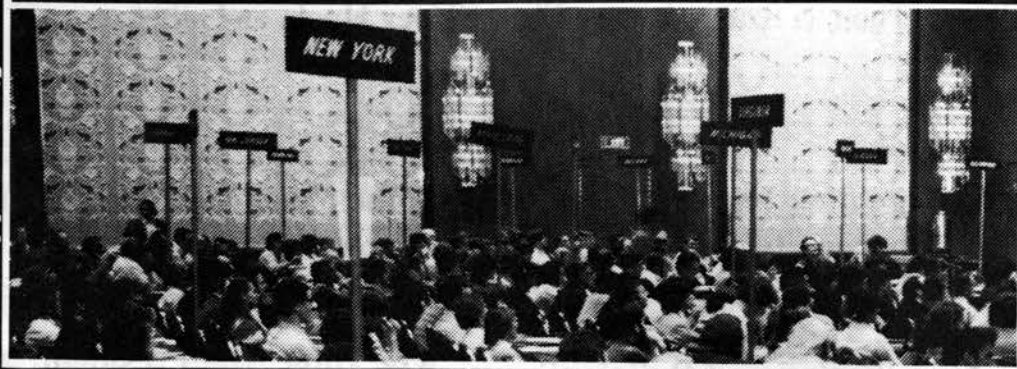




LIBERTARIAN PARTY PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTION



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VIVIAN BA
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WIN VIEIRA
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LARRY WHITE
DICK RANDOLPH
ED CLARK
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By-Laws Committee

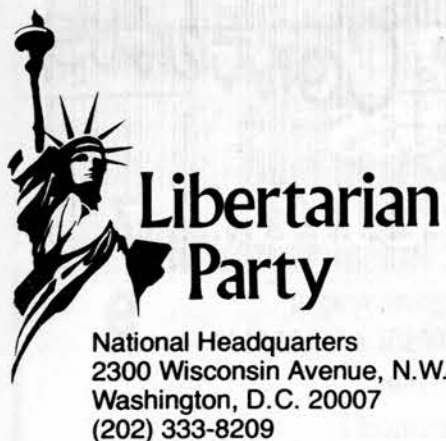
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The Future of Libertarianism

By Tom Avery

GETTING AROUND 30



Alicia Garcia Clark
Chairwoman
Sheldon Richman
Vice Chairman
Frances Eddy
Secretary
Vivian Baures
Treasurer
Honey Lanham
National Director

August 11, 1983

Dear Friend of Liberty:

Welcome to the Libertarian Presidential Nominating Convention. On behalf of Loretta Weiss and all the members of the Convention Committee, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to welcome you.

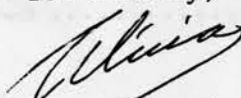
The next few days will be one of the most exciting times of our lives. We are going to hear Libertarian celebrities discussing important issues. We are going to attend panels, workshops and debates. We are going to have the opportunity to talk with past and future Libertarian candidates; some of them will tell us about their activities after being elected to office. And we are going to have the pleasure of meeting and sharing ideas with activists from all around the country.

Most importantly, however, we are going to participate in shaping the future of the Libertarian Party. It is a serious and beautiful responsibility: a great opportunity to present your ideas, to debate the ideas of others, to vote for what you think is right.

Many vital choices have to be made as to amendments and additions to our By-Laws and our Platform. We will nominate our 1984 Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates, elect the new Party officers, new Members-at-Large of the National Committee and new Regional Representatives. The future of the Libertarian Party is in your hands and the hands of all the Delegates and Alternate Delegates to the National Convention.

While helping the Party to make important decisions and learning more about the Libertarian cause: Enjoy it! There will be plenty of social activities to add pleasure to your efforts.

For Liberty,


Alicia Garcia Clark



Free Libertarian Party, Inc.
225 Lafayette Street (Suite 1212), NYC 10012, (212) 226-6483

August, 1983

Dear Convention Delegates and Friends:

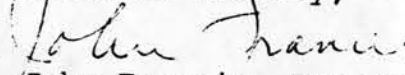
Welcome to the Libertarian Party's grandest National Convention. The members of New York's Free Libertarian Party have worked long and hard to make this a truly memorable event for you.

Not only is there a record number of events for you to attend throughout the seven day convention, but there is also incomparable New York City. The combination is without equal. To illustrate our point, as you walk throughout Manhattan, notice that the street signs are decorated with the symbol of the Libertarian Party - The Statue of Liberty. Where else could you feel more at home?

While you are at the convention, please feel free to stop by the hospitality suite of the Free Libertarian Party. Should you have any questions about the convention or things to do in the city, feel free to ask us and we will do our best to make your stay as rewarding as possible.

And now, let us get on with the business of selecting our 1984 presidential candidate.

Yours In Liberty,


John Francis, FLP state chair

83 LIBERTARIAN PARTY PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTION

P.O. BOX 429 CANAL STREET STATION
NEW YORK NEW YORK 10013

August 29, 1983

Dear Convention Attendee:

Finally, welcome! Whatever has drawn you to New York this August - the chance to participate in the historic selection of our 1984 Presidential Candidate; the prospect of all those sparkling debates, panels, speakers and workshops; the Big Apple itself - I'm positive that you'll leave with many happy memories.

I'd like to take a moment to publicly thank and to introduce to you the incredibly dedicated, hard-working and talented members of the PRESCON 83 Convention Committee who have made it all possible:

ANITA ANDERSON - Registration Chairperson

We were lucky enough to recruit this tireless libertarian activist shortly after she moved to New York by way of California, Alaska and Washington D.C. Among her achievements, Anita served as Administrative Assistant for the CLARK FOR PRESIDENT campaign in Washington D.C. She later returned to D.C. as National Libertarian Party Office Manager. In addition, Anita was Volunteer Coordinator for the RANDOLPH FOR GOVERNOR campaign. She is currently a manager at the LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKSTORE.

JOHN DOSWELL - Media and Entertainment Producer

President of DOSWELL PRODUCTIONS, INC., John is a successful producer of industrial shows, films and multi-media events. Aside from his acting as screenwriter and producer of THE INCREDIBLE BREAD MACHINE, John has donated his creative talents to libertarianism for more than a decade. Among his many achievements are the creation of outstanding commercials for the FLP's YOUNGSTEIN FOR MAYOR and JONES FOR MAYOR campaigns. John was given the FLP's 1983 LIFE ACHIEVEMENT AWARD.

BETH GOTTLIEB - Committee Member at Large

A New York business woman, Beth has been active in the FLP since shortly after voting for Gary Greenberg in his 1978 race for governor of New York. Among her accomplishments, she served as New York State Campaign Office Manager for the CLARK FOR PRESIDENT campaign.

IRA GOTTLIEB - Finance Chairperson

Ira, a Commercial Loan Officer at a major international bank, has been donating his talents to the libertarian movement since 1978. Aside from his role as Treasurer of the FLP for three years, Ira, who has an MBA in Finance from New York University, has been Treasurer for the New York CLARK FOR PRESIDENT campaign and the JONES FOR MAYOR campaign. He was also a member of the 1981 National Platform Committee.

continued on page 28

COMMITTEE COMMITTEE COMMITTEE COMMITTEE COMMITTEE

Committee



The 1983 L.P. Convention Committee pictured here in front of Laissez Faire Books, the scene of many planning sessions.

Left to Right: John Kunze, Ira Gottlieb, Anita Anderson, Andrea Rich, Gary Greenberg, Loretta Weiss, Marion Williams, Beth Gottlieb. Not pictured are John Doswell and Jean Preece.

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Day Two - Tues. 8/30/83

8:30 - 9:30 CLASS

9:30 - 10:30 PANEL

10:00 - 1:00 BUSINESS

10:30 - 11:30 DEBATE

11:30 - 12:30 DEBATE

12:30 - 1:30

1:30 - 2:00 LUNCH

2:00 - 5:00 BUSINESS

2:00 - 3:30 DEBATE

3:30 - 5:00 PANEL

7:00 - 9:00 SOCIAL

BASIC ECONOMICS 1

ROLE OF CHAIR, NATCOM, DIRECTOR

- 1) Vivian Baures
- 2) Jim Johnston
- 3) Ruth Bennett

BY-LAWS COMMITTEE MEETING

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

Moderator: Don Ernsberger

- 1) Dean Ahmad
- 2) David Morris
- 3) Ginny Flynn
- 4) John Walker

PRIVATIZATION

Chris Hocker vs. Bob Poole

CUTTING TAXES 1

Audit Avoidance
John Northrup

BY-LAWS COMMITTEE MEETING

UNILATERAL DISARMEMENT

Jeffrey Hummel vs. David Friedman

LP STRATEGY 1

Moderator: Joe Peden

- 1) Rebecca Shipman
- 2) Jule Herbert
- 3) Toni Nathan
- 4) Mike Grossberg
- 5) Emil Franzi

FREEDOM MIXER

Day Three - Wed. 8/31/83

9:00 - 10:00 CLASS

9:00 - 1:00 BUSINESS

9:00 - 2:00 BUSINESS

10:00 - 10:30 DEBATE

10:30 - 12:00 PANEL

12:00 - 1:00 SEMINAR

12:00 - 1:00 SPEAKER

1:00 - 2:00 LUNCH

2:00 - 5:00 BUSINESS

2:00 - 6:00 BUSINESS

2:00 - 2:30 SPEAKER

2:30 - 3:30 PANEL

3:30 - 5:00 PANEL

7:00 - 9:00 PANEL

BASIC ECONOMICS 2

BY-LAWS COMMITTEE MEETING

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE MEETING

THE FLAT RATE TAX

"Breakthrough or Booby Trap?"

Dave Nolan vs. Jule Herbert

DEFENDING THE LIBERTARIAN SOCIETY

- 1) Mike Dunn
- 2) Jeffrey Hummel
- 3) Bob Poole
- 4) Chris Hocker

CUTTING TAXES 2

Tax Shelters
Marilyn Pendergast

TOM PALMER

"Libertarian Class Theory"

BY-LAWS COMMITTEE MEETING

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING

MARK BRADY

"A British Libertarian Looks At Thatcher"

THE MIDDLE EAST

- 1) Dean Ahmad
- 2) Roy Childs
- 3) Gary Greenberg

ON THE PATH TO LIBERTY

"Mapping the Ethical Mine Field 2"

Moderator: John Northrup

- 1) David Friedman
- 2) Kent Guida
- 3) David Boaz
- 4) Scott Olmstead

LP STRATEGY 2

Moderator: Manny Klausner

- 1) Ed Crane
- 2) Alicia Clark
- 3) Dick Randolph
- 4) Dave Bergland

Day Four - Thurs. 9/1/83

8:00 - 9:30	BREAKFAST	DOUGLAS R. CASEY "Betting Against The Government"
9:30 - 10:00	KEYNOTE	DICK RANDOLPH
10:00 - 1:00	BUSINESS	GENERAL SESSION Call to order Credentials Committee Report Adoption of Convention Rules By-Laws Debate
10:00 - 11:00	CLASS	BASIC ECONOMICS 4
10:00 - 11:00	PANEL	TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT 1) Milton Mueller 2) Mike Grossberg 3) Bill Evers
11:00 - 12:00	PANEL	IS REAGAN A KEYNESIAN? 1) Alan Reynolds 2) Larry White 3) Jim Johnston
12:00 - 1:00	SEMINAR	CUTTING TAXES 3 Church Exemptions Ralph Fucetola
12:00 - 1:00	SPEAKER	DR. HERBERT BERGER "The Health Hazards of Heroin Laws"
1:00 - 2:00	LUNCH	
2:00 - 5:00	BUSINESS	GENERAL SESSION By-Laws Debate
2:00 - 2:45	SPEAKER	MURRAY ROTHBARD "Mises, Keynes, Friedman, Laffer: The Austrian Perspective"
2:45 - 3:15	SPEAKER	DAVID FRIEDMAN "What Does a Libertarian Economist Do"
3:15 - 4:00	WORKSHOP	FREE MEDIA COVERAGE 1) Lee Nason 2) Laura Weller
	PANEL	LIBERTARIANS IN OFFICE 1) Honey Lanham 2) Dick Siano
4:00 - 5:00	DEBATE	CANDIDATES FOR CHAIR
7:00 - 9:00		BROOKLYN BRIDGE PARTY

Day Five - Fri. 9/2/83

8:00 - 9:30	BREAKFAST	HENRY MARK HOLZER "The Supreme Court and Individual Rights"
9:30 - 1:00	BUSINESS	GENERAL SESSION Platform Debate
9:30 - 10:30	CLASS	BASIC ECONOMICS 4
9:30 - 10:00	SPEAKER	ED CLARK Introduction by Roger MacBride
10:00 - 10:30	SPEAKER	BILL HUNSCHER Introduction by Roger MacBride
10:30 - 11:15	SPEAKER	ERIKA HOLZER "The Impact of Serious Fiction"
11:15 - 12:00	SPEAKER	JENNY ROBACK
	WORKSHOP	INTERNAL EDUCATION Dave Walter
12:00 - 1:00	WORKSHOP	DRAFT COUNSELING 1) Joseph Maxwell 2) Bonnie Kaplan
	SEMINAR	CUTTING TAXES 4 Tax Tips Timothy Condon
1:00 - 2:30	SOCIAL	SPECIAL LUNCHEON SALUTE
2:30 - 5:00	BUSINESS	GENERAL SESSION Platform Debate
2:30 - 3:15	SPEAKER	ROY CHILDS "Paradoxes of Latin America"
	WORKSHOP	INTRO TO MICROCOMPUTERS
3:15 - 4:00	WORKSHOP	HANDLING THE TOUGH QUESTIONS 1) Ed Clark 2) John Northrup 3) Rebecca Shipman
3:15 - 4:00	WORKSHOP	CAMPUS ORGANIZING Marc Joffe
4:00 - 5:00	DEBATE	PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
7:00 - 8:00	SOCIAL	SALUTE TO INQUIRY AND REASON Cocktails and Reception
8:00 - 10:00	PANEL	LIBERTARIAN FOREIGN POLICY "The Candidates Perspective" Previous LP Candidates for President and Vice President Moderator: Sheldon Richman

Day Six - Sat. 9/3/83

8:00 - 9:30	BREAKFAST	DR. THOMAS SZASZ "Psychiatry as a Weapon of the State"
9:30 - 10:00	SPEAKER	ROBERT BLEIBERG "The shape of the '80s"
10:00 - 1:00	BUSINESS	GENERAL SESSION Nominations for President and Vice President
1:00 - 2:00	LUNCH	
2:00 - 5:00	BUSINESS	GENERAL SESSION Platform Debate
2:00 - 3:00	SEMINAR	CUTTING TAXES 5 Constitutional Rights Irwin Schiff
2:00 - 2:45	SPEAKER	PETER BREGGIN "Psychiatry as a Tool of the State"
2:45 - 3:30	WORKSHOP	PUBLIC SPEAKING John Francis
3:00 - 3:30	SPEAKER	KATE O'BRIEN "Free Market Building Codes"
3:30 - 4:15	PANEL	CAN LIBERTARIANS BE CARING PEOPLE? 1) Sharon Presley 2) Peter Breggin
	CLASS	BASIC ECONOMICS 5
4:15 - 5:00	SPEAKER	EARL RAVENAL
	WORKSHOP	FUNDRAISING 1) Howie Rich 2) Eric O'Keefe
5:00 - 7:00	BREAK	
7:00 - 8:00	SOCIAL	COCKTAIL PARTY
8:00 - 12:00	SOCIAL	PRESIDENTIAL BANQUET

Day Seven - Sun. 9/4/83

8:00 - 9:30	BREAKFAST	BARBARA BRANDEN "The Passion of Ayn Rand"
9:30 - 1:00	BUSINESS	GENERAL SESSION Elections for National Party Officers
9:30 - 10:15	SPEAKER	ED CRANE "Statecraft vs. Liberty"
	SPEAKER	DAVID NOLAN "A Strategy for the LP"
10:15 - 11:15	PANEL	THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DISOBEDIENCE 1) Peter Breggin 2) Sharon Presley
11:15 - 12:00	WORKSHOP	ADVERTISING TECHNIQUES Don Hauptman
	PANEL	LIBERTARIANS IN WASHINGTON 1) Doug Badow 2) Lew Rockwell
12:00 - 1:00	SPEAKER	CAMILLE CASTORINA "Richard Cobden, Our Libertarian Heritage"
1:00 - 2:00	LUNCH	
2:00 - 5:00	BUSINESS	GENERAL SESSION Elections for Members-at-Large and Regional Representatives Adjourn 1983 Convention
2:00 - 3:00	PANEL	THE NEW INDUSTRIAL POLICY 1) Bruce Bartlett 2) Tom Palmer 3) Sheldon Richman
3:00 - 5:00	WORKSHOP	CAMPAIGN CLINIC Chris Hocker
5:15 - 8:00	BUSINESS	MEETING OF THE NEW NATIONAL COMMITTEE
7:00 - 10:00	SOCIAL	CABARET

Day Eight - Mon. 9/5/83

9:00 - 9:45 SPEAKER

WES TEMPLETON
"Understanding Money"

9:45 - 10:30 PANEL

LIBERTARIAN LAW COUNCIL
1) Mike Kessler
2) Manny Klausner

11:00 - 11:30 SPEAKER

JUSTIN RAIMONDO
"A Libertarian Response to the AIDS Crisis"

11:30 - 12:10 SPEAKER

BILL EVERS
"How to Convince A Socialist"

12:10 - 12:45 SPEAKER

FRED COOKINHAM
"A Libertarian Looks At Gandhi"

John Northrup



Master of Ceremonies

John Northrup, a native of Syracuse, New York, is at home in the limelight. He delivered numerous addresses as the 1982 Free Libertarian Party candidate for governor of New York, and is an avid thespian, with many credits both on stage and behind the scenes. Mr. Northrup was graduated *cum laude* from Princeton University, where he received his bachelor's degree in history. He went on to obtain his master's degree in accounting and is now a Certified Public Accountant maintaining his practice in Syracuse. In addition to his accounting practice, Mr. Northrup serves as a Professor of Accounting at Syracuse University.

Judith Jones



Co-Host

Judith Jones is an enthusiastic activist in the New York metropolitan area who is well known for her dynamic speaking abilities. She was the Free Libertarian Party candidate for mayor of New York City in 1981. Ms. Jones is an independent contractor in the field of computer systems design. She has been responsible for developing a computerized tracking system that monitors legislative programs and their impact on the business community. Born in Panama, Judith is a naturalized citizen of the United States. She played an active role in the 1980 Clark for President Campaign.

Dick Randolph



Keynote Speaker

Dick Randolph became the first Libertarian elected to statewide office when he won a seat in the Alaska state legislature in 1978. Mr. Randolph led the controversial "Tundra Rebellion" that was responsible for the repeal of Alaska's state income tax. He spent four years in the state legislature, winning re-election by the largest margin in the 1980 contest. He ran for governor of Alaska in 1982. A former school teacher, Mr. Randolph is the author of *Freedom for Alaskans*, the proprietor of an insurance agency, and a member of the Libertarian National Committee.

Libertarian Defense Caucus

FREEDOM IS WORTH DEFENDING!

We are a grass roots caucus within the Libertarian Party, working to reassert the rightfulness of national defense. Our newsletter, **AMERICAN DEFENSE**, is the most comprehensive publication on defense within the Libertarian Party.

Featured in the August issue: An in-depth interview with Gene Burns, candidate for the Libertarian Party presidential nomination.

STOP BY OUR TABLE and PICK UP A COPY!

SOME OF THE TOPICS COVERED IN PAST ISSUES:

- ★ Libertarian case for the MX.
- ★ The High Frontier project.
- ★ "Defense: Its Nature and Need." (Hospers).
- ★ Defense Agencies: Two part series.
- ★ "Nuclear Disarmament: Morality or Moral Bankruptcy?" (Gofman & O'Connor).
- ★ Platform analyses.
- ★ Debate Reports: Eagleson/Hummel; Dunn/Hummel; Friedman/Hummel.

AMERICAN DEFENSE is published 10 times a year. Subscription, \$10/year, USA & Canada; US\$ 20/overseas. Membership in the Caucus is at no extra charge; state with subscription order if you wish to be a member. SEND TO:

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Dean Ahmad
Chair of the Libertarian Party of Maryland

Janice Allen
Founder and director of Dissent School and director of the Libertarian Supper Club of Los Angeles.

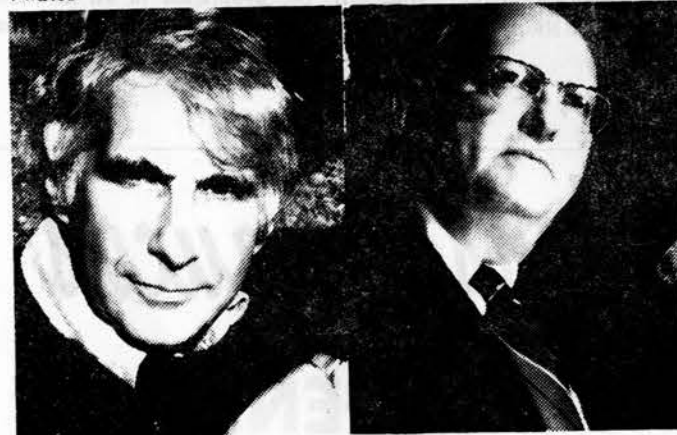
Doug Bando
Editor of *Inquiry* and Senior Policy Consultant at the Cato Institute. His work has appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Reason* and other publications.

Bruce Bartlett
Executive Director of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. His writings have appeared in *Reason*, *Inquiry*, *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*.

Vivian Baures
Treasurer of the National Libertarian Party.

Ruth Bennett
Manager of the 1981 LP National Convention in Denver.

Dr. Herbert Berger
A leading expert on the subject of narcotics. Dr. Berger has testified in favor of decriminalization before many legislative bodies.



Dr. Peter R. Breggin

Robert Bleiberg

David Bergland
Past National Chair of the Libertarian Party and 1976 LP candidate for Vice President.

Robert Bleiberg
Editorial Director and Publisher of *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*, he is a frequent speaker at business and investment gatherings.

David Boaz
Vice President of the Cato Institute and Editor of *Policy Report*.

Clint Bolick
An attorney with the Mountain States Legal Foundation.

Mark Brady
Member of the Executive Board of Britain's Libertarian Alliance. Mr. Brady has lived in New York for the past four years.

Barbara Branden
Former Executive Director of the Nathaniel Branden Institute and author of the forthcoming *The Passion of Ayn Rand*.

LP 1983 CONVENTION BOOK

Peter Breggin, M.D.
Executive Director of the Center for the study of Psychiatry and author of several books, including *The Psychology of Freedom*.

Douglas R. Casey
Author of the No. 1 bestseller *Crisis Investing*. His most recent book is *Strategic Investing*.



Alicia Clark

Ed Clark

Dr. Camille Castorina
Professor of economics at Florida's Rollins College, she has addressed libertarian groups in several countries. Her upcoming book on Richard Cobden has a forward by Friedrich A. Hayek.

Roy A. Childs, Jr.
Consulting Editor of *Inquiry*, Foreign Policy Analyst for the Cato Institute and author of *Liberty Against Power*.

Alicia Clark
National Chair of the Libertarian Party.

Ed Clark
Former Chair of the Free Libertarian Party of New York and of the California Libertarian Party. LP candidate for President in 1980 and LP candidate for Governor of California in 1978.

Timothy Condon
Author of a regular tax column in *Reason* magazine.

Fred Cookinham
Libertarian activist, member of the Free Libertarian Party of New York and graduate student in history at Brooklyn College.

Ed Crane
Past National Chair of the Libertarian Party and President of the Cato Institute in Washington, D.C.

Mike Dunn
Member of Libertarians for Adequate Defense and member of the Libertarian Party defense caucus.

Don Ernsberger
Co-founder of the Society for Individual Liberty.

Bill Evers
Former Editor of *Inquiry* and member of the Libertarian National Committee and the LP Platform Committee.

Ginny Flynn
Active in LP politics, she was a candidate for legislative office in New Jersey. She is also editor of the *New Jersey Libertarian* and is the mother of two children who have never set foot in a government school.

John Francis
State Chair of the Free Libertarian Party of New York.

Emil Franzi
Member of the Libertarian Party of Arizona and member of the Libertarian Party National Committee.

David Friedman
Professor of Economics at U.C.L.A. and author of *The Machinery of Freedom*. Mr. Friedman also serves on the Reason Foundation's Advisory Board.

Ralph Fucetola
New Jersey tax lawyer and the "Bishop of the Libertarian Congregational Church."

Ira Gottlieb
Member of the Prescon Committee and former Treasurer of the Free Libertarian Party of New York.

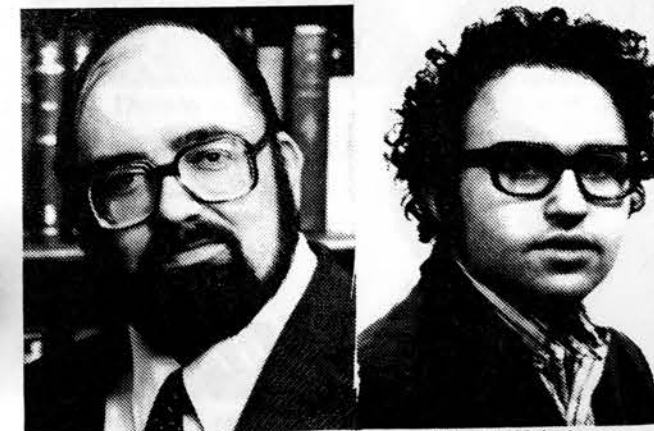
Gary Greenberg
Former Chair of the Free Libertarian Party of New York and FLP candidate for Governor of New York in 1978.

Mike Grossberg
Interim Chair of the LP Platform Committee and former Chair of the Libertarian Party of Texas.

Kent Guida
Member of the Libertarian Party National Committee. Currently active with the National Taxpayers' Legal Fund.

Jule Herbert
President of the National Taxpayers' Legal Fund.

Chris Hocker
Former National Director of the Libertarian Party. He currently serves as Publisher of *Inquiry* and is President of the Libertarian Review Foundation.



Roy A. Childs, Jr.

David Friedman

Erika Holzer
Attorney and novelist, she is the author of *Double Crossing*.

Henry Mark Holzer
Prominent constitutional lawyer and author. His most recent book is *Sweet Land of Liberty?*

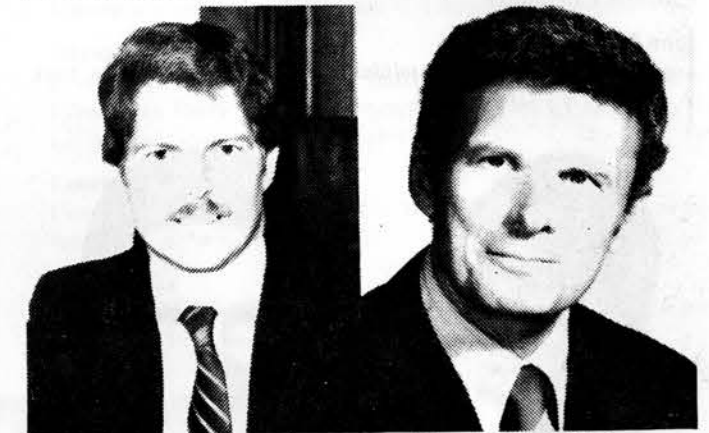
Jeff Hummel
Member of the Libertarian Party Platform Committee. He has written and spoken extensively on the subject of national defense.

LP 1983 CONVENTION BOOK

Bill Hunscher
Candidate for the Libertarian Party Presidential nomination in 1980.

Marc Joffe
Former Director of the Libertarian Student Association at New York University.

Judith Jones
Free Libertarian Party candidate for Mayor of New York in 1981.



Chris Hocker

Henry Mark Holzer

Jim Johnston
Member of the Libertarian Party National Committee.

Bonnie Kaplan
Member of the Midwest Committee for Military Counseling. She has written on draft related subjects for *Frontlines* and other publications.

Mike Kessler
Former Chair of the Capitol District Free Libertarian Party in New York State.

Manny Klausner
Senior Editor of *Reason* and Director of the Libertarian Law Council.

David Koch
Libertarian Party candidate for Vice President in 1980.

Honey Lanham
National Director of the Libertarian Party and former Chair of the Libertarian Party of Texas.

Roger L. MacBride
Libertarian Party candidate for President in 1976.

Joseph Maxwell
An officer of the Chicago Coalition Against the Draft.

David C. Morris, M.D.
Member of the Familist Movement.

Milton Mueller
Former director of Students for a Libertarian Society. His writing appears in many libertarian publications.

Lee Nason
Former Chair of the Massachusetts Libertarian Party and candidate for statewide office.

Speakers

SPEAKERS

SPEAKERS

SPEAKERS

SPEAKERS

SPEAKERS

Toni Nathan

Co-founder of the Association of Libertarian Feminists and Libertarian Party candidate for Vice President in 1972. The first woman ever to receive a vote in the Electoral College.

Dave Nolan

Co-founder of the Libertarian Party in 1971, former member of the Libertarian Party National Committee and Presiding Chair of the Platform Committee.

John Northrup

Free Libertarian Party candidate for Governor of New York in 1982



Roger L. MacBride



Toni Nathan

Kate O'Brien

A civil engineer with nine years experience in engineering and production, Kate also managed Ray Diamond's bid for state senator in California.

Scott Olmstead

Libertarian activist and member of the LP Radical Caucus.

Eric O'Keefe

Former LP National Director and a coordinator for the 1982 Randolph for Governor campaign in Alaska.

Tom Palmer

Communications Director for the Clark for President campaign in 1980.

Joe Peden

Vice President of the Center for Libertarian Studies and a teacher in history at Baruch College of the City University of New York.

Marilyn Pendergast

A Certified Public Accountant from Albany, New York and specialist in tax shelters.

Robert W. Poole, Jr.

Editor-in-Chief of *Reason* and President of the Reason Foundation.

Sharon Presley

A social psychologist and college professor, she was the National Coordinator of the Association of Libertarian Feminists.

Justin Raimondo

Co-founder of the LP Radical Caucus and author of the controversial essay "In Praise of Outlaws" and numerous other articles.

Dick Randolph

Former Alaska state legislator (the first Libertarian ever elected to statewide office) and 1982 candidate for Governor of Alaska.



Robert W. Poole



Sharon Presley

Earl Ravenal

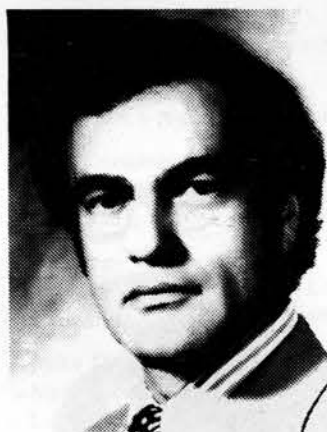
Professor of International Relations at Georgetown University and foreign policy advisor to the Clark for President campaign in 1980.

Alan Reynolds

Vice President of Polyconomics and a leading theorist of supply side economics, he is an associate of Jude Wanniski.

Howard Rich

Member of the Libertarian Party National Committee, Chairman of Campaign '82, he headed the Clark for President campaign's successful bid to obtain ballot status in all 50 states.



Earl Ravenal



Dr. Murray N. Rothbard

Sheldon Richman

National Vice Chair of the Libertarian Party and Associate Editor of *Inquiry*. He is the author of "Free Competition," a monograph published by the Council for a Competitive Economy.

Jennifer Roback

A professor of Economics at Yale University.

Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

Executive Director of the Ludwig von Mises Institute of Austrian Economics and former Chief of Staff to Congressman Ron Paul.

SPEAKERS

SPEAKERS

SPEAKERS

SPEAKERS

SPEAKERS

Speakers

SPEAKERS

Murray Rothbard

Member of the Libertarian Party Platform Committee. A noted libertarian economist, historian and political theorist, he is the author of *Man, Economy and State*, *For A New Liberty* and *The Ethics of Liberty*.

Irwin Schiff

A well-known tax protester and author of *How Anyone Can Stop Paying Income Tax*.

Rebecca Shipman

A voting alternate on the Libertarian Platform Committee and a 1982 Libertarian candidate for office in Massachusetts.

Dick Siano

The first person outside of Alaska to win elective office on the Libertarian Party line.

Thomas S. Szasz, M.D.

A psychiatrist and leader in the movement against compulsory psychiatric commitment, he is the author of numerous books, including *The Myth of Mental Illness*.



Dr. Thomas S. Szasz



Douglas R. Casey



Dick Siano



Barbara Branden



David Koch

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National Director

Honey Lanham

More powerful than all the armies of the earth," wrote Victor Hugo, "is an idea whose time has come."

In the past decade, libertarianism has behaved very much like an idea whose time has come. In 1974, Friedrich A. Hayek, perhaps the greatest living classical liberal scholar, shared the Nobel Prize in Economic Science. That same year, Robert Nozick, a philosophy professor at Harvard University, won the National Book Award for his famous work on political theory, *Anarchy, State and Utopia*. Several libertarian educational institutions, including the Cato Institute, the Reason Foundation and the Center for Libertarian Studies, have taken their place beside such older classical liberal organizations as the Foundation for Economic Education and the Institute for Humane Studies.

The most visible development in the modern libertarian movement, of course, has been the formation and growth of the Libertarian Party. In 1972, in its first presidential/vice presidential campaign, candidates John Hospers and Toni Nathan were on the ballot in only two states and received barely 5,000 popular votes. Four years later, candidates Roger MacBride and David Bergland were on the ballot in 32 states and got almost 180,000 votes. In 1980, candidates Ed Clark and David Koch attained ballot

THE FUTURE OF LIBERTARIANISM

by
Tom Avery

status in all 50 states and received nearly 1,000,000 votes.

Other measures of growth, though perhaps less exact, may be even more important. The growth of LP membership and the increased experience of Party members, the greater coverage given to LP campaigns today than 10 years ago, and the greater seriousness with which LP candidates are treated—all of these indicate that the Libertarian Party has come of age. Today, at its tenth national convention, the LP is established as the third party in American politics.

Libertarianism has come a long way. It has a long way to go.

During the first two weeks of August, I interviewed by telephone nearly a dozen prominent libertarians and asked them to comment on the future of libertarianism. It is not possible in a short article to cover in depth all of the issues that were raised in these interviews but I have tried to present a fair and detached summary of the views of the various people who spoke with me. There were several differences of opinion among the interviewees and these differences will, no doubt, be discussed at length during the many debates that are scheduled for this convention. I hope that this article can serve at least as an introduction to these debates...the first word rather than the last word. The last word is yet to be written.

Ed Clark is an optimist. "We are in better shape than ever before," he told me, speaking about the Party. "National membership is at

an all-time high," he added and pointed to the increased experience of LP members as an important indication of the Party's growth. "The Clark campaign debt is completely paid off," he said, and he believes that we ought to be able to raise two or three million dollars for the 1984 presidential campaign. He predicted that the LP would be on the ballot in 16 states by the time of this convention and in 22 or more states by the end of the year. He also predicted that the LP will do better in 1984 than it did in 1980. Asked how to measure the success of Libertarian campaigns he concentrated on the importance of changing people's minds. Vote totals alone should not be our major concern, he said, and listed such things as the number of people who join the Party, contribute to its campaigns and speak favorably about libertarianism as important (if sometimes not easily measurable) indicators of success.

"Given the political freedom to function our ideas will prevail."

Dick Randolph

"I am a long run optimist"

Murray Rothbard.

National Chair Alicia Clark is also optimistic. She expects, for example, at least 1,000,000 votes in the 1984 presidential campaign. "The media cannot afford to ignore the Libertarian Party," she said, and added that LP candidates are now getting better news media coverage than ever before. While campaigning locally in Tucson, Arizona in July, Alicia made the television news no less than 11 times in two days. There will be some 50 candidates running on the Libertarian line in the upcoming campaign who, in her opinion, have a good chance of getting elected. For the future, she urged LP members to continue working hard and building up the Party.

"I am a long run optimist," was one of the first things that Murray Rothbard said to me. "We're in a financial depression but we'll come out of it." Despite financial constraints, the movement has progressed over the past decade, he said, and the climate of opinion is better than it was 10 years ago.

One important task ahead for libertarians, in Murray's view, is for us to dissociate ourselves from Reaganism. After riding into office on a wave of anti-big government sentiment, Reagan and his program have flopped. The danger is that many Americans, remembering Reagan's free market rhetoric, will conclude that the free market has flopped. "I hope it becomes clear," Murray commented, "that Reagan has betrayed his promises."

Bill Evers spoke mostly about the progress of libertarianism in academia. "The situation in the academic world is the best it's been in my memory," he said. Economics and philosophy are the two fields in which he has seen the most progress. He mentioned, for example, the newly-formed Ludwig von Mises Institute, now affiliated with Auburn University. Still, there is a lot of work to be done. He cited, for example, a shortage of donors and fundraisers. And we need to develop institutions, like the Mises Institute, that are affiliated with universities. He also sees a need for more liber-

tarians in the fields of history and political science. He pointed out, as an illustration, that there is no scholarly history of political thought from a libertarian perspective.

Bill had some good words to say about the LP. "The Libertarian Party is the largest hard core classical liberal institution in the world," he said, adding that it is "an effective vehicle for mobilizing people with classical liberal ideas."

Ralph Raico was not able to speak with me when I called but he sent me a brief letter to quote in this article. "The prospects for classical liberalism at the present time," he wrote "are the best they have been in a century." He addressed himself to the future of the libertarian movement in general and sounded an optimistic note. "To my mind, the most hopeful and gratifying fact is the appearance on the scene of many bright, sincere students who already have a profound understanding of the principles of classical liberalism—the inter-connection of the free market, civil liberties and peace."

A few of the people I interviewed were critical of the Libertarian Party or the libertarian movement in general.

"I'm reasonably optimistic about the future of the movement," Ed Crane said, but he was a bit less sanguine about the Party. "The Party has to take itself more seriously," he argued and he stressed a need for more sophisticated litera-

ture, more active recruitment of organizers, more functioning state newsletters and a more dynamic outreach program.

Roy Childs was more blunt. "The movement is going well," he told me, but "the LP is going backwards." Many LP members, in his words, are not "constructing political programs" but rather "fantasizing about constructing political programs." Urging Libertarians to "take reality seriously," he advised that "The Libertarian Party should be a political party and should take transition programs seriously."

Sharon Presley, national coordinator of the Association of Libertarian Feminists, was somewhat critical of the movement as a whole. "The libertarian movement is stuck in a rut," she said. "The whole strategy of the libertarian movement is incredibly unimaginative." One of her suggestions for getting out of "The rut": create alternative institutions in order to give practical examples that will convince people that a libertarian society can work. She cited Karl Hess as an example of a libertarian who has put his ideas into practice.

Even some of those who were not critical of the Party spoke rather

candidly of some of the LP's difficult challenges.

Dick Randolph believes that the Party is "at a crossroads" and he called for a "realistic appraisal" of the Party's situation. He sees the 1984 campaign as a major challenge for the LP and argued that we have to have a presidential candidate who will continue the upward trend by doing better than Clark did in 1980, or else, "zero in on congressional races." He also believes that "we probably have not aggressively pursued electable candidates" enough in the past and stressed this as a program for the future. Commenting on the situation closer to home, he called the 1982 elections in Alaska "a mixed bag." The results, he said, were not an indication that we won't do better in the future and added that "it is very important that we *do* elect people in Alaska."

On a more long range view, Dick believes that the electorate will one day be willing to accept our ideas. Our major challenge is to be ready when that time comes. Like most of the other interviewees, he is an optimist. "Given the political freedom to function," he said, "our ideas will prevail."

Dave Nolan also said that the Party is "at a crossroads" and sees the LP as "trying to resolve an identity crisis." The crucial topic he addressed was the issue of radicalism vs. reformism. "This is a fundamental strategic decision that has to be resolved." For his own part, Dave believes that there is a large segment of the populace willing to listen to radical ideas and he advises what he calls a "core issue strategy" to reach these people. The four core issues are: money, taxation, military conscription and war. "Sound Money, No Draft, No Income Tax and No War!" was his summary of the core radical libertarian position. It is his opinion that the LP stands at least as good a chance of electing candidates if we are radical as if we are reformist. He further argued that if the LP follows a reformist strategy then "the Party will die out because it has no reason for being."

When I asked David Bergland whether he thinks the Party is at a crossroads, he answered: "I think that every national convention is, by definition, a crossroads." Looking back at the past national conventions of the LP, especially at the presidential nominating conventions, he could not think of one that was not, in some way, an important decision-making point.

One of the things that Dave emphasized was the importance of strategic and tactical planning, something he has found lacking in the past. The Party "must have an explicit, agreed upon, strategic position," he argued, adding that the position must be agreed upon by a majority. He stressed the necessity of asking "the tough questions." Asked how we should measure the success of the Party, he said that the number of votes in an LP campaign should *not* be

at the top of the list. The number of people who participate as Party members or contributors are two indicators he mentioned. He also considers the number of libertarians who become active in other organizations, particularly in their local communities, as an important index of success. He is especially concerned about the Party's efforts to reach out to non-white minorities.

There is much more that can be said—and should be said—about the issues and controversies that I have only outlined in this brief space. Fortunately, there is ample time at this convention for these important topics to be discussed thoroughly by Party members and delegates. One thing that, it seems to me, emerged clearly from my interviews was the need for serious debate on issues of strategy and tactics. We know where we want to go. We need to know how best to get there.

But even a serious debate among people who take their ideas seriously does not have to be solemn and joyless. Getting there can be an exciting and rewarding process. "We must make the building of a free society once more an intellectual adventure..." said F.A. Hayek. For many of the people at this convention, the past 10 years have been an exhilarating adventure. There is no reason why the future cannot be as adventurous as the past. Is libertarianism an idea whose time has come? I don't profess to know. But I do know that success is not something that simply *happens* to political movements. Success depends on what people *do*. Our time will come, I think, when we have seized the

opportunity to bring it. And we have only begun the adventure of seeking opportunities.

Dave Bergland:
"I think that every national convention is, by definition, a crossroads."

GARY GREENBERG - Program Chairperson

Gary has been an outstanding libertarian activist since 1965, when, at Brooklyn College, he co-founded the Society of Capitalists and was a member of the Ayn Rand Study Group. Included in his array of achievements are: Manager of both the YOUNGSTEIN FOR MAYOR and JONES FOR MAYOR campaigns; Organizer of two historic Libertarian Conferences at Columbia University (1969 & 1970) for which he later won The Society for Individual Liberty's OUTSTANDING ORGANIZATION AWARD; the GREENBERG FOR GOVERNOR campaign, which achieved the highest vote total ever received by a state wide candidate in New York on the FLP line; and his five outstanding years as State Chair of the FLP.

JEAN PREECE - Committee Member at Large

A successful Broadway entertainer, Jean's latest appearance on the Great White Way was a long run in the hit 42nd STREET. She has been lending her talents to libertarian causes for over 10 years at benefits and other events. Among the campaigns she has brightened up are YOUNGSTEIN FOR MAYOR and the TUCCILLE FOR GOVERNOR. She was also on the Entertainment Committee of the 1975 Presidential Nominating Convention.

ANDREA MILLEN RICH - Entertainment Chairperson

Recipient of the FLP's 1982 LIFE ACHIEVEMENT AWARD, Andrea has given of her time and talents to the libertarian movement for more than a dozen years. Among her wide-ranging accomplishments: former Vice Chairperson of the National Libertarian Party; State Chair of the FLP in 1973 & 1974; Producer of the outstanding libertarian outreach film WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS; Organizer of three Libertarian Scholars Conferences for the Center for Libertarian Studies; Production Manager for THE INCREDIBLE BREAD MACHINE. Andrea was also responsible for the very successful T.V. commercial for the CLARK FOR PRESIDENT campaign. Last, but certainly not least, Andrea is the owner of the LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKSTORE.

MARION WILLIAMS - Secretariat

Marion has been constantly active in the libertarian movement since first becoming involved in the 1976 MACBRIDE FOR PRESIDENT campaign. An uncountable number of ballot drives in numerous races have been organized and/or assisted by Marion, who served as a National Field Coordinator for the CLARK FOR PRESIDENT campaign. She also worked on the 1977 National Libertarian Convention held in San Fransisco.

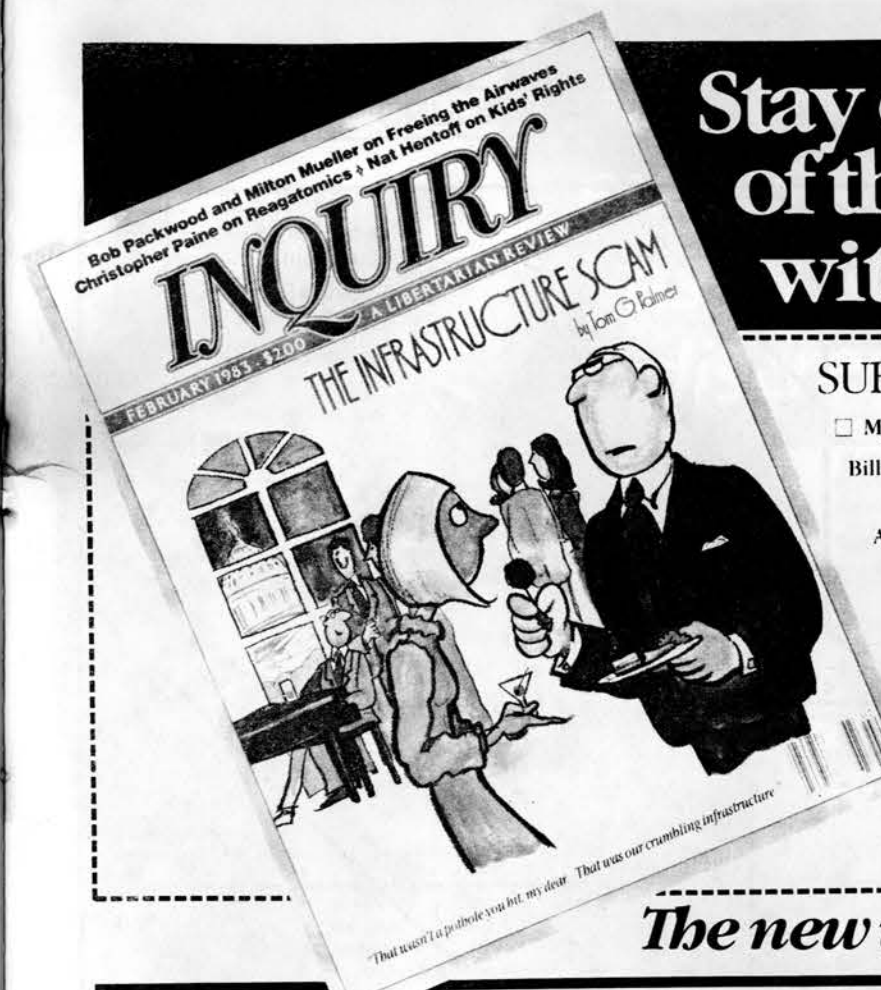
I'd also like to add my thanks to John Kunze, a libertarian economist, who joined us in the last weeks before the Convention as a full time manager.

And now, on behalf of the entire committee, have a wonderful time this week. Let's knock'em dead in 1984!

Yours in Liberty,

Loretta

Loretta Weiss
Chairperson



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"We, the members of the Libertarian Party, challenge the cult of the omnipotent state and defend the rights of the individual.

We hold that all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives, and have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to live in whatever manner they choose.

Governments throughout history have regularly operated on the opposite principle, that the State has the right to dispose of the lives of individuals and the fruits of their labor. Even within the United States, all political parties other than our own grant to government the right to regulate the lives of individuals and seize the fruits of their labor without their consent.

We, on the contrary, deny the right of any government to do these things, and hold that where governments exist, they must not violate the rights of any individual; namely,

- 1) the right to life—accordingly we support prohibition of the initiation of physical force against others;
- 2) the right to liberty of speech and action—accordingly we oppose all attempts by government to abridge the freedom of speech and press, as well as government censorship in any form; and

- 3) the right to property—accordingly we oppose all government interference with private property, such as confiscation, nationalization, and eminent domain, and support the prohibition of robbery, trespass, fraud, and misrepresentation.

Since governments, when instituted, must not violate individual rights, we oppose all interference by government in the areas of voluntary and contractual relations among individuals. People should not be forced to sacrifice their lives and property for the benefit of others. They should be left free by government to deal with one another as free traders, and the resultant economic system, the only one compatible with the protection of individual rights, is the free market."

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