

choose, but at their own expense and risk, without involving the American military. We mean to erase those barriers set at national boundaries which deprive human beings of their liberty to trade and travel where they will.

But most of all, we propose to abolish the aged scourge of militarism and war, of conquest and mass murder, ending both the motives of power elites to wage wars, and to abolish the powers of governments all over the world—including the American government—to conscript, loot and kill. Nothing can excuse the mass murder of war, and nothing ever has.

We regard the politics of Liberty as the only relevant politics of our age, and do not intend to restrict the application of these principles and doctrines only to America: They apply all too clearly to the rest of the world. But it is America which we Libertarians know best, and America which, perhaps, holds out the greatest promise for the triumph of Liberty. For Libertarianism is nothing less than the completion of the ideals of the American Revolution, updated and applied to our own time.

When the American colonists heroically risked their lives, their property and their sacred honor to rebel against the tyranny of Britain, they set an example for us all. Americans two hundred years ago knew that eternal vigilance was the price of liberty, and were prepared to pay that price. Whether we are willing to pay that price today is a question which must be answered individually, by each of us. But we of the Libertarian Party have made our choice. Moved by a passion for justice, by compassion for those oppressed by State power and privilege, we have raised the banner of Liberty.

RECOMMENDED READING

The Incredible Bread Machine

Campus Studies Institute

The Machinery of Freedom

David Friedman

The Road to Serfdom

F. A. Hayek

Libertarianism

John Hospers

Our Enemy, the State

Albert Jay Nock

For a New Liberty

Power and Market

Murray N. Rothbard

Man Versus the State

Social Statics

Herbert Spencer

The Market for Liberty

Morris and Linda Tannehill

Available from Laissez-Faire Books

206 Mercer Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

Statement of Principles

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.

This position paper was prepared by R. A. Childs, Jr., a leading libertarian writer. He has edited and contributed to numerous scholarly journals. Additional copies are available at \$5/100. For further information on the Libertarian Party please enclose \$1.00 and send to:

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Washington, D.C. 20007

LIBERTARIANISM

Libertarian Party Position Paper #1

The Libertarian Party

LIBERTARIANISM

Libertarianism is nothing more nor less than the politics of Liberty. While other parties and groups seek to use the tools of politics to give some groups power over others, to enrich some at the expense of others, or to impose some set of values on those who disagree with those values, Libertarians seek nothing more than Liberty.

Holding foursquare to those ancient principles upon which this Republic was founded, we affirm that every individual has the inalienable right to life, liberty and property, and that no one has the right to seek to impose his or her values on others by violence or the threat of it.

In short, Libertarians hold that every person should be treated as an end-in-himself or herself, never merely a means to the ends of others, and that every individual is the sole legitimate owner of his or her own life—free to do with that life whatever he or she wishes.

Libertarians therefore believe that all social affairs and relationships between human beings should be voluntary, uninhibited by the use or threat of coercion, and that the only proper use of force in society is self-defense.

Thus, we look forward to a society of human beings ruled completely by voluntary consent, where all economic and social dealings are unencumbered by the dehumanizing and corrupting element of all forms of violence, including violence in its ultimate form, political power.

Libertarians, indeed, differ from other groups seeking a just, free and peaceful social order, precisely here: in holding those in government liable in terms of the same moral standards as everyone else. Thus we believe that government should not have the power to rule non-aggressive individuals against their will. The only tolerable activity undertaken by governments, as far as we are concerned, is the protection of individual rights against violence.

Power-Seeking

Instead of seeking power to establish this or that form of order on society, we propose to let individuals find their own way, resulting in a society of free and spontaneous order, a society of institutions and forms of association which individuals find congenial to satisfying their own needs. We aim to prohibit no voluntary relationship or institution; we aim only to prohibit violations of liberty. We promote tolerance of the peaceful choices of others.

In economics, Libertarians advocate the establishment of the purely free market, that is, a market unhampered by government intrusions. We advocate the free, voluntary exchange of goods and services, unhampered by the attempts of government power to redistribute income from poor to rich or rich to poor, by attempting to benefit

this group at the expense of that, or by attempts to restrict the free exchange of goods and services between human beings. We seek the elimination of wage and price controls of all forms which cause shortages and unemployment, the elimination of import and export quotas, the ending of subsidies, whether to big business or any other interest group.

We equally oppose those welfare programs which enhance the power and wealth of a privileged minority at the expense of the poor and middle classes—the subsidies to Lockheed, Penn Central, Pan Am, and other big businesses existing in cosy relationships with government power.

Libertarians seek the end of confiscatory taxes—and all taxes are confiscatory—and regulations on production and exchange of all types. We seek the elimination of occupational licensure, which prevents human beings from working in whatever trade they wish, and of all other restrictions on freedom of employment, on the right to perform any task for anyone who wishes to hire a person, at any agreed-upon wage.

We deplore government-fostered retirement, which robs the elderly of work, dignity, and purpose. We seek an immediate abolition of our vicious drug laws, which, by prohibiting free production, exchange and use of prohibited substances, destroy individual lives, subject free individuals to arbitrary government power, limit the individual's right to self-medication—to ingest any substances he or she wishes—and foster crime, particularly organized crime. We mean to seek an end to the new prohibitionism.

Libertarians advocate the elimination of government regulatory agencies, such as the CAB, ICC, FTC and FCC, which limit the liberty to create, produce, exchange and market, which restrict competition, promote inefficiency and foster monopoly.

Government Cartels

We advocate the end of government-fostered cartels, whether in individual occupations, or whole industries, including the monopoly power of "public utilities," to control essential social services.

We advocate the dismantling of the system of compulsory education, and its replacement with a network of diverse, voluntary educational institutions, and the ending of government brainwashing and enslavement of American children.

Libertarians propose to end the corruption and bribery of government officials, by abolishing their power to dispense special privileges. We intend to abolish the destructive government-fostered cartel of central banking, and government control of the money supply, and thus to end those inflationary policies which erode pensions and savings, and lead to the cruel distortions and unemployment of the business cycle.

In short, by ending incentives to parasitism and

restrictions on production and exchange, we promote the ideal of a society of independent, productive human beings and aim to set the forces of the productive free market loose in working to expand and enrich our standard of living and the quality of our lives in society.

Civil Liberties

In the area of civil liberties, Libertarians are absolutists, and advocate a full restoration of civil liberty to the American people. This means not only an end to government spying and robbery, to the CIA and IRS, but the elimination of all victimless crime laws, such as laws against sexual acts between consenting persons—including laws against homosexual relations—laws against pornography, laws restricting any form of freedom of religion, speech or press, of any form whatever. In the field of civil liberties, Libertarians hold that "group rights" are merely metaphors; all that exist are individual rights. Groups have no rights save those derived from the rights of their individual members. Thus no group, in the name of the nation, state, church, or any other institution, has the right to impose its doctrines or values on others.

In civil liberties, as elsewhere, Libertarians simply extend the principles of religious freedom and tolerance—which ended centuries of religious persecution and warfare—to cover the whole dizzying array of human social relationships, in all of their rich diversity.

Individuals must respect the right of others to live different lives, to read and enjoy different commodities, to shape their relationships, sexual and other, in their own way, to live their lives in their own way, at their own expense and risk, never forcing others to pay for their mistakes.

Foreign Policy

In foreign policy, which is today in America in utter shambles, Libertarians propose the implementation of a few simple principles. Politically, we are isolationists. We advocate the withdrawal of American troops from other countries of the world, believing that American military forces have no business outside of American borders.

We seek an end to such illusory programs as "collective security," which merely promote ever more widespread wars and military conflicts. We absolutely oppose conscription as being a form of slavery—in peace or war. We mean to establish the reign of free trade and international peace, to end American imperialism and involvement in the affairs of other nations, whether done in the name of alleged "anti-communism," of guaranteeing American access to raw materials or foreign markets, or in the name of protecting American investments in foreign countries.

The Right to Trade

Americans should have the right to trade with whomsoever they wish, and to invest wherever they wish.