



REACHING STATEWIDE AUDIENCE—Kathleen Harroff's race for the Senate in Ohio brought her 80,000 votes and considerable exposure.

## LP Candidates Achieve High Visibility In 1974

Led by the highly-visible senatorial candidacy of Kathleen Harroff in Ohio, Libertarian Party candidates and LPers running as independents throughout the nation generated massive amounts of publicity for libertarian ideas over the past several months. While election results were mixed in terms of vote objectives, virtually all LP campaigns received more news coverage than had been anticipated.

Harroff received 79,400 votes in Ohio to finish third behind Democrat John Glenn and Republican Ralph Perk. Her hardhitting, no compromise campaign enabled her to finish ahead of the other independent on the ballot, who was associated with the conservative American Party.

Jerry Millet received 7,152 votes in his race against the incumbent Democrat in Louisiana's 7th Congressional district. That was 11% of the total vote cast. This is the highest percentage ever received by an

LP candidate for national office.

In other productive campaigns, past Washington State LP chairman Skip Barron tallied 11.5% of the vote in his race for the 24th legislative district seat. Also in Washington, Richard Dymont garnered 3% of the vote in a three-way race for the 36th legislative district seat. Both Dymont and Barron received very good publicity with Barron's percentage vote reportedly being sufficient to guarantee the LP a place on the ballot in 1976.

### Media Coverage

Undoubtedly the most successful campaign in the country in terms of media coverage was that of New York gubernatorial candidate Jerry Tuccille. The Tuccille campaign was written up in all major New York newspapers and was responsible for two nationally syndicated columns in the Washington Post.

His vote total, while falling disappointingly short of the 50,000 objective, nonetheless broke the magic 10,000 barrier which no minor party had been able to do in the last gubernatorial election. At press time election officials were still unable to give final results but it appears that Tuccille received approximately 10,200 votes which means the FLP has once again outpolled all of the left wing minor parties.

Gary Greenberg, who actively worked on the campaign, cited the very poor ballot position the FLP had in most areas of the state (often in the extreme lower right hand corner) as a major reason for the lower than expected voted total. "Even so," said Greenberg, "name recognition of the Libertarian Party is incredibly high in New York now. I feel we have laid the groundwork for a very respectable vote in the presidential campaign in '76."

### Bureaucratic Harassment

In the other most publicized LP race in New York, Sandy Cohen received 1.2% of the vote against incumbent Hamilton Fish and Democrat Nick Angell. Cohen suffered from adverse publicity toward the end of his 22-month campaign as state and local bureaucrats challenged the legality of a campaign poster outside of his headquarters and a lottery he held to raise money.

Not content with damaging Cohen's vote total, the bureaucrats are now claiming he broke the minimum wage law by paying youngsters \$1.00 an hour for campaign work. Cohen ran a tireless campaign which featured a continuous stream of news releases which outlined libertarian solutions to the problems of the day.

In other New York races Guy Riggs received about 1.2% of the vote in his race for the state assembly. Three LP candidates who were also on the Conservative line, Virginia Walker, Alan LePage and Mary Jo Wanzer, received 6.3%, 3.6% and 5.0%, respectively. All were candidates for

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## Von Hoffman, Newsweek Feature LP

### Campaigns Spark National Coverage Of Libertarianism

By CHRIS HOCKER

Libertarians around the country can take heart that their movement, organized and launched a few short years ago, has recently received an encouraging dose of nationwide publicity from two major news sources.

The first was an article by Nicholas von Hoffman, columnist for the Washington Post, who is syndicated in major newspapers from coast to coast; and the second was carried in Newsweek of November 11, and put together by Kenneth L. Woodward.

On the whole, the articles were favorable, and increased public awareness of libertarianism. But there were occasional inaccurate comparisons, somewhat superficial treatment, and a tendency to emphasize the zany behavior of a few libertarians while downplaying serious activity.

Von Hoffman's article was the more accurate and analytical of the two, and its tone carried no small measure of respect and hope for the embryonic Libertarian Party.

He begins: "The politicians in the Libertarian Party differ from the grim mealymouths trying to get themselves elected as Democrats and Republicans."

#### Party Of Principle

He continues by stressing that Libertarians really are "the party of principle," and that its internal consistency is at odds with both liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats.

Libertarians could hardly ask for a better build-up than what Von Hoffman gives them in the first half of

the article. But the second part has some minor inaccuracies.

"The Libertarians have much in common with George Wallace's American Independent Party." Well, this can be disputed, especially since the similarities are never enumerated by Von Hoffman.

"The Libertarians . . . were formed by people disillusioned by Right-wing Buckleyism." An oversimplification, to say the least, and puzzling because Von Hoffman refers to Fran Youngstein's "ultraliberal" support in the very next paragraph.

Von Hoffman offers a slightly muddled picture of the libertarians' attitude toward racism. He says,

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"Libertarians are refusing to let their principles be used as an apologia for injustice."

This implies that libertarians would countenance government intrusion aimed supposedly at combatting racial prejudice. While libertarians believe that persons should be treated as individuals, libertarians *never* countenance government interference with the rights of voluntary association.

Von Hoffman then identifies columnist Gary Wills, a former contributor to National Review, as a libertarian, or "the next thing to it." In fact, Wills values community above all and dislikes liberty and the free market. This is what has driven Wills in his odyssey from conservatism to the New Left.

Overall, Von Hoffman has once again shown his affinity for libertarianism and his ability to cogently and succinctly present libertarian ideas to the public. Beginning several years ago with Von Hoffman's discovery of the isolationist foreign policy views of Sen. Robert A. Taft, Sr., Von Hoffman has been writing with increasing frequency about libertarian economic analysis and policy proposals. Probably no other syndicated columnist has done more to present the ideas of pure libertarianism to the public.

Von Hoffman concludes this column by saying "for the overtaxed, overregulated, overburdened and underpowered millions of the American middle class, [Libertarians] are the only people worth voting for."

This statement is quoted in Newsweek at the end of a half-serious, half-frivolous account of libertarian activities. The article does little to counteract the common Newsweek tendency to make the most of eye-catching quotes, while leaving out in-depth analysis.

#### Fun And Games

It starts with Jerome Tuccille's campaign for Governor of New York and uses Tuccille's statement: "A libertarian is a conservative who believes in letting people have fun." This is neither Tuccille's most thoughtful pronouncement, nor was it the focal point of his campaign for Governor. Yet, this is all the readers get.

Then comes the inevitable litany of libertarian antecedents: Herbert (Please turn to page 6)



From The Chair

# Activists Must Seize Initiative

Ed Crane

If the libertarian political movement is to succeed it must become a grass roots movement of activists. Roughly speaking there are probably 100,000 individuals in the United States who thoroughly understand, believe in and can articulate the libertarian philosophy. Approximately 5% of them are dues paying members of the Libertarian Party. Of those 5,000 party members about 10%, or 500, are what could properly be termed activists.

The publicity that the LP has generated in recent months (documented elsewhere in the LP NEWS) is due primarily to the work of those activists. And don't underestimate the importance of that publicity. Public recognition of the LP is remarkably high, given our present size and financial resources. The groundwork for future growth has been laboriously laid by a very small percentage of libertarians who have made the decision to commit a portion of their time and effort to publicizing the radical idea that is liberty.

My purpose in this article is to speak to what I believe are thousands of libertarians who are willing to work but who (1) don't know what to do or where to begin or (2) have assumed that a massive political LP machine is already doing the work.

Speaking to point two first, let me assure you that there is not a single state or country LP organization in the country that cannot productively put to work volunteer labor. If you haven't been asked to lend a hand in your area it doesn't mean that there is nothing to do — what it probably means is that there is a need for leadership to get things organized and moving. I suggest you take the initiative.

## Things To Do

If you make the decision to become an activist here are some things you can do. First and foremost see that a telephone number under the name of the Libertarian Party is listed in your area. There are still some state parties with no telephone number. Many people have not become involved with the LP simply because they had no means of contacting us after hearing about us. A mechanical phone answering device is a relatively inexpensive means of solving this problem.

There are many ways to obtain free publicity for our ideas, ranging from demonstrations to editorial replies on television or radio. In Los Angeles, the Libertarian Party has replied to dozens of editorials in the past year, exposing millions of people to libertarianism. Charlie Barr, a member of the LP and chairman of the Libertarian Alternative (a group of LP and non-LP people who devote their efforts to editorial replies) was the only

opponent of an L.A. rapid transit boondoggle to challenge the issue in the media — and rapid transit was defeated.

If you hear an editorial that smacks of statism (and most do) make an effort to reply to it. If you're camera shy tell a libertarian who isn't what you heard.

## Letters To Editor

Another area where we can make an impact is in letters to the editors of newspapers and magazines. I make it a practice to write one whenever I read something particularly obnoxious. The number of libertarian letters published will be a function of the number written so don't just complain about the news, write to the editor and let him or her know what you're thinking.

A speakers bureau is being organized by the national LP but there is no reason why they shouldn't be organized on the state and county levels. There are numerous organizations looking for interesting speakers, and we can gain important forums by making ourselves available.

Execom member Bob Meier of Illinois has been averaging 10 speeches a month to civic organizations in the Chicago area. I've been speaking to business groups, the League of Women Voters, and even high school classes since becoming Chairman. People are looking for an alternative to the disastrous current state of affairs.

## Thoughts Of An Editor

# Mobilize Middle Classes On Issues

Bill Evers

After the 1974 elections, several burning questions face the libertarian movement and especially its organizationally most advanced sector — the Libertarian Party.

One is the question of constituency. To whom should we activists communicate our stands on issues and our overall principles? Whom are we trying to mobilize?

A second question is learning the best way to benefit from the experiences of thousands of individual libertarian activists spread across the United States (and increasingly across the world).

A third question is what sort of response we should expect from the people we try to reach. Are we expecting immediate large vote totals and vastly enlarged libertarian organizations?

A fourth question is what issues we should seize upon and how we should bring them to the public's attention.

To guide us in the time ahead, the answers to such questions must fit

They will listen to us if we take the time to contact them.

## Ballot Status

In about half of the states we stand a good chance of gaining ballot status in 1976. If you've been hesitant to have meetings of local LP members because there was "nothing to do," consider starting your ballot drive today. Write to the national headquarters for a summary of the ballot requirements in your state. Also, 1975 will offer many local election opportunities for us to get our feet wet in political organizing — run candidates for office!

If your state party is not sending out direct mail solicitations for membership to different groups, get some friends together and do it yourself. Medical societies, lawyers, business organizations, Mensa chapters, even local Republican and Democratic clubs are worth contacting.

The main thing is to get LP literature out to as many people as is possible. Don't wait for others to do it — it might never get done.

## Supper Groups

Of growing popularity in a number of cities around the country is a Libertarian Supper Club (or some such name) wherein a group of libertarians gather once a month to hear a speaker after dinner at a restaurant. These meetings are good opportunities to

introduce non-libertarians to the movement.

Also, don't underestimate the value of writing to your Congressman, Senator, or local politico. Politicians are sensitive to the mail they receive — primarily because they don't have principles to guide them and must have some means of determining what will keep the troops back home happy. Do the thinking for your "representative" before he can do it for you.

If for any reason you are not in a position to get actively involved in LP activities remember that there are hundreds of people who are. What is holding back many activists is a lack of finances. I urge you to contribute whatever you think you can afford to your local, state or national LP. The national operation is capable of getting out more press releases, more literature, and more publicity but for a lack of money. Our office and part-time staff costs close to \$1,000 a month to maintain and we urgently need contributions to help keep things going. Dues only cover part of the expenses of running the Party, but to date only a small percentage of members have made contributions.

Invest your time and money in liberty — while there's still time to do it. The Libertarian Party can continue to grow if the membership base we have now, takes it upon themselves to become self-starting activists.

together in an integrated, coherent fashion. We should develop an outlook that gives us a helpful, consistent strategic orientation to the work before us.

A candid look at the ranks of the libertarian movement shows that, while we come from all walks of life, a good many of us are college students and young professionals.

Indeed, the slight caricature of the FLP in the pages of Newsweek would show us to be young swingers who hang out in Manhattan's singles' bars — hedonistic conservatives.

It is natural that a movement which aims at major social change would have a significant core of activists who are students or professionals. (Such people work with ideas in their day-to-day life.)

But a major social transformation of the institutions governing liberty and property cannot be achieved by graduate students and young persons in business and law. This is too narrow a social base. We ultimately have to bring the mass of the population with us in setting up a society of total liberty.

## Decentralized Form

The libertarian movement and the LP are wisely decentralized in organizational form. This means that organizers on the spot can utilize their knowledge of the locale in which they operate.

We must take our political philosophy and apply it to current problems. We must have an accurate historical knowledge of how the current situation came into being.

Each of us must have a broad journalist-type familiarity with the political arena in which he or she is

operating. Each of us must learn from vast amounts of day-to-day practical political work. An organizer must learn from the work of libertarians elsewhere in the country as well as from his or her own work.

Naturally, a person on the spot in a given locale has the best information on what groups are ripe for libertarian ideas. But such an evaluation should bear in mind our ultimate goal of mass support.

## Middle Classes

We want to set up a situation in which the bulk of the broad middle strata of the American population (including students, professionals, and service employees, clerks, the industrial proletariat, employees in light industry, small businessmen, shopkeepers, regularly employed unskilled laborers, non-corporate farmers, butchers, bakers, and candle-stick makers) will turn to the organized libertarian movement if they lose faith in the existing political system.

The goal of a libertarian society is everything; the size of the movement, the number of votes we get in the interim, are nothing as compared to the ultimate goal. They are important only in so far as they serve that goal.

We have need of political education and reforms that expand the sphere of liberty. Votes and serious electoral politics campaigns can help make up a principled force to be reckoned with and listened to. But since our goal has a much deeper purpose than just getting people to pull the lever for LP candidates, electoral setbacks and successes are not the be-all and end-all for us.

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# LP NEWS

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## Political Perspective

# Is Collapse Of Two-Party System Ahead?

David F. Nolan

It now appears a better-than-even bet that the two-party system as we have known it in this country is on the verge of collapse.

Strong words? Perhaps, but let us examine the evidence provided by the recent "Waterslide" elections and their aftermath.

**Item One.** The GOP, perennially the weaker of the two major parties, now holds fewer seats in the U.S. House of Representatives than it has at any time since 1936 — except for the two-year period following the Goldwater disaster of 1964.

Admittedly, the GOP did not do as badly as it could have; indeed, its losses were not unusual for the party holding the White House. The reason the President's party usually loses seats in mid-term, however, is that a fair number of marginal districts went to his party in the previous election; this is the so-called "coat-tail" effect. The GOP, however, lost seats this time even though they had *not* made significant gains in '72. Thus, the loss was far more serious, and more deeply indicative that the American people have had it with the GOP.

**Item Two.** This year's elections saw a stronger showing by independent and third-party candidates than has been seen in a long time. In such diverse states as New York, Florida, Massachusetts, and Nevada, independent candidates for Senator or Governor pulled 12%-17% of the vote; in each case, the independent candidate was an outspoken opponent of Big Brotherism in government. And, of course, there was the political upst of the season — the election of James Longley, an independent, to the Governor's chair in Maine.

**Item Three.** The talk of a Reaganite-Buckleyite third party, to be formed by conservative secession from the GOP, has emerged from the closet where it had been confined for the last year, and is now splashed across the front pages of the daily papers. As things now look, the likelihood of a national Conservative Party emerging in the next few months appears very strong.

And where does all of this leave us? Well, looking at the situation just in terms of the theoretical possibilities, there are four possible alternatives for the future of the two-party system. In order of likelihood, they are as follows.

1) The two-party system as we know it will continue; the GOP and Democrats will continue to maintain a virtual hammerlock on the American electoral process, and no other party will rise to the level of being able to pull, say 15% of the vote nationally. While this remains the most likely of the four possibilities, I would now rank it as a less-than-even bet; i.e., I would say there is perhaps a 40% chance that this situation will prevail.

### Not GOP

2) We will continue to have a two-party system, but the "second" party will not be the GOP. This situation assumes the final collapse of the GOP, and its replacement by another party. Logically speaking, that party would have to be either us, the American/Independent Party, or the new, as-yet-unformed Conservative Party. Conceivably, the new "opposition" party might come from a libertarian-conservative fusion effort. The likelihood of this alternative is about 30%, in my estimation.

3) The GOP will not collapse, but will continue to grow weaker. One or more new parties will rise alongside it.

Possibly, a corresponding breakup and diversification will take place on the Left. The result would be a true multi-party system. Within such a system, the LP would undoubtedly be one of the significant parties. Likelihood, perhaps 20%.

4) There is a slim chance that *nobody* will be able to mount an effective opposition to the Democrats, and that within the next few years, we will wind up with a one-party system. It was this possibility I discussed in the March/April LP NEWS, in a column

comparison with the American/Independent Party and the likely Reaganite Conservative Party.

First, the election results. By and large, our candidates did not do as well as they should have. Three of our promising Congressional candidates — favorable direction generally, how is Karl Bray, Bob Steiner and Sandy Cohen — did very disappointingly, drawing less than 1% each in their respective races. In Karl's case, this was due largely to an IRS smear-attack a few days before the election; in

than 1% statewide in New York (final figures unavailable as of this writing).

If we accept the figures of 10% for a local race, 5% for a Congressional race, and 2% for a Senatorial or Governor's race, a figure of 1% in a Presidential election seems plausible; that would be about 800,000 votes in '76.

These figures, however, are based on our *present* strength, and comparisons with similar projections in 1972 and 1973 would indicate that we are gaining ground rapidly. Projections from our 1972 totals in three states indicated a nationwide potential of about 250,000 votes, and a projection from the New York mayoralty race in '73 indicated a nationwide potential of 400,000.

### Nationwide Potential

Continuing the upward trend, I think we could realistically expect nearly two million votes for our Presidential candidate if he or she were on the ballot in every state in 1976. However, since we are likely to be on the ballot in only one-quarter to one-half of the states, a nationwide total in the half-million to million-vote range seems realistic — about 3% of the vote in about 1/3 of the states, or about 1% overall.

This would be enough to put us leagues ahead of the various left-wing splinter groups (who might draw 250,000 between them), but how do we measure up against our potential competitors for the role of "major opposition party" — the American/Independent Party and the Reagan-Buckley conservatives?

The American/Independent Party's principal asset is that it is "out front" at the moment. Its candidates did surprisingly well this election, pulling in the 15% range in many races. The AP's weaknesses are internal factionalism (there are, in effect, two competing organizations using the names American Party and American Independent Party) and a tendency towards lunatic fringe-ism that wins the AP public ridicule and greatly narrows its potential appeal. In sum, I believe that the AP is probably not going to become much more influential than it is now. In 1976, we should be able to run them a good race, in terms of drawing votes in the Presidential election — even assuming the two factions can agree on a single ticket. If they split their efforts, we should outpoll both factions' tickets.

### Strong Contender

A Reagan-Buckley Conservative Party would be a far stronger contender. I think such a party could pull 15% to 30% of the vote in a Presidential election, and could win a number of seats in Congress (mostly by holding onto seats now held by Republicans who would change their party label). A Conservative Party would have the advantages of access to big names and big money.

What does all this add up to? In my estimation, it adds up to about a 25% chance that if we move to a multi-party system, or a new two-party system, the LP will play a leading role, and perhaps *the* leading role. Since the likelihood of such a realignment of the system is itself only about 50-50, I would thus have to say that our overall chances of success (in some form, and to some degree) are probably now about 10%-15%.

If that sounds less than encouraging, I will simply note that even a 10% chance represents at least a tenfold improvement over the odds we faced three years ago.

## Most Royce Report Top Scorers Retain Office After 1974 Elections

In looking over the rubble left by the 1974 elections, it is interesting to note that while the American people emphatically rejected the Republican Party, they did not necessarily endorse the welfare-state philosophy traditionally associated with the Democratic Party.

Many of the Democrats who won did so by promising to be even more tight-fisted than the Republicans. And most of the "best" Republicans survived the debacle quite well.

Conservatives of the ACU stripe are lamenting that many of their fair-haired boys went down the tubes, but from a libertarian viewpoint, most of the cold-war traditionalists that got booted out are no big loss.

Of the ten (yes, only ten) members of the House of Representatives who attained an average score of 60 or higher in the first three editions of the Royce Report, seven will be returning to the 94th Congress. And only one of the ten lost his seat in the November election, while one retired and one lost in the primaries.

The top ten, with average Royce Rating scores, are as follows; all but Rarick are Republicans:

Gross, Iowa, 86%; Rarick, Louisiana, 75%; Symms, Idaho, 69%; Rousselot, California, 68%; Crane, Illinois, 65%; Shuster, Pennsylvania, 63%; Landgrebe, Indiana, 62%; Ashbrook, Ohio, 60%; Johnson, Colorado, 60%;

Miller, Ohio, 60%.

The only one defeated in the general election was Landgrebe, who made a thorough ass of himself by his "undying loyalty to Nixon" speeches during the Watergate mess. We should shed few tears at his passing.

Our greatest loss, of course, is H.R. Gross, who towered above his contemporaries in the House like a seven-foot giant in a tribe of pygmies. One cannot blame Mr. Gross for retiring, at the age of 75, but his departure will be a great loss to the friends of freedom.

The third "top tenner" who won't be back in Rarick, who was defeated by a liberal in the Democratic primary. However as of press time, it appears that the liberal was in turn defeated by Republican Henson Moore, in the general election; his margin of victory (if it holds up) was less than 50 votes. The Louisiana LP worked actively in Moore's campaign. Who says libertarians can't make the difference?

Other semi-libertarian candidates supported by LP groups (often on an unofficial basis) did not fare as well. Clyde Lewis (a former State Liberty Amendment Chairman) lost his Senate bid in Alaska, as did Bob Smith (Steve Symms' 1972 campaign manager) in Idaho, and Mickey Edwards (author of *Hazardous to Your Health*) who ran for U.S. House of Representatives in Oklahoma with state LP endorsement.

entitled "Scenario for a Nightmare." And, while it is still a real possibility, I would realistically have to say that it is the least likely of the four possible alternatives; its likelihood is probably only 10% or less.

### Political Realignment

To sum up, then, there is — in my estimation — now about a 60% chance that the United States is on the verge of an era of radical political realignment. This breaks down into a 50% chance that we will move to a situation "more favorable" to the LP and to libertarian ideals (i.e., a multi-party system or a new, more ideologically clear-cut two-party system), and 10% that we will have a one-party situation.

Assuming that things move in a the LP likely to fit into the picture?

As I see it, there are two ways to look at it. One is to try to analyze and project the results of LP candidates' efforts in the recent elections. The other is to look at the relative strengths and weaknesses of the LP in

Bob's, it was largely because his campaign was sabotaged from within by a quasi-libertarian acquaintance who had a grudge against Bob. I don't know what happened to Sandy. On the other hand, Jerry Millett received 11% in his Congressional race in Louisiana (congratulations, Jerry!), which shows what we can do under favorable circumstances. Overall, I think we can fairly say that we can expect an average "draw" of perhaps 5% of the vote in Congressional-level races.

At lower levels, our support level is probably closer to 10%. Skip Barron got 11.5% in a state-legislature race in Washington, with Rich Dymant pulling 3% in another district. Our legislature candidates in New York mostly ran in the 3%-6% range.

In statewide races, our support level drops to about the 2% range. Kay Harroff got nearly 3% in her Ohio Senatorial race (and, at 80,000 votes, was our numerical top-scorer); Jerry Tuccille appears to have gotten less



# State Parties Hold Conventions . . .

A few months ago, in our first expanded issue, our sources of news from the state parties mainly consisted of a few mimeographed sheets and a handful of letters. Now, a short time later, many more organizations have sprung up around the country, and our news sources include many and varied professional-looking newsletters and press releases. Congratulations to all the state organizations for their continued growth. Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, and Oregon now have state organizations officially affiliated to the national party.

Below is a summary of the recent activities from the state parties:

## ALASKA

In an interview in the Sept. 30 Anchorage Daily Times, LP congressional candidate Paul Beard applied libertarian thinking to local issues.

Beard said the problems associated with the Alaska pipeline exist "because governments have insisted on owning Alaska land instead of throwing it open to individuals and letting them decide if a company is paying enough to cross it."

His solution to the controversy over the Bristol Bay fishery was to establish private rights to the fishery. This would make the owners want to conserve and replenish the fish species in order to obtain the maximum yield from their resource.

## ARIZONA

The state LP has two addresses, in Tucson and Phoenix. "A Night With the Libertarians" was a recent presentation in Phoenix, featuring talks by National Chairman Ed Crane, author George H. Smith, gold investor Carol Sue Kellem, and a candidate for Arizona Secretary of State.

Also in Arizona, the Phoenix area can now boast of two branches of the party, the West Valley and the East Valley Libertarians.

## ARKANSAS

Organization is growing, with the recent adoption of Rules and a Platform in Little Rock. Franklin Sanders reports good connections with the press and concludes that "there is a real future here for the LP."

## CALIFORNIA

Party activities centered primarily on the campaigns of John Hospers and the other LP candidates, and the response to their activities around the state generated a great deal of interest, support, and new recruits. There was an article on the LP in the September issue of Coast magazine.

Other good news includes favorable coverage and a "Libertarian Hotline" in the San Diego area, and a radio show appearance in Bakersfield by LP national secretary Bill Westmiller.

Corey Cassanova, the Peace & Freedom Party ballot candidate for state controller who was endorsed by the state LP executive committee, received the second highest vote total among Peace & Freedom candidates and helped to guarantee that party's continued position on the state ballot. His campaign and that of Peace & Freedom gubernatorial candidate Elizabeth Keathley were aided by libertarians.

LP activist June Genis has announced her candidacy for the Palo Alto school board.

## COLORADO

The State Convention took place in Denver on December 7 and 8. Plans were made for a membership drive, candidate development in 1976, and the establishment of Libertarian

Alternatives on the campuses and a Libertarian Speakers Bureau. Speakers at the convention included Dr. James Martin, author of Men Against the State, and tax resister Karl Bray.

## FLORIDA

The Libertarian Institute for a Free Economy sponsored an all day seminar in November with guest speaker David Friedman. The LP of South Florida developed a recruitment brochure explaining libertarian principles, and a libertarian bookstore.

## GEORGIA

Regular meetings of the LP have produced letter-writing campaigns to all daily newspapers in Georgia, and the Atlanta Journal-Constitution wrote a feature story on the party.

## HAWAII

"Free!", the newsletter of the Hawaii LP is expanding and improving its format, and continues its crusade against philosophical impurities among conservative groups.

## ILLINOIS

The 1974 Conference was held December 7 in Chicago, with featured speaker Roger MacBride.

LPers in DuPage County organized active opposition to federal funding of the local Housing Authority. Their activities included speaking at the County Board and a broadcast rebuttal to a radio editorial which had favored funding.

## INDIANA

November 3 was the date of the Indiana LP founding convention in Indianapolis. Business included approving a constitution and the election of officers. In addition, a public relations workshop is being organized, including letters to newspapers and radio and TV editorials.

## KENTUCKY

"Libertarian Front," the LP newsletter, is expanding to include

analysis pieces, research articles, and the monitoring of state legislators, along with updated reports on national legislation.

## LOUISIANA

Party members are exuberant over the showing of Jeremy Millett in his race for U.S. Congress. Millett garnered 11% of the vote, with his highest support coming from colleges and urban areas.

A New Orleans LP newsletter, "Liberte," has started publishing as of November, including news, announcements, and a libertarian booklist. One of their mottoes: "Now is the time for all libertarians to stop talking to themselves." Amen.

## MASSACHUSETTS

The LP in this state has been extremely active, as their newsletter, "Massachusetts Liberty," indicates. There have been numerous meetings and conferences in the area, and the newsletter contains many well-written and well-reasoned articles on issues of the day.

## MICHIGAN

The annual convention in Ann Arbor featured Fran Youngstein, former candidate for mayor of New York, as the guest speaker. Over 50 libertarians were in attendance. Much publicity has been generated around the Michigan LP, and electoral activities have included the campaigns of two candidates for the state legislature.

## MINNESOTA

Recent issues of "The Reasonable Answer," the state LP newsletter, have devoted considerable attention to the campaign of Richard Kleinow for Governor and Claudia Jensen for Lieutenant Governor. Kleinow reports receiving over 2,000 votes.

Recent activities have included a booth at the State Fair and the

organization of two new LP committees: Tax Protest, and Gun Control Protest. These committees are organizing effectively to get their message across.

Local LP affiliates are being set up in Winona, St. Cloud, and Brainerd.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

LP activists have been busy this summer and autumn. The LP endorsed and worked for several candidates. John O'Brien was supported in his unsuccessful primary bid for the Republican congressional nomination from New Hampshire's first district. He subsequently decided to run for Rockingham County Commissioner. O'Brien's campaign for commissioner focused on the idea of limiting the activities of the office to a very strict construction of its proper sphere.

Arthur W. Ketchen, editor of the state LP newsletter and state LP vice chairman, received the Democratic nomination for representative to the lower house of the state legislature from District 12 (Hollis-Brookline area). In his open letter of thanks to his district's Democrats, Ketchen pointed out that the two of the Presidents of the U.S. most palatable to libertarians were Jefferson and Jackson.

Two other candidates endorsed by the LP were independents running for seats in the state's lower house. They were William Horan (Ward III, Manchester), who favored privatizing the University of New Hampshire, and Nelson Pryor (Ward II, Berlin), who is a vigorous opponent of federal land use planning. Both were losers in the Democratic primary who decided to stay in the race as independents.

University of New Hampshire student Carl Gage, a libertarian, won the Republican nomination for representative to the lower house from Exeter.

A campus libertarian organization is in the process of formation at Dartmouth.

## NEW JERSEY

Tom Palven, independent libertarian candidate for U.S. House of Representatives from the state's third district, received newspaper coverage in the two stories in the Freehold Colonial News (circulation: 27,750).

Palven, said his aim was "to freeze government, not the economy."

He pointed out that "only government, through its Federal Reserve System, can print paper dollars. Rising prices are the result of the government's creating more of it out of thin air, and that's no different than counterfeiting."

To privatize the educational system, Palven suggests a voucher plan, with the value of the voucher being reduced each year.

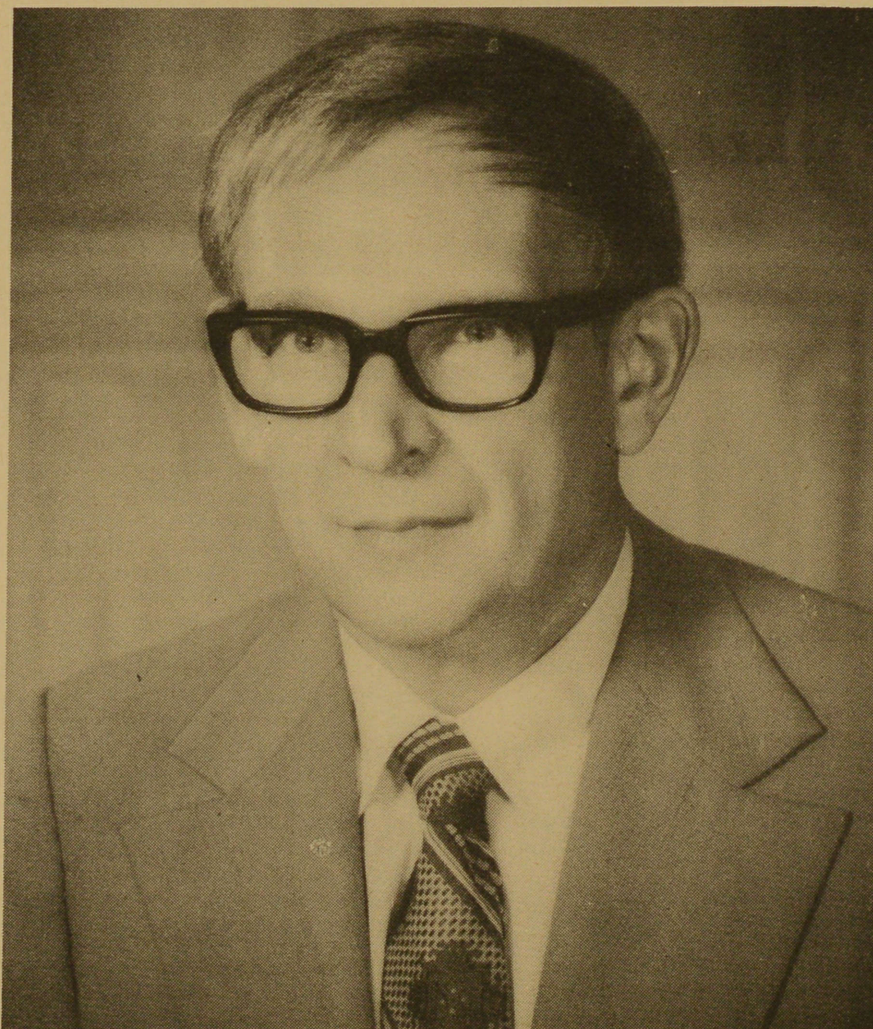
Jersey Libertarians were active as well in the congressional campaign of LP candidate Bob Steiner which suffered adverse publicity in its closing weeks.

## NEW MEXICO

A recent state convention resulted in a new LP organization for New Mexico. According to Chairman David Pearson, the major objectives are to help the individual cope with upcoming political and economic problems, and to plant the seeds of libertarian thought in society.

## NEW YORK

The news from the New York LP centers on the various campaign efforts of Jerry Tuccille and fourteen other Libertarian candidates for lower office. Some of them were able to be



JOHN HOSPERS

(Please turn to page 5)



# ... Disseminate Libertarian Ideas

(Continued from page 4)

on the official ballot; some were not. Several ran on the Republican and/or Conservative Party tickets, but were endorsed and supported by the LP.

Reports from the precincts are incomplete, and no returns are final. However, it appears that the LP was disappointed in its quest for a permanent ballot position, although they did outdraw the leftist minor parties. In addition, the innovative campaign waged by New York Libertarians garnered important national news coverage from George Will, Nicholas Von Hoffman, and Newsweek.

Tuccille's gubernatorial campaign garnered an estimated 10,000 votes. Stanford Cohen, LP candidate for Congress in the Poughkeepsie area, received around 2% of the vote.

The various LP campaigns did, however, generate a high level of enthusiasm among libertarians, and had a major impact on the electoral process in New York.

## OREGON

An organization of Libertarians at Oregon State University in Corvallis is moving forward with an extensive publicity campaign, including prominently-placed posters carrying brief messages of libertarian philosophy.

## OHIO

The big news is the campaign of Kathleen Harhoff for U.S. Senator. For months, Kay traveled up and down the state, appearing at debates and rallies and setting up interviews with newspapers, radio and TV stations. Her position: the strict libertarian line. The result was the highest numerical vote received by a Libertarian in the country, about 80,000.

## OKLAHOMA

The LP here published a special State Fair edition of its newsletter — an eight-page newspaper carrying explanations of libertarian positions and news of party activity. A very impressive publication.



COMMITTEE HEADS—Seen here are (l. to r.) the heads of three key LP committees, Andrea Millen, publicity; Gary Greenberg, Presidential committee; and Tonie Nathan, speakers' bureau.

## PENNSYLVANIA

The statewide organization is encouraging voter registration as LP members, and has active regional divisions in the Delaware Valley, Allegheny County, and Central Pennsylvania. One of the LP social activities will be a ski extravaganza in the Poconos.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

The Party got a boost from a Columbia newspaper when it interviewed Charles Blackwell of York, detailed his ideas, and described him as a "salesman for the Libertarian Party."

## TENNESSEE

The LP newsletter, "Liberty Bell,"

has taken an active and practical interest in the workings of the legislative process. Analyses of voting records are provided, and the LP sent questionnaires to several candidates and reported on their responses.

## TEXAS

The state LP has opened a permanent headquarters in Pasadena, a suburb of Houston. The November LP and Society for Individual Liberty conference in Houston featured historian Leonard Liggio as the main speaker.

Newspaper coverage included a favorable editorial and opinion column on the libertarian position in the Dallas Morning News, and a UPI wire

story interviewing Mike Holmes, editor of the Texas LP newsletter.

Holmes was quoted by the UPI giving a good concrete example of libertarian analysis. Holmes noted that in the Agriculture Department one finds "four bureaucrats for every farmer, and they don't do anything but create subsidies."

## UTAH

LP Congressional candidate Karl Bray generated a great deal of interest during his campaign. Jeannie Trevathan, candidate for Salt Lake County sheriff, said her campaign challenged the voters to think about think about their rights. Bray has announced his candidacy for U.S. Senate in 1976.

Because Bray's vote total was less than the two percent necessary to retain ballot status for the LP, the state organization has begun collecting signatures to put the party back on the ballot. This is something of a race with time because the state legislature is expected to change the requirements for ballot status in January.

The state LP has been running recruitment advertisements, creating interest in the party. Activist Marge Chapman has been addressing high school classes.

## WASHINGTON

LPers are excited over the showing of Skip Barron in his race for state legislature. Skip received 11.5% of the vote — perhaps enough to qualify the LP for permanent ballot status. Richard Dymant received 3% in another legislative race.

Recent speakers in Washington have included Harry Browne and tax rebel Jim Scott.

## CANADA

In Alberta, the new president of the Libertarian Alternative (the provincial LP) is Mary Easwaran. Bruce Vaughan and Peter Yuca ran for alderman posts in Edmonton. Vaughan received publicity on the radio because the city government was unable to supply him with a 1973 financial statement.

# Press Responds To LP Campaigns

Libertarians have generally been worried that if and when the press began to report on our activities, the reporting would be mostly hostile.

Now as the LP is giving the libertarian movement increased national publicity, we can look at the resulting news coverage.

The Ithaca (N.Y.) Journal (circulation, 19,905) confessed editorially to "a certain fondness for Jerry Tuccille." It noted that "he often has some good things to say."

Several papers were obviously intrigued by the fact that it is difficult to stereotype libertarians as either liberals or conservatives. The New

York Post (circ., 626,713), for example, said that the LP was "a party which tends to defy easy ideological characterization."

The Post also wrote that of all the minor party candidates, "only Jerry Tuccille, a whiz at staging publicity stunts, has gotten any recognition... Tuccille is even stealing votes from Gov. Wilson."

A Tarrytown, N.Y. newspaper hit another note that was often struck in press coverage — the LP's consistency and lack of opportunism. The paper said that Tuccille came across as "a man of principles rather than a pragmatist."

The Washington Post's conservative columnist George F. Will praised Tuccille's intelligent approach: "Is there anyone among what we loosely call the 'serious candidates' this year who is talking as intelligently about anything as Tuccille is talking about the connection between New York City's rent control laws and New York City's housing shortage?"

An editorial in the Dallas Morning news (circ., 266,667) praised the campaign efforts of LP candidates around the country and said, "Americans more and more see just how damaging have been the effects of

federal deficits caused by ever-more-ambitious, ever-more-costly programs of social uplift."

In an earlier opinion column in the same paper, traditionalist conservative William Murchison said that the Libertarians' is "a voice that needs badly to be heard."

Murchison said that libertarians have one virtue that they share with nineteenth-century liberals: a profound belief in individual liberty.

He said, "To the whole trend of excessive government interference with freedom — freedom to make a profit, freedom to ply one's trade, lead one's own life — to all this, the Libertarian Party has much to say." He suspects moreover that the LP's message should be of keen interest to most Americans.

The members of the Freedom newspaper chain founded by libertarian non-voter R. C. Hoiles commented extensively on the 1974 LP campaign.

For example, the Anaheim (Calif.) Bulletin (circ., 17,812) applauded the LP's "resoluteness" and its "ability to popularize important ideas." The Clovis (N.M.) News-Journal (circ., 8,628), another Freedom paper, cited

the LP's Statement of Principles as offering a good summary of the libertarian position.

The Petersburg (Va.) Progress-Index said that LPer Roger Lea MacBride was "one of the first to start a stampede away from the GOP when he cast his [electoral college] vote for John Hospers and Tonie Nathan."

## NOTICE

The national Executive Committee will vote by mail in February to choose delegates to the Platform and Constitution, By-laws & Rules committees. Any LP member wishing to be on either of these committees at the 1975 convention in New York should send their names and any supporting material to the national headquarters as soon as possible. There is also an At-Large vacancy on the Execom which will be filled at its May meeting in Chicago. Those interested in this post should also contact the headquarters.

## LETTERS TO EDITOR

Starting with the January-February issue of the LP NEWS a \$10 prize will be awarded to the author of the best letter-to-the-editor or radio or T.V. editorial response by an LP member. The LP must be mentioned in the letter or reply in order to qualify. The LP NEWS editorial staff will be solely responsible for determining the winner.



# Conspirators Plot Spread Of Human Liberty

## Libertarian Intellectuals Influence Climate Of Opinion In Countries Around Globe

By WILLIAM R. HAVENDER

Those who discard out-of-hand the conspiracy theory of political and social change would have been startled had they attended a recent conference this fall in Brussels. For in one room was gathered an explicitly subversive coven of international bankers, Jews, politicians, intellectuals, writers, journalists, anti-establishmentarian students and a few scientists thoroughly intent upon revolution: their unifying purpose was to challenge radically the premises of State power.

They have labored covertly for decades, and have achieved, perhaps surprisingly, a not insignificant degree of success.

Among them was an astonishing number of the names that libertarians have learned to associate, more or less consistently, with the movement for political liberty: Bob Bleiberg (Editor of *Barron's*), Roy Childs, Milton and David Friedman, Ernst van den Haag, F.A. Hayek, W.H. Hutt, Roger Lea MacBride, Fritz Machlup, Henry Manne, Ed McDowell (a writer for *The Wall Street Journal*), Donald McLaughlin (Chairman of the Board of Homestake Mining, and former regent of the University of California), James Meigs (author of *Money Matters*), David Meiselman, Sam Peltzman, Enoch Powell, Ralph Raico, Leonard Read, Sam Husbands, Alan Reynolds, George Roche (president, Hillsdale College), Ben Rogge, Murray Rothbard, Arthur and Barbara Shenfield, and George Stigler.

### Movement Might Perish

Were a bomb to have dropped on their hotel that week, a major part of their worldwide movement would surely have perished.

But not to worry: for equally impressive is the list of members of the Mont Pelerin Society, whose meeting this was, who did not happen to

attend, which includes: Armen Alchian, Martin Anderson, Peter Bauer (author of *Dissent on Development*), Robert Bork (Professor at Yale Law, currently Solicitor-General of the U.S.), Karl Brandt, Yale Brozen, William Buckley, Glenn Campbell (director, The Hoover Institution), Ronald Coase, Harold Demsetz, Aaron Director, Ludwig Erhard, Gottfried Haberler, Henry Hazlitt, Israel Kirzner, Paul McCracken, Mary Bennett Peterson, William Peterson, Karl Popper, Henry Regnery, Jacques Rueff, Helmut Schoeck (author of *Envy*), Hans Sennholz, and B.R. and Sudha Shenoy. And among deceased members can be tallied F.A. Harper,

belong to the Mont Pelerin Society; but her intellectual influence there is nonetheless considerable, to judge from the frequency with which her works came up in discussion.

The inspiring thing is how influential many of these persons actually are. Friedrich Hayek, for instance, far from being a forgotten and frustrated old fogey, shares this year's Nobel Prize in economics with Gunnar Myrdal (one can hardly wait to hear the acceptance speeches of these articulate and distinguished foes: pointed comments at twenty paces?).

Indeed, in a masochistic seizure last month the New York Times featured an essay by Hayek on its Op-Ed page,

David Friedman's sense of authenticity, as a member of the Society of Creative Anachronism, was traumatized by the use of forks — which had not yet come into use during the Middle Ages — and the presence, in the salad, of tomatoes — an import from the New World, not then discovered. But despite these unarguably egregious errors, the rest of us did manage to survive the meal.

### Impressive Gathering

It was an impressive gathering of intellectual sources and resources, from which to drink deeply of reviving waters. A number of thoughtful, indeed masterly, talks were given, abounding in ideas and forcefully stated opinions.

Among them were Arthur Shenfield's address as President of the Society on "The English Disease," which was a careful and pessimistic analysis of the present political and economic situation in Britain; an astute exposition by Enoch Powell of his reasons for opposing British entry into the Common Market; Ernst van den Haag's lucid discussion of the reasons why the market economy is losing out politically; a strategic proposal by Sam Peltzman for minimizing the effects of governmental regulation of business; Barbara Shenfield's deadly indictment of state involvement in higher education; Hutt's encoriation of coercion by labor unions; Alan Walters' and Chiaki Nishiyama's dissection of recent monetary policy in England and Japan respectively, showing that current price inflation in these countries, too, is due to nothing else than excessive money creation; essays by Alan Stockman, David Kelley (a champion of Objectivism), and Roger Michener on the moral justification of capitalism; and many more.

### Informal Discussions

But perhaps the most essential and stimulating discussions went on between and after the formal sessions. Here was the opportunity, over usquebaugh and plonk, to meet informally some of the most astonishing minds of this or any other age, to develop friendships and alliances, to observe directly from the rich diversity of professions and nationalities there represented the fantastic power and appeal of the *ideas* of classical Liberalism and of its modern avatar, libertarianism, and to plot their political palingenesis.

The next time you are pleasingly jolted by that rarity, an intelligent letter to the editor of the New York Times; or by that infinitely greater rarity, a worthwhile political proposal (California's recent Proposition 1, or the legalization of gold); or by a feasible educational reform that floors you with its promise of enormous improvement over the status quo (Friedman's voucher plan); or by an unbelievable rending of the Socialist veil of "social justice" to reveal the "dirty little secret" — the grasping for power — inevitably behind it (Kristol, in the fall 1974 *The Public Interest*); or by a devastatingly critical discussion of the goals and results of the policies of economic development in poor countries (Bauer, in the March 1974 *Encounter*), or of urban renewal (Anderson, *The Federal Bulldozer*), then you have probably spotted the "invisible hand" of Mont Pelerin at its insidious work; most likely you have indeed encountered a manifestation of the ideational filiation, the "conspiracy," of those who gather on mountaintops and dream fond dreams of liberty!

## CIVIL LIBERTY ECONOMIC FREEDOM

# LIBERTARIAN PARTY

Bruno Leoni, Ludwig von Mises and Wilhelm Roepke.

Thus, virtually all of those prominently opposed to centralized social control by government are either members of this organization or have cordial relations with it.

For instance, Irving Kristol, editor of *The Public Interest*, and former editor of *Commentary*, whilst not a member, gave the keynote address at the twenty-third anniversary meeting of the Society. And Keith Joseph, a leading Tory intellectual and politician in England, and Ronald Reagan both pay considered attention to Milton Friedman.

### Predictable Exception

A lamentable but predictable exception, however, is Ayn Rand (and her close associates), none of whom

and if *The Times* thinks him both newsy and fit enough (Shudder! Are there truly no limits left?) to print, then of course you know it must be so!

### Manifold Contributions

The manifold public contributions of Bleiberg, Brandt, Buckley, Director, Friedman, Leoni, McCracken, von Mises, Popper, Rothbard, Regnery, Rueff, Stigler *et al.* need, of course, no elaboration by me. No minor theorists, nor petty publicists, these!

The conference itself lasted a week. It was strenuous, with sessions in the mornings, afternoons and evenings; opening and closing banquets; common lunches; and an excursion to the Flemish medieval city of Bruges, where a dinner was served to the fanfare of trumpets in the medieval city hall.

## Von Hoffman, Newsweek Cover LP

(Continued from front page)

Spencer, Tom Paine, Rand, Mencken, Hayek, and . . . Abbie Hoffman(!).

Newsweek reaches the low point

with its statement: "Libertarians would abolish all laws protecting women, children, and minorities," apparently in the belief that

libertarians have targeted these groups for abuse, harassment, and deprivation of rights.

This bizarre interpretation of the Libertarian position went unexplained in the article, but was challenged by Libertarian Party National Chairman Ed Crane in a letter appearing in the Dec. 9 *Newsweek*. Better late than never, and all that, but Crane's rebuttal may be insufficient to counter the damage done by such slanted wording.

As in Von Hoffman's column, *Newsweek* makes the point that libertarianism is distinguished by its consistency, in opposition to "the grays of political moderation."

*Newsweek* generously intersperses its account with quotes from Buckley, Rothbard, Greenspan, and others pertaining to the movement, but none of the quotations are particularly noteworthy in terms of depth. It also identifies Ronald Reagan and William Rehnquist as prominent men with "lower-case libertarian leanings," a characterization which omits a great deal of anti-libertarian sentiment expressed by both men.

In general, though, libertarians are fortunate to have received this national publicity. The response, at least from some quarters, can be expressed in the words of one letter to *Newsweek* which read in part: "Libertarianism! How do I join? I can't thank you enough for showing me there's some hope for this country."

## 'National Review' Goes Downhill

The recent further deterioration of conservatism as a force for individual liberty in the United States was never more depressingly evident than in the November 22 issue of the leading conservative journal, *National Review*.

Separate articles by two senior editors demonstrate that conservative "leaders" are no longer even paying lip service to halting big government — now they are encouraging its growth.

In an editorial entitled "The Easy Way to Save Lots of Gasoline," editor James Burnham suggests two "simple" steps to solve the energy crisis: (1) institute a \$1.00-a-gallon gasoline tax (no kidding) and (2) structure income taxes to make sure the rich ultimately foot the bill.

Burnham's editorial simultaneously displays a profound ignorance of economics and a contemptible disregard for human rights and private property. If there is in fact a shortage of gasoline, the marketplace will quickly limit

demand, thank you, without the help of an arbitrarily imposed surcharge by government. It's called higher prices and profits, Mr. Burnham, and it's also how you solve the supply side of the problem. Perhaps Burnham's lack of understanding of market economics is a remnant of his Trotskyite past. Libertarians would do well to think twice before saying they agree with conservatives on economic questions.

The second article, by Jeffrey Hart, was entitled "The Presidency: Shifting Conservative Perspective?" In it, Hart bemoans the power of the Fourth Estate, praises the Nixon Administration for its attacks and "pressure" on the media and calls for a more powerful Presidency.

"It seems both likely and desirable," he says, "that the attitude of conservatives toward executive power will undergo a drastic shift. There is, after all, a long and honorable tradition of conservative advocacy of the strong Executive."



# F.A. Hayek Explores Conditions For Free Society

F.A. Hayek  
*Law, Legislation, and Liberty*  
 University of Chicago Press, 1973.  
 Volume I: "Rules and Order," 184 p. \$7.95

In this first volume of a projected three volume work, F.A. Hayek addresses himself to the task which he first comprehensively undertook in his *Constitution of Liberty* (1960) — to explore the necessary and sufficient conditions for a libertarian society, under a limited government. Hayek has recently been awarded the Nobel Prize in economics for his work in the field involving the relationship between social and economic institutions.

This volume is principally concerned with the distinction between two types of law: (1) the rules of just conduct, and (2) the rules of social organization. The former we recognize as the common law, and the second as the traffic laws, for example.

He organizes the book with first a discussion of two opposing philosophical approaches to social theory, the "constructivist rationalist" mistake which underlies all socialist and behaviorist theories, and

then traces the intellectual history of the opposite, organic theories of law and society from ancient Greece to modern social science.

His task is to examine exactly what is meant by the concept of "A Government of Laws, not of Men" from the writings of the earliest political philosophers, through the theoreticians who inspired the American constitution, and the best writers in the classical liberal tradition of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The central discussion of the work revolves around the differences between two kinds of order, which he provisionally labels "Made" (taxis) and "Grown" (cosmos). Within the latter, he distinguishes between the laws of physics, and the rules of just conduct (nomos). The level of scholarship which Hayek brings to this analysis is impressive. The book may well be a landmark in the history of ideas.

The spontaneous order and regularity of institutions such as language, or the process of the free market, have their "natural order" counterpart in

law as well. Even the modern anarcho-capitalist writers, such as Murray Rothbard, refer to this "natural law" basis for a society without the state.

In this volume Hayek is laying the framework for his next two volumes. The next will be an examination of the idea of social justice, and the final volume will be a programmatic discussion of the system of limited government.

Hayek points out that the notion of the division of powers between executive, legislative, and judicial was supposed to limit the state but has failed primarily because the legislature is given authority both to manage the organization of government and to formalize by statute new "rules of just conduct." This, for example, has led to the crazy expansion of "the power of the purse" to include the belief that Congress can authorize wage and price controls for all citizens. His publisher reports that the second volume will not appear until late in 1975. We very much regret the delay.

—Joe Cobb

## Execomm Plans 1975 Convention

Twenty-two of the twenty-five member national Executive Committee of the Libertarian Party assembled in Washington, D.C. over the Thanksgiving weekend to discuss recent developments and make plans for the coming year. An additional thirty on-lookers were present at the meeting which lasted from early Saturday morning through late afternoon Sunday.

The highlight of the meeting was a spirited discussion on where to hold the 1975 national convention. Four cities, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and San Mateo (Calif.), submitted bids to host the convention which will feature nomination of the LP candidates for president and vice president as well as election of new Party officers and drafting of a new platform.

San Mateo was eliminated first, then Chicago and on a vote of 12-10 New York was selected over Los Angeles. Ed Clark, chairman of the LP of California, presented the Los Angeles proposal, and FLP Chairperson Ray Strong spoke on behalf of the New York party.

The convention will be held August 28-September 1 at the Statler Hilton Hotel. State delegate representation at the convention will be based on state membership as of December 31, 1974.

A major portion of the meeting was devoted to the 1976 presidential campaign and what the LP can do now to improve our impact in '76. A Presidential Committee was approved and Gary Greenberg of New York was appointed Chairman.

Greenberg, former campaign manager for Fran Youngstein's 1973 mayoral race, will work with Karl Bray of Utah and Eric Garriss of California in developing a national campaign organization that will be able to go to work immediately upon the selection of the LP candidate at the convention

in 1975.

The Presidential Committee plan was the work of LP co-founder Dave Nolan and includes the establishment of a Liberty '76 Fund to which contributions will immediately be accepted. The goal of the fund is to collect \$25,000 prior to the convention.

Garris, who has a thorough knowledge of state election laws, was named to coordinate state LP attempts to gain ballot status. Any state LP that would like to work with Garris should write to him in care of the national LP headquarters. According to Garris, the LP stands a good chance to be on the ballot in 21 states, with about a dozen others representing possibilities.

Andrea Millen, Vice Chairwoman of the LP and Chairwoman of the Publications Committee, reported that a new introductory brochure will be available by the first of the year. Approval was given for the committee to create a series of position papers and to contract to have a booklet on libertarianism written.

### Economic Advisers

In other action the Execomm approved a proposal to establish a Board of Economic Advisers and to present in January a five-point Libertarian Party economic program.

Bob Meier reported on the upcoming 1975 Conference on International Liquidity and Monterey Reform to be co-sponsored by the LP and the National Committee to Legalize Gold. Ten outstanding speakers have been lined up for the Conference which will be held next March in New Orleans contingent on the satisfactory resolution of some legal questions which are now being worked on. The state LPs will be sent detailed information on the Conference in January, and it is hoped that they will represent the national party as sales agents.

Five more states have had affiliation petitions accepted by the national LP. The Execomm voted to affiliate parties in Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Oregon and Kansas. Organizing is presently going on in Missouri, Iowa, Idaho and Alabama.

A considerable amount of time was spent discussing the successes and disappointments of the past campaign.

Karl Bray and Paul Beaird were at the meeting, and they commented on their races for Congress in Utah and Alaska.

A Washington, D.C. LP liaison office was established at the meeting. Dick Gentry, who is organizing the Virginia LP, will be in charge of the operation which will keep libertarians up-to-date on pending legislation.

The next Executive Committee will be held in Chicago next May.

## Candidates Generate Publicity In New Areas

(Continued from front page)

state assembly.

### Contempt Of Court

In Utah, national Execomm member Karl Bray was the subject of a pre-election attack by the IRS that resulted in a contempt-of-court conviction which was well publicized in Utah papers. Bray had refused to provide the records of a company he formerly owned that had courageously taken out a full-page ad challenging the Constitutionality of Nixon's wage and price controls.

Bray received only 1400 votes as a result of the publicity, after having scored as high as 8% in earlier polls. Undaunted, Karl Bray has already announced his candidacy for the U.S. Senate in 1976. In addition, 20 other Utah LPers have reportedly declared their intention to run for office in 1976.

Yet another victim of adverse publicity was congressional candidate Bob Steiner in New Jersey. Steiner was involved in a personal fracas that was well publicized in his district. He polled about 1000 votes.

### Vast Majority

The vast majority of publicity was very good, however. In California, for example, LP write-in candidates John Hospers (governor), Dave Bergland (attorney general), Bill White (U.S. Senate) and Bill Susel (lieutenant governor) campaigned vigorously up and down the state, successfully overcoming the barriers to media coverage of not being on the ballot.

While final results are not yet available it appears that Hospers got about 2000 votes, or roughly twice the number of write-ins he received in his presidential race in California in 1972. Lloyd Taylor, the LPC candidate for Treasurer, was also active during the campaign.

The LPC is co-plaintiff in a suit against the state of California challenging the extremely difficult ballot requirements in that state. The case went to court Dec. 13.

Another high visibility write-in campaign was conducted by Paul Beaird in Alaska. He received between 200 and 300 votes for Congress and the campaign resulted in dozens of new members for the ALP. In Minnesota, Richard Kleinow and Claudia Jensen, running for governor and lieutenant governor, respectively, garnered about 2000 votes.

### Outside The Party

Numerous libertarian and libertarian-leaning candidates ran for office as Republicans or Democrats in '74 with varying degrees of success. In Idaho, Bob Smith, a former aide to Steve Symms, ran a strong race against incumbent Senator Frank Church. Smith, who is credited with influencing Symms in a libertarian direction, received 43% of the vote.

Hensen Moore may have been elected to Congress in Louisiana as a Republican. The vote was being disputed at press time. Moore is reported to have strong libertarian positions and was supported by libertarians in his district. In New Hampshire, Art Ketchen, the LP state vice chairperson, received 47% of the vote in his contest for the state legislature. He ran as a Democrat after narrowly losing in the Republican primary. Jack O'Brien ran as an independent in New Hampshire for Rockingham County Commissioner and totaled 8.8% of the vote. O'Brien was a vocal supporter of the LP during the '74 campaign.

In Oklahoma, Mickey Edwards had libertarian support and wound up with 48.3% of the vote for Congress in Oklahoma City. He ran as a Republican.

### MOVING?

If you are a national LP member or subscriber to LP NEWS and are planning to change your permanent address, please let us know a month in advance to assure uninterrupted delivery of our mailings to you.

New Address Effective Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

WE MUST HAVE YOUR ADDRESS LABEL. Please cut this entire form and mail to Libertarian Party, 550 Kearny St., San Francisco, CA 94108.



# World News Notes For Libertarians

**ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT:** It costs an average of \$2150 apiece for each bill introduced in the California state legislature — that's for printing, filing, and other clerical procedures. The total cost for all the paper work has run to \$51 million.

**CASEY JONES, CALL YOUR OFFICE:** Officials of AMTRAK have spent over \$750,000 in the past 16 months on air fare to cities serviced by AMTRAK trains. AMTRAK's deficit for fiscal 1975 is projected at \$215 million.

Railroad collisions are up 23% from 1972, and derailments are up 34% over the same period. Hey, since nationalization works so well, let's take over the oil industry.

**KEEPING THINGS UNDER CONTROL:** The government of Chile has banned the movie "Fiddler on the Roof." And the Federal Communications Commission is being petitioned to ban the song "Kung Fu" from the radio, because of derogatory references to the Chinese community. Richard Burton has been banned from all future drama productions on the government-controlled British Broadcasting Corporation because he called Winston Churchill a mass-murderer.

**CONSENSUS POLITICS:** The record for voter turnout as well as uniform voting goes to North Korea, where 100% of the voters cast 100% of their votes for the Workers Party of Korea in 1962.

The previous record had been in Albania, also in 1962, where all but seven eligible electors went to the polls, and all but forty backsliders voted for the popular favorite, the Albanian Party of Labor.

**FOLLOW THOSE FOOTSTEPS:** A Federal district judge in Chicago sentenced a pacifist anarchist to a five-year prison term for sabotaging the Selective Service System. His reasoning (?): "This court cannot cast its lot with anarchy. I would feel derelict in my duty if I did not impose a penalty to serve as a deterrent to those who think they would follow in this defendant's footsteps."

**LAW AND ORDER:** A woman in the Los Angeles area who had babysitted in her home for seven years, closed her operation when authorities discovered it and pronounced it illegal. Her clients

were primarily low-income mothers who worked at night, and many of them have since gone on welfare in order to afford higher, legal babysitting rates.

**DEATH AND TAXES:** A man in Milwaukee who has been dead two years was finally cleared of IRS charges that he owed back taxes. The judge in the case agreed that the man's "crime" was paying his medical expenses before he paid his back taxes. But the judge thought this was not unreasonable under the circumstances.

**BACKBONE OF OUR ECONOMY:** The National Federation of Independent Business has enthusiastically paid a recent federal program which provides \$1.1 billion for loans to small businesses.

Why bother? A one-man business now 100 hours a year just to fulfill federal reporting requirements, according to the Office of Management and Budget.

**BUREAUCRATIC ASTIGMATISM:** Under California state law, it's illegal for an optical company to advertise its prices for eye glasses and contact lenses. One optical service was held in contempt of court for advertising: "Until the courts determine your right to know what our low price is, visit or phone your nearest Opti-Cal office."

**GRASPING THE SITUATION:** New York Mayor Abraham Beame is arguing that his city's subway fare should be subsidized, rather than increased, because subsidies are anti-inflationary. You see, subway fares

are included in the consumer price index, but taxes aren't, so if we raise taxes, no one will notice, and there won't be any inflation. You don't understand that?

**THERE'S ALWAYS A SILVER LINING:** After the Supreme Court ruled that the transportation of turkeys was not subject to regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the average price of shipping them fell 33%. The real turkey is the Interstate Commerce Commission.

**PORNOGRAPH RECORD:** In New York State, Gov. Malcolm Wilson criticized Democratic lieutenant governor candidate Mary Anne Krupsak for voting against a tough antipornography bill. She told the voters she believed in freedom of speech. She won; he lost. Nassau County District Attorney William Cahn had a television ad in which he stood in front of a dirty books shop and stated that he had "kept the garbage out of Nassau because we're parents, not prudes." He lost decisively.

**COUNTERFEITING FOR FUN & PROFIT:** A recent Federal Reserve Board study cited rising food prices as a major cause of inflation. As the wits in the San Diego Libertarian Alternative have noted, "That's like the Mafia issuing a report citing rising theft insurance claims as a major cause of crime."

**CRYING OF LOT 49:** The U.S. Postal Service's new \$950 million bulk mail system will cause a package sent from El Paso to Midland Texas (about 300 miles) to travel 1794 miles. A package mailed from Pensacola to Panama City, Florida (103 miles away) will travel via New Orleans, Memphis, and Jacksonville.

**RELIGIOUS LIBERTY:** The Supreme Court overruled a lower court decision which had held that it was a legitimate exercise of their religion for Quakers to oppose withholding-taxes that financed the Vietnam war. The high court cited a law barring courts from restraining tax collection.

**INTERIOR DECORATION:** The Department of the Interior, under past secretaries Udall and Hickel, spent \$6 million to find out that the main recreation in the U.S. is picnicking.

## Mobilizing Middle Classes

(Continued from page 2)

Suppose many of us suspected a month or two ago that the federal government would eventually impose mandatory gasoline rationing. We might have picked this up from reading newspaper articles, from TV and newspaper editorials urging the President to "do something," from the pronouncements of Democratic politicians and the Ford regime's Energy Administration bureaucrats. Our hunch might even be wrong; such evaluation is an art, not a science.

Under the circumstances, we might have done well (especially with more members, more income, and increased division of labor, but even in our present condition) to review and analyze the economic work (from M. A. Adelman to D. T. Armentano) and the historical work (from Gerald Nash to Harvey O'Connor) that exists on the petroleum industry.

From these we would cull information, possibly for a research report to be sent to local libertarian groups or possibly for future press releases.

At the same time, we would search for ideas on how to dramatize the libertarian position on the issue, and we would investigate what groups might be susceptible to our message (service station owners, taxi drivers, automobile commuters, independent truckers?) This model of seizing upon

issues can be applied to other local and national issues.

### Must Not Escape

We must not let issues escape us. Libertarians are still kicking themselves for not being in the leadership of anti-draft activities during the 1960s. The current influence of Liberty Lobby in the tax rebellion shows that libertarians could again make the mistake of letting leadership pass to others on a perfect issue.

Furthermore, we must remain alert to keeping a balance of civil liberties and economic liberty issues in our repertoire.

What is needed are vivid exposures of what government officials and those who have influence with them are doing at present in all problem areas.

We need as well pamphlets, informed political candidates, radio-TV replies, protest marches, and letters to the editors of local papers.

Internally, we need a regular vehicle for sharing the organizational experience of a geographically scattered movement. The LP's organizers' bulletin, Action, may help to fill this void.

All this and more is necessary to raise the political consciousness of the population — to make it aware of and favorable toward libertarian solutions to current crises and our overall goal of a free society.

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