

LP on Mass. Ballot; Clark coming July 8

In case you've been hiding under a rock, or merely get all your news from television, radio or Boston daily papers, Ed Clark will indeed be on the ballot here in November. On June 3, we filed more than 50,000 valid voter signatures with the Secretary of State's office, and since no challenge was filed before 5 p.m. June 6, we are officially on the ballot. (This also, incidentally, means that Clark's candidacy has crossed the electoral vote threshold; with ballot status in 30 states, Clark now is potentially electable, with 270 electoral votes up for grabs in those states.)

In conjunction with the feat we have also received word of the first visit of Clark to the Bay State since the campaign began. On July 8 he will be flying in to Logan Airport to meet the press for an 11:00 press conference. Following the event, we hope to have several individual interviews arranged with local media-types, to extend through the afternoon.

At 6 p.m. there will be a fund-raising cocktail party at the Clark suite of the Copley Plaza Hotel in Copley Square. Admission is \$25, payable to Mass. Committee to Elect Ed Clark, POB 2610, Boston, MA 02208.

From 10-11 p.m., Clark will appear on "The David Brudnoy Show," over WHDH radio (AM 850). Before, during and after that appearance there will be a free-admission cash-bar

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Ballot-status is only the beginning

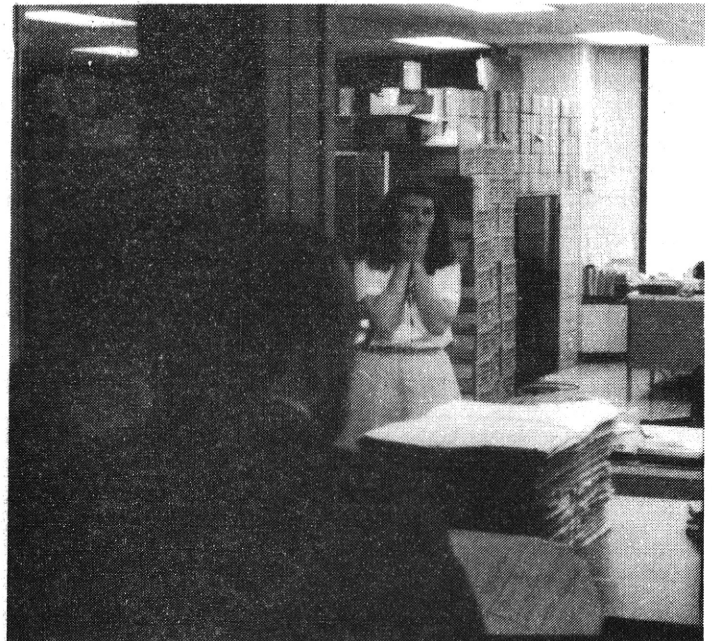
The successful ballot access drive this year is a milestone for the Libertarian Party in this state. Even more important than that, however, it has been a tremendous learning experience for us all, which we needed desperately in preparation for the even more important ballot effort two years from now, which we will have to do by ourselves.

First, however, I would like to congratulate everybody who helped us to get on the ballot here. I would like to name everybody here — and next month, when we have the information, I will list everybody who collected at least 100 signatures — but space limitations and the fact that some of you are shy about publicity keeps me from being able to do that. However, I would like to give credit at this time to the following people:

In the past we in Massachusetts have had our little differences with the National staff; this year, they came through for us more than we could ever have hoped. National contributed at least \$25,000 to getting us on the ballot, not counting some airline tickets, car rentals and the time of some of the National staff that came up and helped out near the end. Especially to be commended are Chuck Pike, who worked 11 hundred-hour weeks for relative peanuts as the ballot drive coordinator; Marion Williams, who spent close to two weeks of her time petitioning and coordinating in this state; Kathy Thomas and Kathleen Jacob, who worked tirelessly in the field and in the office; and the paid petitioners and volunteers who came from all over the country to help (listed elsewhere in this issue).

The volunteer effort was headed by the regional coordinators, many of whom seemed to have created people out of

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Even the folks at the Secretary of State's office were stunned when we made the Mass. ballot. (Photo by Steve Trinward)

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LATE FLASH! — just as we were about to go to press, the Boston news blockade was broken significantly. On Sunday, June 22, the Boston *Herald-American's* crack political reporter, Wayne Woodlief, did a half-page story, complete with a giant graphic of the Clark for President poster, titled, "Who is candidate Ed Clark—and why is he making waves?" The piece concerned Ed's justifiable disgruntlement at the shenanigans in progress to put Anderson into the League of Women Voters debates, while excluding Clark despite vastly superior qualifications from the LP. The article's only flaw was in referring to us as the "Liberation Party" in 2 out of 5 instances...Ho hum!

Media Watch: Still no local breakthroughs

The last two months have been good ones for the Clark campaign in terms of national media coverage. Since our last report no less than four major publications have taken a look at the LP and its figurehead candidate, while Clark and/or Koch have appeared on such popular-culture TV and radio programs as "Good Morning America" and "Today."

The print world's homage ranges from the solid reporting of the fledgling futurist mag *Next*, to the general overview in TWA's *Ambassador* magazine, to an interview with Clark in Larry Flint's *Hustler* (the second such LP feature in three months from the *Hustler* chain), to the only real slam, a sour-grapes diatribe in *Mother Jones* by former *Inquiry* magazine staffer Mark Paul. Of the four, the *Next* and *Ambassador* offerings were excellent pieces, while both the *Hustler* and the *Mother Jones* pieces require a bit more analysis.

Reason Enterprises' bid for "Muckraker of the Movement" (*Frontlines*) had its say on the *MJ* article, headlined, "Leftist Mother Slams LP." The newsletter dealt with Paul's charges that the LP was sexist (by generalizing from specific individual behavior), anti-ERA (a bald-faced lie) and anti-poor folks. (Paul took a quote of Edward Banfield which Murray Rothbard used in *For A New Liberty*, presented it out of context as Rothbard's own view, and used it to slander the whole movement.)

Responses from Cato and *Inquiry* staff ranged from Acting Cato Institute chief Robert Formaini's "a hatchet job by a disgruntled former employee," to then-editor Bill Evers' (details below) more mellow approach: "It's a strange article. He (Paul) uses knee-jerk Humphreysisms to appeal to the readers of *Mother Jones*. It's not Mark Paul's views that you're reading, but the views he thinks *MJ* readers will respond to." (Interesting response, especially since Evers himself hired Paul for the mag's staff, and kept him on long after others wanted him gone.)

Frontlines closes the piece by noting that "Paul couldn't have picked a more apropos (sic) publication" with which to vent his anger at Cato. *MJ*'s links with Barry Commoner and the Citizens Party were cited, and the article speculated about the CP's joy at receiving a piece which slams their perceived competition. (As if that were the least of their worries.)

The *Hustler* interview, on the other hand, may have far more deleterious effects as the campaign rolls on. (Or, it may be a blessing in disguise.) This question-and-answer formatted feature was submitted by former *Reason* art director Phil Groves. It is a singularly unexciting presentation, although it does pitch underhand with its queries, allowing Clark ample chance to explain himself fully.

However, its appearance in the July *Hustler* may have killed a similar interview scheduled for the July *Penthouse*. (*Chic*, *Hustler*, *Oui*, *Penthouse*—gracious sakes, Martha, these Libertines sure do get a lot of coverage!) Apparently *Penthouse* publisher Bob Guccione was so enraged at the conflict that he is considering axing the piece entirely. (The possible blessing: if Guccione relents and runs it later this fall, it could have very good effects just before the election.) Stay tuned....

In other news, *Inquiry* editor Bill Evers has been canned! According to *Inquiry* itself the LPM's favorite whipping-person has "left to resume academic pursuits," but *Frontlines* says the parting was anything but amicable. (Apparently the Mark Paul incident didn't exactly help Bill's cause, either.) At any rate, let's hope that things don't take a turn for the worse for Mr. E.; despite our differences in tactical theory, we at *Liberty* still value his contribution to the LP movement very much.

Meanwhile, there's the LP mailbox, which is overstuffed

with newsletters and other paraphernalia since our last visit. There's *Caliber*, the Calif. LP newsletter, which has actually managed to expand to a tabloid-size newspaper, with some solid articles on the Carter self-destruction, an analysis of Afghanistan (Rothbard), and some libertarian rundowns on the recent (then upcoming) ballot questions in the CA primaries. It's intended, now that the CLP is on the ballot officially, to use the letter as an outreach tool, and they're soliciting for new writers. Let's hope it works, and that our own gang of outcasts may break into the same level soon. [Not bloody likely, Steve, until more Mass. Libertarians realize that the LPM is a Party, not a party. Tell us true, readers—how many of you even go so far as to leave *Liberty* on your coffee tables to attract attention to the Libertarian Party?—Don]

Within California itself there are several LP newsletters now. *The Orange County Libertarian*, for instance, has a stirring piece about election fraud in a Huntington Beach City Council election involving Libertarian candidate Dan Mahaffey. The details are quite involved, but basically it appears that the elections officials themselves may have been punching holes in computer-card ballots after the results came in, in order to knock Mahaffey (and at least one other candidate) out of the race. Voters were choosing three councillors out of 12 candidates, and Mahaffey came in seventh according to the initial count. However the potential fraud may force an entirely new election, and the case has drawn considerable local media attention.

From the National Taxpayers United of Illinois comes information on tax-cutting in Lansing, Michigan, where trash collection is being financed through the sale of garbage bags! Local residents buy them for \$3 a dozen, and the fee completely finances garbage pickup service, meters the change in demand in each area, and makes it a pay-as-you-throw-away program. The notation was made in the NTUI newsletter, as an argument against so-called "home-rule" proceedings which threaten to unify all the communities around Chicago, at least, into one huge megalopolis.

Meanwhile in the Iowa LP letter, "The Porcupine Quill," there's an impassioned piece on a recent marijuana bust in Ames, Iowa which netted 25 victimless criminals. Tied around a story about a Vietnam vet caught in the dragnet, it should be must reading for every anti-decrim legislator and lobbyist in the country. (Again, as always in this column, copies of this and any other articles can be obtained for \$.25 and an SASE, sent to *Liberty*, Box 2610, Boston, MA 02208.)

From an outre source, "Conspiracy Digest," comes a bizarre questionnaire seeking classification of that pub's readership.

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State Committee Notes

By Jim Poulin
Presiding Officer

Phew! We made it! Many thanks and congratulations to all of you who helped both financially and with time during the successful petition drive. However, before you get too sunny and sit back to relax for the rest of the campaign, let me remind you that the work has just begun. Now that Clark and Koch are on the ballot we must work harder than ever to get the vote and, even though I know you have all given money until it starts to hurt, I implore you to dig a little deeper, increase your pain threshold and give some more. This *really* is the year that a three-party American can become a reality; but it won't happen without a good campaign, and to run a good campaign we need money. It's as simple as that!

As you will see elsewhere in this issue, Ed Clark will be in Massachusetts on July 8. You will be notified of special activities being planned at that time and I urge all of you to participate to the extent that you can. It is *extremely* important that we show the press and the general public that there are a lot of Libertarians in Massachusetts and that we support our candidates fully. Let's make Clark's visits successful ones.

We are in the process of trying to determine party interest in forming a Toastmasters Club which would polish speaking skills of the members who wish to speak before local Rotary Clubs, etc., in an attempt to get the Libertarian message across. I think an activity such as this would be extremely worthwhile and would encourage anyone who is interested to contact me or party headquarters for more information.

Again, I encourage any readers who have topics they want brought up at state committee meetings to contact me or the party office. We're here to represent the interest of *all* members and want to know what those interests are.

In Liberty, Jim Poulin

Clark Visit *cont. from p. 1*

party in the Venetian Room of the Copley, the purpose of which is to introduce as many people as possible to the Clark message. Radios will be stationed around the room, broadcasting the Brudnoy program.

At approximately 10:50 the TV sets will be turned on. Stationed at strategic locations around the room, they will remain silent until 10:54:59, when the sound will rise with the voice of...Ed Clark, in the first of 60 scheduled national TV spots on The LP Difference. The spot will run for five minutes, after which Clark himself will make an appearance and deliver a policy statement to those assembled.

As you may have already gathered this will not work as planned without your help. But for once we're not asking for your money, only your recruiting abilities. We hope to have at least 200 people in that room when Clark speaks — on radio, on TV, and in person. To do this we want every Libertarian in the state, and parts beyond, to come to Copley Square that evening, and to bring as many people who haven't heard the LP message as possible.

Think about it. How often is there an opportunity for your snotty liberal (or stuffy conservative) neighbor to actually meet and talk with a serious candidate for the Presidency? How often have you wanted to be able to show this guffawing soul that we are a serious political movement, despite what you don't hear in the *Glob*? Here is a golden opportunity to advance the cause of liberty (and perhaps even convert a few cronies) — all for the price of a few hours of lapping up the Copley Plaza's (admittedly overpriced) hooch.



(l. to r.) Steve Fulchino, Joanna Lancaster, Bill Zwicker, Lee Webber, Frank MacKay-Smith, Jim Poulin & Walter Ziobro, Jr., with the more than 50,000 valid voter signatures which put Ed Clark on the Mass. ballot. (Photo by Steve Trinward)

How to contribute to the Clark effort

The success of the Mass. Clark for President ballot-drive is still fresh in our minds, but the months ahead will be far more important now. To attain our goals of getting the LP's word out throughout the state, we're going to need a lot of help—in publicity and advertising, particularly.

Since the local press seem unwilling to consider us as newsworthy we're going to have to pay for our fame; using paid radio ads in conjunction with Clark's national TV spots, we may be able to reach large portions of the Bay State electorate with the message of liberty.

But we need your help. Any checks should be made payable to: Mass. Committee to Elect Ed Clark, POB 2610, Boston 02208.

Who can contribute? Anybody can, but only up to \$1000 per individual. Unincorporated businesses can also contribute, as can partnerships or associations. **HOWEVER, NO CORPORATE CHECKS MAY BE USED**, since corporations are prohibited from making political contributions under the FECA(L?) laws.

Actually, under a loophole in the election laws, individuals and groups could still contribute up to \$1000 more, if they have already made contributions up to their thousand-limit. The rules say that the limits hold for both the primary period and the general election, and that contributions to one purpose do not affect monies donated to the other. In other words, if a contributor *earmarks* a new contribution to "general election" beginning in, say, July, he or she could then contribute up to \$1000 for that purpose alone, regardless of the previous level of contributing. But again, we must emphasize that **NO CORPORATE CONTRIBUTIONS** may be accepted by a political candidate or committee.

Finally, for those wishing to contribute directly to the Libertarian Party there is yet another ceiling. One may give up to \$20,000 per annum to a political organization not directly associated with a Presidential campaign. Such money could not be used for media buying for the Clark effort, of course, but would have to be confined to purchasing and disseminating LP literature, organizing local LP chapters or otherwise furthering the Party (not the candidate) itself. Of course, pushing the Libertarian Party will have some positive effect on the Clark effort, too....

Ballot-Status cont. from p. 1

thin air to get signatures for us. Most of the regional coordinators also helped us in the office and, at the end of the drive, delivering and picking up the petitions at the town halls. I want especially to mention Lee Nason (Cambridge), whose region came close to out-producing any other two regions combined, and who brought people in from Connecticut and [check this, Steve] New York; Norm MacConnell (Quincy/South Shore), whose skill at conjuring petitioners out of the swamps of Southeastern Massachusetts was a constant source of awe to us all; and Walter Ziobro (Fall River/New Bedford) and Jim and Sue Poulin (North Middlesex), who almost alone brought their regions in at four figures. In addition, Frank MacKay/Smith (Essex), Carol Steinberger (Marblehead), Steve Fulchino (East Middlesex), Judith Anthony (Newton), Lee Webber (Worcester), Alvin Joran and Tom Glass (Boston), Lyle McBride (Taunton/Attleboro), and David Green (Western Massachusetts) did excellent work coordinating their regions. Ken Soderholm, Dan Kotlow, Steve Fulchino and Ann Clark helped deliver and pick up petitions in the last frantic days. Among the countless people who helped at the LPM campaign office, I would like to

Libertarian Party of Massachusetts State Committee Members

Presiding Officer:	Jim Poulin	935-1509
Spokesperson:	Steve Trinward	787-3475
Recording Officer:	Temperance Snow	261-8853
Financial Officer:	Walter Ziobro, Jr.	672-5437
Members at-large:	Lee Webber	485-9373
	Sue Poulin	935-1509
	Tom Glass	498-5728

In addition to the LPM regulars and some local hired guns, the Clark petition drive received invaluable help from the following:

Paid petitioners hired from out-of-state:

Kathy Thomas	California
Tom MacDonald	California (now Mass.)
Don Meinshausen	New Jersey
Robert Ellis	Illinois
Roger Krusen	Illinois
Trey Merritt	Arkansas
Monty Hamel	Arkansas
Greg Sechler	Illinois
Greg Kaza	Michigan
Joe and Dimitrios Dixon	Illinois
John Elmer and Rose Piotrowski	Minnesota
Matt Richard	Virginia
Bill Krebaum	Michigan
Willie Grimes	California
Kathleen Jacob	Michigan
Dick Smith	Indiana
David Meller	New York
Chuck Pike	New Jersey

Out-of-state Volunteers:

Rick Spillman & wife	Connecticut
Ray Zodda	Connecticut
Barbara Kessler & friends	Albany, N.Y.
Henry Koch	New Jersey
Les Koehler	North Carolina
Jeanne Macron	New Jersey
Francis Eddy & Dean Ahmad	Washington, DC (expatriate Mass.)
Tom Palmer & Bruce	Washington, DC
Kristina Herbert & Anita	Washington, DC

especially mention Sharona Nelson, Joanna Lancaster, Bill Zwicker, Dick Rosenberg, and Nicole Timmerman.

I wish I could mention everybody who contributed financially to this petition drive, but I don't feel I can do so without asking permission of each of you. Suffice it to say that we collected \$6000 before and during the drive (as well as a significant amount which was contributed to the LPM itself), and we are getting more contributions all the time. This amount dwarfs anything we have been able to raise in the past, but not (we hope) what we will be able to get in the future. We will need to raise at least \$100,000 to achieve permanent ballot status in 1982 (not, I hasten to add, all from our membership).

I would like to discuss what I have learned from this petition drive which will help us to do it again two years from now:

1. Ballot drives COST. We will probably end up having spent 50 cents a signature for the 70,000 signatures we collected. That number is higher than we should have spent; we made some mistakes early which required us to panic much earlier than we would normally have done, and we spent a lot of money because our petitioners were largely gotten from out of state for the last few weeks. Nevertheless, given inflation we should budget \$40,000 for the 1982 drive; if we don't spend it on the drive, we'll be able to find something else to do with it.

2. Signatures from in-state volunteers are better than signatures from paid volunteers or from long-term employees, which in turn are better than signatures from people hired off the street on straight commission. We are going to have to carefully evaluate our strategy for the next drive. The Socialist Workers' Party this year got 100 people lined up IN ADVANCE who would petition for three weeks straight; they started petitioning with the good weather, got 20,000 signatures a week (a modest 200 from each petitioner), and were done two or three weeks ahead of time.

3. Nothing works like a good organization. Those regions that did the best this year were those whose coordinator came up with a half dozen people who worked together (or at least communicated together) regularly. The TOP priority for the next two years should be to establish regional organizations all over the state so that we will be ready to go next time. Our volunteers collected about 10,000 signatures this time (out of an expected 15,000). We need to triple that in 1982.

4. If we are to become a force in this state, our fundraising capability will have to explode over the next two years. I spoke above of a \$100,000 budget to get 3% of the vote for governor, which would give us permanent ballot status. That number is a *conservative, minimum* figure. It breaks down to \$40,000 to get on the ballot, and \$60,000 at a dollar a vote for the 58,868 votes we will need for 3%.

\$100,000 comes out to \$1000 from each current member of the LPM. This is impossible; either we are going to have to drastically increase our membership, or we are going to have to look for finances outside of our membership. Both are necessary, but the latter is especially vital. We are going to have to become more widely known in this state, through contacts with sympathetic organizations, publicity, and an aggressive program of community contacts and speechmaking.

I have overstated our requirements somewhat here. We may be able to get some financial assistance from National and from large out-of-state contributors; with any luck we may be able to get some petitioning help from there as well. But we can't count on any of that. The task is so large that we are inevitably going to have to do most of it ourselves. The major lesson this drive has shown us is that however momentous its success is, it is just the beginning.

—Lee Webber

Ed Clark is coming home to Massachusetts

...and we're throwing him a homecoming party!

9 p.m.-midnight

TUESDAY
JULY 8

COPLEY PLAZA HOTEL
COPLEY SQUARE, BOSTON

FREE ADMISSION

CASH BAR

Bring your friends, relatives, neighbors, colleagues...
anyone who hasn't yet heard the call of liberty

- 9:00 p.m. Mingle with local LP members
- 10:00 p.m. Listen to Clark interview on "The David Brudnoy Show"
(radios stationed throughout the hall)
- 10:55 p.m. Watch Clark's first national network television (CBS) ad spot
(TV sets around the room)
- 11:05 p.m. See Ed Clark in person, as he unveils a major policy
statement on nuclear power

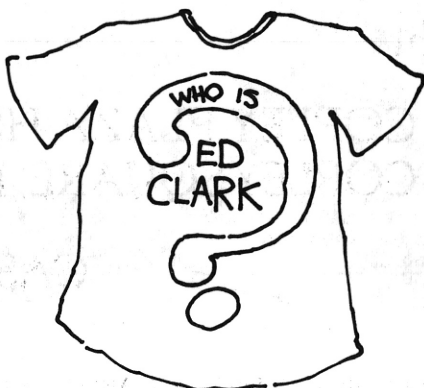
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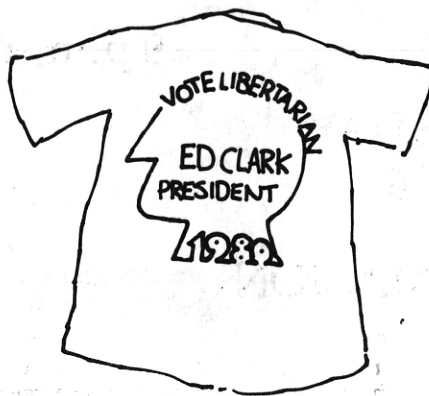
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Libertarians, Statists divide Anti-Draft Movement

BAARD Repels SWP Invasion

News Analysis
by Bill Hurst

You folks out there ready for yet another episode in the series-that-refuses-to-die: *Non-Authoritarian Organizational Forms vs. Democratic Centralism?* Today's installment features the Boston-area anti-draft movement in mortal combat with that Trotskyite faction of Marxist-Leninist bent known popularly as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

We begin with a flashback: It's the early 1970s, and the SWP has cornered a large chunk of the anti-war movement through their control over the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC, aka "the Mobe"), which organizes mass marches on Washington and similar field trips and attracts many otherwise unaffiliated students to the glories of revolutionary socialism, so to speak. The party controls SMC through their professional organizers, who (often downplaying and even denying their ideological preferences) take on major Mobe duties and use their power to influence and recruit for the party a substantial number of newly radicalized youth. In the process they transform their previously inconsequential splinter-group into a semi-respectable, almost-a-household-word, radical reformist, *electorally* ambitious political party, with visions of overthrowing the world at the ballot-box. Then, just as swiftly, the SWP begins its barely noticed tumble into the dustbin of history. (There's probably a lesson there... for someone.)

Fast-forward to 1980: In late-January, Jimmy Peanut gives his "State of the Union" address, and announces his intention to rescind the Emancipation Proclamation.

His statement is not unexpected; since April of '79 a local group known as BAARD (Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft) has been working, with some success, to forestall Congressional plans to reinstate the Selective Slavery System. Now, Jimmy Earl's edict catalyzes BAARD into a surge of activity, and a good deal of the workload is shared by an infusion of new blood. The transfusion is tainted a bit, however, in the person of Barry May (names changed to protect the indigent), a hard worker who volunteers to "facilitate" (left libertarian for "chair") the next BAARD meeting.

The Meeting: It's two weeks after the Carter address, and May is facilitating. As is customary in such cases, each attendee gives a name and a succinct descriptive detail about him/herself. Nothing out of the ordinary... Until one new fellow states: "I'm Gary Daniel," and intones, with gruff importance, "and I work on the railroad." (Around the room eyebrows arch above suppressed smirks, accompanied by the thought: "Oh shit. We've got Joe Proletarian with us tonight.")

Proceedings drag on for hours, with little accomplished thanks to the (deliberately?) lax stewardship of Mr. May, who then announces that he's "tired and can't concentrate, so if you want to continue someone else is gonna have to facilitate." As he draws the last words his eyes lock with those of Daniel, who immediately volunteers.

DSOC Coopts Student Activism

News Analysis
By Leda Cosmides

Under normal circumstances, I am not one for conspiracy theories, but the tenor of the anti-draft movement this year has me worried.

More than two years ago the Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS) took the lead in opposition to the draft. During March 1979 we held a nationwide series of press conferences, followed by rallies throughout the country on May first (including one at City Hall Plaza, Boston). *Newsweek* even speculated that we might be the SDS of the '80s.

In the Boston area SLS had help from several organizations, most notably the Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft (BAARD), an ad hoc group which coalesced at the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) headquarters several weeks before the May 1 rally. Meanwhile on the national level, an umbrella-group, CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft) was formed; its membership includes both SLS and the LP itself, and the organization's secretary is SLS's Tom Palmer. Both BAARD (which later became a CARD affiliate) and CARD have taken the broadest possible position: opposition to registration and the draft. Anyone is welcome to participate no matter why she opposes conscription and its related evils.

It would seem, at least to us libertarians, that there is only one reason to be anti-draft — that is, on the basis that it is a gross violation of an individual's right to make her own moral choices, etc. That's what I thought, anyway, until I got involved with some of the other anti-draft factions. But surprisingly enough (in light of much '60s rhetoric), relatively few people seem to hold this view.

Some oppose the draft because it leads to US imperialism; if it did not (if, say, the army's job was to install a socialist government) these people would have no objection. (Note that the USSR's imperialism is of no consequence.) Others believe that, given the world's present situation, a draft is not warranted; change the balance of powers, or the strength of some other nations, and these people would be pro-draft. (This group includes those who would draft only if the US was attacked, as well as those who would draft to preserve "vital US interests". There are also people who oppose the existence of any sort of army, although they would allow the use of force by police and/or individuals. And then there are the pacifists, who oppose using force under any condition. Some individuals hold several of these beliefs concurrently.)

The first clue I had of the virulence of anti-libertarian sentiment among students was an article in an "activist periodical" called *Politics and Education*, published by students at Wesleyan College, Connecticut, which purports to further a new "progressive movement among people at colleges and universities". Dan Perlstein, a contributor to the magazine, spent fully a third of his article ("Militarism and its Discontents")

Wanted: an LP Playroom

Commentary by Bill Hurst

The adjacent article on the SWP's attempt to coopt the local anti-draft movement is instructive in several ways. First, it shows the danger the authoritarian left presents to libertarian and anarchist organizations as we become more powerful. And then there's the issue of tactics, where often it seems like our non-coercive methods prevent us from fully countering such threats.

But most important is the way that BAARD managed to pull its members together on such notice, and with minimal time spent disputing strategies to arrive at a workable plan consistent with its own principles of non-authoritarianism. Libertarians must wonder how they do it.

They don't do it by being independently wealthy; most of them are qualified as part of the Outlaw Left, (which means the Globe don't like 'em any more than they do us, by the way) and most of them are just scraping by. And it's not their numbers, although their steady membership is a bit higher than ours. Nor are their stated purposes somehow more glamorous or appealing to the masses, despite the rhetoric to the contrary.

What BAARD and similar leftist groups have that helps them immeasurably is a spirit of community: they gear their entire lives so that they can work, live and play together on a regular basis. As part of their efforts to live the Revolution NOW, many opt to share houses with from 3 to a dozen like-minded souls. This also cuts down on living expenses, and allows them to get by on lower incomes, and less-structured occupations

BAARD *cont. from p. 7*

With Daniel at the helm the discussion concerns the organization of a planning meeting to get the largest possible Boston contingent to the upcoming national anti-draft rally in Washington. Daniel immediately suggests finding a larger hall for a mass public meeting... And a bell rings for at least one BAARD regular, a veteran activist who recalls that the SWP has previously tried to control movement activities by packing and manipulating mass gatherings.

The spooked BAARD regulars confer after the meeting and plan an informal strategy session for the weekend. Saturday night (coincident with the LP of Mass. state convention) they gather, party a while, and then set about devising a defense against the perceived SWP threat. (BAARD, by the way, is overwhelmingly left-libertarian in membership.) The strategy becomes that of formulating a membership standard to exclude undesirable elements.

The difficulty lies in finding one which does not undermine the group's progress toward the very goals which brought BAARD into existence, those being the discrediting and/or overthrow of those institutions/ideas which oppress (almost) all of us.

Brief historical note: BAARD existed from the start as a virtually structureless enterprise, with policy and project decisions made by consensus of those present at a given meeting. There were no official spokespersons, or officers, of any sort. The intent was to minimize the alienation, discouragement and susceptibility to subversion which result from permitting people to take powers and responsibilities which cannot be easily rescinded at a later date. It had been unthinkable that a rule-ridden hierarchy should be needed to stop the draft, any more than the American (or other) people should require such institutions to defend themselves against foreign aggressors.

Back to strategy session: After several hours the consensus

leave them sizable chunks of free time while most of us are still out chasing the bucks. Meanwhile these folks get to know each other pretty well, and can reckon their respective strengths and weaknesses and act accordingly.

How does this apply to Libertarians? Well, I'm not suggesting that we all drop everything, abandon our homes and possessions, and (in the words of the immortal Firesigns) "cut off the soles of our shoes, sit in a tree and learn to play the flute."

But there is another way. Does anyone out there recall something called the "Capitalist Caucus"? It was a weekly social event in Cambridge for libertarians and beasts of similar stripe. Its first incarnation was before my time, but the second consisted of a room or two at the MIT Student Union. A fellow named Dan Karlan secured the facilities, charged a quarter admission, another two bits for a Coke, and turned you loose to find common interests legal or (discreetly) otherwise.

To my mind the CC was a major contributing factor in the rise in numbers the LPM experienced during 1975-76. At this stage, I believe, suitably modified variations on the model (at locations throughout the state) could play a pivotal role in building our otherwise fatally attenuated party into the joyful, hellraising, liberating movement-community it truly should be.

People really don't have the incentive to do their best, most-inspired work when they're carrying out game-plans handed down by someone with whom they have had no appreciable contact. The CC idea could provide a place for Libertarians to find comrades to mix with, serendipitously or by appointment, on a regular basis. Such a marketplace offers options for virtually every kind of buyer, and it offers an entrance into the

cont. on p. 11

opts for a four-point plan. BAARD is declared an autonomous organization consisting of the 20-odd (and odder) people who have worked in it regularly. A weekly public informational meeting will be held, as well as a separate membership meeting; prospective members may be invited to the latter meetings by current members, on a trial basis. The group's function will be as a resource center for other local grassroots anti-draft coalitions, rather than trying to remain *the* Boston antidraft group. And finally BAARD will obtain an office (in the standard location, a church basement outside Harvard Square), and hire, at typically below-poverty rates, four permanent staff-members to administer the whole program.

In the next few days, a flurry of marathon sessions are held by a gaggle of Boston left radical outfits, in an attempt to piece together a local Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD) chapter, called B-MAD. The SWP attempts, once again and through their usual methods, to seize control... and they blow their chance ignominiously. Daniel calls his superiors in New York, and is ordered to apologize to the B-MAD groups; said apology receives an Arctic reception, and the Trots skulk off to lick their wounds and plot anew. Their flurry of local activity involves an attempt to organize (from scratch, for a change) the last remaining unorganized constituency of draft affected youth, the high school students. At last report they were meeting with some resistance even there. (Let's hope the kids catch on soon that there's somebody besides Uncle Sam who wants them, body and soul...)

Meanwhile BAARD continues its work locally, with teach-ins and lecturers, with information leaflets and demonstrations. (Most recently this June 14, in a protest march down the Freedom Trail.) The forces of good have triumphed—this time—but only by banding together to put down the threat. Next time the opposition may be a bit tougher.

National Schizophrenia?

Commentary by Steve Trinward

"Don't let the right hand know... What the left hand do..."

That's the lyric to an old blues-tune. It's also the way it sometimes looks as though the national Clark campaign is being run out of Washington.

A case in point: Back in February, when David Koch was coming to town for the LPM state convention, we tried to schedule him for local media appearances. One of our press releases, sent to the "Good Day" show (Channel 5, WCVB-TV), got a reply: they wanted to have Koch on the show. As press coordinator I was delighted and called national to arrange it. They said they'd get back to me.

Three more calls, by other LPM leaders, failed to get a firmer response, until a last-minute communique noted that Koch would not be available for the show. At this point it seemed much too late to formally cancel with the station, so I suggested that a national spokesperson send his sincerest regrets, to ensure that future attempts at coverage might be successful.

I heard nothing more, but in the May issue of Clark News, it was noted that Koch had appeared on the "Good Day" show — in March. Nobody, to my knowledge, even remotely affiliated with the LP of Mass. was informed of this; we thereby lost a golden chance to capitalize on it during the petition drive. (Scenario: "Who's this Clark? I never heard of him." "Well, ma'am, you might have seen his running mate on 'Good Day' last week." "Oh yes, that big tall guy with all the money...")

More recently, we made the ballot in this Godforsaken wilderness known as the Bay State. In an effort to get some publicity, I tried to arrange to have Ed Clark make an appearance in Boston at a press conference to announce the success of the petition-drive. I was told, after several days, that Clark could not be there, but that Koch might. (At the same time, Tom Palmer at national informed me that the Koch visit on 'Good Day' in March had come as a surprise even to the Clark committee!) A few days later I was told that Koch would be there, on the last date possible for petitions to be turned in. We geared our press coverage for this contingency, and sent out press advisories to that effect.

Fortunately the advisories did not mention Koch's expected presence, because less than an hour after they were mailed, the phone rang at the office. It was Palmer, informing me that Koch could no longer attend our event, due to business affairs.

Taking a deep breath and counting to ten, I did some calling around and managed to get things arranged anyway. On a hunch I called national back and asked for a written statement from Clark which we could read at the conference. At least his words would be present, if not his body or his running-mate. Palmer said he would put something together and get back to me.

The press conference was Tuesday, June 3. By Monday I still hadn't heard from national on the Clark statement, so called back. Palmer apologized for not sending anything and said he'd get back later in the day with it. At this point I was even willing to take dictation over the phone — anything to get a statement to present to the press.

When it finally came in, at 7 p.m. or later, it hardly seemed worth the wait. Palmer dictated a noncommittal, "happy to be on the ballot" two-liner from Clark, and a two-sentence-long puff from campaign coordinator Chris Hocker. That was it.

The next day, I was almost glad that no press people showed up for our conference. What I had to give them was about as

newsworthy as George Bush's withdrawal from the GOP race.

And now these same folks expect to be able to coordinate "TV nights" from coast to coast in conjunction with the Clark advertising spots? Beginning with July 8 here in Massachusetts they hope to bring hundreds, nay thousands, of curious outsiders into the LP's net to see and hear our candidate. I agree with them that one look, or one good listen, should turn a lot of people on to the LP program, but getting those folks into the halls is not going to be easy.

And with the alleged elite cadre of "professional politicians" pulling the strings, it may be harder than we think!

LETTERS AT THE EDITOR

Nuclear indemnity 'not a subsidy'

Although initially most interested in the Libertarian Party, my interest has been destroyed by your nuclear power pamphlet. The diatribe against Price-Anderson is but a thinly disguised piece of anti-nuclear propaganda. Nuclear power is a vital component of our economic survival, and of reducing the probability of overcoming competition for foreign oil. A party that doesn't comprehend this is lacking in realism, as is a party whose spokesperson suggests "united action in promoting sane, deregulated, and safe energy alternatives" (to nuclear). I am not interested in a "Children's Crusade".

Nuclear critics mistakenly feel that there are massive subsidies and hidden costs in nuclear power. Let us address them one by one. Nuclear fuel is subsidized only in the same manner that all other fuels are subsidized — with a depletion allowance to the mine owners. Because the cost of yellow cake is only part of the cost of the entire nuclear fuels cycle, obviously this depletion allowance has a minor effect and, in any case, is common to other fuels.

The cost of enrichment is not subsidized; the charge by the government for enrichment service is intended to provide not only for the operating cost of the enrichment plants but for the return of the investment in the plant. When the new Portsmouth enrichment plant is placed in service, the enrichment charges again will be sufficient not only to pay for the operating cost but also for the return on, and return of, capital.

Nuclear indemnity is not a subsidy, it is a supplement to the insurance provided by private insurance companies. The government has paid only one claim (expense for evacuees at Three Mile Island) and has collected about 40 million dollars from the utilities for this insurance. Rather than being a subsidy, it is one of the few profit making operations in the government. Actually, the private insurers provide about one third of the nuclear liability coverage (\$540 million per site).

The United States has invested about 9 billion dollars in research and development of nuclear power, of which about one third has been applied to light water reactor development. The other two thirds has been spent on advanced nuclear concepts, including breeder reactors, and on radiation effects and similar research. The capital investment in the 64 nuclear units that were placed in service by end of 1977 was about 21 billion dollars, and the investment in plants now under construction is about 75 billion dollars. The value of oil equivalent to that of nuclear fuel used per year in nuclear plants is about 12 billion dollars. It is obvious that the 3 billion dollars research and development specific to light water reactors is a pretty small

denouncing SLS and the coverage it had received from the media. He explained that the press had focused on our activities only because our myopia prevented us from seeing that the draft is an inevitable outgrowth of capitalism, and that since we posed no threat to the establishment media values we had been covered. (I feel silly repeating this argument, but it apparently never occurred to Perlstein that we might have been covered simply because we were the only people doing anything at the time.)

Two things are noteworthy about Perlstein's tract. First, the author felt it necessary, given a nascent wobbly-kneed anti-draft movement, to devote one-third of his article in a presumably "progressive" publication to a diatribe against an organization which had poured more personhours and material resources into the movement than any other. Second, his analysis showed a remarkable inattention to fact, combined with an unwillingness to acknowledge eminently reasonable hypotheses regarding our media attention. We must be making an impact on someone, because these people seem awfully worried about us!

I had faint hopes that this might be an isolated incident, and that the overwhelming need to stop the draft before it starts would eclipse the effect of such factionalism. But with the formation of organized draft resistance at Harvard last fall came even more upsetting events. Just after Carter's first announcement promoting registration, Jamie Raskin, a Harvard freshman, began to organize a protest rally. Although he is an occasional contributor to *Agenda*, the organ of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), Jamie is also the son of the director of the Institute for Policy Studies (a Washington new-left think tank), whose cohorts include the likes of Earl Ravenal and Karl Hess. He is therefore familiar with, and not unfavorably disposed to, libertarianism, and assured the Harvard Libertarian Association's (HIA — are you sick of these acronymns yet?) Alvin Joran that the libertarian perspective would be presented at the rally and, insofar as he had any say, in the overall movement at Harvard. (Even so, Alvin had to fight tooth-and-nail with others on the organizing committee just to have Bob Nozick included as a speaker.)

The rally itself went beautifully. Nearly 1000 people attended, and the event received good TV press coverage. During the rally Jamie announced that a meeting would be held that Wednesday to organize resistance at Harvard.

The problem was the meeting. It was chaired by two DSOC elders who had strongarmed Jamie into yielding the moderator's post. (According to Jamie himself they had been jealous of the way this upstart freshman had almost single-handedly organized a huge media event — (whereas they, in three years, had accomplished nothing of note). The proceedings themselves featured fascistic uses of Robert's Rules, an atmosphere of utter intolerance, repeated name-calling (even from the chair — I recommend a seminar on Applied Rudeness at the Natcon... libertarians are much too polite!). The quality of the decisions varied with the quantity of adrenalin released the instant before a motion was made.

The upshot was this: the libertarians present wanted to adopt the broadest possible statement of principles, so that anyone opposing the draft could feel comfortable joining; the movement could grow and become maximally effective. The DSOC contingent, however, sought a complicated set of principles, including the typical claptrap about capitalist oppression, so they could promulgate their own political philosophy and avoid being perceived as (their phrasing) "selfish, elitist,

white middle-class students". (Apparently, support of the All Volunteer Force — or any volunteer, and hence 'mercenary' force — automatically makes you one of these.)

DSOC won. They won because they kept packing the meetings and being obnoxious, and became disgusted, non-DSOC people stopped coming. (It also didn't hurt that the DSOC chair was the editorial editor of the *Harvard Crimson*.) And, just as we had warned it would, the number of active anti-draft people dwindled significantly. At this stage, the local student anti-draft movement had been almost entirely coopted by DSOC and its allies.

The spooky thing about all this is that I still keep hearing the same old spiel: the '60s failed to revolutionize the social order (as in, rip out capitalism, root and branch) because the anti-draft issue, which had support, was not tied in the "other, larger issues" (read, Marxist or otherwise socialist ideology). When the draft was abolished, the movement lost its momentum. We can't let that happen again; we must enlighten those in the new movement to the glories of revolutionary upheaval. (I hear the same schtick everywhere — even from the xerox key operator in my building. It's eerie...)

The other, related phrase that keeps jarring my senses is "economic conscription": to wit, the AVF is a "draft", too, because poor people, with few job options, are "forced" to join (never mind that enlistment-rates fell with rising unemployment). This is of course, reads the litany, the fault of the capitalist system. Leftist anti-draft activists have been backed into this position by clever pro-draft legislators who have continually trumpeted the common wisdom that the AVF is "the poor black man's army". (I have toyed with the idea of suggesting to these ideologues taht the minimum wage, government-induced inflation, the absence of a monetary standard and economic regulation have more to do with the problem, but talking to walls is frustrating.)

Since all this happened there have been further indications that a pro-liberty, principled stand against the draft poses a massive threat to the remnants of the Old Left and their pipe-dreams of power. This spring a group from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) tried to stage a takeover of Greater Boston's umbrella anti-draft group, BAARD (Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft — see related story). Fortunately this was averted by a group of concerned BAARD-members, including our own Bill Hurst, who handed together to stop the threat before it could be launched. (See related story).

At about the same time, on the national level, SWP operatives tried to coopt CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft), the nationwide coordinating group for the movement. Fortunately again, the infidels were foiled; the libertarian presence in CARD (including Secretary Tom Palmer) is quite strong, and ever vigilant against outside attack.

Whether or not I've made a case for conspiracy buffs, the most important message in all this is that there are dangerous rumblings in the anti-draft movement. They come from those whose political opportunism outweighs their desire to stop conscription. These people have yet to consider the hypothesis that the anti-capitalist revolt failed in the 60s because the multitudes were unconvinced by the socialist perspective.

And they way to combat them is with participation from our own side. The only the movement is going to remain broad-based enough to remain effective is through our own vigilance. If you have a free evening, attend a BAARD meeting, and speak up if something sounds fishy. If you attend at rally and you feel that libertarian speakers have been excluded, speak up and voice your concern. And if you get wind of

Nuclear *cont. from p. 9*

percentage of the total investment by the utility industry in nuclear power, and is one of the best bargains that the American people have had because it enables them to benefit from the savings in electrical costs from generation by nuclear power and helps reduce our balance of payments for foreign oil.

The government has provided in the past for storage and nuclear waste but has charged for providing this service at cost. At the present time, with the prohibition on reprocessing, the utilities are storing their own fuel and there is no government subsidy involved. Ultimately, when reprocessing is allowed and high level wastes placed in permanent storage, it can be anticipated that the Federal government (or private contractors if that is how the Federal government arranges it) will charge an amount which will provide funding for permanent care. At the present time, it would appear that less than one half a mill per kilowatt hour added to the generating cost would be more than adequate to pay for your platform of terminating franchised electric utilities makes no sense.

What is the advantage of electric utilities? Why is it not better for each individual or each community to have its own small utility? We enjoy electricity and other utilities at reasonable cost because many people have provided a pool of capital to construct and maintain these massive generating and distribution facilities. If the electrical age had begun with each person attempting to generate his own electricity, the supply, maintenance, and reliability problems would soon have caused them to invent the utility to take all those problems away and provide reliable and economical service from a skilled staff at a central generating station.

Wise men realized many years ago that competition between utilities was not in the best public interest, because of the nature of the service and the capital-intensive nature of the business. In the early days of the utility industry, it was not uncommon for competing utilities in the same service area to have their lines on the same streets. It soon became evident that the very capital intensive nature of the business made this impractical. An alternative system which retains the benefit of free enterprise could still be obtained by the regulated franchise concept. The concept predates the electric utility and telephone industries and was instituted in the West to correct abuses by owners of grain storage "elevators" at the railheads.

It was a natural development, then, to provide a franchised and exclusive service area to one utility only. In return for being granted an exclusive "service area", the utility is required to increase and improve its system as required to satisfy the growing needs of the area and has its "rate" or "prices" determined by a State Public Utility Commission rather than by the competitive process as do most businesses.

There are essentially two types of utilities — investor owned and publicly owned. About 76 percent of the nation's electricity is generated by investor-owned utilities. They operate in much the same way, and are subject to the same regulation; the principal differences are the manner in which finances are obtained and in taxation. In both cases, the utility is a mechanism by which capital is accumulated and put to intelligent use for public service. The investors are compensated with bond interest and/or dividends on shares.

Sorry, but you have lost a convert. I can only assume that the rest of the material is as unrealistic as that which I have criticized above — and I certainly am an advocate of limited government.

R. M. Campbell
Chairman
Mass. Voice of Energy

(Editor's Note: Mr. Campbell called the LPM office in May and asked for information. During the conversation, he claimed to "generally support deregulation of business." Apparently this support does not extend to his own areas of interest.)

DSOC *cont. from p. 10*

another potential coup like the one which killed Harvard, (or the ones barely overcome in BAARD, CARD, et al), spread the word and stop it cold.

If we're going to be written out of a movement, it's better to be thrown out the *front* door.

Playroom *cont. from p. 8*

movement for both the newcomer and the burned-out veteran activist who's trying to refuel. (No longer would libertarians who did not want to "do politics" have to feel alone in the world; a trip to the CC might open all sorts of possibilities.)

If this sounds like a hot property to any of you socio-politically motivated entrepreneurs, why not take a look into it?

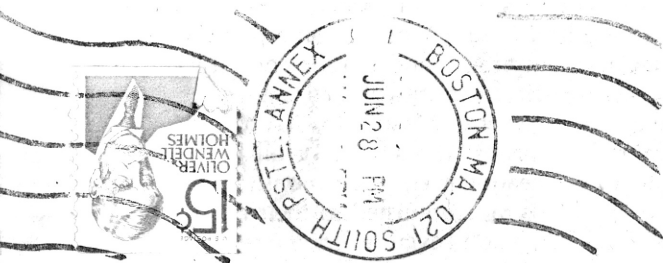
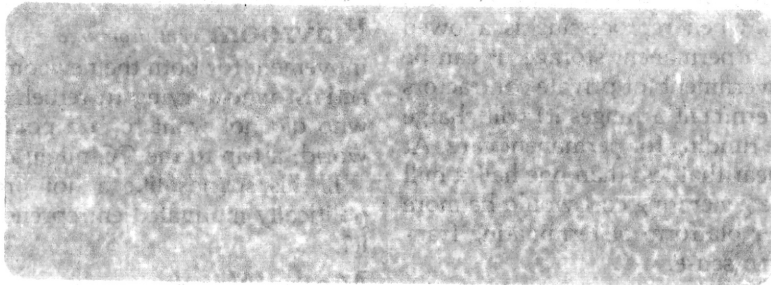
MediaWatch *cont. from p. 2*

The categories under the question, "How is the actual intellectual-political-economic system of America best described?" (and that's a mouthful in itself) include only pluralist, ruling-class, ruling-class/conspiracy, and master conspiracy. Other questions concern specific identities of the master conspiracists, from Rockefeller to Zionist to Masons to CIA to...you get the picture? Alpine Enterprises, the source of all this paranoia, must have to move headquarters each month, because they seem to have left no rumor unturned in their quest for total enlightenment [and they don't even realize the real master conspiracy is headed by the Association of Little People --Don]

Finally, on the local scene, the LPM is still commonly known as the "liberation Party." Despite our efforts, the TV, radio and print folks just don't seem to care; we made the ballot with no publicity, no mass rallies with the candidate present, no strong precinct organization. But still we keep hearing about the three (sic) Presidential candidates, and how Anderson is battling to make it on the ballot in 30 or 40 states. (We're looking almost definite for 45-48, and 50 is looking better each day.)

The only breakthroughs have been a single radio phone-hookup (WEEI-FM), in which Clark had about ten minutes to outline his ideas, and a brief appearance by local activists on Channel 7's "At Noon" show in early June. In the latter case, we were part of the participating audience in a show on third-party politics, taken from an historical perspective. We got short-shrift throughout the program, as moderator Ted O'Brien continually referred to the "three" candidates and to the Anderson challenge only. But late in the show, one of the "experts" (David Nyhan of the *Globe*) referred to the need to consider Barry Commoner in the upcoming debates. Steve Fulchino of our own faction was about to ask a question, but instead shrieked, "Barry Commoner?!!" and proceeded to point out that Clark was already on more ballots than Commoner could even hope to make. O'Brien broke for a commercial, then came back with a teaser, asking Nyhan why in fact the LP (and Commoner) had not been given media coverage, like the others. (Your esteemed editor had asked a similar question earlier in the show, but Nyhan had ducked that time.) The resulting awkward silence from Nyhan brought down the house, and was perhaps worth the entire ordeal.

With the Ed Clark "TV night" coming up early next month, we are hoping to somehow corral at least a couple of reporters and get some kind of coverage for a change. If we succeed, perhaps we can get down to some serious campaign work instead.



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Boston, MA 02208

Massachusetts LIBERTY

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Article I, Paragraph 3, (partial) of the Constitution of the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts (April 1, 1978):
The purpose for which the Party is organized is to implement and give voice to the following fundamental principle of libertarianism: NO PERSON, GROUP OF PEOPLE, OR GOVERNMENT HAS THE RIGHT TO INITIATE FORCE AGAINST ANY OTHER PERSON, GROUP OF PEOPLE, OR GOVERNMENT. (The word "force" is interpreted broadly to cover such acts as fraud, extortion, stealing, and threats against life or property, as well as physical aggression.)

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MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION/RENEWAL

Name Phone (Hm) (Wk)
Address

Membership: Basic(\$2 per year) Sustaining†(\$25 per year) Patron†(\$50 per year) Life†(\$250)
†All these members receive the newsletter without extra charge.
Newsletter: Members rate(\$6 per year) Non-members rate(\$10 per year) Information packet(\$2)

I hereby certify that I do not believe in nor advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political or social goals.

Signature: Date:

I would like to be active in the L.P.M.: Newsletter Editorial rebuttals Position papers Speakers bureau Local organizing Campaigning Other (specify)
I would like to join the National L.P.: Student(\$5 per year) Regular(\$10 per year) Sustaining(\$25 per year) Patron(\$100 per year) Life(\$250) Life Sustaining(\$1000)

Note: L.P.M. members are entitled to 20% discount on National membership.