that of Lewis Hershey, sole owner and proprietor of the Selective Service System, has put this unpretty picture into perfect perspective with his memorable statement, delivered at a National Press Club luncheon, that he "hate[s] to think of the day that [his] grandchildren would be defended by volunteers." There, in as ugly an example as is on public record, is precisely where politics and power, authority and the arthritis of traditionalism, are bound to bring you. Director Hershey is prevented from being a great comic figure by the rather obvious fact that, being involved with the deaths of so many unwilling

men, and imprisonment of so many others, he becomes a tragic figure or at least, a figure in a tragedy. There is no new or old politics about the draft. A draft is political, plain and simple. A volunteer military is essentially commercial. And it is between politics and commerce that the entrant into radical or revolutionary politics must continually choose.

Marijuana is an example of such a choice. In a laissez-faire society, there could exist no public institution with the power to forcefully protect people from themselves. From other people (criminals), yes. From one's own self, no. Marijuana is a plant, a crop. People who smoke it do not do so under the compulsion either of physiological addiction or of institutionalized power. They do so voluntarily. They find a person who has volunteered to grow it. They agree on a price. One sells; the other



buys. One acquires new capital; the other acquires a euphoric experience that, he decides, was worth allocating some of his own resources to obtain.

Nowhere in the equation is there a single point at which the neighbors, or any multitude of neighbors, posing as priesthood or public, have the slightest rational reason to intervene. The action has not, in any way, deprived anyone else of "the exclusive employment of all his own powers for his own welfare."

The current laws against marijuana, in contravention even of all available medical evidence regarding its nature, are a prime example of the use of political power. The very power that makes it possible for the state to ban marijuana, and to arrest Lenny Bruce, is the same power that makes it possible for the state to exact taxes from one man to pay into the pockets of another. The purposes may seem different, but upon examination they are not. Marijuana must be banned to prevent people from succumbing to the madness of its fumes and doing some mischief upon the community. Poverty, too, must be banned for a similar reason. Poor people, unless made unpoor, will angrily rise and do mischief upon the community. As in all politics, purpose and power blend and reinforce each other.

"Hard" narcotics must be subject to the same test as marijuana in terms of politics versus antipolitics. These narcotics, too, are merely salable materials except that, if used beyond prudence, they can be quite disabling to the person using them. (I inject that note simply because, in my understanding, there remains at all levels of addiction the chance of breaking or controlling the habit. This suggests that the person *can* exercise a choice in the matter; that he can, indeed, be prudent or not.)

The person who uses drugs imprudently, just as the person who imprudently uses the politically sanctioned and franchised drugs of alcohol or tobacco, ends up in an unenviable position, perhaps dead. That, rationally, is his own business as long as he does not, by his

action, deprive you of the right to make your own decision not to use drugs, to assist addicts or, if you wish, to ignore them. But it is said, by right and left today, that the real problem is social and public—that the high price of the drugs leads the addict to rob and kill (rightist position), and that making drugs a public matter, for clinical dispensation, would eliminate the causes of his crime (leftist position).

These both are essentially political positions and clearly inept in a society where the line between mind-expanders such as coffee or LSD is highly technical. By choosing the economic and cultural approach rather than a political one, the antipolitical libertarian would say, sell away. Competition will keep the price down. Cultural acceptance of the root ethic, that a man's life and its appurtenances are inviolate, would justify defense against any violence that might accompany addiction in others. And what is there left for the "public" to do? Absolutely nothing—except, individually, to decide whether to risk drugs or to avoid them. Parents, of course, holding the purse strings of their children, can exercise a certain amount of control, but only individually, never collectively.

Incidentally, it is easy to imagine that, if drugs were left to economics and culture instead of politics, medical researchers would shortly discover a way to provide the salable and wanted effects of drugs without the incapacitation of addiction. In this as in similar matters—such as the unregulated competition from which it is felt people need protection—technology rather than politics might offer far better answers.

Monopoly is a case in point. To suppose that anyone needs government protection from the creation of monopolies is to accept two suppositions: that monopoly is the natural direction of unregulated enterprise, and that technology is static. Neither, of course, is true. The great concentrations of economic power, which are called monopolies today, did not grow *despite* government's antimonopolistic zeal. They grew, largely, *because* of government policies, such as those making it more profitable for small businesses to sell out to big companies rather than fight the tax code alone. Additionally, Federal fiscal and credit policies and Federal subsidies and contracts have all provided substantially more assistance to big and established companies than to smaller, potentially competitive ones. The auto industry receives the biggest subsidy of all through the highway program on which it prospers, but for which it surely does not pay a fair share. Airlines are subsidized and so protected that newcomers can't even try to compete. Television networks are fantastically advantaged by FCC licensing, which prevents upstarts from entering a field where big one-timers have been established. Even in agriculture, it is large and established farmers who get the big subsidies—not small ones who might want to compete. Government laws specifically exempting unions from antitrust activities have also furthered a monopoly mentality. And, of course, the "public utility" and "public transportation" concepts have specifically created government-licensed monopolies in the fields of power, communications, and transit. This is not to say that economic bigness is bad. It isn't, if it results from economic efficiency. But it *is* bad if it results from collusion with political rather than with economic power. There is no monopoly situation in the world today, of which I can think, that might not be seriously challenged by competition, were it not for some form of protective government license, tariff, subsidy, or regulation. Also, there isn't the tiniest shred of evidence to suggest that the trend of unregulated business and industry is toward monopoly. In fact, the trend seems in the opposite direction, toward diversification and decentralization.

The technological aspect is equally important. Monopoly cannot develop as long as technology is dynamic, which it most abundantly is today. No corporation is so large that it can command every available brain—except, of course, a corporate state. As long as one brain remains unavailable, there is the chance of innovation and competition. There can be no

real monopoly, just momentary advantage. Nor does technological breakthrough always depend upon vast resources or, even where it does, would it have to depend upon a single source of financing—unless, again, only the state has the money. Short of total state control, and presuming creative brains in the community, and presuming the existence of capital with which to build even modest research facilities, few would flatly say that technological innovation could be prevented simply because of some single source enjoying a temporary "monopoly" of a given product or service. The exceptions, to repeat, are always governments. Governments can be—and usually are—monopolistic. For instance, it is not uneconomical to operate a private post-office department today. It is only illegal. The Feds enjoy a legal monopoly—to the extent that they are currently prosecuting at least one entrepreneur who operated a mail service better and cheaper than they do.

Politics is not needed to prevent monopoly. Unregulated, unrestricted laissez-faire capitalism is all that is needed. It would also provide jobs, raise living standards, improve products, and so forth. If commercial activity were unregulated and absolutely unsubsidized, it could depend upon only one factor for success—pleasing customers.

Censorship is another notable example in which politics, and politicians, interpose between customer and satisfaction. The gauge becomes not whether the customer is happy, but whether the politician (either singly or as a surrogate for "the public") is happy. This applies equally to "public" protection from unpopular political ideas as well as protection from pornography. Conservatives are at least consistent in this matter. They feel that the state (which they sometimes call "the community") can and must protect people from unsavory thoughts. It goes without saying who defines unsavory: the political—or community—leaders, of course.

## Double-Standard

Perhaps the most ironic of all manifestations of this conservative urge to cleanthink concerns the late Lenny Bruce. He talked dirty. He was, therefore, a particularly favorite target of conservatives. He was also an explicit and, I think, incisive defender of capitalism. In commenting that communism is a drag ("like one big phone company"), Bruce specifically opted for capitalism ("it gives you a choice, baby, and that's what it's about"). There is no traditional conservative who is fit even to walk on the same level with Lenny Bruce in his fierce devotion to individualism. Lenny Bruce frequently used what is for many conservatives the dirtiest word of all: He said capitalism. When was the last time the National Association of Manufacturers did as much?

Lenny Bruce wasn't the only man to alienate conservatives by opening his mouth. In 1964, Barry Goldwater alienated Southern conservatives in droves when, in answer to a regionally hot question about whether communists should be able to speak on state university campuses, Goldwater said, flatly and simply: "Of course they should."

Even anti-communist libertarians have no choice but to deny the state the right to suppress communists. Similarly, libertarians who are aesthetically repelled by what they deem pornography have no other course than not to buy it, leaving its absolutely unregulated sale to producer, purchaser, and no one else. Once again, a parent could intrude—but only by stopping an individual, dependent purchaser, never by stopping the purveyor, whose right to sell pornography for profit, and for absolutely no other socially redeeming virtue whatever, would be inviolate. An irate parent who attempted to hustle a smut peddler off the street, as a matter of fact, should be sued, not saluted.

The liberal attitude toward censorship is not so clear. At this point, it needn't be. Liberals practice it, rather than preach it. The FCC's egregious power to insist that broadcasting serve a social purpose is both a liberal tenet and an act of censorship. In the FCC canons, social

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# Revolt of the Masses

The excerpts that follow are from *The Revolt of the Masses* (1932, W.W. Norton Co., Inc., 500 Fifth Ave., N.Y., NY 10036) by Jose Ortega y Gasset. This enduring book reflects the Spanish philosopher's fear of the rise of fascism. It remains a timeless commentary on the nature of the nation state.

Also note that at the very end of the excerpt there is a reference to a conservative policy. Today such a policy would be exactly the opposite of what conservatives everywhere support. Conservatives are today's foremost supporters of the increased police power of the nation state.

The contemporary State is the easiest seen and best-known product of civilization. And it is an interesting revelation when one takes note of the attitude that mass-man adopts before it. He sees it, admires it, knows that there it is, safeguarding his existence; but he is not conscious of the fact that it is a human creation invented by certain men and upheld by certain virtues and fundamental qualities which the men of yesterday had and which may vanish into air tomorrow. Furthermore, the mass-man sees in the State an anonymous power, and feeling himself, like it, anonymous, he believes that the State is something of his own. Suppose that in the public life of a country some difficulty, conflict, or problem presents itself, the mass-man will tend to demand that the State intervene immediately and undertake a solution directly with its immense and unsailable resources.

This is the gravest danger that today threatens civilization: State intervention; the absorption of all spontaneous social effort by the State. That is to say, of all spontaneous

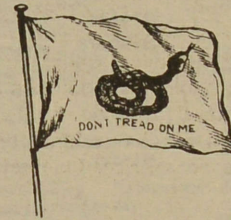
historical action, which in the long run sustains, nourishes and impels human destinies. When the mass suffers any ill fortune or simply feels some strong appetite, its great temptation is that permanent, sure possibility of obtaining everything—without effort, struggle, doubt, or risk merely by touching a button and setting the mighty machine in motion. The mass says to itself, "L'Etat c'est moi," which is a complete mistake. The State is the mass only in the sense that it can be said of two men that they are identical because neither of them is named John. The contemporary State and the mass coincide only in being anonymous. But the mass-man does in fact believe that he is the State, and he will tend more and more to set its machinery working on whatsoever pretext, to crush beneath it any creative minority which disturbs it—disturbs it in any order of things: in politics, in ideas, in industry.

The result of this tendency will be fatal. Spontaneous social action will be broken up over and over again by State intervention; no new seed will be able to fructify. Society will have to live for the State, man for the governmental machine. And as, after all, it is only a machine whose existence and maintenance depend on the vital supports around it, the State, after sucking out the very marrow of society, will be left bloodless, a skeleton, dead with that rusty death of machinery, more gruesome than the death of a living organism...

The bureaucratization of life brings about its absolute decay in all orders. Wealth diminishes, births are few. Then the State, in order to attend to its own needs, forces on still more the bureaucratization of human existence. The bureaucratization to the second power is the militarization of society. The State's most

urgent need is its apparatus of war, its army. Before all the State is the producer of security (that security, be it remembered, of which the mass-man is born). Hence, above all, an army...

Statism is the higher form taken by violence and direct action when these are set up as standards. Through and by means of the State, the anonymous machine, the masses act for themselves. The nations of Europe have before



them a period of great difficulties in their internal life, supremely arduous problems of law, economics, and public order. Can we help feeling that under the rule of the masses the State will endeavor to crush the independence of the individual and the group, and thus definitely spoil the harvest of the future?

A concrete example of this mechanism is found in one of the most alarming phenomena of the last thirty years: the enormous increase in the police force of all countries. The increase of population has inevitably rendered it necessary. However accustomed we may be to it, the terrible paradox should not escape our minds that the population of a great modern city, in order to move about peaceably and attend to its business, necessarily requires a police force to regulate the circulation. But it is foolishness for

the party of "law and order" to imagine that these "forces of public authority" created to preserve order are always going to be content to preserve the order that the party desire. Inevitably they will end by themselves defining and deciding on the order they are going to impose—which, naturally, will be that which suits them best.

It might be well to take advantage of our touching on this matter to observe the different reaction to a public need manifested by different types of society. When, about 1800, the new industry began to create a type of man—the industrial worker—more criminally inclined than the traditional types, France hastened to create a numerous police force. Towards 1810 there occurs in England, for the same reason, an increase in criminality, and the English suddenly realize that they have no police. The Conservatives are in power. What will they do? Will they establish a police force? Nothing of the kind. They prefer to put up with crime as well as they can. People are content to let disorder alone, considering it the price they pay for liberty.

"In Paris," writes John William Ward, "they have an admirable police force, but they pay dear for its advantages. I prefer to see, every three or four years, half a dozen people getting their throats cut in Ratcliffe Road, than to have to submit to domiciliary visits, to spying, and to all the machinations (of police officials)."

(Libertarian alternatives ranging from private police forces to voluntary community police forces seek to address the problem of avoiding both the cutting of your throat and the curtailment of your liberty.—KH)

# The Death of Politics

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purposes are defined so that a station can get good points for permitting a preacher free time but no points—or even bad points—for extending the same gift of free air time to an atheist.

It is partly in the realm of air, also, that differences regarding nationalism between the old left/right politicians and the libertarian anti-politician show up. If today's conservative has his fervent jingoism for old nations, the liberal has just as fanatic a devotion to the jingoism of new nations. The willingness of modern liberals to suggest intervention against South Africa, while ignoring, even in terms of major journalistic coverage, slaughters in Nigeria and the Sudan, is a demonstration of interest only in politics—and in particular persons—rather than in human life per se.

Of course, conservatives have a similar double standard in regard to anti-communist slaughter and anti-communist dictatorship. Although it is not as whimsically selective as the liberal decision to be revolted or cheered by each particular blood bath, the conservative double standard can have equally tragic results. The distinct undercurrents of anti-semitism that so obviously muddle many conservative movements probably can be traced to the horrid assumption that Adolf Hitler's anti-communism excused his other, but comparatively minor, faults. Somehow, anti-communism seems to permit anti-semitism.

I have met in my time many anti-communists who view communism as simply a creature of Jewish plotting for world dominion. The John Birch Society's separate chapter for Jewish members is a seriocomic reflection, I think, of such good old WASP anti-semitism. The widely reported admiration of Hitler by the head man of the right-wing Liberty Lobby is a reflection, presumably, of the "you need a strong man to fight atheistic communism" school of thought. There are, of course, notable Jewish anti-communists. And there are many anti-communists who condemn anti-semitism.

But the operating question for most of the full-time anti-communists that I have met is simply: Are you anti-communist? Being also anti-semitic is not automatically a disqualification on the right, though it usually is on the left.

Conservatives and liberals alike hold in common the mystical notion that nations really mean something, probably something permanent. Both ascribe to lines drawn on maps—or in the dirt or in the air—the magical creation of



communities of men that require sovereignty and sanction. The conservative feels this with exaltation when he beholds the Stars and Stripes. The liberal feels this with academic certitude when he concludes that Soviet boundaries must be "guaranteed" to prevent Soviet nervousness. Today, in the ultimate confusion, there are people who feel that the lines drawn by the Soviet Union, in blood, are better than the lines drawn, also in blood, by American foreign policy. Politicians just think this way.

The radical and revolutionary view of the future of nationhood is, logically, that it has no future, only a past—often an exciting one, and usually a historically useful one at some stage. But lines drawn on paper, on the ground, or in the stratosphere are clearly insufficient to the future of mankind.

Again, it is technology that makes it feasible to contemplate a day in which the politics of nationhood will be as dead as the politics of power-wielding partisanship. First, there is enough information and wealth available to ensure the feeding of all people, without the slaughtering of some to get at the possessions

of others. Second, there is no longer any way to protect anything or anybody behind a national boundary anyway.

Not even the Soviet Union, with what conservatives continue to fear as an "absolute" control over its people, has been able to stop, by drawing lines or executing thousands, the infusion of subversive ideas, manners, music, poems, dances, products, desires. If the world's preeminent police state (either us or them, depending upon your political point of view) has been unable to protect itself fully behind its boundaries, what faith can or should we, the people, retain in boundaries?

It is to be expected that both liberals and conservatives respond to the notion of the end of nationhood with very similar shouts of outrage or jerks of reaction. The conservative says it shall not be. There will always be a U.S. Customs Inspector and long may he wave. The liberal says that far from ending nationhood, he wants to expand it, make it world-wide, to create a proliferation of mini-and macro-nations in the name of ethnic and cultural preservation, and then to erect a great superbureaucracy to supervise all the petty bureaucracies.

Like Linus, neither liberal nor conservative can bear the thought of giving up the blanket—of giving up government and going it alone as residents of a planet, rather than of a country. Advocates of isolationism (although some, admittedly, defend it only as a tactic) seem to fall into a paradox here. Isolationism not only depends upon nationhood, it rigidifies it. There is a subcategory of isolationism, however, that might avoid this by specifying that it favors only military isolationism, or the use of force only for self-defense. Even this, however, requires political definitions of self-defense in these days of missiles, bases, bombers, and subversion.

As long as there are governments powerful enough to maintain national boundaries and national political postures, then there will be the absolute risk, if not the certainty, of war between them. Even the possibility of war seems far too cataclysmic to contemplate in a world so ripe with technology and prosperous potential, ripe even with the seeds of extra-terrestrial exploration. Violence and the insti-

tutions that alone can support it should be rendered obsolete.

## Power of Death

Governments wage war. The power of life that they may claim in running hospitals or feeding the poor is just the mirror image of the power of death that they also claim—in filling those hospitals with wounded and in devastating lands on which food could be grown. "But man is aggressive," right and left chant from the depths of their pessimism. And, to be sure, he is. But if he were left alone, if he were not regulated into states or services, wouldn't that aggression be directed toward conquering his environment, and not other men?

At another warlike level, it is the choice of aggression, against politically perpetuated environment more than against men, that marks the racial strife in America today. Conservatives, in one of their favorite lapses of logic—States' rights—nourished modern American racism by supporting laws, particularly in Southern states, that gave the state the power to force businessmen to build segregated facilities. (Many businesses, to be sure, wanted to be "forced," thus giving their racism the seal of state approval.) The States' rights lapse is simply that conservatives who deny to the Federal Government certain controls over people, eagerly cede exactly the same controls to smaller administrative units. They say that the smaller units are more effective. This means that conservatives support the coercion of individuals at the most effective level. It certainly doesn't mean that they oppose coercion. In failing to resist state segregation and miscegenation laws, in failing to resist laws maintaining racially inequitable spending of tax money, simply because these laws were passed by states, conservatives have failed to fight the very bureaucracy that they supposedly hate—at the very level where they might have stopped it first.

Racism has been supported in this country not in spite of, but thanks to, governmental power and politics. Reverse racism, thinking that government is competent to force people

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# The Death of Politics

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to integrate, just as it once forced them to segregate, is just as political and just as disastrous. It has not worked. Its product has been hatred rather than brotherhood. Brotherhood could never be a political product. It is purely personal. In racial matters, as in all other matters concerning individuals, the lack of government would be nothing but beneficial. What, actually, can government do for black people in America that black people could not do better for themselves, if they were permitted the freedom to do so? I can think of nothing.

Jobs? Politically and governmentally franchised unions do more to keep black men from good jobs than do all the Bull Connors of the South. Homes, schools, and protection? I recall very vividly a comment on this subject by Roy Innis, the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality. He spoke of Mayor John Lindsay's typically liberal zeal in giving money to black people, smothering them with it—or silencing them. Innis then said that the one thing Mayor Lindsay would not give the blacks was what they really wanted: political power. He meant that the black community in Harlem, for instance, rather than being gifted with tax money by the bushel, would prefer to be gifted with Harlem itself. It is a community. Why shouldn't it govern itself, or at least live by itself, without having to be a barony of New York City ward politics? However, I take exception to the notion of merely building in Harlem a political structure similar to but only separate from New York City's. And I may be doing Mr. Innis, who is an exceptional man, an injustice by even suggesting that that is what he had in mind.

But beyond this one instance, there is implicit in the very exciting undercurrents of black power in this country an equally exciting possibility that it will develop into a rebellion against politics itself. It might insist upon a far less structured community, containing far more voluntary institutions within it. There is no question in my mind that, in the long run, this movement and similar ones will discover that *laissez faire* is the way to create genuine communities of voluntarism. *Laissez faire* is the only form of social/economic organization that could tolerate and even bless a *kibbutz* operating in the middle of Harlem, a hippie selling hashish down the street and, a few blocks farther on, a firm of engineers out to do in Detroit with a low-cost nuclear vehicle.

The *kibbutz* would represent, in effect, a voluntary socialism—what other form could free men tolerate? The hash seller would represent institutionalized—but voluntary—daydreaming, and the engineers would represent unregulated creativity. All would represent *laissez-faire* capitalism in action and none would need a political officeholder or a single bureaucrat to help, hinder, civilize, or stimulate. And, in the process simply of variegated existence, the residents of this voluntary community, as long as others voluntarily entered into commerce with them, would solve the "urban" problem in the only way it ever can be solved; i.e., via the banishment of politics that created the problem in the first place.

If cities cannot exist on the basis of the skills, energy, and creativity of the people who live, work, or invest in them, then they should not be sustained by people who do *not* live in them. In short, every community should be one of voluntarism, to the extent that it lives for and through its own people and does not force others to pay its bills. Communities should not be exempted from the civil liberty prescribed for people—the exclusive employment of all their own powers for their own welfare. This means that no one should serve you involuntarily and that you should not involuntarily serve anyone else. This means, for communities, existing without involuntary aid from other communities or to other communities.

Student dissenters today seem to feel that somehow they crashed through to new truths and new politics in their demands that universities and communities be made responsive to

their students or inhabitants. But most of them are only playing with old politics. When the dissenters recognize this, and when their assault becomes one against political power and authority rather than a fight to gain such power, then this movement may release the bright potential latent in the intelligence of so many of its participants. Incidentally, to the extent that student activists the world over are actually fighting the existence of political power, rather than trying to grab some of it for themselves, they should not be criticized for failing to offer alternative programs; i.e., for not spelling out just what sort of political system will follow their revolution. What ought to follow their revolution is just what they've implicitly proposed: no political system at all.

The style of Students for a Democratic Society so far seems most promising in this respect. It is itself loosely knit and internally anti-authoritarian as well as externally revolutionary. Liberty also looks for students who rather than caterwauling the establishment will abandon it, establish their own schools, make them effective, and wage a concerned and concerted revolt against the political regulations and power that, today, give a franchise to schools—public and private—that badly need competition from new schools with new ideas.

Looking back, this same sort of thinking was true during the period of the sit-ins in the South. Since the enemy also was state laws requiring separate facilities, why wasn't it also a proper tactic to defy such laws by building a desegregated eating place and holding it against hell and high water? This is a cause to which any libertarian could respond.

Similarly with the school situation. Find someone who will rebel against public-education laws and you will have a worthy rebel indeed. Find someone who just rants in favor of getting more liberals, or more conservatives, onto the school board, and you will have found a politically oriented, passe man—a plastic rebel. Or, in the blackest neighborhood, find the plumber who will thumb his nose at city hall's restrictive licenses and certificates and you will have found a freedom fighter of far greater consequence than the window breaker.

Power and authority, as substitutes for performance and rational thought, are the specters that haunt the world today. They are the ghosts of awed and superstitious yesterdays. And politics is their familiar. Politics, throughout time, has been an institutionalized denial of man's ability to survive through the exclusive employment of all his own powers for his own welfare. And politics, throughout time, has existed solely through the resources that it has been able to plunder from the creative and productive people whom it has, in the name of many causes and moralities, denied the exclusive employment of all their own powers for their own welfare.

Ultimately, this must mean that politics denies the rational nature of man. Ultimately, it means that politics is just another form of residual magic in our culture—a belief that somehow things come from nothing, that things may be given to come without first taking them from others, that all the tools of man's survival are his by accident or divine right and not by pure and simple inventiveness and work.

Politics has always been the institutionalized and established way in which some men have exercised the power to live off the output of other men. But even in a world made docile to these demands, men do not need to live by devouring other men.

Politics does devour men. A *laissez-faire* world would liberate men. And it is in that sort of liberation that the most profound revolution of all may be just beginning to stir. It will not happen overnight, just as the lamps of rationalism were not quickly lighted and have not yet burned brightly. But it will happen—because it must happen. Man can survive in an inclement universe only through the use of his mind. His thumbs, his nails, his muscles, and his mysticism will not be enough to keep him alive without it.



# NatCom Representatives/State Chairs

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### Alaska

**NatCom Representative**  
Chuck House  
P.O. Box 60486  
Fairbanks, AK 99706  
800-426-5183 (o)

### Alaska State Chair

Gene Hawkrigde  
11935 Rainbow Ave.  
Anchorage, AK 99516  
907-345-7111 (h)  
907-274-6551 (o)

### Alaska Executive Director

Angelo Artuso  
Box 104073  
Anchorage, AK 99510  
907-344-7366 (h)  
907-561-5413 (o)

## REGION 2

### California

### NatCom Representatives

Mark Hinkle  
7178 Via Colina  
San Jose, CA 95139  
408-227-1459 (h)

Bill Evers  
933 Colorado Ave.  
Palo Alto, CA 94303  
415-494-0140 (h)

Jack Dean  
727 N. Harbor Blvd.  
Fullerton, CA 92632  
714-871-0192 (o)

### California State Chair

Jack Dean  
727 N. Harbor Blvd.  
Fullerton, CA 92632  
714-871-0192 (o)

### State Headquarters

Bob Lehman  
State Coordinator  
3610 West 6th St.  
Suite #531  
Los Angeles, CA 90020  
213-389-3358 (h/o)

## REGION 3

### Oregon, Washington

**NatCom Representative**  
H.W. "Skip" Barron, Jr.  
7727 26th Ave., NW  
Seattle, WA 98117  
206-789-4812 (h)

### Oregon State Chair

Trish Coffey  
160 SW Meadow Dr.  
Beaverton, OR 97006  
503-644-0761 (o)  
503-644-1423 (h)

### Washington State Chair

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3840 33rd Ave. SW  
Seattle, WA 98126

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1709 Irene Street  
Boise, ID 83702  
208-344-6922 (h)

### Wyoming State Chair

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5010 S. David  
Casper, WY 82601

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1400 Kapiolani Blvd., C-29  
Honolulu, HI 96814  
808-946-6562 (o)

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Peggy Jeney  
602-776-0737 (h)

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P.O. Box 12214  
Reno, NV 89510  
702-786-3329 (h)

### New Mexico State Chair

Frank Clinard  
2940 Arizona Ave.  
Los Alamos, NM 87544  
505-662-4951 (h)

### Hawaii State Chair

Blase Harris  
222 S. Vineyard St., #304  
Honolulu, HI 96813  
808-521-3312 (h)  
808-524-2575 (o)

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**NatCom Representative**  
Hugh Butler  
2152 Highland Dr.  
Salt Lake City, UT 84106  
801-484-4300 (o)  
801-484-4357 (h)

### Colorado State Chair

Penn R. Pfiffner  
8823 Circle Drive  
Westminster, CO 80030  
303-427-4357 (h)

### Colorado State Headquarters

2186 Holly, No. 207-8  
Denver, CO 80222  
303-753-6789

### Utah State Chair

Robert M. Waldrop  
P.O. Box 6175  
Salt Lake City, UT 84106  
801-262-1129 (h/o)

### Montana State Chair

Larry Dodge  
Box 60  
Helmville, MT 59843  
406-644-0761 (o)  
406-793-5703 (h)

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**NatCom Representative**  
Robert T. Murphy  
2613 Boxwood  
Norman, OK 73069  
405-364-8107 (h)

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P.O. Box 8223  
Topeka, KS 66608  
316-232-4374

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Eric S. Harris  
6551-D Serenity Circle  
Hazelwood, MO 63042  
314-731-1034 (h)

### Oklahoma State Chair

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4619 S. Urbana  
Tulsa, OK 74135  
918-627-5286 (h)

## REGION 8

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**NatCom Representative**  
Karl H. Wetzel  
9468 Western Plaza, #5  
Omaha, NE 68114  
402-390-1195 (h)  
402-398-6610 (o)

### Iowa State Chair

Tim Hird  
7052 S.W. 17th  
Des Moines, Iowa 50315  
515-285-7942 (h)

### Minnesota State Chair

Fred Hewitt  
545 Chapel Lane  
Eagan, MN 55121  
612-454-2115 (h)

### Nebraska State Chair

Karl H. Wetzel  
9468 Western Plaza, #5  
Omaha, NE 68114  
402-390-1195 (h)  
402-398-6610 (o)

### North Dakota State Chair

Kristian Brekke  
1610 Lewis Boulevard  
Grand Forks, ND 58201  
701-746-6823 (h)

### South Dakota State Chair

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750 Nicolle, SW  
Huron, SD 57350  
605-352-4682 (h)

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Apt. 205  
7300 W. Southridge Dr.  
Greenfield, WI 53220  
414-282-5763 (h)  
414-482-1200 (o)

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### Illinois

**NatCom Representative**  
Gerry Walsh  
789 Overland Ct.  
Roselle, IL 60172  
312-894-8232 (h)  
312-381-1980, x 2316 (o)

### Illinois State Chair

Lyn D. Tinsley  
822 Thacker Street  
Des Plaines, IL 60016  
312-297-8219 (h)

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**NatCom Representative**  
Chad Colopy  
3563 Walnut Drive  
West Bloomfield, MI 48033  
313-363-5508 (h)  
313-258-4039 (o)

### Michigan State Chair

James L. Hudler  
17165 Fahrner Road  
Sylvan Center  
Chelsea, MI 48118  
313-475-9792 (h)

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215 W. Third Street  
Fort Wayne, IN 46808  
219-422-5631 (h)

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Dr. Walter Weeks  
2424 Sycamore Lane  
W. Lafayette, IN 47906  
317-463-6219

### Kentucky State Chair

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4013 Hayfield Way  
Pospect, KY 40059  
502-228-1829 (h)

### Ohio State Chair

David C. Myers  
9208 Johnnycake Road  
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216-255-8112 (h)

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Christopher W. Albright  
177 Chatsworth Street  
Baton Rouge, LA 70802  
504-387-0000 (h)

### Alabama State Chair

Frank Monachelli  
1157 11th Ave. South  
Birmingham, AL 35205  
205-322-2991 (h + o)

### Louisiana State Chair

Christopher W. Albright  
177 Chatsworth St.  
Baton Rouge, LA 70802  
504-387-0000 (h)

### Mississippi State Chair

William Mullendore  
631 S. Broadway  
Greenville, MS 38701  
601-334-2000 (h)

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**NatCom Representative**  
Matt Monroe  
1213 Hermann Drive  
Suite 655  
Houston, TX 77004  
713-524-0046 (h)  
713-524-2919 (o)

### Texas State Chair

Roger V. Gary  
723 Aganier  
San Antonio, TX 78212  
512-732-5692 (h)

### Texas Executive Director

Dianne Pilcher  
8480 Fredericksburg Rd.  
Suite 102  
San Antonio, TX 78229

## REGION 14

### Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania

### NatCom Representative

Vernon Etzel  
12A Rector Court  
Wilmington, DE 19810  
302-475-7380 (h)

### Delaware State Chair

Vernon Etzel  
12A Rector Court  
Wilmington, DE 19810  
302-475-7380 (h)

### New Jersey State Chair

Richard L. Duprey  
2 Ida Lane  
Waldwick, NJ 07463  
201-652-5702 (o)  
201-445-6098 (h)

### Pennsylvania State Chair

Ralph Mullinger  
2135 Walnut  
Philadelphia, PA 19013  
215-963-0127 (h)  
302-594-3443 (o)

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3905 Bexley Place  
Marlow Hts., MD 20746  
301-899-6933 (h)

### District of Columbia Chair

Scott Kohlhas  
101 G Street SW  
A-214  
Washington, D.C. 20024  
202-484-8064 (o)  
202-396-8360 (h)

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4323 Rosedale Ave.  
Bethesda, MD 20814  
301-951-0539 (h/o)

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Chris Fielder  
P.O. Drawer 1760  
Shepherdstown, WV 25443  
304-263-5440 (h)

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55 Chestnut St.  
Rensselaer, NY 12144  
518-463-8242 (h)

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141 E. Sidney Ave.  
Apt. 3A  
Mt. Vernon, NY 10550  
212-226-6483 (o)

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### NatCom Representative

Thomas Ross  
P.O. Box 3279  
New Haven, CT 06515  
203-389-8200 (h)

### Connecticut State Chair

Thomas S. Ross  
P.O. Box 3279  
New Haven, CT 06515  
203-389-8200 (h)

### Maine State Chair

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### Massachusetts State Chair

Joe Coyle  
18 Campbell Ave.  
Leominster, MA 01453  
617-534-5006 (h)  
617-486-6993 (o)

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Howard Wilson, Jr.  
Box 91  
Andover, NH 03216  
603-735-5427 (h)

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Richard Henderson  
32 Lorraine St.  
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401-247-2068 (h)  
401-849-3310 (o)

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18 Brisson Court  
Winooski, VT 05404  
802-655-3153 (h)

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David Saum  
5597 Seminary Rd.  
No. 2412 South  
Falls Church, VA 22041  
703-820-7696 (h)

Paul Jacob  
P.O. Box 15724  
Little Rock, AR 72231

### Arkansas State Chair

Alan Lindsay  
P.O. Box 15305  
Little Rock, AR 72231

### Florida State Chair

Charles Manhart  
Rt. 3, Box 720  
Callahan, FL 32011  
904-879-3235 (h)

### Florida State Headquarters

210 N. Park Ave.  
Room #10  
Winter Park, FL 32789  
305-628-2337

### Florida Executive Administrator

Marian St. Pierre  
LP of Florida  
Suite 530  
4310 S. Semoran  
Orlando, FL 32822

### Georgia State Chair

Carol Ann Rand  
5038 Lilburn-Stone Mtn. Rd.  
Lilburn, GA 30247  
404-925-9572 (h)

### North Carolina State Chair

F. Craig Springer  
100 Dartmouth Road  
Raleigh, NC 27609  
919-782-6514

### South Carolina State Chair

John B. Heaton  
P.O. Box 2543  
Aiken, SC 29802-2543  
803-648-9806

### Tennessee State Chair

Bill McGlamery  
5201 Nevada  
Nashville, TN 37209  
615-353-0021 (o)  
615-383-1564 (h)

### Virginia State Chair

Marc Montoni  
7333 Hermitage Rd.  
Richmond, VA 23228  
804-266-0809 (h)



# Statement of Principles

of the

## Libertarian Party

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

We hold that all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives, and have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to live in whatever manner they choose.

Governments throughout history have regularly operated on the opposite principle, that the State has the right to dispose of the lives of individuals and the fruits of their labor. Even within the United States, all political parties other than our own grant to government the right to regulate the lives of individuals and seize the fruits of their labor without their consent.

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

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



# Libertarian Party NEWS

## Party Platform in Brief

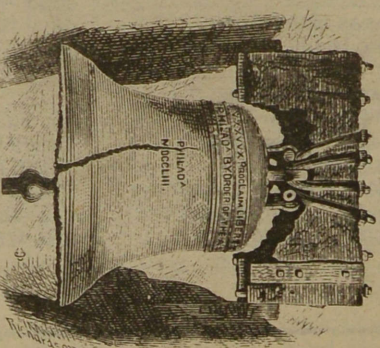
What are the practical "real world" positions of a political party that is unyieldingly opposed to the coercion that characterizes the public policy proposals of the older parties? Those posi-

tions are laid out in an abbreviated version of the entire, current Libertarian Party platform. The platform in brief is on pages 12 and 13 of this issue.

## LP and SIL Position Papers

Elaborating on the basic platform statements of the Libertarian Party are more detailed position papers. Beginning on page 7 are some position papers prepared on behalf of the Party in the

past. Beginning on page 10 are some position papers prepared for the Society for Individual Liberty, one of the oldest, active libertarian groups.



## Ownership

The Libertarian Party's resistance to the initiation of force to advance political or personal purposes is profoundly reflected in the notion that individual persons are absolute owners of their own lives. One of libertarianism's most respected teachers, the late Robert LeFevre, illuminates that point on page 9.

gests that just as a few people, the innovators, are constantly in the forefront of change in the marketplace of goods and services, they may also be decisive in the marketplace of political ideas. Members of the LP seem to fit the description.

## Gradualism

If every libertarian dream could be fulfilled just by taking a single, magical giant step, surely that step would be taken. The material reality is that even the largest goal may have to be reached by little steps. A meticulous defense of those little steps, of gradualism, is presented on page 3 by a distinguished philosopher, Tibor Machan.

## Innovators

Can the members of a new political party have great impact on the society? An ingenious answer, on page 16, sug-

## International

The ideas and ideals of libertarianism are now moving around the entire earth. A description of one important reason why it is happening is given by Vincent Miller, of the Libertarian International, on page 6.

## And...

Dave Bergland's basics of liberty, page 1. Liberty and monopoly, page 8. The new right and the Constitution, page 18. "Death of Politics," reprinted, page 4. Dave Nolan's "Three C's," page 8. Central planning unmasked, page 10. Most important of all...how to join the Libertarian Party, page 3.

## Libertarian National Committee

301 W. 21st St.

Houston, TX 77008

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