**VOLUME 6, NUMBER 43** 

LIBERTARIAN PARTY NEWS

SEPT. - OCT. 1978

# LP Candidate Leads In Poll

Dick Randolph, an LP National Committee member and former state legislator from Fairbanks, Alaska, led a field of sixteen candidates for six seats in the Alaska State House, according to an August survey taken by an independent pollster.

A random selection of Fairbanks residents were asked to select the six candidates they would vote for in the November general election from a field of four Libertarians, six Democrats, and six Republicans. Randolph finished first, with 55 percent of the vote.

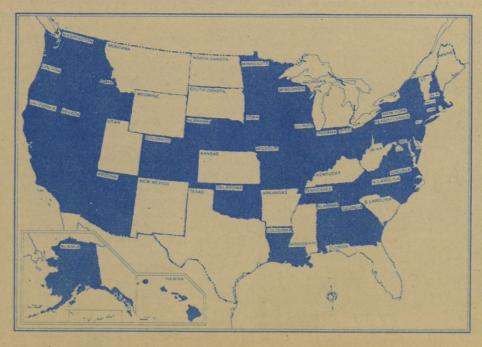
In addition, Libertarian candidate Bruce Boyd finished sixth in the poll, while Libertarian candidates Bruce Wammack and Butch Stein finished tied for seventh and tied for eighth, respectively.

If the poll is accurate, two of the six seats are "up for grabs" from among twelve of the contestants. Four of the candidates two Democrats, one Republican, and Randolph - were chosen by half of the respondents. But only thirteen percentage points separated the fifth place candidate and the thirteenth place finisher.

Libertarian Boyd showed 32 percent, three points behind the fifth place candi-Wammack had 29 percent, while Stein had 24 percent.

According to Randolph, this same survey accurately predicted the results of both the Republican and the Democratic primary elections of both the Republican and the Democratic primary elections for Governor and Lieutenant Governor in the Fairbanks area.

The Libertarian slate has been campaigning hard for the past several months, appearing at fairs and parades, and walking Idoor-to-door. A float built by the Fairbanks LP took first place in a local parade; nia, were responsible for collecting 183,000



The map above shows the states which have Libertarian Party candidates running for local, state, or federal office this year. Dark states have candidates; white states do not. There are nearly 200 LP candidates in 1978, including 32 for federal office and over 30

the float portrayed an elephant and a donkey pursued by a Libertarian porcupine.

According to Randolph, the Libertarian slate may spend as much as \$65,000 before election, and has already raised over \$35,000. Much of this money will go toward radio and television advertising.

**CALIFORNIA** 

Libertarian Party supporters of Ed Clark, candidate for Governor of Califorsignatures to list Clark's name on the November ballot. This was the first time in California history that a candidate for Governor had qualified for the ballot by collecting signatures, under California's difficult independent nomination proce-

Nearly 100,000 valid signatures were required, and over 113,000 of Clark's signatures proved to be valid on the first count (California permits a candidate's supporters to "revalidate" signatures if necessary, usually resulting in a much higher validity rate than first count).

Since the last day of the ballot drive, Clark has been touring California and is devoting full time to the campaign. All of California's major newspapers have covered his campaign, and have consistently identified Clark as a Libertarian, although he will appear on the ballot as an Indepen-

Sample headlines describing the Clark campaign are as follows: "Libertarian Gets On Ballot for Governor" (San Francisco Chronicle); "Unknown Doesn't Stay That Way" (Los Angeles Times); "Gubernatoria Candidate Urges 'More Freedom' " (San Jose Mercury); "A Candidate Who Doesn't Duck the Tough Ones" (San Jose

Clark has called for tuition tax credits to encourage private education, a tax credit for all California renters, an immediate across-the-board reduction in the sales tax, and pardons for those convicted or accused of victimless "crimes.

#### STATE RACES

Libertarian Party candidates will appear on the ballots of at least 31 states in November, equaling the number of states where LP presidential candidate Roger MacBride achieved ballot status in 1976.

In one other state, New Mexico, an LP candidate is suing to maintain ballot status which election officials had denied him on technical grounds.

In South Carolina, LP activists predict permanent ballot status, capping a yearlong petition drive, after turning in over

15,000 signatures for a 10,000 signature requirement. Election laws will prevent any Libertarians from appearing on the November ballot; however, the LP write-in candidate for Governor, Phil Dematteis, has been invited to join other ballot-qualified candidates for televised debates.

If South Carolina grants permanent ballot status to the LP, a total of four states will be accounted for in 1980 before the 1978 election: South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, and Idaho. Ballot status drives for the LP in 1979 will include Kansas, California, and Delaware. And, if vote percentages are high enough, the LP may earn ballot status in Illinois, Hawaii, Colorado, Arizona, and Nevada this year.

Arizona leads all state LP's in the number of ballot-qualified candidates this year, with an estimated 40. Several states are concentrating limited resources on just one elective race; in some cases, these solo races represent the first time that a state LP has fielded a state or local candidate.

Outside of Alaska, chances for a Libertarian victory appear brightest in Idaho. where State Chair Larry Fullmer is running again for the State Senate seat from the Pocatello area. Fullmer drew 30% of the vote in 1976, mostly from liberals, against a Democratic incumbent. This year, a Republican has joined the race, increasing the possibility of a plurality victory for Fullmer

In Tennessee, Richard Bacon is running for a seat in the State Legislature from a district where he finished a close second in a race for a different office two years ago.

In Oregon, the Libertarian Party of Jackson County (Medford area) qualified for the ballot for the first time, and is fielding three local candidates. Vivian

(Continued on p. 3)

## Activists, Scholars Enjoy Boston National Convention

busy campaign season, an estimated 450 persons attended the four-day Libertarian Party National Convention in Boston over Labor Day Weekend.

By all accounts, the Convention was a success, offering a variety of speakers, seminars, and workships appealing to a broad range of libertarian interests.

Major speakers included National Chairman David Bergland and Past National Chairman Ed Crane, the Keynote Speaker; Harvard Philosophy Professor Robert Nozick; psychiatrist and author Thomas Szasz; author Karl Hess; and Barron's editor Robert Bleiberg, who delivered the banquet address.

Other featured speakers included David Brudnoy, Murray Bookchin, Dominic Armentano, Roy Childs, William Marina, Carl Oglesby, and Gary Greenberg.

Seminar topics included Defense Policy, the Kennedy Assassination, Space Exploration, Women's Legal Issues, Racism, South Africa, Education, Multi-National Corporations, Microcomputers, Gay Liberation, Illegal Immigrants, and Health

A separate program featuring twelve 'Principled Political Action' Workshops ran concurrently with much of the regular Convention program. The workships were

Despite long traveling distances and a conceived and implemented through the LP National Headquarters, and consisted of discussions of practical political techniques foc libertarian campaigns.

Workshop speakers included LP National Director Chris Hocker; LP Finance Chairman Ray Cunningham; National Committee members Carol Cunningham, Rick White, and Tom Laurent; and activists Tom Avery, Eric Garris, Linda Rader, and Lee Nason.

Other Convention activities included a Bus and Boat Tour of the Boston area, and a cocktail party held in honor of all LP candidates from around the country who were present at the Convention.

As specified in the Libertarian Party Constitution, the 1978 National Convention was a 'Non-Regular' Convention; that is, no formal business was conducted. The Boston meeting was the seventh annual party convention. Previous LP National Convention (in chronological order since 1972) were held in Denver, Colorado; Strongsville, Ohio (near Cleveland); Irving, Texas (near Dallas); New York City; Washington, D.C. San Francisco.

The 1979 National Convention will be in Los Angeles on September 7-10. This meeting will conduct party business and nominate candidates for national office.

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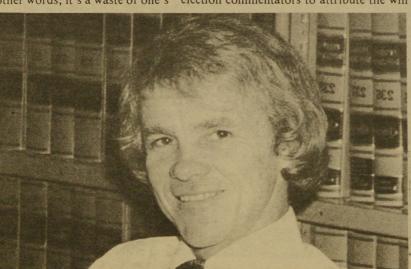
## From the Chair

## David P. Bergland

# Don't Waste Your Vote

held by many people which is summed up in the statement: "I don't want to waste my

One of the most frustrating aspects of use the public forum granted to political campaigning for Libertarian Party candi- candidates to educate the public about lidates is having to deal with the attitude bertarian ideas and to advance them. That program has been a tremendous success. We must keep constantly in mind our goal vote on a libertarian because he/she of a free and just society. Thus, electing doesn't have a chance to win." Many peo- candidates, i.e., "winning" elections, is ple hold this attitude and it is, therefore, secondary to winning elections as libertarimportant for us to be able to deal with it ians. If a libertarian wins an election, we effectively and, one would hope, to per- want the people who voted for the libertarsuade our listeners that exactly the opposite ian to know why, and we want the post is true. In other words, it's a waste of one's election commentators to attribute the win



vote to cast it for anyone other than a liber-

In analyzing this situation, there are two major areas of inquiry. First, we must keep in mind what the Libertarian Party's purpose is in running candidates for political office. Second, we want to look at the context in which we are operating in these 1978 elections and where those elections fit in a historical trend.

The Libertarian Pary was brought to life approximately 7 years ago to serve as a vehicle for libertarian philosophy. The purpose of running candidates for office is to viewed as crazy and radical.

to the fact that the candidate campaigned consistently on libertarian principles.

Today's political context creates tremendous opportunities for libertarians. Proposition 13 is only one manifestation of the mood of the people. I can say from direct personal experience that libertarian positions on many issues are much more acceptable to many more people in 1978 than they were in 1976. As the failures of traditional politics become more evident, more people are willing to consider alternatives which a couple of short years ago, they

One very clear trend over the last few years is the growing number of people who are declining to participate in the political system. They do not register to vote or they register as something other than Democrat or republican. Many do not vote even though registered. It is now the case that the group of people aligned with neither the Democratic or Republican Party outnumbers each of those traditional parties.

Traditional politicians and commentators attribute this phenomenon to 'apathy." However, non-voting and nonparticipation represents for many an affirmative statement that they are fed-up and no longer willing to give their sanction to a system that is morally and pragmatically bankrupt. How fond the politicians are of saying "We don't care who you vote for, just vote." And that is the point. It does not matter to Democrats or Republicans which you vote for. The only difference between Democrats and Republicans is the party label and which gang is in control. The course of the last several decades has been the same regardless of which party was dominant.

So how does all of this help us in dealing with the person who acknowledges that the libertarian candidate best represents his own views but thinks voting libertarian would be throwing away his vote because the libertarian doesn't have a chance to win? First, "backing a winner" is not the point of casting a vote in an election. In 99 elections out of a hundred, both the Democrat and Republican candidates will be viewed by the voter as evil so that the "lesser of two evils" must be selected. It is indeed a no-win situation if you know the result of the election will be to put an evil person in office.

The purpose of casting a vote at all in today's context is to make a statement, to say: "This candidate represents my views." A vote for either a Democrat or a Republican is a statement that tells every office holder everywhere that the combination of Democrats and Republicans who have held office for the last several decades have been doing a fine job and that you want to see them keep up the good work. Not voting is a statement (unfortunately a rather weak and ambiguous statement) that you do not sanction the system. But a vote for a Libertarian Party candidate is a very strong statement of radical disagreement with traditional political policies and a call for fundamental change.

Proposition 13scared hell out of the traditional politicians and bureaucrats. That was just one issue. If libertarian candidates in all of the various races in which they are presently engaged capture as much as 3 to 5 percent of the vote in their respective elections, it will be another body blow to the reeling traditional political establishment. Vote counts of that magnitude will properly be perceived as signalling the emergence of an intelligent minority who have understood and endorsed the libertarian approach to social and political issues across a broad spectrum.

In our present circumstances every vote for a libertarian candidate is tremendously valuable. Every vote for a Democrator Republican is wasteful and counter-productive. The most effective ballot will be the one with votes cast for L.P. candidates and "None of the Above" written in for those offices where no L.P. candidates appears.

### **Notices**

Committees: The National Committee intends to select ten members each of the Platform Committee and the Constitution, Bylaws and Rules Committee for the 1979 Convention at its January meeting in Las Vegas, Nevada.

All persons interested in serving on these Committees should so notify LP National Headquarters. Please include a brief statement of interest and/or qualifications.

Mailing List: The Libertarian Party owns a mailing list, consisting of members, contributors, and other interested persons. If you receive LP News, you are on this list.

The LP rents this list from time to time to groups which are not in conflict with the LP Statement of Principles. If you do not wish your name to be included on the list for rental purposes, please notify National Headquarters.

Membership: National membership is a primary factor in determining delegate allocation for the 1979 National Convention. A membership form is included in this issue; if you wish to keep your LP News intact, you may xerox the form, or merely copy the "I hereby certify . . part of it and send it in a letter along with your dues.

Remember, most states do not combine state and national memberships. Therefore, you may never have formally joined the national LP. If you are in doubt, check the "Renewal" box on the membership form, and your membership will be automatically extended for one year.

Contributions: LP News may wish to make a financial contribution to one or more of the candidates listed in this issue. If so, you may send the check to the specified campaign care of LP National Headquarters, and it will be forwarded to the appropriate

## The Prospect of Victory

By Chris Hocker

There's a famous story about William F. Buckley Jr. when he was running for Mayor of New York. A reporter asked him what was the first thing he would do if he were elected.

'I would demand a recount,' Buckley supposedly ansereed.

In a sense, the Libertarian Party faces a similar situation right now. Indications are that at least one LP candidate will win election in a partisan race. These are hard indications, too: a poll which appears to be reliable shows Alaskan Dick Randolph with an absolute majority in a wide-open race for six legislative seats.

There are other possibilities as well. Certain Libertarians are going to run very strong races in Idaho, Oregon, and Tennessee. And we may see some surprises by the time the votes are counted in districts where we didn't know that our appeal was

Naturally, those of us who have been involved with the LP for any length of time - and have suffered through the miniscule percentages and 'splinter party' nametags - want a victory so bad we can taste it. It's very difficult not to become irrationally excited about something as definite as the Fairbanks poll.

Our enthusiasm is reined somewhat by the memory of years past. This will not be win? and What happens if we lose? the first year that victory has been

predicted for specific LP candidates. The files at National Headquarters are full of forecasts which would indicate that we should have elected about two dozen Libertarians by now. Most of the forecasts, of course, were from the candidates themselves; some of these candidates lapsed into perpetual inactivity, or even left the party, when the vote totals showed them with seven tenths of one per cent and finishing behind the Revolutionary Marxist Vegetarian Party candidate, who campaigned dressed as a celery stalk.

Most Libertarians are idealists, and most idealists are optimists. All too often, optimism and reality have charted separate courses until they meet with a crash on Election Day, when reality wins.

This is not to say that optimism for the LP is in conflict with reality. Quite the contrary, in my opinion. But optimism should be long-range, and dispensed with the full knowledge that we may only get one per cent in this election, five per cent in the next election, fifteen per cent in the next election, and so on.

Any acceleration of this long-range process, of course, is more than welcome. After all, when was the last time that a Socialist Workers Party member, an American Party member, or even a Revoluntionary Marxist Vegetarian showed up Number One in a political poll?

So, there are two questions we have to deal with this year: What happens if we

We could lose, you know. Poll or no

poll, even our most likely candidate for victory could lose by a few votes, either by committing a fatal error of some kind, or by falling victim to unfortunate circumstances beyond his control. There are no guarantees in politics.

That's why I, for one, am somewhat reluctant to issue any flat predictions, without reservation or qualification, about our prospects for victory.

If no Libertarian gets elected in 1978, does that mean we have failed? I hardly think so. All it means is that we didn't elect a candidate in 1978 - six short years after the LP was founded. No one expects us to. Certainly, the political system is stacked against us. Certainly, recent political history would indicate that the chances of a third party ever getting more than seven tenths of one per cent of the vote are roughly equal to the chances of Joseph Califano becoming an LP member.

As long as we show we have reason to be optimistic. Take Alaska: Roger MacBride received around ten per cent of the Presidential vote in Fairbanks in 1976. If our LP candidates can show an average of twenty per cent of the vote in 1978, that will mean that we doubled our strength in two years. Is there anything wrong with that? Would it mean that we were losing ground?

Consider this other fact of reality: Some of our candidates will fall into the one per cent range this year. Does that mean that

Contd. on Page 6

# LP Election Activities Summarized

(Continued from p. 1)

Baures is running for County Clerk; as a Idaho former Finance Director in the community, she is well-known to the electorate.

A summary of electoral activity state-bystate follows:

Alaska

Four candidates for State House.

Alabama

Michael Ender for U.S. Senate; Harvey Crumhorn for Congress (5th District). Two

Full statewide slate, led by Gene Lewter for Governor, plus Congressional candidates and many legislative candidates. California

Ed Clark is the major focus, as candidate for Governor. Three Libertarians qualified for the ballot in State Legislative races, National Chairman David including Bergland.

LP National Vice Chair Mary Louise Hanson heads a slate of 10 Libertarians for various offices. Hanson is running for State Treasurer.

Connecticut

Two candidates for State Legislature.

One candidate, Michael Lipson, for legislature; Lipson overcame an extremely difficult ballot access requirement to become the first LP candidate in Georgia. Hawaii

Amelia Fritts and Peter Larsen are running for Congress; State Chair Mike Rossell is a candidate for State Board of Education, and may earn permanent ballot status in this statewide race.

Three State Senate races, including Larry Fullmer's.

Illinois

Full statewide slate, including Georgia Shields for Governor, who has been endorsed by taxpayer groups. Bruce Green is running an active campaign for U.S. Senate.

Two Congressional races: Craig Fisher in the 3rd and John Rothrock in the 6th.

Ben Olson and John Ball are running active campaigns for U.S.Senate and Governor, respectively; there are two legislative candidates.

Louisiana

One candidate, in the 2nd Congressional District.

Maryland

One candidate for the House of Delegates the first LP candidate in Maryland history.

Massachusetts

Four candidates for Boston-area legislative positions; all four have only one opponent each.

Minnesota

Candidates in both U.S.Senate races, (Leonard Richards and Fred Hewitt), Governor (Robin Miller), and the legislature.

Missouri

One candidate, for a legislative seat. Nebraska

Three candidates have already run for local office in the Omaha area; all did surprisingly well, barely missing run-off

A plethora of candidates on all levels, including John Grayson for Governor, Florence Fields for Lieutenant Governor, and Linda Wells for Congress.

New Hampshire

A total of fourteen candidates, including Mabel Everett for Governor, Craig Franklin for U.S. Senate, and James Pinard for Congress.

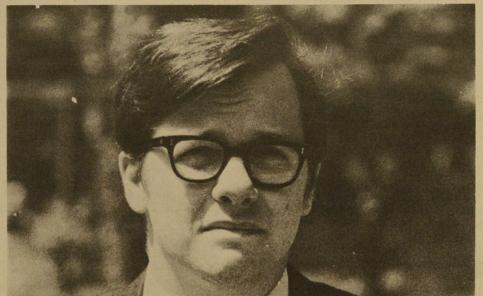
New Jersey Jack Moyers for U.S. Senate; Congressional candidates include Mike Fieschko, Steve Enterline, Chuck Pike, Dick Roth, and Bob Shapiro; other local candidacies.

New Mexico

Subject to court decision: Bob Walsh in an Albuquerque-area legislative race.

Gary Greenberg for Governor, as well as

(Continued on p. 8)



Jeff Smith, a member of the LP National Committee, is running for Congress from Philadelphia's First District. Smith is the first LP candidate to run for major office in

## If You Want To Be A Delegate

... to the 1979 LP Presidential Nominating Convention, . please keep in mind that the number of delegates allowed to each state is directly related to the number of national LP memberships in each state. Some states may be underrepresented at the Convention because they don't have enough national memberships. And the deadline for counting national memberships for the convention is December 31,

But there are other reasons for becoming a national member.

Our ability to function and grow depends on you! This year, we have expanded our impact around the country through new outreach material, campus activities, regional conferences, practical political techniques, ballot drives, and, of course, election campaigns.

Help us grow by becoming an LP member. Complete the information below and return this form to us.

Enclosed is my □ new □ renew Libertarian Party in the category chee □ Basic (\$10) □ Patron (\$100) □ Sustaining (\$20) □ Associate (\$25	cked below:   Benefactor (\$1000)
"I hereby certify that I do not belinitiation of force as a means of achigoals."	
Signature	
Name	
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/ tadios	

Please make checks payable to "Libertarian Party"

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# Purposes and Strategy for the LP

Below is printed the complete text of Murray Rothbard's paper "On Purposes and Strategy" which was accepted by the National Committee, after amendments, at their meeting in October of 1977.

Another Rothbard paper, "On Coalitions and Alignments" was printed in the January-February, 1978, issue of LP News and was subsequently accepted, with one minor modification offered by Rothbard himself, by the National Committee at its May 1978 meeting.

Both papers were adopted as statements of policy on the part of the National Committee.

Readers are welcome to submit their opinions on either or both of these papers to the LP National Headquarters.

#### **PURPOSES OF NATIONAL LP**

- I. To Educate
  - a. To introduce the public to libertarian ideas and programs.
  - b. To attract to our movement the type of intelligent, energetic, dedicated individuals who are capable of changing society.
  - c. To educate our own members in developing their libertarian commit-

ment and in applying libertarian principles to real work problems.

- II. To Provide Political Activity for Libertarians
  - To provide the means for useful and important political activity for libertarians to advance their cause in the real world.
  - b. To reinforce libertarians' commitment by finding other libertarians' in each area and helping them work together.
- III. To Roll Back the State
  - a. By influencing people, media, voters, opinion-molders.
  - b. By pressuring politicians and other parties in a libertarian direction.
  - c. By getting outselves elected in order to be in a position to dismantle the State.

#### STRATEGY FOR NATIONAL LP

I : must hold high the banner of pure

principle, and never compromise our goal—a world embodying the LP Statement of Principles. We must work to achieve our pure goal. The

moral imperative of libertarian principle demands that tyranny, injustice, the absence of full liberty, and violation of rights continue no longer.

Any intermediate demand must be treated, as it is in the LP platform, as pending achievement of the pure goal and inferior to it. Therefore, any such demand should be presented as leading toward our ultimate goal, not as an end in itself.

Holding high our principles means avoiding completely the quagmire of self-imposed, obligatory gradualism: We must avoid the view that, in the name of fairness, abating suffering, or fulfilling expectations, we must temporize and stall on the road to liberty. Achieving liberty must be our overriding goal.

II. We must not commit ourselves to any particular order of destatization, for that would be construed as our endorsing the continuation of statism and the violation of rights. Since we must never be in the position of advocating the continuation of tyranny, we should

accept any and all destatizing measures wherever and whenever we can.

- III. The goal of liberty must always be the important consideration, not organizations or activities themselves. In short, the means must never be allowed to become ends in themselves.
- IV. Since our goals and principles are radical enough, we should avoid any extra alienation of people by the form of our presentation or by our image. In short, our content should be embodied in an image appropriate to our status as a national party aiming to become a new majority. We must bear in mind, however, that we must always distinguish ourselves from the conservative movement and emphasize that we are not on the left-right political spectrum.
- V. A detailed study should be made of setting up guidelines for LP candidates who will be elected to administrative or legislative offices. Should they accept salaries, should they vote consistently on every measure, etc.?

# Thoughts On Coalitions and Alignments

by Murray N. Rothbard

(The following paper was submitted to the National Committee of the Libertarian Party in October, 1977.)

Libertarians face the challenge of cleaving always to pure principles and never betraying or undercutting such principles, while still acting efficaciously in the real world to bring about the triumph of those principles. This paper attempts to apply such a strategic policy to the question of coalitions and alignments.

#### I. Coalitions Ad Hoc

It is right and proper that libertarians, including the LP, form coalitions on specific issues that will advance libertarianism, with non-libertarian groups (e.g. with liberals on the draft or on marijuana laws.)

But the coalitions should be on specific current issues; they should never be permanent organizational coalitions, since this would necessarily mean submergence of the LP and of libertarian principle. We should always remember, then, that coalitions are for limited purposes, and that we should never extend uncritical support to groups who happen to be our allies on particular issues.

#### II. Relations with Allies: Membership, Activities, Revenue

Is it legitimate for LP organizers and activities to speak at forums or platforms provided by non-libertarian organizations, whether they be allies or other? The answer should be yes, there is no reason to avoid use of such public platforms—with one practical proviso, that it might be unwise to speak before a forum provided by organizations so out of public favor that they might militate against the LP goal of becoming a majority movement in America (e.g. speaking before the Ku Klux Klan, or the Mafia.)

A more difficult question: is it legitimate for LP organizers and activists to join (either as rank and file or as Board members) organizations with whom we have ad hoc coalitions? The answer should be yes, since we are here dealing with individual memberships, rather than permanent membrship by the LP as a whole. Such a membership would be particularly worthwhile where the activist can have significant impact on the policies and programs of the allied organization. (Examples of such organization might be

ACLU or NORML.) Assuming that this organization is not the State, we still have a prudential proviso: that it might be imprudent for the LP activist to join an organization that is out of public favor, or that has a public image of being antilibertarian, so that we would seem to be inconsistent (e.g. the Ku Klux Klan, or the Mafia.)

An allied question: whose monetary contribution should the LP accept? Should turn any contribution down? Recognizing that no organization can be expected to engage in the lengthy investigation of the remote source of every dollar, we conclude with similar guidelines to the previous issues: Namely, that we should accept any money proferred, with two provisos. One, the moral provisothat we accept no money from the State, whether it be the CIA or the federal elections machinery. And second, the prudential proviso-that we should refuse any money the acceptance of which would seriously embarrass us in our goal of becoming a majority movement (again, the Mafia or the Ku Klux Klan.)

On the money question, we might add that if the LP engages in any money-making activity, the activities themselves should advance libertarian principles at the same time that they yield revenue (e.g. the LP should sell libertarian literature, but not sell investment advice.)

Thus, ad hoc coalitions are legitimate and proper, provided that they are not immoral in allying with the State, and that they are not imprudent in cutting against the task of building a majority movement.

HI. Coalitions with Whom?

With *whom* should we be forming coalitions?

First, to use Staughton Lynd's phrase of

the 1960's, we should never form coalitions "with the Marines;" rather we should always take care that the specific coalition is against, rather than with, the State. As an example of coalitions not to form, many conservative libertarians, in the late 1960s, allied themselves with the police and with government-run and financed universities, and against the student rebels against these statist institutions.

Second, the potential libertarian constituency is all those groups and classes in America who are net tax-payers, that is, who lose from government intervention. Most of the public are net tax-payers, and more and more citizens are beginning to perceive themselves as exploited taxpayers. As statism begins to founder on the rock of its own fallacies and inner contradictions, we can expect that even many government employees, perceiving those flaws, will become libertarians. These government employees should be welcomed in the libertarian movement, but we must always realize that the abstract convictions of these members continually cut against their own personal economic interests.

Third, while ad hoc coalitions with varying groups on specific libertarian issues is proper and legitimate, we must remember that, in the context of the current American political spectrum, we must be far more wary of coalitions with conservatives than with other groups. For we are faced with the following situation: (1) most of the media and the public perceive us as being a variant of "extreme conservatism." Therefore, it is particularly important for us to disabuse these people of our alleged conservative connection. (2) This is particularly important since the media and intellectuals tend to be anticonservative, often for good reasons (because of conservative positions on civil

liberties and foreign policy). (3) In fact, the greatest single threat to American liberty is the pro-war foreign policy of the conservative movement; and (4) in 1976, the major opponents of the LP ticket were the conservatives, while favorable responses came from liberals.

IV. Avoiding Unprincipled "Log-rolling"

While engaging in coalitions, our actions should always be principled. For example, we must never engage in "logrolling" activities, either as elected legislators or as members of the LP. In short, each one of our actions, whether in the organization or as elected representatives, must be consistent with libertarian principle.

Thus, if an LP member is elected to a legislature, each one of his votes, speeches and activities must be libertarian; he must never engage in "log rolling" which informs another legislator that he will agree to vote statist on measure A provided that his colleague votes libertarian on measure B.

Similarly, there must be no unprincipled log rolling as an organization. That is, we must never tell an allied group that we will back their statist proposal if they will back one of our libertarian measures. (An example of such unprincipled activity was the recent deal in which the feminist movement favors minimum wage laws, in return for labor union backing of feminist proposals.)

V. Building the LP

Our overriding purpose is to change society and bring about the victory of liberty; the guiding means by which we propose to bring about this goal is the building of the Libertarian Party. As we indicate in our discussion of LP Strategy, building the LP organization means that we should not endorse any candidates who are not libertarians, i.e. who fail to endorse our national Statement of Principles. But it also should mean something else:that Libertarian Party officials and members should not also be members of rival, statist political parties (e.g. Democrat or Republican).

It should be noted that by looking for this exclusivity of membership, of political commitment, we are not cutting against our approval of *ad hoc* coalitions. On the contrary, this is all part of a consistent strategic outlook for the LP: namely, that we form coalitions with non-libertarian groups on specific issues where our goals and principles are being fostered; but that we ourselves concentrate on building our own party as a party of *libertarians*, who do not endorse non-libertarians for political office.

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LP News is published bimonthly by the National Headquarters of the Libertarian Party, 1516 P Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Subscription price \$3 per year - included in membership dues.

David P. Bergland.....

# State LP News Reports

State LP's with ballot-qualified candidates are devoting most of their attention to those elective contests. Candidates and offices are summarized in this issue; other state activities are summarized below.

#### Alabama

The New State Chair is Jule Herbert, replacing Harvey Crumhorn, who stepped down after five years at the helm. The State Convention was held Labor Day Weekend, and Volume 1, Number 1 of the new party newsletter has already been mailed.

Arkansas

Please contact Warren Massengill, 6603 Asher #16, Little Rock, AR 72214 (501) 562-0312, for information on LP activities.

#### Delaware

Bill Morris, State Chair since the inception of the Delaware LP, has stepped up to the post of Former Chairman, and was replaced by Sheldon Richman. LP'ers intend to achieve permanent ballot status here in 1979.

Contact Richman at 26 Golfview Dr., C-6, Newark, DE 19702.

ELECT

Members of the Fairbanks, Alaska Libertarian Party staff the LP's eyecatching fair booth. At right is Dick Randolph, who led a field of sixteen candidates in a preference poll for six seats in the Alaska legislature.

For further information, contact Jule 35468 (205) 349-1222.

### **Poll Results**

For the first time, Libertarian Party candidates are beginning to appear in candidate preference polls conducted by independent organizations. The LP percentages are usually small, but still indicative of a gradually growing awareness and acceptance of the LP as an alternative.

Some examples:

In California, Ed Clark registered two per cent for the Governor's race in a September statewide poll by Field Research, placing him ahead of two parties which have had ballot status in California for ten years. The Field poll was taken before Clark started buying advertising or getting much media coverage. Two per cent of the vote translates into approximately 150,000 votes.

In Colorado, LP Vice Chairman Mary Louise Hanson, running for State Treasurer, had five per cent according to a statewide Denver Post poll, also conducted

Both the California and the Colorado polls allowed respondents to see a sample ballot, with all candidate names listed.

In Iowa, the Des Moines Register poll showed that one per cent of the voters volunteered that they intended to vote for neither the Republican nor the Democrat in the race for U.S. Senate, but would instead vote for another candidate. The "other" candidate is clearly Ben Olson of the LP.

The Register poll allows respondents only to choose between the Republican and the Democrat, with no provision for Independents or third parties. The recent poll was the first time in memory that a statistically significant percentage of the sample had volunteered another name.

Florida

Despite an extremely harsh ballot access Herbert, P.O. Box 5549, University, ALA law, the Florida LP remains active, seeking issues to be discussed electorally from a libertarian perspective.

The new State Chair is Ted McAnlis. Contact him at 1918 Ascott Rd., N. Palm Beach, FL 33408.

#### Idaho

The Idaho LP held its state convention on September 8 and 9 in Pocatello, reelecting Larry Fullmer as Chair and nominating Fullmer, Rodger Stevens, and Peter Hull as candidates for the State Senate. Convention speakers included First Amendment expert Nat Hentoff, LP National Director Chris Hocker and the chairman of the Idaho Tax Limitation Initiative. Much good media coverage was generated.

For further information, contact Larry Fullmer at Box 4106, Pocatello, ID 83201 (208) 232-2306.

#### Kansas

The State Convention was held recently in Wichita, with Karl Peterjohn elected as State Chair for the coming year. Wichita area libertarians were active in the fight against local tax increases, all of which

Contact Peterjohn at P.O. Box 2256. Wichita, KS 67201 (301) 832-5500.

#### Kentücky

State Chair Ernest McAfee represented his state at the Boston National Convention, and reports that LP activity has been aimed at local issues.

Contact McAfee at 20 Spurlin Court, Richmond, KY 40475 (606) 623-0196.

#### Maine

An organizational meeting, attended by

National Director Chris Hocker and National Committee member Nathan Curland, took place recently in Portland. Dick and Nancy Meiners have agreed to coassume the Temporary Chairmanship in this interim period.

Contact Dick or Nancy at 118 Beacon Street, Portland, ME 04103.

#### Maryland

The Maryland LP appears to be on its way up, with one candidate, Erwin Vogel, for the state house, and a new Chair, Mark

Contact Doherty at 11606 Gail Place, Wheaton, MD 20902.

#### Michigan

The Michigan LP is putting its resources into challenging the state's incredibly difficult and bizarre ballot access law.

The State Chair is Larry McKenna. Contact him at 3081/2 State Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48108 (313) 665-4148.

#### Mississippi

For information about the LP in Mississippi, contact State Chair Charles Clark, P.O. Box 143, Perkinston, MS 39573 (601)

#### Montana

Please contact State Chair James Preston, 2934 Terry Ave., Billings, MT 59102, for information regarding LP activities in Montana.

#### Nebraska

The new State Chair here is Gale Arch. Contact him at 1018 S. 31st Street #7, Omaha, NE 68105 (402) 345-5181.

#### **New Jersey**

Most of the activity here is centered on the numerous elective races. New Jersey has a new Chair, Len Flynn, and a new newsletter. Contact Flynn at R.D. #3, Box 370, Jackson, NJ 08527 (201) 028-0758.

#### North Dakota

The new State Chair here is Kris Brekke. Contact him at 904 N. 25th Street, Grand Forks, ND 58201 (701) 775-5561.

#### **Rhode Island**

The LP here made a valiant attempt to field a candidate for City Council in Providence, but were unsuccessful due to ballot law requirements.

Contact LP Chair Tony Fiocca at P.O. Box 657, Bristol, RI 02809 (401) 252-4027.

#### South Carolina

As noted elsewhere in this issue, the South Carolina LP appears to have been successful in its drive for permanent ballot status, and has received considerable publicity in this attempt. However, the Election Code prevents them from running candidates in 1978.

Contact State Chair Lee Muller at #2 Green Glen Apts., Pendleton, SC 29670 (803) 646-7354

#### South Dakota

The small LP group here came within a few hundred signatures of qualifying a candidate for Governor, Spencer Nesson. Nesson and StateChair Byron McGregor collected 1,600 signatures between them, and are looking forward to an active year

Contact McGregor at P.O. Box 230, Yankton, SD 57078.

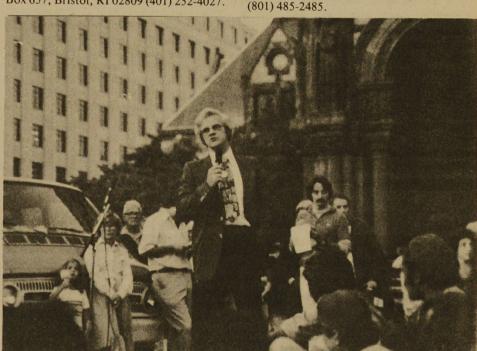


LP member Dick Bacon is a candidate for state legislature in Tennessee, and is given a chance of winning his contested race. Bacon has been campaigning hard for several months.

Despite the lack of success in attaining ballot status this year, Texas LP'ers are already mapping strategies to enable them to make the ballot in 1980 in this very difficult state.

The new State Chair is Mike Grossberg. Contact him at 1205 E. 52nd St. #204, Austin, TX 78723.

The LP here appears to have already qualified for the ballot in 1980. The State Chair is George Chapman; contact him at P.O. Box 15509, Salt Lake City, UT 84115



National Chairman David Bergland addresses a crowd in Copley Plaza, across the street from the LP National Convention in Boston. Bergland gave a libertarian viewpoint on gay rights to a gathering of several hundred pro-gay rights supporters.

# Diary of A Candidate

By Gary Greenberg

If my campaign for Governor of New York can serve as an example, it would appear that LP candidates around the country can generate as much publicity as their resources permit. Lack of interest by the press is no longer an excuse.

Admittedly, we often cannot compete effectively with the Democrats and Republicans, but we should be able to far outstrip everybody else. A description of my most recent campaign swing should illustrate what I mean.

Outside of New York City, the New York State press is probably typical of just about any other area in the country (with a handful of exceptions such as L.A., Washington, D.C. and perhaps two or three other major metropolitan centers.) Still, by the end of the campaign, we will receive several T.V., newspaper and radio stories in New York City about the campaign. We've already had a short story in the-Daily News.

However, it is with outside of New York City that I am presently concerned. Traditionally, minor party candidates receive virtually no campaign coverage until just a few days before the election, if they receive any at all. Although we have barely completed our petition drive, I have been the subject of over 75 television, radio, and newspaper stories - not to mention a few phone-in talk shows. The only reason that I haven't doubled or tripled that amount is lack of time, money, and labor.

Here is what happened on my most recent trip. It should help you achieve similar results in your home state.

As a result of previous successful forays into upstate New York, I decided to build upon that record and devote a week's vacation to traveling around. Although this was my fourth upstate trip, it was my longest and most grueling - a six-city, five-day tour by Greyhound.

The trip was layed out three weeks in advance. Dottie-Lou Brokaw, my Central New York Coordinator, had been responsible for my first major media blitz three months earlier and she was in charge of the first half of this tour. We were to hit Binghamton, Syracuse, Cortland and Ithaca.

Dottie-Lou needed help to coordinate matters. Checking her records, she found we had only one contact, Craig Russell, in Binghamton and he had not been active in FLP activities. Dottie-Lou called him and he said he would give it a try.

I had no advance information on any of my appearances on the tour, so each day was a pleasant surprise. Craig and Dottie-Lou met me at the station when I arrived about 3½ hours later. Craig had made a few calls earlier and we were booked for interviews at both Binghamton newspapers, four T.V. stations and three radio stations.

After stopping first at one of the dailies, we rushed over to the ABC station which housed both the television and two radio stations. The director indicated at first that I could record a very brief statement, and he seemed to begrudge us even that. He did admit that he had a vague recollection about the LP from 1976, but didn't remember anything about it.

Dottie-Lou and I quickly refreshed his recollection and the tape continued rolling. After listening to some of our ideas and programs he decided to expand the interview so that, in addition to the news programs, we would be the subject of a five-minute segment on his "magazine format" broadcast also.

As she did everywhere we went, Dottie-Lou made sure that this station had some literature when we left. We provided them with the LP background sheet from 1976; I had replaced the first couple of paragraphs with updated information about our campaign results, some of my background, and

Additionally, we provided a biography and a reprint of the *Reason* Magazine article about my candidacy. Dottie-Lou also made sure that they had her card, and in Binghamton, Craig's phone number.

From there we raced over to the local state university campus for a prearranged meeting with a T.V. and radio crew. The radio segment was to be run in excerpts all through the week.

We were getting nervous now as we worried about time pressures to fit everything in. A few phone calls kept our arrival times in a juggled state.

At one T.V. station, the newsman told us that he was an old objectivist and was glad we were campaigning. At the other station we started to run into difficulties, due to time pressures. The news crew was now doing the final preparations for the evening news. The camera crews were tied up and they suggested that if we hung around maybe they could talk to me live on the air. Fortunately, a camera crew was freed up, and we were able to video tape the segment, and we raced for a deadline at the next newspaper.

The newspaper interview produced a minor surprise. The reporter took out his notes and, intermingled among them were a copy of my campaign newsletter and my fundraising letter. My newsletter had been sent out only to party members and contributors. The reporter told us that one of the staff members at the paper had given it to him. For a town with only one known supporter, Binghamton was providing us with a good bit of Libertarian serendipity.

We wrapped up Binghamton around 7:30 and arrived at Dottie-Lou's house about 9. That night we called in an interview to two Cortland radio stations.

The next morning we got an early start; it was a three-city day. In Ithaca, our first appointment was at the major radio station, with AM and FM broadcasts. The commentator was a bit surprised to find out that a political candidate could answer a question both succinctly and substantively. He taped several minutes worth of interview and said he would run various segments over the next couple of weeks.

While there, we stopped in on the local talk show hostess who had a show that day about the horticultural society. She remarked that she didn't do political shows but, after reading over our literature, she thought it about time she tried something new and would think it over.

The Ithaca Journal reporter didn't know about the LP and, after a few remarks about our appearing "conservative", we led into victimless crimes. The interview concluded successfully and resulted in one of our better campaign pieces.

Then we made several local media stops and dropped off material; Dottie-Lou is now scheduled to stand in for me at interviews with some of the places where we left literature. From Ithaca, we returned to Cortland for an interview at the local daily and then hit the trial for Syracuse, one of the larger metropolitan areas in the state, servicing about one third of a million people.

Syracuse provided us with 3 T.V. network affiliate news stories, stories in the 2 daily papers, and 2 radio news interviews. From Syracuse I was passed onto the "relay team." Dick Saum took me to a hotel at the Syracuse exit of the thruway where I was to meet my Rochester ride, John Burk.

The relay team continued at 7:30 A.M. Alan Burris was my guide for the day taking me to Buffalo, where Bill Barzel, our Buffalo coordinator, had arranged an interview with the political editor of the Buffalo Evening News, and an interview with Spectrum, the campus newspaper for 40,000 students at the State University at Buffalo. Later that night we were scheduled for an hour and a half phone-in show on the most popular radio talk show

in Buffalo.

Although we had some major events scheduled in Buffalo, we had several lengthy gaps to fill (the talk show, for example, wasn't until 11:30 P.M.) We decided to take matters into hand, and Allen Burris, businessman, was transformed into Allen Burris, Media Coordinator for the Greenberg for Governor campaign. After tripping over the party name the first couple of times, he became quite a pro.

After a few rejections he finally hooked a T.V, station. They were sending over a camera crew to film us, and we were to phone in the sound portion later. On the steps of a State Office Building (hereinafter S.O.B.) Allen Burris, Media Coordinator, became Allen Burris, Ordinary Man On The Street, listening to the Libertarian Party Candidate for Governor explain how to cut government costs.

Allen made note of the various media personnel who said they would be glad to have me on during my next swing if we give them 2 or 3 days notice.

The next day was Rochester's turn. Packing in a solid refreshing four hours of sleep, I arose to phone in several prearranged radio news interviews. The Rochester media coverage had been arranged by Dave Hoesley, my Western New York coordinator, and Jenny Roback.

After the phone-ins to the radio station, John Zdanowicz took up the baton, and became the day's Media Coordinator. Our first stop was with a combined meeting of the editorial board of the two local dailies (both Gannett papers), where I was invited to present my campaign programs for their editorial consideration.

We were scheduled for a 1 P.M. news conference - we had commitments from all the T.V., newspapers, and some radio news departments for coverage. And then disaster struck, in the form of a last minute campaign rally by Governor Carey at the same time as my press conference. Only one reporter from one of the dailies showed up. We were disappointed to say the least. (Only one major newspaper! Aren't we getting jaded.)

Undaunted, we raced over to the rally hoping to get a piece of the action. Unfortunately, the rally was over, and the press was gone, but we weren't ready to quit yet. We went back to John's place and John started dialing the T.V. stations.

The news folk were very apologetic about covering Carey instead of me. One station agreed to send a reporter down to our campaign party that night, and, sure enough, we were met at a Howard Johnson's by a reporter and camera crew.

My day's difficulties became the focus of a lengthy piece comparing the campaigning style between me and Governor Carey. He flies in a State supplied plane. I go by car and bus. He spends a million dollars. I have only 7 thousand. And so on. They even traced my day's difficulties in looking for the press. The piece concluded with an interview with me about our goals and positions.

Another T.V. station scheduled an appointment for the next morning. A third station took a "voicer" and said they would use it, but they didn't run it that night. So the next morning we called again and this time they sent a reporter and camera crew out to meet us.

During the afternoon of the press conference, we managed to fit in a phone interview with the political reporters for the Freedom Newspaper Outpost in New York, about 60 miles from Rochester. We also called in a couple of more radio stations and received additional coverage.

Saturday afternoon, I began the 9 hour train ride back home. Sunday I rested.

Oh yes, we have to start getting out some press releases to the approximately 700 dailies, weeklies, T.V. stations and radio stations in New York. So if you have a spare minute and an extra buck....



GARY GREENBERG

## Victory

(Continued from p. 2)

they should all get measured for celery stalk costumes?

The LP is at different stages of progress in different parts of the country. In some states, we're starting to turn the two-party system into a *three*-party system. Where we're doing that, I would say we're ahead of schedule.

In other states, LP members still spend an alarming amount of time listening to disembodied voices emanating from cassette recorders and discussing the rights of alien beings. Every successful party organization went through this stage. They also went through the 'one per cent of the vote' stage. We're going to move at different speeds on different fronts, depending upon the existing political climate, outside circumstances, and the people involved. But progressing from the cassett tapes stage to the one per cent stage can hardly be labeled failure. It's merely part of a long-range process.

And what happens if we win? For one thing, we may start seeing some of the people who have been telling us for years, 'I'd be all for ya, but you'll never be able to win.' (Next to known carriers of communicable diseases, these are my favorite type of people.)

For another thing, we may see an allaround rise in expectations on the part of LP members. In one way, this would be a very positive thing, for we would start to take ourselves more seriously as a political movement, realizing that, given hard work, good people, and favorable circumstances, we can by God win elections.

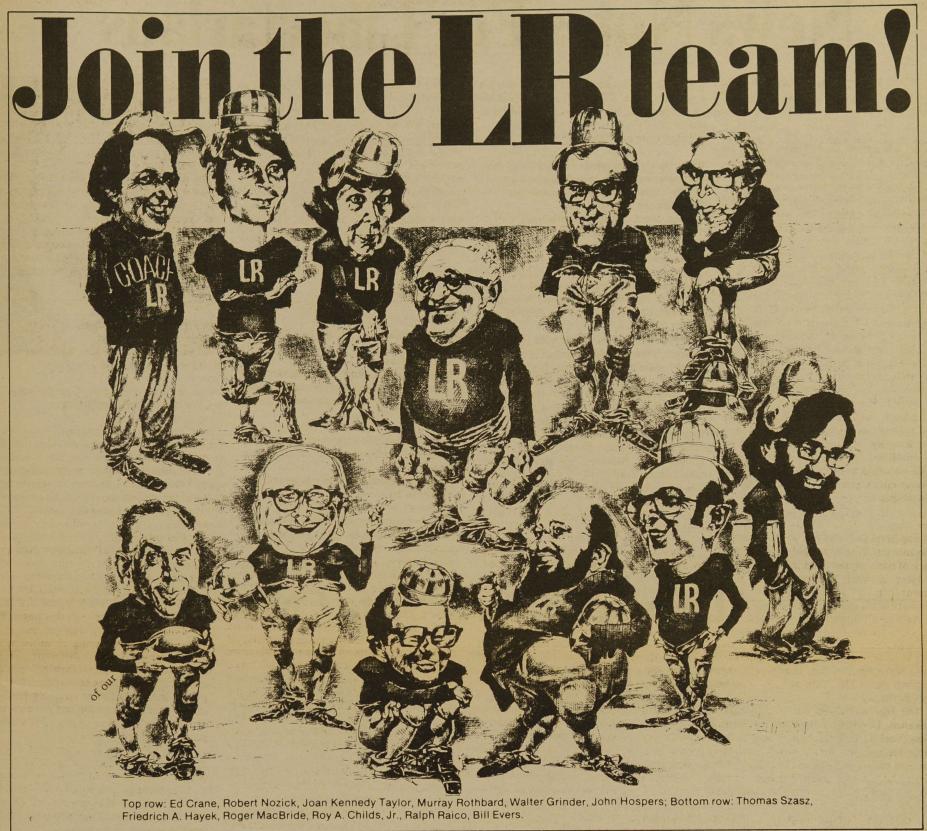
On the other hand, if we start winning elections, we're not going to be the only ones who notice it. And most of the other people who notice it aren't going to be nearly as happy about our success as we

Which means that there will be a whole new crop of problems to deal with: repressive election laws, political wheelingand-dealing, attempts at co-optation by the other parties.

We'll need to be prepared to face these problems, and at the same time to keep plugging away on the fronts where we're still at the one per cent stage. The ultimate success of the libertarian movement is still going to be a long-term, complex process; in many respects it will become *more* difficult for us once we break into the 'Win' column.

But, if we can meet the challenge of getting off the ground and surviving for six years, we can surely meet the new challenges which will accompany success, whenever it occurs.

And, if Dick Randolph does win in November, somehow I don't believe he's going to demand a recount.



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# News Notes For Libertarians

Hey, Man, Y'Wanna Score Some Wheels: In Norway, it is now illegal to import, advertise, sell, or use . . . skateboards.

Slightly Ahead of Our Time: The San Diego City Council had a vacancy, and called for applications for appointment to the vacant seat. Six "finalists" were to be selected from all of the applications, and the Council had selected five of these, but were deadlocked, 4-4, on the selection of a sixth.

Of the two applicants competing for the sixth position, one described himself as a libertarian (another self-described libertarian, Fred Schnaubelt, already sits on the Council). He was asked by the Council if he agreed with LP gubernatorial candidate Ed Clark's position on victimless crimes, i.e., that they should be legalized. The applicant said that he did.

At that point, two of the Council members who had supported him switched their votes to the other applicant, breaking the deadlock, and knocking the libertarian out of the running. Principle has its price.

The amazing part, of course, is that he was considered for the position at all, and that he managed to salvage two votes from the Council despite his consistent libertarian position.

Tap, Tap: For thirty years, the CIA could put a wiretap on the telephone of pretty much anyone it wanted to. Finally, a few

weeks ago, Congress passed a law requiring a warrant from a federal judge, based on probable cause, before the CIA can do that

Every little bit helps.

Who Needs Enemies?: If nothing else, libertarians and conservatives agree on taxcutting measures like Proposition 13, right? Wrong, at least partly.

In an article titled "Proposition 13: A Prostitution of Conservative Principles," UCLA Law Professor Donald Hagman argues that conservatives were wrong to support the Jarvis-Gann initiative in California. (The article appears in the September issue of Tax Review.) A sample paragraph should indicate the drift of the

"Proposition 13 not only cuts property taxes, it inhibits enactment of increased and new state and local taxes. If conservatives voted for 13 because of the inhibitions, they defeated another of their goals. Conservative economists believe that taxes or charges by the public sector are more efficient than regulations. For example, pollution taxes and charges, rather than regulation of pollution, is an emerging reality. In the face of 13's inhibitions, new taxes and charges may remain an impossible dream.'

"An "impossible dream"? An impossible DREAM?

That's somewhat like saying, if we free the slaves now, rounding them all up and

sending them back to Africa will remain an called, somewhat incongruously, the impossible dream.

Liberty is Universal: If someone had to list the ten least likely places, outside the Communist bloc, to find a libertarian political movement, surely Namibia (Southwest Africa) would be on the list. It isn't even a country yet, officially.

But Namibia is exactly where the latest libertarian party is to be found, according to a fat package of documents sent to LP National Headquarters.

The Namibian version of the LP is now

"Christian Democratic Party." The name was chosen after the German political party which adhered fairly strictly to free market principles after World War II. The name will soon be changed, though, according to CDP leader Ben Pillay.

The Namibian party is explicitly multiracial - its symbol is a white hand clasping a black hand—and its motto is "Knowledge and Trade." It is explicitly pro-capitalist, with decidedly Objectivist overtones.

Notes of encouragement should be sent to Ben Pillay, P.O. Box 1462, Swakopmund 9180, Southwest Africa/Namibia.

#### Elections\_

(Continued from p. 3)

other candidates to complete a statewide

North Carolina

Naudeen Beek and Rick Pasotto are running for Congress; four other candidacies, including one statewide judiciary

Bob Lehman for Congress in the Cleveland area (22nd District). Oklahoma

One state legislative race - Fred Bross in the Guthrie area.

Three countwide candidates in Jackson County (Medford area, southern Oregon). Pennsylvania

Jeff Smith, running for Congress in the (Madison).

First District (Philadelphia).

Richard Bacon in a state legislative race from the Memphis area.

One race, for Arlington County Board, by LP member Richard Gardiner. Washington

John Addison for Congress; two legislative races. The LP was the only small party to qualify all of its candidates under the new primary system in Washington, which requires all candidates to receive at least one per cent of the vote in the primary in order to be on the ballot in November. Wisconsin

Dick Fields is running a very active race for Congress in the Second District

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