

# Massachusetts LIBERTY

April, 1980

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## MASS. LIBERTARIANS CONVENE

By Steve Trinward

The memory is already beginning to fade, but the taste of the heady wine of freedom lingers...

The 1980 Convention of the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts, held at the Copley Plaza Hotel on Feb. 9, was a pastiche of hard-line activism, deep philosophical investigation and old-fashioned fun and entertainment. It drew some 50 to 75 attendees, and was the first step down the long road toward ballot-status and real political legitimacy for the LPM this year. And when it was over there was a renewed sense of purpose among the members present.

The morning began with an event which has become almost an institution at these gatherings: Bob Nozick and the Copley Plaza's scrambled eggs. As usually happens, Professor Nozick was invigorating and the eggs were rather salty.

Nozick's topic, "Retribution and Libertarianism", contained some rather meaty substance. He dealt with questions of will and intentionality, and considered issues like poetic justice and divine retribution. As always, his presentation was peppered with examples: to define poetic justice, he postulated a person witnessing a murder from atop a rock ledge, who, in running to fetch the police, dislodges a rock which causes a landslide which strikes the murderer, killing him. Nozick noted that since there was no intention to harm the killer directly, and since the killer was not made aware of his fate by the avenger, retribution was not exacted by the witness.

The rest of the talk dealt mostly with how retribution and/or punishment would be meted out in a free society. It considered the issue of exacting punishment in excess of restitution to the victims, both as a deterrent theory and as a sort of moralistic equalizing of the culprit. At several points in the one-hour presentation, Nozick appeared to note a few "glazed eyes", and attempted to back up a bit into the pragmatic world. This approach, although on the surface a bit condescending, was a welcome relief for many listeners whose collegiate philosophy days are well behind them.

The only criticism which seemed appropriate afterwards was voiced by a journalist attending the convention, who pointed out that Rob's discussion ran far afield of the realities of Deer Island and Walpole as they now are. The critic pointed out that a consideration of these harsh facts of today's world might have leavened the speech more effectively than the somewhat repetitious cycling from deep theory into illustrative examples and back.

However, it should be noted that this criticism holds water only insofar as our quest for liberty is to be confined to the pragmatic, here-and-now of modern society. As a blueprint for revolution, Nozick's words did ring a bit hollow; however, as a beginning to an investigation of the very real problem of dealing with criminals in a free society, his speech was invaluable. (Once again, as noted in Neil Smith's commentary on "eating seed-grain" mentioned in this issue's

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### MORE PETITIONS NEEDED

Ed Clark's *Massachusetts* ballot drive is living up to its advance billing as "the most challenging and important Libertarian project" in New England to date. It is going to be every bit as tough as we expected.

To ensure Clark a place on the November ballot, we must collect and file about 60,000 petition signatures by May 6. During the first five weeks of the ballot drive, we have collected only 8000 signatures. That leaves us about 12,000 signatures short of our initial target for this point in the drive, which was 20,000 signatures.

The slower than expected start can be attributed to several things. It took longer than expected to build up a band of productive paid petitioners. After two weeks of advertising and training sessions, we have found several good people. The result of that effort will show up in the signature totals very soon. Extremely cold weather during the first week of the drive discouraged many of the paid petitioners and volunteers in the beginning, and that hurt us, too.

We are doing everything that has to be done to make sure the ballot drive will succeed. We have expanded our advertising to draw in more new paid petitioners. Chuck Pike, the full time ballot drive coordinator, is giving four training sessions per week for new paid petitioners, at the new Libertarian Party/Clark for President headquarters. The office is at 739 Boylston Street, Room 214, near Boston's Prudential Center [tel. (617) 536-5217]. The national Clark for President com-

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### ON THE INSIDE...

- FORUM: New Ideas Needed
- "The Anderson Difference" and the LP
- Media Watch

### THE TIME IS NOW

*"It's four or five hours a week donated to the Libertarian Party for something that only happens every four years..."*

*Chuck Pike, Mass. Coordinator,  
Clark for President Ballot Drive*

That's the best way it can be put right now. The Clark for President ballot-drive is more than half over as we go to press, and unless everyone gets out in the streets and gives of their time the Bay State will not have Ed Clark to kick around in 1980.

But if you need an added incentive to get out the signatures, consider this: word has just come down that the adopters of the Mass. Constitution Party (Mel Thomson's bunch) have filed a bill in the legislature which would expand the criteria

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## Media Watch

Another regular feature of *LIBERTY* from now on will be this column, in which the Editor, as recipient of all the state party newsletters, periodicals and junk mail which lines our LPM mailbox each month, attempts to summarize the high points thereof. At the same time, he will comment on the general subject of the libertarian (and Libertarian) press.

Leading off this month, a consideration of how the so-called "straight press" has been handling the issue of Liberty. For those who've been confined to the narrow visions of the *Globe* and *Eyewitness News* for the past six weeks, the news here may be a revelation:

The February issue of *Oui*, *Playboy's* kid sister, featured a short piece on the Libertarian Party, and its goals and strategies. Entitled "Partying with the Libertarians," it was necessarily arch, given the context of the publication, but publicity is good however it comes. And so is an article in the current issue of *Chic*, Larry Flint's slightly slicker spinoff of *Hustler*.

Meanwhile, in the "respectable" circles the LP has been faring even better. Although last fall's treatments in *Newsweek* and *The Progressive* were unnecessarily cute and condescending, a piece called "The New Libertarians: Stripping Government of Its Powers," by Michael Nelson in the March 1 issue of *Saturday Review* gives us a lot more credit. Nelson, a political science teacher at Vanderbilt and a contributing editor to *Washington Monthly*, grants respectability and credibility to the movement for liberty, and even offers his own putdown of the previous sniggering treatment of our ideas.

Nelson also touches on one valid criticism of the LP and its goals, however. After spending nearly three pages on the LP, Ed Crane, Charles Koch and Roger Clark, among others, he gets down to the following statement: "If it seems that almost everything in a Libertarian society would end up being fought out by lawyers, that's because it would...."

Now your esteemed editor [self-esteemed at any rate—Don] has never been too partial to the barristers and solicitors of our ilk; the profession has always seemed to be more of a game of rhetoric, browbeating and technicalities, than of a finding of justice. But one thing puzzles me about Nelson's charge: Wouldn't it be better to have lawyers arguing the merits of a case, affecting only a few people, in a vaguely objective fashion in a court of law, than to use the current system, whereby elected and appointed officials argue the political ramifications of broadly conceived policies, affecting millions of people, on the basis of whim, lobbying, and potential campaign contributions? [Why do we all have to stay after school if only one of us misbehaved?—Don].

And last but not least our own LP of Massachusetts convention got covered by the *Boston Ledger* by one of that paper's columnists, Eso Benjamins. Under the heading of "Charisma by Default", Benjamins considered our message, and decided that it held at least some hope. Although he disagrees, on the surface at least, with the LP position on some of the humanitarian issues at present, he was rather impressed with our zeal and enthusiasm.

Meanwhile, rumor has it that *Esquire* itself is planning an article on our little coffee-klatch. It looks as if the days of Rothbard's living-room have faded completely from sight... (Note: for a copy of any of these articles, send a SASE and 25¢ to cover copying expenses to *LIBERTY*, Box 2610, Boston 02208.)

And now the newsletters:

The big news to date is from California. The LP is now per-

manently on the ballot there, thanks to the more than 75,000 registered Libertarians in the state. They have withstood a strong challenge from the state's Election Commission and been granted their constitutional status. However, as the *Orange County Libertarian* points out, the work is just beginning. The Party now enviably has only the task of reorganizing its members as Central Committee members. LPCC member Mike Anzis writes in the January 1980 issue that over the next six months the whole structure of the party must be changed to conform to California standards....

*Atlas Shrugged* isn't the only liberty-oriented novel being considered for the screen anymore. According to the February issue of *Frontline*, Robert Heinlein's *The Moon Is A Harsh Mistress* has been picked up by a major studio for film production, and is by the time you read this already in the early stages of production. Meanwhile, Heinlein's latest novel, *Number of the Beast*, received a \$500,000 advance from Fawcett Books. Soon to come: a volume of the man's collected essays on writing, philosophy, etc.; an article by science-fiction PUNDit Spider Robinson (to appear in *Analogue*) in praise of Heinlein's greatness, which challenges his critics head-on....

Under the good-ideas category, the following: From Oregon, plans for a Libertarian Film Festival, presumably open to the public. (This was brought up at the first meeting of the newly volunteered LPM State Committee last month. Further details may be forthcoming.)...From Iowa comes the institution of what they call "LP Bucks", good for discounts on LP Iowa functions, raffles, and goods and services offered by other area Libertarians. LP Bucks are being earned for membership recruitment, getting an editorial reply or a letter-to-the-editor published, or getting a sheetful of signatures in the Clark petition-drive. (This too, may be getting some serious consideration at the next State Comm meeting.)

From Illinois come some ideas on solutions to the mass transit crisis. Chicago has apparently just averted a bus driver strike, and *Taxnews*, from *NTU of Illinois* chose the time to look at the cost of service in other areas. San Francisco, for instance, charges taxpayers \$3.76 for each customer it hauls by Bay Area Rapid Transit from the suburbs. The Washington D.C. Metro subsidises riders to the tune of \$10.38 each. (Boston falls somewhere around the \$7.00 mark.) NTU also looked at Knoxville, Tenn. and Southern California, in which ride-sharing transit brokerages have been formed to counteract the costs of mass transit. Through charter and school buses, vans, cars and just a few city buses, Knoxville has cut 2000 automobiles from the city's streets, by

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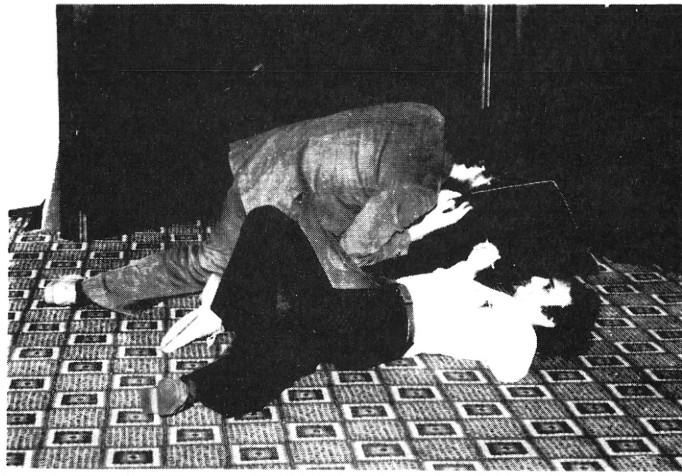
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## TIME IS NOW *Cont. from p. 1*

for ballot qualification for political parties. Currently, the only way the LP or other non-established parties can gain permanent ballot-status is through petition-drives leading to a 3 percent showing in a Governor's race.

The new law would allow two additional methods: a 3 percent tally statewide for President; or a 10 percent total in each of ten State Rep. races. In addition, the Constitution Party and its legislative sponsors are pressing to make the law effective immediately.

If Ed Clark, or any other third-party candidate, makes the ballot this year, that 3 percent goal might be well within reach. 1980 could be the last year we have to do all this...



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## FROM THE CHAIR

Greetings from the new presiding officer of the Mass. Libertarian Party. I hope to make this column a regular feature in *LIBERTY* in which I will attempt to report to you the doings of the state committee. I will welcome any and all suggestions as to how I can improve these reports and make them more informative.

The first order of business is to extend sincere thanks to former presiding officer Judith Anthony and last year's state committee for a job well done. I hope we can do as well this year.

This, of course, is an extremely important, one might even say crucial, year for the Libertarian Party, both in Massachusetts and nationally. This is the year when we can really establish our credibility as a viable third party by ensuring a good showing for Ed Clark and David Koch in November. However, it won't be easy. There's a lot of hard work ahead between now and November and we need the help of everyone out there who is truly committed to personal liberty.

The first meeting of the new state committee was held on February 12 at which we tried to establish goals and plans for this year. First and foremost, of course, is the petition drive. It is *extremely* important to get Ed Clark on the ballot in Massachusetts. Otherwise, we have no hope of running a credible campaign. By now, most Massachusetts subscribers should have received three petitions in the mail. I urge you to get your friends, co-workers, relatives, and anyone else you can find to sign these petitions. Even if you only get 10 or 20 signatures let your regional coordinator know. Every signature helps!

A membership drive is planned this year during which we hope to at least double our membership. Steve Trinward and Curtis Siller will be coordinating the overall membership drive. An important part of this drive will be to increase the number and size of campus groups and Tom Glass will be coordinating the campus recruiting effort.

The next state committee meeting will be held on April 20. If you have any business you want brought up then, please contact me. The purpose of the committee is to make the party more active and viable for *all* the members, so let us know what is on your minds.

Jim Poulin

## CONVENTION REPORT *Cont. from p. 1*

"Media Watch" column, we must guard against the urge to stop thinking of new ideas. Bob Nozick is another person who knows the value of intellectual capital.)

At noon, following officer's reports, agenda approval and the like, Bill Burt, newly appointed LP National Director, spoke on the subject of "The Other Side of Freedom", or, as he himself put it, "the hard and gritty work that's necessary to get Libertarian ideals enacted as a political agenda in the United States..." Burt noted that the LP had already reached the ballot in 22 states, with about a dozen more strongly expected, nine others (including Massachusetts) on the "hopeful list", and only five considered as real longshots. But he said that even these (Maryland, Georgia, West Virginia, Oklahoma and Missouri) were beginning to look possible, making a 50 state ballot status a reachable goal, after all. "In these states the ballot-laws look like they might have been drafted by Boss Tweed himself," he quipped.

Burt then went directly to the Mass. ballot-drive, and suggested that each member of the audience take a deep breath

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## PETITIONS *Cont. from p.1*

mittee is helping us out by sending in libertarians from other states to petition full time in Massachusetts. Tom McDonald, a veteran from the California registration drive, is working for us full time. More people are arriving every day.

Lee Webber and fifteen regional ballot drive coordinators have contacted virtually every libertarian in the state, to enlist them in the drive and suggest good petitioning locations. Every Sunday night, Chuck or Lee check back with the regional coordinators, and get an updated signature count for the volunteer effort. This is a difficult ballot drive, one of the toughest in the country, and it demands a lot of time, money and energy from the libertarians in this state. We are counting on 15,000 signatures from volunteers if we are going to reach 60,000.

We only have until the first week in May. So get your green nominating sheets, your clipboard, and your ball point pens. Hit the shopping centers, street corners and transit stations. EVERYBODY OUT THERE AND PETITION!

## CONVENTION REPORT *Cont. from p. 3*

and consider the task ahead. He stressed the need for determination, carefully channeled away from "evangelism" and into productive political action. He listed several claims which are being made against libertarian politics: selling principles for votes; failure to continue developing the philosophy of new ideas; the threat of domination by political hacks; and the danger of being overrun by new converts and registrants. He then proceeded to debunk, at least in part, each of these very real fears, citing such exhibits as the "ever more hard-core" platform, the intellectual inroads made by Cato and its fellows, and the solid positions taken by the Clark campaign. He also chided those who choose to air their dirty laundry in public, "giving the impression that we libertarians cannot agree on anything."

Burt recalled a discussion he had had with a nationally syndicated columnist, over the meaning of the heated debate which prevails within the movement on several controversial issues. "He queried me about the Party's stands on abortion, foreign policy and nuclear energy," said Burt; "and he made me stop to think how I felt about those who had in the past, insisted on grinding their axes publicly, slandering their opponents as being 'unlibertarian', and fostering the impression that we cannot agree to resolve a controversial argument on the basis of fair, open debate and a general agreement on the principles involved.

"The first thing I did was to point out to the interviewer that the existence of a debate over the applications of principles did not indicate a basic lack of unity within the Party. Then I asked him to compare us to the Republicans and Democrats," (This produced an outburst of laughter from the audience.)

Burt continued with reassurances against the fear of party takeover by outsiders; "The fear of the takeover of, say, the California Party by the Birch Society or the Yuppies on the strength of voter registration reminds me of the flaw in certain military scenarios, whereby a powerful country is supposed to easily capture a small, decentralized nation. A Party which was seized by any method other than rational debate would soon vanish into thin air."

During the question period Burt and former National Director (now Clark campaign operative) Chris Hocker answered several questions regarding the apparent failure of Clark to respond to the Carter Administration's draft registration edict. Their ostensible neglect however, turned

out to be the product of logistics and bad luck; Clark was in Santa Barbara when Carter made his speech, and although all efforts were made to contact media, Santa Barbara is to Los Angeles as Pittsfield is to Boston, and the media just wasn't available in sufficient quantities to break the story nationally. Since then, however, releases were sent to all news outlets, with some response. Furthermore, the February 10 issue of the *Sunday New York Times* contained a full-page ad, with Clark's response to the Carter State of the Union message, (Editor's note; Judging from my own junk-mail, everyone who reads this has probably received between one and five tearsheets of the ad from Clark headquarters by now, along with a pledge-card for funds. If so, send your dollars to the Mass. Clark Campaign Fund.)

Following Burt's speech there was a mad flurry of activity, as present and former State Committee members scurried around trying to drag new blood onto that august body. After several people succeeded in taking the requisite step backward when volunteers were called for, seven individuals were left holding the bag—just enough to make up a new State Committee. The new members are: Chairman James Poulin; Spokesman Steve Trinward; Recording Officer Temperance Snow; Financial Officer Walter Ziobro, Jr.; Susan Poulin; Tom Glass; and Lee Webber.

The "election" was followed by a brief consideration of old business, and then came one of those old-fashioned debates which used to typecast LPM Conventions as semantics colloquia. TAX\$ issue was the proposal to adopt, in some form, the resolution against registration and the draft, which the LP National Committee had passed during a meeting in early February. Of course, the wording, although quite adequate, did not live up to the LPM's standards of rhetorical excellence, so nearly 45 minutes was consumed, while various people argued over whether the proper phrase should be "conscription is slavery" or "conscription is involuntary servitude", and whether "civil disobedience" or "...non-violent civil disobedience" or "resistance" or "peaceful resistance" should be endorsed in the final sentence. The complete text of the final resolution appears below, as it did in the pages of the *Boston Ledger*, Friday, February 15, along with a column written about the convention itself. (Copies are available of that column for 25¢ and a SASE sent to LIBERTY, Box 2610, Boston 02208.)

## Libertarians adopt anti-draft resolution

The following resolution was passed unanimously by the members attending the 1980 Annual Convention of the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts, held Saturday, February 9, at the Copley Plaza Hotel, Boston:

Whereas the Libertarian Party has a longstanding opposition to registration and conscription, as stated in its National platform, and

Whereas registration of males and females for the draft is nothing more than a prelude to military conscription, and

Whereas conscription is involuntary servitude, a form of slavery, and poses the greatest threat to the survival of a free society in this decade,

Therefore be it resolved that the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts opposes any form of compulsory registration or the draft, and

Be it further resolved that we further endorse peaceful resistance as an appropriate moral and practical means of resisting mandatory registration and the draft.

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The next item on the agenda was a film, "The Inflation File", a production of World Research Ink. While this presentation did a fairly good job of outlining the origins of inflation, as seen through the eyes of private detective and general schlepp Avery Mann, it had its drawbacks—at least for this audience. For one thing, compared to "Libra", WRI's most recent effort, this one was rather slow and uninspired. This is perhaps due to the educational, rather than inspirational, nature of the newer product. WRI hopes to use this to teach outsiders about inflation and its roots, rather than as a rejoicing in the prospects for a brighter future. At any rate, however, this one seemed to lack some of the zip of "Libra" and the original effort of the pre-WRI group, "The Incredible Bread Machine".

A petitioning workshop was next. Due to the pressures of rehearsal schedule, ye editor was unable to attend. For an on-the-spot report, however, we switch you to our enterprising correspondent Steve Fulchino:

Thank you, Steve. While the petitioning workshop didn't have anything new for hardened petitioners, those who had either never done it or been unsuccessful at it in the past learned all they needed to know to do a good job. What the rest of us have discovered through experience was well covered in a succinct and witty presentation.

Chris Hocker substituted for Marion Williams, who was originally scheduled to speak. Williams was off in West Virginia trying to do the impossible: get that state on the ballot (it ranks either 49th or 50th in difficulty). There's no need to go into the details of what he said. Almost everyone who subscribes to *Massachusetts LIBERTY* received a packet in the mail with instructions for petitioning.

What is important about Hocker's speech is the confidence he showed in the Massachusetts party. He noted that it would only take 12 people each collecting 5000 raw signatures to reach our 60,000 goal. And while, of course, he didn't expect it to happen that way, he said that the national Clark committee was prepared to do all they could to see that we succeeded in getting the 39,245 valid signatures we need.

The first thing the Clark committee did was to hire Chuck Pike from New York to be a full-time ballot drive coordinator. He spoke at the convention about how to approach people for signatures.

As this goes to press, Chuck has been on the job for three weeks and has done an excellent job. His main responsibility has been to train and watch over paid petitioners, who are now out on the street bringing in the signatures.

Following Hocker's presentation, Lee Nason spoke on the legal aspects of signature gathering. Anybody can collect the signatures, she said, and any registered voter can sign. *Only the signatures of voters from one city or town can be on each*

*petition*, because the petitions are handed in to the Registrars of Voters in each community.

And now, while the local Clark committee hopes to get half the 60,000 signatures from paid petitioners, the other half must come from volunteers. That means you. Collecting 100 or 200 or 500 signatures by May 6th isn't a hard task. And if every subscriber to *Massachusetts LIBERTY* did it, we would be home free.

Getting on the ballot this year would be a watershed for the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts. It would create the foundation for permanent ballot status, which requires a 3% vote in the next Governor's race. And with Clark on the ballot in at least 45 other states, the publicity will be worth millions.

Contributions can pay petitioners (who get 25¢ a signature), and volunteers can get us signatures directly (400 signatures is as good as \$100). It's up to you.

This is Steve Fulchino reporting. Now back to the studio...

Thank you, Steve, for a most informative report.

When the convention recessed for dinner, most of the hardy faithful trooped upstairs to the 8th Floor, where Peter Hadley and Tom Glass had rented a suite. The beer, wine and booze flowed freely, so I'm told. (Again, the rehearsal schedule took me away.)

The banquet itself was well-attended, with nearly 50 people shelling out the price of a Sustaining Membership to pick at delicious salads, a nice piece of veal and rich, filling creme caramel. Then it was time for the Main Event, our first chance to hear Vice-Presidential nominee David Koch speak in public.

Before the banquet I had occasion to talk briefly with David, introducing him to the *Ledger* columnist covering the event. He seemed fairly articulate, and straightforward to a fault. When he was introduced with the side-comment that the speech he would give had been done before and was well-received, the prospects looked bright.

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## MEDIA *Cont. from p. 2*

providing economical, efficient transportation, paid for by users, not by taxpayers. Similar luck has obtained in California, where COMBUS! and the Commuter Computer have created private, profitable alternatives to both tax-supported buses and individual autos. (Perhaps Herr Foster could gain from a subscription to this newsletter...)

The January 1980 issue of *Individual Liberty*, the 121st monthly issue produced by the Society of Individual Liberty since January 1970, contains both an analysis of the PLO, by our own Dr. Imad-a-Dean Ahmad, and an article called "The Grasshopper Faction", by L. Neil Smith of Colorado. Smith, of course, is the author of *The Probability Broach*, a recently released libertarian science fiction novel. (To be reviewed in the next issue of *LIBERTY*.) In this article, though, he argues against the tendency to think we've solved all the world's ill already, the theory that says it's time for action, not words. He bemoans the possibility of a future in which we have to explain Libertarian theory to our members after the fact, and urges us to stop "eating our seed-grain".

"Large, successful institutions move cautiously to conserve what they have," Smith writes. "Small, hungry ones must strike out boldly, because that's the only sensible, prudent way for them to get ahead. WE can't afford stagnation. WE can't afford caution. We can't afford to ignore and thus to destroy the vehicle—scary new ideas—which got us this far..."

His point is well-taken. (See elsewhere in this issue for our own similar plea.)

# FORUM

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L. Neil Smith (see Media Report) warns against "eating our seed-grain". David Lips, the Delaware Party Chairperson, stresses that "we can never afford the opportunism of focusing on issues in the public favor." Other LPers around the country are equally concerned about the urge to stop moving forward, and settle back on the tried-and-true slogans and ideas, which seem to be taking over the Party.

And they're right, all of them. In the process of "professionalizing" the LP, we may be leaving behind the drive to find new ideas, new solutions, which got us where we are today. And in discarding the intellectual capital which conceived of those new ideas we may be undermining the whole structure in the name of a few more votes today.

We have had this problem before. In 1975 it was the whole New York fiasco over Roger MacBride's commitment to the deeper, and broader ramifications of being pro-liberty; after a sleepless Saturday night, and a few worried months, we found that either our fears had been misplaced, or that Roger had seen the light. Whatever the case, he gave a noteworthy performance on the '76 campaign trail.

In 1977 there was the threat of the monied gentry taking over the LP; the spectre of Republicans as LP honchos loomed big. But then Dick Randolph got elected in Alaska and began doing remarkable, hardline Libertarian things up there, and Charles Koch put the lie to the theory that rich folks don't want freedom for the rest of us with solid support for the rather earthshaking commentaries and articles of "Inquiry" and "Libertarian Review", as well as backing SIS, CIS, and the rest of the alphabet-soup groups.

Today, in 1980, our only real enemies are complacency and stagnation. And as the Reprocrats get farther in their own backbiting campaigns, they bring this point home, by stealing our very rhetoric: Ronald Reagan says he wants government "off our backs and out of our pockets", when he really means

he favors domestic spending cuts and a bigger military budget; Ted Kennedy has jumped onto the anti-draft bandwagon, in an abrupt about-face from last fall's position; John Anderson calls for an end to the global-policeman role of American foreign policy.

Ed Clark is saying all this and more. But the voters who are still unfamiliar with Libertarian ideals see this rhetoric as just more political hogwash. What is needed now are some new approaches, some new ways of presenting our views. We need to hit the issues hard, with facts and statistics, not glib slogans which can be gutted of their meaning and co-opted by the others. It's time Libertarians got down to the tough job of defining what it takes to get from here to Utopia; it's time we showed the world just how different we really are.

\* \* \*

In that light, we offer FORUM. Each month, we hope to present one topic for discussion, concerning the betterment and future of the Libertarian movement. In return, we expect *LIBERTY* readers to voice their opinions, on paper, and send them in.

QUESTION: What issue should we use to set Libertarians apart from the rest of the political crowd, and why?

Suggestions: the draft (but even EMK is now against that); anti-imperialism (once Anderson is eliminated, perhaps); removing taxes from the food-chain allowing America to "become a second-rate power", (a possible); curbing the money-supply (Reagan's already there, I think); abolishing the CIA (not likely to receive widespread approval, but...); there are many other possibilities.

Send cards, letters, telegrams, carrier pigeons, or anything else that's handy, in 25 words or more, to: FORUM, Box 2610, Boston 02208.

## CONVENTION REPORT *Cont. from p. 5*

Unfortunately, this was not to be. Although Koch is now apparently deeply immersed in elocution lessons, he has a long way to go, despite the fact that he was reading a speech he had already given, he stuttered, stammered and inserted more "ar's" and "ah's" into his speech than Kennedy does, to about the same result. Moreover, the topic of his speech was an introduction to libertarian thought, which made it for seasoned activists even harder to listen. Several people actually left the room for extended periods during the course of the presentation. It was a painful experience, and we can only hope that as David progresses through 1980 he gains in assurance and stage presence, and becomes as articulate a spokesman for liberty as he is its adherent.

And finally it came to the moment we'd all been waiting for. A brief recess was taken, to clear chairs out of the stage-area. And seven of us brash fools stepped backstage to prepare for the unveiling of a new dramatic performance: "A Petitioner's Primer—The Perils of Petitioning". Written by Steve Trinward and Dean Ahmad; directed by Ahmad; starring Trinward in the title role; with Ahmad, Joanna Lancaster, Judith Anthony, Nathan Curland, Frances Eddy and Lee Nason in multiple roles. A presentation of the Anarcho-Alcoholic Society of Space Cadets, or some such...For a complete report, back to you, Steve Fulchino:

Thank you, Steve.

Messrs. Trinward and Ahmad cooked up quite a skit to end

the evening. Steve Trinward played a harried petitioner, trying to show how it was done, who ran into all the problems any petitioner is ever hit with: people who ignore you, who try to beat you up, who hold long conversations with you, who can't decide what they believe, etc.

I don't know how much time went into writing it, but the actors didn't have much time to rehearse. Yet, it was a realistic drama of power enough to be worthy of Ibsen (not to mention Moliere). Tears rolled down my face as I recognized scene after scene. The skit only lasted 15 minutes, but it contained a typical hour of petitioning.

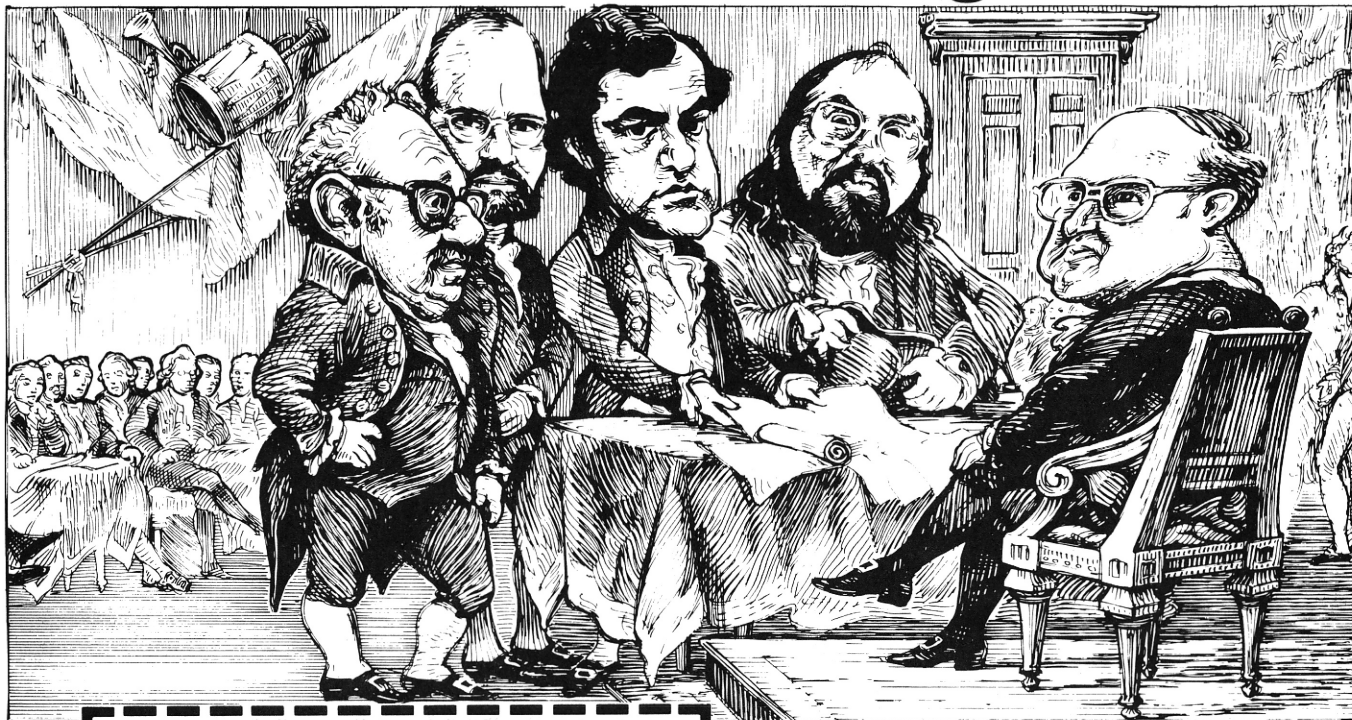
This is Steve Fulchino, reporting from the convention banquet floor. Now back to you, Steve.

Thanks, Steve, for another of your insightful reports...Moliere, huh...?

CMON, FINISH THIS DRIVEL SO WE CAN GET THIS THING TO PRESS!!

Oh, right. Well, that was our show for 1980. Now it's on to the streets once more, in an effort to make the whole process worth the trouble. The euphoria which we always gain at these gatherings, the certitude of the value and marketability of liberty, must not be allowed to fade away this time around. We must make that ballot. We must bring the legitimacy to the Clark-Koch campaign which it richly deserves. We must ensure that Massachusetts will not be left behind this time, while the rest of the country learns about the great potential a Libertarian society can hold for us all. Happy petitioning!

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Left to Right: Murray Rothbard, Israel Kirzner, Earl Ravenal, Roy Childs, and Leonard Liggio

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# WHAT DOES "THE ANDERSON DIFFERENCE" MEAN TO THE LP?

Commentary by Steve Trinward

The recent Republican primary in Massachusetts had an importance for Libertarians which is perhaps not visible on the surface. Nevertheless the allegedly "out-of-nowhere" near-victory of Illinois Cong. John Anderson showed some signs of promise for the Clark candidacy and succeeding LP electoral efforts. Even if Anderson never again places or shows in 1980, we have much to learn, and rejoice in, from his Bay State and Vermont showings.

In the first place, consider where this puts the pundits, the alleged experts, pollsters, analysts and commentators. They never knew what hit them, and the best part of the election coverage was watching them all squirm and try to cover their tracks. They cited the "unknown" Independent factor (For several years now, Independents have equalled or outnumbered registered voters in either of the "two" parties, but somehow this is seen as a "new" concept.); they talked about taking votes from Reagan or Bush (rather than giving them to Anderson); they poohpooed the Bay State's maverick electorate with recollections of George McGovern and Scoop Jackson, the 1976 primary winner here; they even tried to say that Anderson's extra days in the state and high-budget TV expenditures had turned the tide on their own. (When you're considered 'Congressman Who?' what else do you suggest?)

So much for the experts; their crystal balls are clouding up. And the next time someone tells you Ed Clark can never hope to win, remind them of the Silver Fox from Urbana.

Electability and the throwaway vote are the next issues to combat. It is said that the Clark/LP campaign cannot be considered seriously and that no one will vote for a longshot. Consider that most or all of the people who pulled the Anderson lever on March 4 "knew" he couldn't be elected, but believed he was the best candidate running. They voted for a principle, rather than for a clear-cut winner.

And this issue of principle is where Anderson, and the LP, both shine. The GOP's resident "lefty" may not have the same beliefs you and I do on all the issues, but he has stuck to his convictions quite admirably. He believes in the value of the gas-tax coupled with Socialist Insecurity cut; it would help the working person whose paycheck now shrinks to nothing, while providing a disincentive against excessive consumption. While a Libertarian would deregulate petroleum, and let the increased revenues be used directly for exploration and R&D, Anderson is not a libertarian, let alone a Libertarian. He favors gun-control, the grain embargo and a lot of other distasteful things, and he opposes some real economic reforms. However, he may be the first major-party pol since Goldwater to utter his views before the "wrong" audiences, regardless of consequences: He argues gun-control before gun-owners, and grain embargoes before Midwest farmers. This is not the behavior of your garden-variety duplicitous demagogue, nor the approach of our home state's "favorite" son.

And the polls taken on Election Day give credit to this; nearly 2/3 of the voters polled said they found "HONESTY" a definite plus-factor in Anderson's make-up. (Anyone who has been arguing for politics-as-usual campaigning for the LP should take heed.)

This question of honesty leads into a third area, and here again Anderson's strengths point to LP successes. John



John Anderson

Anderson is a man of bold issues and specifics, not of vague generalities and "safe" posturing. His energy ideas, though not our own, are at least in the right ballpark. They do offer specific, hard-line solutions to problems at hand. He acknowledges that we cannot fight inflation with increased spending, and promises that cuts in government will be made. Similarly, his stances on registration, the draft and foreign policy (which are more along our own lines) are just as solid, unwavering and principled.

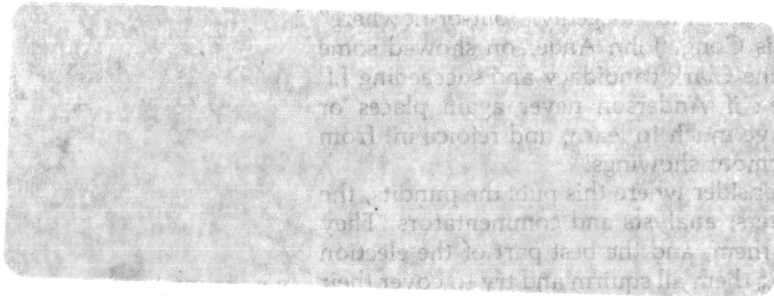
Finally, there is the exposure question. The only way a John Anderson, or an Ed Clark, can reach the number of people necessary to make serious inroads into the entrenched power of the political process, is to make massive use of television. He spent \$100,000 in Mass., mostly on 60-second TV spots during the last week before the vote. And in preceding weeks, he made equal use of airwaves in New Hampshire before that primary. With calm, compassionate, look-me-right-here candor, he stated his case and let the chips fall where they might—and over 30 percent of Mass. and Vermont loved it...

Whoever planned the Clark campaign to concentrate on TV spots for exposure should be congratulated (though I do wish we had at least one of those spots to help gain legitimacy and name-recognition now, when anonymity is such a barrier to the ballot.)

The conclusion of all this seems clear. We must continue to present our views and theories, clearly and concisely, offering specifics and not rhetoric, without wavering from the principles of true freedom, while striving to project the kind of compassion which we know we possess as lovers of liberty. If we are to maintain the momentum we have built over the last decade, this is a must.

Anything short of this and we truly deserve to be crushed, to be hurled back amidst the SWP's, USLP's and other alphabet-soup splinter groups. For if we give in the urge to soft-sell our message, we are no better than the power-broking pols we profess to combat.





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