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P E N N S Y L V A N I A

L I B E R T Y

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# Your Newspapers Print Libertarian Views

## Save Our Hoagies!

by Linda Paustian

Linda Paustian is president of the Greater Philadelphia Association for the Enhancement of the Community's Food Establishments. This editorial was published in *The Philadelphia Daily News*, March 11, 1985.

Recently the media have devoted much space to South African apartheid, the famine in Ethiopia and the possible departure of the Eagles from Philadelphia. But everyone has ignored an impending crisis that can permanently affect the very livelihood of our city. I'm talking, of course, of the looming hoagie crisis.

Due to unfair, wasteful competition, today's low prices for hoagies hardly cover costs, and have removed all incentives to produce hoagies. If something is not done soon, our hoagie supply will dwindle to unacceptable levels.

In many ways, Philadelphia's traditions and moral greatness rest on her rich history of small family owned hoagie businesses. Of course, back in the 18th century, the quick meal business was a lot different, but the basic character-building activities performed are not much different today than in 1776. The physical involvement with food, one of life's necessities, offers an essential opportunity to commune with nature and develop one's character. It's a way of life.

The present hoagie emergency is endangering one of the bulwarks of our society: nuclear families. Nuclear families who work together making hoagies from dawn to dusk--just like in Republican commercials--selflessly for the nourishment of our community. As things stand now, family owned hoagie businesses are unable to realize a fair return on the substantial investment they have made. Statistics recently released by the government show that 80 percent of all small food establishments fail within the



first five years, forcing fine Philadelphia men and women to join the unemployment lines. They deserve better.

Our hoagie industry has fostered a special Philadelphia ambience that, if lost now, can never be replaced. Our hoagie businesses add local color to our city that has been a boon to the tourist industry, not to mention the impact on patriotism and on each Philadelphian's image of self-worth.

We must not overlook another concern which is so dear to the hearts of Philadelphia developers, contractors and consultants--as well as those Philadelphians who have visited New York City: Philadelphia can never be a world-class city without a sufficient supply of hoagies of which we can be proud.

### National Security

But perhaps the most vital reason something should be done immediately is national security. The Pentagon has released figures on cappacolla, mozzarella and long roll consumption by the Coast Guard, which shows conclusively that hoagies represent 10.7 percent of the diet of our fighting men and women. The significance of this statistic should not be overlooked. To put it in perspective: hoagies are a larger percentage of a serviceman's diet than tanks are of the overall arsenal of the armed forces. In addition, the Philadelphia Naval Yard could be seriously threatened. If hoagies are in short supply, what will sailors eat for lunch?

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## Do You Have a Right to Stagnate?

by Frank Bubb

(Frank Bubb is an attorney from Swarthmore. This op-ed was published in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* March 9, 1985)



Every society operates explicitly or implicitly on some theory of rights, that is, a generally shared view of who can do what to whom under what circumstances.

Most of us still pay lip service to the traditional American theory that each person has the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and to the free market economics implied by that theory--with some important qualifications. Now, however, the qualifications have become so pervasive in practice that we have backed into an entirely different theory of rights.

The new theory could be described as follows: "The members of each major group in our society have the right to be maintained at the standard of living they have come to expect. If economic change threatens this standard, it is the duty of government to help the affected group."

We have traded "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" for "the right to stagnate."

If there is any doubt about this transformation, one need only look at the types of claims being pressed before our elected representatives, the arguments made, and most importantly, who wins and loses. People may use the rhetoric of individual rights in the abstract, but on specific issues they argue--and win--on the basis of the right to stagnate.

For example:

\* Thousands of American farmers are facing financial ruin as their debt escalates while commodity prices remain low. Predictably, they are appealing to the government for emergency low-interest loans. What is their justification? That they, the businessmen who borrowed to bid up prices of farmland in the boom years of the late 1970s, have the

"Every interest group that once mustered enough political power to obtain a subsidy is deemed entitled to that subsidy forever."

right to be made whole at the expense of the taxpayers, so they can live as if the boom had continued.

\* American steelmakers have repeatedly brought proceedings before the U.S. International Trade Commission to prevent Americans from buying more than a certain percentage of their steel from abroad. How is the import percentage arrived at? To give U.S. steelmakers enough sales to remain profitable, so they can continue to operate as if they were the first choice of customers who would now rather buy elsewhere.

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JOHN TREVER  
LOVES  
LIBERTARIANS



SEE INSIDE!



# We Must Guard Even the Most Hateful Views

by Jorge Amador



(Jorge Amador is a Magna cum Laude graduate with a degree in political science from St. Joseph's University. This guest editorial appeared in the Philadelphia Daily News April 29, 1985)

The recent conviction in Toronto of a German immigrant and the approval of a bill in the lower house of the West German parliament, both aimed against persons who question the historicity of the Nazi Holocaust, have frightening implications for the prospect of free debate and inquiry.

Early in March, Ernst Zundel, a Canadian resident for 25 years, was convicted on one of two counts of "publishing false news" for preparing a pamphlet in which he stated that accounts of the murder of six million Jews at the hands of Nazis are false. On March 14, a compromise in the German Bundestag enabled passage of a bill that makes it a crime to repeat the "Auschwitz Lie," calling for the automatic prosecution of anyone who denies that the Holocaust took place.

Both actions have commendable ends in mind, as they attempt to protect respect for the Jewish people, who have suffered ethnic-based persecution throughout history. The Canadian law under which Ernst Zundel was tried defines "false news" as "a statement or tale that he knows is false" and which is "likely to cause mischief to the public interest in social and racial tolerance." The German bill would allow the government to bring defamation charges against those who slandered the memory of the Jewish victims. Both laws provide for prison sentences of up to one year.

There is little question that many of the "Holocaust revisionists," who doubt whether the Nazis really killed six million Jews, are racists or Nazi sympathizers who wish to rehabilitate the image of Adolf Hitler or to bring on renewed anti-Semitic oppression. However, the question of whether the Holocaust occurred is a different one from what the revisionists may want to accomplish after debunking the Holocaust.

Whether the Holocaust happened is a historical matter that can only be determined by examining the evidence. For legislators to pass--and courts to enforce--laws persecuting those who question widely believed events is to establish an "official" version

of history. This practice sets a disturbing precedent that is every bit as dangerous to an open, peaceful society as are the racist ideas the laws attempt to combat; for it places in the hands of voting majorities, politicians and judges the power to decide, by decree, which versions of history are "true" and to be promoted, and which are "false" and to be suppressed. This power can be used to enforce error and prejudice just as easily as it can be used to enforce truth.

The Soviet Union has an official history. Do Western societies wish to follow its example? Is this the way to promote tolerance? Orwellian nightmares such as this begin modestly, with harmless intentions such as fighting anti-Semitism. If the Holocaust can be declared an "official truth" such that anyone who questions it in public is a "criminal," then other events which we now believe to be true, but which future research might prove false, can also be declared official history, thus destroying any chance of arriving at an accurate understanding of history--and ensuring the perpetuation of errors. Are we to assume that what we think today is necessarily the ultimate truth, and excuse ourselves from considering any further evidence? Only the freedom to constantly re-examine our conclusions can ensure that we will keep approaching the truth, and that mistakes will be weeded out.

## Freedom to Question Beliefs

The freedom to question long-held, and especially passionately held, beliefs is essential to human progress. Without it, minority groups, investigators and others who happen to dissent from the official version of reality can be silenced, preventing any balanced discussion of issues. If General Westmoreland or Richard Nixon--with the support of the majorities that then sympathized with them--could have had their views of what actually happened proclaimed official "in the public interest," many more of us than presently are would still be condemned to a naive trust in the unswerving truthfulness of government officials. If truth were established by what the majority believes, such that questioning it were punishable by law, we might still think that the Earth is flat and that the ability to swim is proof of witchery.

Strangling the free, public investigation of historical claims cannot serve any constructive purpose. If the views of one side in a debate are demonstrably false, then they can be defeated by so demonstrating them. Any intolerance which these false beliefs may foster can be defused by showing the facts, not by showing an equal or greater intolerance. If a view is demonstrably true, it does not need the help of force to support it, for it has nothing to fear from challenge. Only a false interpretation of the facts has reason to fear open debate, or can benefit from putting the barrels of guns to its service. Ironically, suppressing false accounts can only

(continued on page 4)

"The United States made greater strides toward Socialism under Eisenhower than even under Roosevelt, particularly in the fields of federal spending and welfare legislation. The difference between Democrats and Republicans is Democrats have accepted some ideas of socialism cheerfully, while Republicans have accepted them reluctantly."

Norman Thomas,  
Socialist Party presidential candidate 1928-48

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## Right to Stagnate

(continued from front page)

\* Ditto for American automakers, who are a special illustration that our new theory of rights can be profitable indeed. Each of the Big Three automakers made record profits in 1984, thanks to Japan's "voluntary" export quotas. And these profits came after paying hourly wages 60 percent higher than the U.S. average and bonuses as General Motors averaging \$31,000 apiece for 5,800 executives.

\* In the current battle over budget cuts, many politicians refuse to eliminate programs, instead favoring an across-the-board freeze so the pain is "shared equally." Why? Because every interest group that once mustered enough political power to obtain a subsidy is deemed entitled to that subsidy forevermore regardless of its current merit.

\* And what about those cost-of-living allowances on Social Security and government pensions? The purpose of a cost-of-living allowance is to make recipients whole after inflation. But inflation is a hidden tax, a way for

the government to take additional resources out of the private economy. If some are allowed to live under the illusion that inflation is not a burden, then the burden on others is increased.

\* My favorite example of our new theory of rights is tobacco farmers. Here is a group of people whose particular product is, in effect, a poison. Yet at the same time the federal government spends billions to counter tobacco's harm, it continues to subsidize tobacco farmers, apparently on the theory that it is "not their fault" that their product has been found dangerous.

In these cases and countless others, politically cohesive groups use the power of government--the power to tax, the power to stop imports at the border, and so forth--to shift the burden of coping with economic change to the unorganized mass of taxpayers and consumers.

The right to stagnate is nice, for those who have it. Unfortunately, it is not available to everyone. Since "change is the only constant," people must constantly adapt to it, whether they live alone or in groups.

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## There Ought NOT to be a Law!

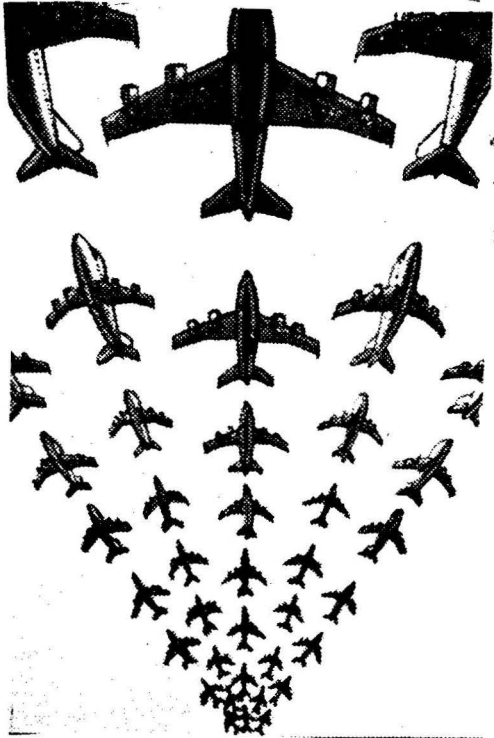


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## Who Should Bear the Risk of Nuclear War?



Steyskal, Neil. *Massive Retaliation*. The Personal Responsibility Project, 314 8th St SE, Washington DC 20003. \$5.00.

Reviewed by Richard A. Cooper

We live in the shadow of the total state and total war. Those who hold the power of life and death for millions can count upon protected shelters and evacuation plans for themselves. The same cannot be said for the helpless multitudes. Playwright Neil Steyskal, Literary Manager for the Woolly Mammoth Theatre Company in Washington, raises a pointed question: "Who should bear the risks of nuclear war?"

Imagine that incompetence, bureaucracy's boon companion, renders the missile capabilities of the United States useless, and the Soviets know it. They have issued an ultimatum demanding the dismantlement of our remaining missiles by their own personnel or they will launch an immediate attack. The President finds himself unable to retaliate, Steyskal successfully creates an air of tension, with a sharp edge of wit.

What should be done to rescue us from the threat of nuclear war? Steyskal hits upon a master stroke--hold the ruling clique in the Kremlin personally responsible for war and the threat of war. The President speaks, "You'll pay with your life. I'll have you hunted down and killed like the mad dog you are. And we'll hunt your whole pack of accomplices too, from the Politburo right down to the guys who pull the trigger."

At last, a writer offers a fresh perspective on the critical

issues of war and peace. Steyskal asks some key questions and poses some provocative answers before the playgoer or reader. Yes, this is a play to be read and thought about, although I look forward to seeing it.

Steyskal asserts that "The Personal Responsibility Defense Concept dramatized in *Massive Retaliation* holds the promise of rendering nuclear weapons obsolete. Defense, as the play demonstrates, does not require threatening the lives of millions of innocent civilians.... The Personal Responsibility Concept aims directly at the source of any threat and places the risk precisely where it belongs: only on the individual, or individuals, responsible for that threat."

Anti-Soviet exile Lev Navrozov wrote in *The New York City Tribune* recently that "Misused words lead to dangerous perceptions of reality.... There is always a temptation to channel the struggle against totalitarians into a familiar nationalistic rut." Do not confuse people with the State which rules them.

One distinguished opponent of totalitarianism, Ludwig von Mises, stressed the idea called "methodological individualism." This means that when one speaks of parties, nations, or states, what one must remember is that one is speaking of groups of individuals. There is nothing sacred in a band of armed people who call themselves the "State" and speak for the Constitution, democracy, the race, the proletariat, or the other manifold appeals to legitimacy employed by statists. Only individuals act, alone or together. Aggression against innocents is criminal, regardless of the reason or their rulers.

Seeking a foundation for a free society, Murray Rothbard observed in *The Ethics of Liberty* that "War, then, even a just defensive war, is only proper when the exercise of violence is rigorously limited to the individual criminals themselves. We may judge for ourselves how many wars or conflicts in history have met this criterion." Steyskal dramatizes the moral dilemmas and possible solutions of nuclear war. This is a bold effort, which will entertain and inspire.

Richard A. Cooper is a graduate of Columbia College with a degree in European intellectual history. His book reviews have appeared in the *San Francisco Review of Books*, *New Haven Register*, *Providence Journal* and many others. This review was previously published in *The New York City Tribune* and is reprinted here with permission from the author. ■

## Save Our Hoagies

(continued from front page)

For the welfare of our community, and the nation and the world, something must be done to alleviate this tragic situation.

There is some hope. An ad hoc coalition called LOOT (Leaders of our Town) has been formed, composed of political leaders, Democratic Party economists, sociologists from Community College, and members of the Greater Philadelphia Association for the Enhancement of the Community's Food Establishments to study the problem and offer solutions. After two days of exhaustive study, the committee has put forth the following recommendations:

\* Hoagie price supports. Market conditions today have driven the price of hoagies down to an average of \$2.40 for an Italian hoagie with the works. Under the LOOT plan, the City of Philadelphia would guarantee a price of \$3 per hoagie by paying directly to the hoagie businessperson 60 cents per hoagie sold.

\* Hold the hoagies. The City of Philadelphia would pay businesses not to make hoagies in order to keep the supply of hoagies down and the price up to a fair level. These payments would be available to any retail food business open from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Monday through Friday. All businesses need do is file a monthly form, listing all the hoagies it did not make, using a formula invol-

ving square footage and the length of the formica counter in the subject business. A special task force has been set up to assist minorities and women in opening food establishments so that they can get their fair share of the payments.

\* Payments-in-kind. This would require the establishment of a new city agency (the Worst Department of the City of Philadelphia) to purchase salami, bologna, peppers, etc. necessary for the construction of hoagies. The Department would deliver the above materials to each qualifying hoagie business.

Some fine tuning of the program will probably be necessary in the beginning. LOOT has planned for possible temporary surpluses by arranging for the City to rent the now-empty Bleeding Terminal for \$8 million and for The Bleeding Company to purchase bulk quantities of Saran Wrap and handle storage of the excess hoagies--for a reasonable fee as yet to be determined. On-site inspection will be conducted periodically by a citizen's watchdog committee appointed by Mayor Goode to detect any possible abuses.

The above proposals, taken individually or together, could all be funded by a 1 or 2 percent rise in the city wage tax--a small price to pay to ensure the future supply of hoagies in our city and to reward the public-spiritedness of those good citizens who supply our hoagies. Government and business working hand-in-glove for the good of the public will provide the good feeling and community spirit we are so in danger of losing. ■

# WHY

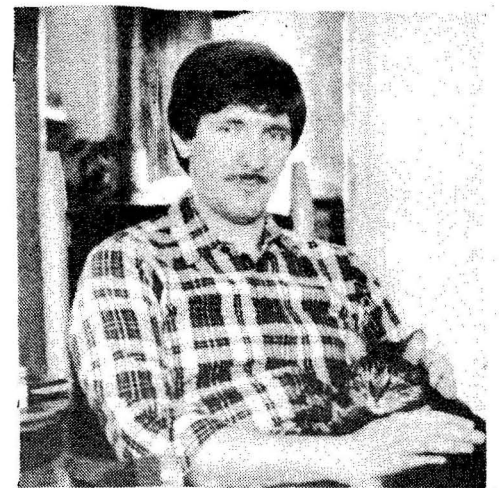
## I AM A LIBERTARIAN

BY BILL SAUNDERS

I could tell you how I became a libertarian, or, more accurately, how I came to discover that what I believe is what libertarians believe. Instead, I will tell you about the event that made me begin to believe what I believe. It's the result of a simple fact--I like root beer.

I was always active in musical groups in school, and I enjoyed most of them. The exception was marching band, and one of the low points of the musical year for me was the Memorial Day parade. To reward us for marching five miles on a hot day in a woolen band uniform, the "Band Mothers" would provide us with a free soda at the end of the parade. The "Band Mothers" was an organization for the mothers of the children in the band, which did what it could to make participating in the band as enjoyable as possible.

I don't know how many years I had been marching in the parade before this happened, but one year in my early teens I reached the end of the parade and was rewarded with a Coke. Well, I don't like Coke. Seeing case upon case of soda, I asked for another flavor. But there was no other flavor--all they had was Coke. In anger I took my Coke, and drained it on the ground.



It was only later that I realized that the mother in charge of buying the soda must have found it more expedient to order only one flavor. And who was I to complain about getting a flavor I didn't like--it was free, wasn't it? But of course it wasn't: it was bought with the dues of the band mothers and among them was my own mother. So my mother had paid for a soda that I didn't want. There was little she or I could do about it, short of her not paying any more dues.

With time I came to realize that this situation looked suspiciously like government at work:

(continued on page 4)

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## Why I'm a Libertarian

(continued from page 3)

you get to pay a lump sum up front, the money is spent by someone for your "benefit," and if you don't like the way it was spent, it's too bad. Most importantly, the decision on how to spend the money often isn't based on any idea of what would please you the most, but is based rather on the idea of what would be easiest for the "decision-maker."

So, the band mother who ordered the soda gave no thought to the fact that everyone is not fond of Coke. All that mattered was that it made things easier for her to order one flavor. And that explained the look of self-satisfaction on her face as she handed out the "free" Cokes... and her look of shock when I wasn't grateful for it.

Of course it was many years before I learned enough about free-market economics to understand what I instinctively felt that Memorial Day. But that was the event that started me believing what I believe today.

Bill Saunders is a programmer-analyst for a major Philadelphia bank.

## Right to Stagnate

(continued from page 2)

A person who proclaimed his right to stagnate while living alone on a desert island would find his error quickly corrected by reality. In society, some people can live under the illusion that change can be stopped as long as they can find victims to bear its less desirable consequences.

The right to stagnate must be rationed, and the ration card is political power. Those groups that can organize most easily and whose members have the most to gain from government favors can always outmaneuver larger, less-organized groups whose members have relatively little to gain or lose on any particular issue.

In *The Rise and Decline of Nations*, economist Mancur Olson details the correlation between economic stagnation and the power of special interest groups.

Those societies that enjoyed long periods of stability--India and China through the ages, and more recently Great Britain--have been choked by the accretion of interest group power. But those societies whose interest groups have been destroyed by war or revolution, such as Japan, Korea

and West Germany, or whose interest groups have been unable to keep pace with a rapid expansion of political borders, such as 19th-century America or the European Common Market in the 1950s, have had extraordinary economic growth.

Olson's analysis is basically pessimistic. Do we need war or revolution to unfasten the hold of special interest groups on the throat of our body politic?

Maybe, just maybe, a moral revolution might be enough. If enough people could recognize the right to stagnate for what it is, and start treating its proponents with the scorn they reserve for common thieves, we might yet realize the American Dream. ■

## Hateful Views

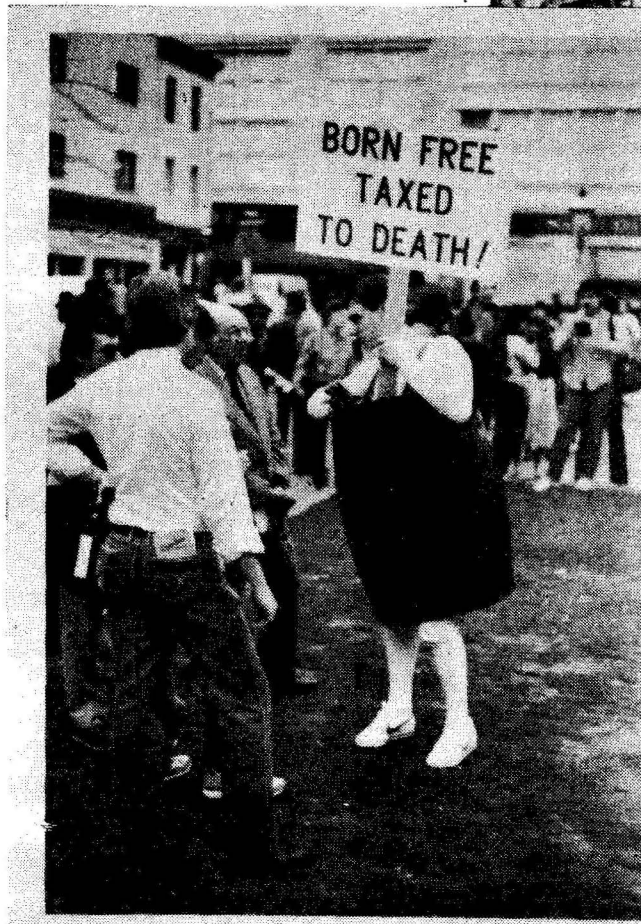
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help perpetuate them, since they stop debate over them. Those who believe them are only strengthened in their beliefs because their opponents "had to resort to force" to silence them.

If the Holocaust revisionists are wrong, let us prove them wrong, in open and widely publicized debate, once and for all. Let us refute their claims and answer their doubts. But this is a matter for careful historical scrutiny, not for politicians and courts to decree upon. We are only as free as those whom we dislike most. If they can be suppressed, then so can we at some future point when it is our views that are unpopular or officially "false." ■

## Pittsburgh Libertarians Protest Taxes

Richard E. Caliguri wears only a barrel. Lady Godiva wears even less, in a demonstration sponsored by the Pittsburgh chapter of the Libertarian Party. The demonstration received an enthusiastic response from the noontime crowd and received widespread media coverage.



## JOHN TREVER LOVES LIBERTARIANS



AMERICAN FOLKLORE: RONALD REAGAN THROWS 222 BILLION DOLLARS ACROSS THE POTOMAC.

"An editorial cartoonist is like a loose cannon on a newspaper's deck - it's my job to puncture the windbags and turn over rocks to expose what's underneath."

This is how John Trever, nationally syndicated political cartoonist of the *Albuquerque Journal* describes what he does. Mr. Trever was a workshop speaker at the national Libertarian Party Convention held in Phoenix, August 14-18.

"In 1964, I voted for LBJ because he wouldn't get us into Vietnam... In 1968, I voted for Nixon because he wouldn't use wage and price controls... I was in Colorado in 1972 and was able to vote Libertarian, and I've been a Libertarian ever since," he explained.

"Recently the media has been accused of being biased, unpatriotic, distorting the truth and being rude to public officials," he said. "Sounds like a help wanted ad for a political cartoonist!"

Every April 15, he likes to do an anti-tax cartoon, but he really enjoys election time. "I feel like a kid in a toy store. A cartoonist in an election year is like a crocodile at feeding time."

Mr. Trever explained that he didn't draw a cartoon supporting David Bergland, the Libertarian Party candidate for president in 1984 because "cartooning is a negative medium."

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