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Voice of Radical Libertarians

Issue 21

O'Keefe Fired

ON AUGUST 8, at the Libertarian National Committee meeting in Billings, Montana, National Chair Alicia Clark discharged LP National Director Eric O'Keefe and replaced him with former Texas LP chair Honey Lanham.

O'Keefe is a former member of the LPRC Central Committee. But after being named National Director in late 1980, he left the LPRC and became part of the Crane Machine. O'Keefe has alienated party radicals in past months because of his recent winning-is-everything approach to campaigns—an approach which downgrades educating the public about libertarian goals and ideas.

Particularly upsetting to radicals was O'Keefe's June 15 strategy memo for all LP federal candidates (see **BRICKBATS & BOUQUETS**, page 14).

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Steiger Endorses Draft

IN A RECENT TV interview, Sam Steiger, LP candidate for governor of Arizona, endorsed a military draft—a stance clearly and directly contrary to libertarian principle and to the national LP platform. Steiger has since partially modified his stance on the draft, following discussions with Arizona LP members. He now says that the draft is slavery, but he doesn't want to abolish draft registration now because this would send the wrong message to the Soviets.

Here are Steiger's comments on the draft in his July 16 interview, which took place on Channel 8 (PBS) in Phoenix. The interviewer is John Kolbe, the political editor of *The Phoenix Gazette*:

Kolbe: Do you buy the entire Libertarian philosophy? I got an angry letter this week from a woman, who I gather is

a Libertarian, saying, "he may be the Libertarian candidate, but he's not mine, he's not my Libertarian candidate." She indicated that specifically, I should ask him about the draft, about conscription.

Steiger: That lady's name is Lorraine something, I think [LPRC member Lorraine Valencia]. No, that's the one plank I have a hard time buying. I've said so, and it bothers Libertarians. I can't accept their stand on conscription. I don't think we can properly defend ourselves without a draft. So I think the draft is necessary and we should have it. I think that's the only proper function of the federal government. A method of defense and a draft.

Kolbe: The only proper one?

Steiger: No, not the only proper function, but the most important proper function of the federal government.

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The Flat Rate Trap

by Murray N. Rothbard

THE EVIDENT DISASTER OF Reaganomics—the grinding economic depression, the persistently high interest rates, and the enormous deficits—has led the Reagan Administration to a series of gimmicks to divert everyone's attention from its grievous economic failures. Around November, there was the trial balloon of a phony gold standard, designed to cloak Reaganomics with the popular prestige of gold. That was replaced in the January State of the Union Message by the highly touted "New Federalism," now virtually forgotten. Then, for a few weeks, there was the phony Balanced Budget Amendment before Congress, so emasculated as to

be a flimsy cover for unprecedentedly large deficits. And now, in the last few weeks, it's all flat rate. Across the political spectrum, from Ralph Nader and the Democratic Party conference to Milton Friedman to Ron Paul to Craniac Jule ("the Tool") Herbert, everyone has jumped on the flat tax bandwagon.

Taxation should be a uniquely libertarian issue, and it is a scandal and a betrayal of our principles if we fall behind any other organized group in our opposition to taxation. And yet, following their continuing descent into the morass of opportunism, the Crane Machine is intensifying its sell-out on the

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The Task Before Us

WITH THIS ISSUE OF *Libertarian Vanguard*, we introduce a new editor and a new format.

Our new editor is Scott Olmsted, former editor of *The Stanford Libertarian*, former member of the student board of Students for a Libertarian Society, and activist from California.

Our new format makes *Vanguard* into a newsletter for the Radical Caucus and the radical segment of the movement. It reflects our intention to focus on the movement and the Libertarian Party more than we have in the past. World and national events remain, unfortunately, at the brink of crisis where they always seem to be, but the crisis within our ranks has grown more acute and demands our attention.

If you will read the horrifying reports on movement and party activities in this issue, you will see why our concern is so great. We certainly don't get any thrills from bringing you the news that libertarian principle is being trampled here and there by "big-L" Libertarians as well as by "small-l" libertarians, that Libertarian Party candidates have endorsed measures that increase the power of the state, or that influential libertarians are denouncing that most important cornerstone of the libertarian program, a non-interventionist foreign policy. We print these things because *somebody* has to do it. To remain silent would be betrayal of our cause.

But our purpose is not merely to keep you informed of movement events. It is also to spur you to *action*. Without your involvement in the movement and the party, without your efforts to rectify these errors and to keep things on the right track, our reporting will have been in vain.

What can you do? First, you can *keep us informed*. Send us news of your organization, write us letters, tell us what's going on. We will exchange our newsletter with yours; we would like to receive every newsletter even remotely connected with our movement. Your organi-

zation doesn't have a newsletter? Then *start one!* It is axiomatic that no political movement can build momentum for its cause without a newsletter at every level on which it is organized: state, county, city, and neighborhood.

Run for office in your organization, and whether or not you are elected, help with the work that has to be done. The surest way to influence the direction the movement takes is to provide the energy for moving it. Attend all the meetings and conventions that you can. And when you're there, *speak out*. Principled libertarians must make their voices heard when decisions are made on our policies and strategies.

Read all you can on the issues on the public agenda. Don't read only libertarian publications. Read the others as well. If you want to refute effectively the statist positions and arguments, you must know what they are.

Finally, help us financially if you can. It seems as if every libertarian organization is having trouble making ends meet, and we are no exception. If you can pledge five dollars, or even more, per month, then do it. If you can give a one-time contribution, then do that. If you can't help in this way, then consider asking others to subscribe to *Vanguard*. Every \$12 membership or subscription will help us almost as much as a \$12 donation.

This, then, is our task: to keep the Party of Principle just that. With more candidates running than ever before, with libertarians attracting more media coverage than ever before, we face tremendous opportunity—and great potential danger. We mustn't for a moment think that merely electing a few members of our ranks into seats of power is going to change anything. We must continue to use every opportunity to spread awareness of the *full* libertarian program and to call for immediate steps that take us in that direction. This is what it means to be a radical. This is what it means to be a libertarian. □

The Flat Rate Trap

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tax question. Leslie Kay, the Madame Defarge of the movement, has attacked Dave Nolan's Project Liberty for calling for the repeal of the income tax, and Jule Herbert, head of the National Taxpayers Legal Fund, has now come out for the latest statist attempt to forestall actual tax cuts, the flat rate proposal.

At first, flat tax sounds attractive to many free market advocates as a "perfectly fair" tax (in the words of Ron Paul) and even to libertarians as an alleged "transitional" step toward the abolition of the income tax. Flat tax means a proportional income tax for all income groups, and so opponents of the morality as well as of the economic disincentives of the progressive tax on higher income groups are understandably tempted to opt for the flat rate.

First, let us examine what we might call the "pure" flat rate model in which everyone without exception pays the same proportion of income in his or her

tax. The attractions of flat rate are (a) that it is fair," since everyone pays the same proportion of tax and the rich are no longer soaked; (b) that the savings and energy of the upper income groups would no longer be penalized; and (c) that tax forms would be simple, resources no longer being wastefully siphoned off to "parasitic" tax lawyers and accountants.

"A large number of grave flaws in the flat rate tax are being overlooked."

In the rush to embrace flat rate, however, a large number of grave flaws are being overlooked. In the first place, none of the flat-raters are talking about an overall tax *cut*. Any tax reform proposals that do not involve an overall tax cut should automatically be suspect. A flat rate tax of, say, one-half percent across the board, we might all be happy to live with for a few years of transition, but that is not what current flat rate agitation is all about. The idea, *at the*

very least, is to keep total federal revenue the same as it is now. But if the rich are to enjoy a big tax cut, and if total revenues are to remain the same, *some* group will have to be socked more highly. In the pure flat rate, it is, unsurprisingly, the poor and the middle class.

Thus, Joseph Minarik, tax analyst for the respected Congressional Budget Office, estimates that, to substitute for the current progressive tax ranging from eleven to fifty percent, a flat rate would have to be 11.8% across the board. This would mean that everyone making under \$30,000 a year would be paying a higher tax, *especially* the poor and lower middle class \$5000-20,000 bracket, while everyone earning over \$30,000 would benefit, especially the very rich making over \$100,000. But how could most of the public lose if the rates imposed on the broad masses are seemingly going down, with the flat rate of 11.8% only slightly higher than the current lowest rate of eleven percent?

The answer uncovers the biggest single hidden clinker of the flat rate: the

enormous tax increases that would be leveled on most middle income citizens. The increases stem from a critical slogan of the flat-raters: abolition, across the board, of all tax exemptions, deductions, and credits. In short, flat rate with no exemptions or credits means a tax benefit for the wealthy at the expense of large chunks of the middle class, whose tax burdens would greatly increase.

Who are these unlucky losers, the unsung victims of flat rate? There is a long litany:

There are the sick, who have so far been able to deduct their most staggering medical expenses from their taxable income. Flat rate would aid the rich on the backs of the sick.

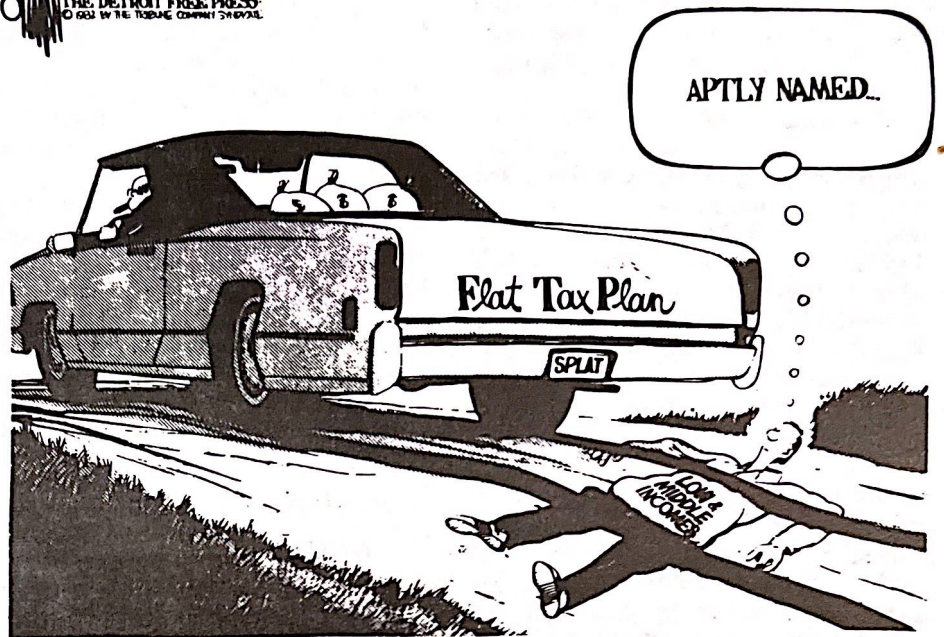
There are the unlucky uninsured, who have suffered from casualties such as fire. Right now, almost all of these losses are deductible from income; these deductions would be wiped out under flat rate. Flat rate would aid the rich on the backs of the unlucky.

There are the charitable, who have been able to deduct charitable contributions from their income tax. Flat rate would wipe out these deductions. Flat rate would benefit the wealthy on the backs of the benevolent and of the needy recipients of private charity. We can expect government welfare payments to rise as a result.

Many other expenses, now deductible, would suddenly be subject to tax: e.g., mortgage interest paid by homeowners, "imputed rent" paid by homeowners, pension contributions, state and local tax payments, capital gains, medical insurance premiums, social security benefits, investment tax credits, and much more. In strict uniform flat rate, all depreciation and depletion payments would go, as would interest on municipal bonds and who knows what else.

But the most important point is that a main set of losers would be those admirable people who have been able to get out of taxes altogether, the men and women who make up the "underground economy": those who pay and get paid in cash, off the books, in barter transactions, or who supply services which the government in its wisdom decrees to be illegal. Some of these people are wealthy entrepreneurs with complex tax shelters; others are the man or woman down the street. The major purpose of flat rate is to crush them, to

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subjugate the underground economy and to bring it into the federal government's tax-tribute arena.

Note, for example, the glee with which the major theoretician of flat rate, "libertarian" political scientist Alvin Rabushka of the Hoover Institution, hails the widespread support for flat rate among liberals as well as conservatives. Said Rabushka:

We were worried that liberals would come out against the idea because the poor and the lower middle classes would likely have to pay more under our plan than they do now. But it appears that many liberals are much more concerned with the thought that under our present tax system the very rich are avoiding paying their fair share by the use of tax shelters."

Even more repellent are the words of Ronnie Reagan himself, who, in his April 24th radio address to the nation, attacked a "growing group of citizens who have already given themselves a tax cut." (Heavens! A do-it-yourself tax cut! What could be more immoral?) About \$95 billion in income tax, Reagan went on, are not being paid, "enough to balance the budget." In contrast to Rabushka's deluded liberals, President Reagan knows who these shirkers are. They are not in the main "big money operators," but rather participants in the "underground economy." The people in this economy, Ronnie went on, "are, I'm sure, honest people in most of their acti-

vities. They just have a double standard where taxes are concerned. [My! How did they arrive at such a standard?] They can be the friendly neighborhood fix-it man, a mechanic, craftsmen, or a member of the professions. They have one thing in common—they prefer to be paid in cash.... The underground economy is a kind of cash-and-carry barter system—no checks, no records or book-keeping and thus no tax. [Tsk! Tsk!] As we struggle to trim government spending, it's hard not to think of how close that unpaid tax could come to wiping out the deficit. If I could paraphrase a line from a well-known poem, 'Breathes there a man with soul so dead who never to himself has said: I owe it to my country and my fellow citizens to quit being a freeloader.'"

It is of course a helluva note when the head of the parasitic freeloaders of the political and bureaucratic class has the gall to smear as "freeloaders" those of us seeking to surrender less of our own money!

We should realize too that the alleged advantage of flat rate in getting rid of IRS Gestapo snoopers is a chimera. For the IRS would now, with a vengeance, be leading a populist egalitarian crusade against all those individualist blackguards who might be escaping payment of their "fair share." The popular wolf-pack that the IRS would be leading—to the cheers, it would seem, of such libertarian fairness theorists as Rabushka,

Milton Friedman, and Ron Paul—would be far more fearsome, because more popularly sanctioned, than what we suffer today.

The root of the evil is what all too many libertarians suffer from: egalitarianism, or the idea of equal suffering. If A is sick, it is "unfair" for B not to be sick too. In the area of health, few would put egalitarianism so baldly, but note that this is precisely the pernicious and resentful reasoning behind the flat rate. X and Y are not paying taxes. Therefore, they must be *made* to pay their "fair share." "Fairness" is therefore defined as equality of suffering, as equality of pain.

The proper analogy is to be found by harking back to, say, 1852. A group of black slaves escape from slavery and make their way north to freedom. They are met, however, by equal-suffering "libertarians" who tell them: "We abhor slavery, and some day we hope to see it abolished. But *in the meanwhile*, it is *unfair* for you to escape while your brothers and sisters remain in slavery. Therefore, we are going to ship you back to join them until all of you can be equally free." Yet this monstrous moral syllogism is precisely at the root of the arguments of our "free market" and "libertarian" proponents of flat rate, and especially of the Jule Herberts who see the crushing of the underground economy and of tax deductions as some sort of transition to tax abolition.

There is another ironic note here: Since 1978, the Libertarian Party, and specifically Jule Herbert himself, have been committed to a program of income tax credits for private school tuition as a way of drastically rolling back the pernicious sway of the public school system. But how will we be able to propose tax credits for tuition when the heart of flat rate is the eradication of all credits and exemptions?

It is true that the various current proposals are modifications of rather than pure flat rate, but our analysis of the pure model will suffice to dismiss the alleged "ideal" that is being advanced. The major modification accepted by virtually all flat-raters is to exempt the poor, proposing an income floor of somewhere between \$3000 and \$10,000, below which no one pays income tax.

But the exemption of the poor raises more problems than it solves for the flat-

raters. For if the poor are to be exempt from flat rate because of hardship, then what of the catastrophically ill? And what of the unlucky? Etc. Why is being poor worse than being stricken with a severe illness and therefore entitling one to special treatment?

Secondly, the exemption of the poor puts a far higher tax burden on everyone else, and imposes a far more severe burden on the already burdened, fleeced, and exploited middle class. Thus, again according to CBO esti-

"The major purpose of flat rate is to crush the underground economy and bring it into the federal government's tax-tribute arena."

mates, the most popular floor of \$4500 for a single person, and \$9000 for a married couple, would result in an across-the-board flat tax of nineteen percent—a rate already sufficiently high to jeopardize whatever attractiveness an eleven percent flat rate might have. With this nineteen percent flat rate tax, the gainers particularly would be the highest income class of over \$100,000 per year, and also the over-\$50,000 bracket, plus all those making less than \$10,000 a year. In short, the poor and the rich would now be the beneficiaries, at the expense of soaking even more highly the middle class in the \$15,000-\$50,000 bracket. The soaking of the middle class has, of course, been the familiar theme of the alleged welfare state. And yet *libertarians* are now falling into the egalitarian welfare-state trap!

But that is not all: For the real intention of the flat-raters is not to stop at the same overall level of taxes that is now oppressing us. For the original aim of the flat-raters was to *increase* the total tax take. The increase, as Milton Friedman, one of its original proponents, wrote in his *Capitalism and Freedom*, would result from the reduced incentives for operating in the underground economy.

But these supply-side attempts to finesse the underground economy are bound to fail. Now that the inhabitants of that economy are used to paying little

or nothing, they will not cheerfully move to pay nineteen percent. No, the real purpose of flat tax is to lead a moral crusade to stamp out the underground economy and thereby to balance the budget on the backs of these free men and women.

No, as libertarians we must be the first to sound the cry for the alternative: not equal suffering, but an ever wider area of freedom. We should hail the underground, applaud all tax shelters, credits, and deductions, and strive to widen them ever more until all of us are exempt from taxation. We must widen the area of freedom, the area where each man's home is his castle, free of IRS looting and surveillance. Tax lawyers and accountants are not parasites, or rather, their "parasitism" is strictly the product of the tax system. To say that they are parasites is to say that fences, locks, etc., are wasteful and parasitic. That would be true *if there were no crime*, just as tax lawyers and accountants would be wasteful and parasitic *if there were no taxes*. But unfortunately taxes exist, and these counselors are our front-line defense against taxation. If there were no taxes, the market would speedily take care of tax lawyers and accountants.

And so that is what we must do: not fall into the trap of flat rate, but *strive* to abolish the blight of the income tax—that dread invader of our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. And if we must make transition demands short of abolition, they must never raise taxes for anyone. By all means let us slash drastically the tax rates on the rich; but also we must slash taxes for everyone else: the poor, the sick, the middle class, the homeowners, etc. Let us compete with each other in lifting the burden of taxes wherever we can, until total abolition is achieved. □

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News Analysis

Defend the Palestinians

by Justin Raimondo

AS THE SUPERPOWERS prepare for the final conflict, a jittery world shifts focus rapidly from El Salvador to Poland, from the Falklands to the Middle East—wondering which spark will light the fuse. Israel's long-expected invasion of Lebanon, and the siege of West Beirut, has once again brought the plight of the Palestinian people to the center of the world stage.

The spotlight shifts now to the bombed-out ruins of Beirut, streets barricaded and spattered with the blood of innocents.

OUTLAW AMONG OUTLAWS

THE RACIST IDEOLOGY which motivates and colors Zionism has made Beirut's gutters run red. The utter disregard for civilians which characterizes the Israeli advance is such an unspeakable crime that this alone should end forever all discussion within our movement concerning the alleged merits of the Israeli state and the concept of Zionism itself. No healthy human being can watch the (heavily censored) telecasts of Israel's blanket-bombing, featuring children maimed by U. S.-supplied cluster bombs without being moved to tears—and without being moved to *take sides*.

Israel is an outlaw among outlaws. Here we have, in concentrated form, all the malignant characteristics of nation-states exaggerated and magnified on a grotesque scale, a scale rivaled only by its Nazi predecessors and brothers-in-spirit. Founded on mass thievery and murder, Israel is the classic statist archetype: a militaristic theocracy adorned with the usual messianic trappings.

It is no accident that Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority rightists have made common cause with "Mad Bomber" Begin, the Irgun terrorist who dreams of a "Greater Israel." Just as Falwell and his flock represent the ultraright wing of Reagan's domestic coalition, so Begin and Israel represent the hardline faction of the Western "Free World" alliance internationally.

Israel's role as a U. S. client has always been that of the faithful servant whose unusual devotion is *plus royaliste que le*

roi. At Entebbe, in Iraq and around the world Israel has always been straining its leash, eager to do Washington's dirty work—perhaps, in the view of some U. S. policy-makers, a little *too* eager. It has avidly supported the most notoriously repressive "pro-Western" regimes on earth, supplying arms to El Salvador's junta and to South Africa, to name only two. (It is quite natural that Israel should be South Africa's loyal ally since both societies are developing along parallel paths—the path to increasingly repressive settler colonies on the road to all-out race war.)

THE ROLE OF THE U. S.

WHILE OFFICIALLY distancing itself from the Israeli blitz, the Reagan administration is not exactly intent on reining in its rambunctious ally. By playing the role of the great "mediator," the Reagan administration hopes to arrange for a *de facto* PLO surrender in the guise of a "negotiated settlement." Many Washington foreign policy analysts and high officials really believe that the end of Palestine's national liberation struggle is in sight.

Let no one doubt for a moment that Israel is America's cat's-paw, totally dependent on its masters in Washington who pour in aid amounting to \$7 million per day. The bombs now raining on Palestinian and Lebanese children are being supplied courtesy of the U. S. taxpayer.

The debate within U. S. ruling circles over Israel—dramatized most recently by some aspects of Haig's ouster and the Bechtel/U. S. State Department merger—is not over whether or not to support the Israeli settler colony. Rather it is a debate over what tactics will best defend the Israeli state from its victims.

As a good and faithful servant of the American empire, Israel's cause has been popularized by the image of a Zionist David versus the Arab Goliath. But "little Israel" is fast becoming "Greater Israel": Begin, although still a fierce partisan of the West, wants an empire all his own. Not a few of the boys in Washington are quite willing to go along with Begin's scenario, while oth-

ers—representing, for the most part, the heaviest investors in Arab oil wealth—take a more cautious approach.

THE ROLE OF THE ARAB STATES

THE MOST INTERESTING aspect of the Israeli invasion has been the reaction of the various Arab states—or, more accurately, the lack of one.

Spread throughout the Middle East in a modern Diaspora, large Palestinian communities from Jordan to Iran to Saudi Arabia are a thorn in the side of local tyrants. Although forced to pay lip service to the Palestinian cause for compelling domestic political reasons—such as popular support for the liberation of Palestine among their own subjects—the level of actual support has been minimal.

Indeed, two of the PLO's most vocal supporters in the Arab world, Libya and Iran, epitomize the ambivalence of even the "radical" Arab states toward the Palestinian question. Colonel Qaddafi cut off all aid to the PLO *prior* to the invasion and has now denounced Yasser Arafat for "surrendering." Iran, whose anti-Zionist rhetoric often reaches an unbelievably shrill pitch, is more oblique—but everybody knows the ruling Khomeini regime owes a debt of gratitude to Begin for smuggling arms to Iran.

As for the pro-Western Arab regimes, they live in fear—fear of their own people, who chafe under the heel of the Saudis, the Baathists, the mullahs, the military—fear of renewed Israeli aggression and of the awakening of Pan-Arab nationalism—fear that the victory of the Palestinian people will be the first cresting of a revolutionary wave destined to spread throughout the Middle East.

FOR PALESTINE

AS WE GO TO PRESS, the Israelis are destroying Beirut in stages. The bombing of civilians, the destruction of hospitals and schools by Begin's terrorist army continues unabated.

Abandoned by their erstwhile Arab allies—and also by the Soviets, who are quick to denounce Israel and the U. S. but slow to lend tangible support—the Palestinians and their Lebanese allies stand firm. They rightfully reject all efforts to engineer a "political solution" which would remove them even further

from their homeland. As for the Israelis—although the siege of Beirut could be the bloodiest battle yet in a particularly vicious and drawn-out blood feud, Begin seems undeterred by either moral considerations or by U. S. pressure to ease up.

In long-range terms, the soft underbelly of Begin's plan for a "Greater Israel" is Israel's burgeoning "Peace Now" movement. In Tel Aviv recently, 50,000 anti-war Israelis—including many dissident Israeli soldiers—demonstrated their opposition to the inva-

sion. But, at least for now, this anti-war movement operates strictly within the limits of the Zionist paradigm, asking merely for Palestinian "autonomy" within the constraints of the Israeli occupation. In the short-term, the armed struggle of the Palestinians must and will continue until such time as the Israeli peace movement rejects Zionism altogether.

There can be no question, from a strictly Libertarian point of view, as to which side we are on. In a Libertarian world the Palestinians would recover their lost land—stolen by Israeli (and Turkish) overlords—in the name of property rights and justice. Israel's caste system—which prohibits native peoples from owning land, working for a living, and organizing politically—would be swept away, along with the state of Israel itself. If Libertarians ever came to power in Palestine it would be on the strength of a four-word program: *Give back the land!*

VICTORY TO THE PALESTINIANS

THOSE WHO DENOUNCE the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as a "terrorist" organization—even as Israeli bombers strafe Beirut—are standing on increasingly shaky ground as it becomes all too obvious just who the real terrorists are.

The PLO is fighting a *defensive* war. They and they alone stand between Begin's "final solution" to the Palestinian question and the beleaguered native peoples in the region. Because the fighting men and women of the PLO are placing their lives on the line for the liberation of their people from the Israeli yoke—regardless of their vague, Palestinian nationalist politics—they are the overwhelming choice of the Palestinian people in their fight for justice and property rights.

Our position must be unequivocal: We do not merely condemn the Israeli invasion and call for the withdrawal of Israel's army from Lebanon. We do not merely call for a ceasefire and reversion back to the status quo. As long as Israel exists there can be no peaceful solution to the Palestinian question; so long as the Palestinian people are denied their land and their heritage a "peaceful solution" is neither possible nor desirable.

Only when the victorious PLO parades through the streets of Jerusalem;

The Ten Points of the LPRC

(Adopted by the Central Committee, July, 1979)

The Radical Caucus of the Libertarian Party is dedicated to building the Libertarian Party by emphasizing the following ten points:

1. *Principled Mass Party*—The Libertarian Party should be a mass-participation party operating in the electoral arena and elsewhere, devoted to consistent libertarian principle, and committed to liberty and justice for all.
2. *Resistance & The Oppressed*—The Libertarian Party should make a special effort to recruit members from groups most oppressed by the government so that the indignation of those who experience oppression is joined to those who oppose oppression in principle. The Libertarian Party should never approve of the initiation of force, nor should it rule out self-defense and resistance to tyranny.
3. *Anti-State Coalition*—The Radical Caucus agrees to the view, adopted by the Libertarian Party at its 1974 Dallas convention, that for purposes of party programs and activities the issue of the ultimate legitimacy of government per se is not relevant. We oppose all efforts to exclude either anarchists or minimal statist from party life.
4. *Populism*—The Libertarian Party should trust in and rely on the people to welcome a program of liberty and justice. The Libertarian Party should always aim strategically at convincing the bulk of the people of the soundness of libertarian doctrine.
5. *No Compromise*—The Radical Caucus insists that all reforms advocated by the Libertarian Party must diminish governmental power and that no such reforms are to contradict the goal of a totally free society. Holding high our principles means avoiding completely the quagmire of self-imposed, obligatory gradualism: We must avoid the view that, in the name of fairness, abating suffering, or fulfilling expectations, we must temporize and stall on the road to liberty.
6. *Anti-Imperialism & Centrality of Foreign Policy*—Because the United States government aspires to world-wide control of events, foreign policy is always potentially the most important issue of our time. The Libertarian Party should bring to the public the truth about the U. S. government's major responsibility for the cold war and the continuing threat to world peace posed by U. S. foreign policy. No one should be deceived by the notion that any government, like the American, which has a relatively benign domestic policy, therefore has a relatively benign foreign policy.
Our goal is to build an international revolutionary libertarian movement, and our task is to hold up the banner of liberty so that all the world's peoples and races can rally around it.
7. *Mutual Disarmament*—The Libertarian Party should support general, joint, and complete disarmament down to police levels. The Libertarian Party should be in the forefront of efforts to end policies that prepare for mass murder.
8. *Rights Are Primary*—The central commitment of the Libertarian Party must be to individual liberty on the basis of rights and moral principle, and not on the basis of economic cost-benefit estimates.
9. *Power Elite Analysis*—American society is divided into a government-oppressed class and government-privileged class and is ruled by a power elite. Libertarian Party strategy and pronouncements should reflect these facts.
10. *Land Reform*—Because of past land theft and original claims not based on homesteading, many landholdings in American are illegitimate. The Libertarian Party in cases of theft (for example, from the Native Americans and Chicanos) should support restoration to the victims or their heirs and in cases of invalid claims should advocate re-opening the land for homesteading.

Letters

NTLF Imbroglia Revisited

Editor:

The June "Brickbats and Bouquets" column apparently could not decide which sobriquet to award the National Taxpayers Legal Fund for the decision to terminate its sponsorship of the Project on Military Procurement. It would seem that being attacked by the right-wing *Human Events*, the neo-liberal *Washington Monthly*, and the pseudo-objective *Frontlines* would be evidence enough of the soundness of our action. If not, a call to me would have informed the writer that the whole controversy at NTLF over the efficacy of the project was precisely centered on the feasibility of even raising the question of whether or not the national defense of the United States and its taxpayers was being properly served by the establishment interests that have given us our present foreign policy of global intervention and alliance.

There was no "staff upheaval," nor was there a "financial imbroglia." An anonymous contribution to publish a project newsletter

only when war-weary Israelis and long-suffering Arabs together rise up against the Zionist theocracy; only when a genocidal war is transformed into a revolution against the Zionist regime—only then will peace come to Palestine.

As Libertarians in the U. S. our task is crystal-clear: we must openly support the brave struggle of the Palestinian people not only by opposing all U. S. aid to Israel and demanding an end to the invasion of Lebanon, but also by explaining and defending the justice of the Palestinian cause in Libertarian terms—that is, in terms of property rights and justice. LP Congressional candidates cannot fail to make the Israeli invasion one of the principal foreign policy issues of the 1982 campaign.

The Democrats and the Republicans have long maintained a bi-partisan pro-Israel consensus in Congress. The substantial Arab-American community has been insulted and ignored by every politician from Ronald Reagan to Tom Hayden. By standing firmly on our Libertarian principles, by proclaiming the moral legitimacy of the Palestinian cause—and the moral bankruptcy, the moral *inversion* represented by the continued existence of the Israeli state—we can and we will make great gains for the party of liberty. □

was received in July, 1981. That the money was never completely spent on a newsletter because I rejected the copy prepared for two prototype issues has not been in dispute. After we dropped the project the full sum was donated to another foundation for the future benefit of the reorganized project.

Jule R. Herbert, Jr.

Editor's Reply:

Having a host of enemies does not make one right, and we think that the facts are what is fundamentally important, not the number of people one has managed to offend.

Libertarian Vanguard sticks by its previous story (June 1982). There was a "staff upheaval." Project chief Dina Razor was fired, in large part, according to one observer, because Jule Herbert "didn't know how to handle an independent young woman."

There was a "financial imbroglia." The Procurement Project's checking account was misused in a seriously irresponsible fashion that abused the trust placed in NTLF by donors to that project. As of the date of Razor's firing, some \$54,000 in checks had been written on the Procurement Project account. Of this amount, \$1600 was actually spent on the Procurement Project.

Checks on the Procurement Project account were written to cover Jule Herbert's VISA card bill, his liquor bills, his personal home plumbing bills, and about \$6500 was written to him personally. Procurement Project checks were also written to pay for the salary of the director of the District of Columbia educational tax credit campaign—hardly a military procurement matter and something for which NTLF's general funds would have been more appropriate.

Also troubling is the cover story that the Crane Machine has given out about one part of this imbroglia. Money was being raised for various tax-related projects and put into accounts earmarked for them. Later, funds were moved from some of these accounts into the Procurement Project account. Crane Machine member Kent Guida has told numerous individuals that the money in dispute was all Charles Koch's money, and that Koch approved of Herbert's shuffling of funds between accounts. When interviewed by *Vanguard*, Guida denied making any such statements and also denied all knowledge of the financial management at NTLF. In fact, however, the money in dispute was donated by Rockefeller family members and Herbert's creative accounting was not approved by them.

Finally, Herbert says in his letter that the question of the Procurement Project tackling America's interventionist foreign policy was the central issue in the dispute. He is misleading in his account. In fact, the

non-Crane Machine elements in the NTLF proposed that a new part of the Procurement Project be created precisely to deal with intervention-related issues. In a meeting held on March 18, Ed Crane rejected this approach, got into a tiff with Ernest Fitzgerald, and then stomped out of the room. Subsequently, Crane and Herbert ended NTLF sponsorship of the Procurement Project. The Project continues under other sponsorship.

In an interview with *Vanguard*, Herbert gave us his view of the financial intricacies of the Procurement Project account. While saying that he didn't "know the exact figures," Herbert said that the Project had been "fully funded until it was terminated," noting that some of the Project's expenses were paid from non-Project accounts.

When asked if Project funds had been used to cover either his personal expenses or those of the D.C. tax credit campaign, Herbert answered that that "just isn't true." □

Editor:

I want to register the strongest possible displeasure against some of the stuff in the Bouquet/Brickbat column. In fact, the whole idea of using a Bouquet/Brickbat column against fellow libertarians is suspicious. It is not perfectly obvious what libertarianism entails in many cases—e.g., the dispute over the FCC—and acting as if the people you disagree with are selling out is intellectually dishonest. You did a good job highlighting the errors of the Clark campaign, but a libertarian *National Enquirer* I don't need.

Danny Shapiro
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Editor's Reply:

While we don't enjoy awarding "Brickbats" any more than you enjoy reading them, you must admit after seeing some of those appearing in this issue that more is involved here than potentially difficult disputes such as the FCC case. We do not presume that anyone is "selling out"—trading principle for power—except where we actually say so. We do wish to point out the *errors* that we see people making in order that such errors may be corrected, as well as pointing out exemplary actions and statements in order that they may be recognized. If libertarians adopt the Republicans' "Eleventh Commandment" (No Republican shall criticize another), we shall become about as principled as they are. The modern libertarian movement is still young and many people (including us) still have much to learn. We hope to help this process along with our "Brickbats & Bouquets" column, our reprint series, and our other movement- and issue-oriented features.

Guest Opinion

Rednecks and Radicalism

by Emil Franzi

IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN my contention that something was wrong with the approach used by many Radical Libertarians. Not that I fundamentally disagreed with them on the principles they espoused, but I always felt the issues they used painted an incomplete picture of Libertarianism. After a lengthy exchange of letters and phone calls with Murray Rothbard, I think I have discovered the problem. Radical Libertarianism is not unsaleable, but it is concentrating on too narrow, and often too esoteric, a spectrum. What Libertarianism needs is *more*, not less, radical thought on more *issues* than Radical Libertarians have chosen to address. I believe that there are genuine, radical issues that will appeal to a segment of the American population known, for want of a better name, as rednecks.

Consider for a moment that Country and Western music has certain political overtones (as does some Rock music). In the early 1970's, this was exemplified by Merle Haggard in such unforgettable displays of jingoistic patriotism as "Okie from Muskogee" and "When you downgrade this country, hoss, you're walking on the fightin' side of me." Note that circa 1982, Merle is now taking shots at Nixon and Social Security, and the political front-runner is Hank Williams, Jr., who besides a hit with a refrain of "When I get stoned and sing all night long, it's a family tradition," has a cut on one hit album called "The Coalition to Ban Coalitions" with lines like this:

*Some folks wanna ban cars,
Some wanna ban electric guitars,
Why can't I do my thing and
You do your thing too?*

*Now they wanna take my cigarettes
And all my good whiskey,
These damn coalitions
They're after you and me.*

*They wanna take my 44's
And all the R-rated flicks,
Why can't everybody else
Leave everybody else alone?*

I submit that Hank Jr. is a "gut libertarian" and that his C&W audience has been primed for us to follow through.

Rednecks are not particularly known for sophistication. The type of clever sales gimmicks advocated by some

Libertarians to hustle people toward freedom won't work with them. They, like so many other segments of our society, are alienated. Slick con jobs won't work. Like all the other pet Libertarian target constituencies, such as gays, tax resisters, people using hallucinogens, and draft resisters, they've been screwed by the folks that run things and they know it. The biggest differences between them and those other groups are: (1) they need to hear more than a single issue discussed in a radical, straight-up way; (2) they speak a different language than many Libertarians; and (3) there are a helluva lot more of them!

As an example of radical, redneck issues, I give you the following:

(1) *Gun Control*—Advocating the NRA position—no new gun laws, clean up the worst portions of the 1968 law, Morton Grove did it, etc.—is the best the standard "pro-gun" folks will give. Libertarians need to go all the way. Repeal the 1968 law entirely. Repeal the 1934 law (that's the one that licenses and taxes machine guns and other goodies). Repeal *all* state and local registration requirements for anything—concealed pistols, bazookas, field artillery, cane-swords, flame-throwers, anything! Remind everyone that the purpose of the Second Amendment was to keep the people armed against their government because they might have to shoot at it someday, and that the people should have at least the same quality and quantity of stuff the regular military does. Libertarians should be ready to make the NRA look like a bunch of moderate wimps. And Radical Libertarians should become real radicals on the gun issue. Rednecks will identify—most of the ones I know have always wanted to own a couple of trench mortars anyway.

(2) *55 MPH*—As a first step to the privatization of roads, all speed limits should be abolished. Independent truckers will identify immediately because lower speeds mean lower incomes (and more accidents because they're using uppers to make one more haul). Present it like this: The government stole our money to let favored contractors build roads designed for speeds over 80 mph, and now has the

audacity to tell us that the roads are unsafe at those speeds! The Autobahn has no speed limit and Americans should be entitled to at least as much freedom as Germans have. And, it's in the GOP platform (sort of) and Ronnie Rollover seems to have forgotten about it.

(3) *Motorcycle Helmet Laws*—They are still out there in many states. This issue should be used by Radical Libertarians with redneck bikers as a classic example of a victimless crime—Radical Libertarians are then free to pick their own analogy with other victimless crimes.

The entire problem with the phrase "victimless crimes" is that it connotes, in many minds, those of most rednecks included, laws against "weird" sex acts and "hard" drugs. It is time for Radical Libertarians to start naming victimless crimes rednecks can identify with, such as dueling, prostitution, the use of laetrile and cyclamates, plural marriage, and whatever else our fertile brains can discover. Dueling is a classic example of a macho, redneck, right-wing, victimless crime. Prostitution laws, due to bad feminists, have been changed to include johns in the busts (which scares the hell out of most johns—lots of them are rednecks). Laetrile and cyclamates are a John Birch Society issue and should be taken from that warped context and put into the proper Libertarian matrix. And, as my good friend Steve Trotter of Utah points out, the open advocacy of decriminalizing plural marriage puts us closer to Joseph Smith than Orrin Hatch will ever dare openly come with his own LDS constituents. I could go on—and I hope you do!

The LP needs to be, and should be, a principled, radical movement. The problem is that we haven't been radical in *enough areas*. Let's quit specializing and broaden the effort. I suggest that the specie *Redneckus Americanus* is a great place to start. □

Editor's Note: *The LPRC has a strategic perspective that focuses on the centrality of certain issues. While we have no wish to ignore any constituency or oppose radicalism on any issue, we don't intend to stop bannering away at the central issues. Mr. Franzi may not share our view of what is important.*

Justin Raimondo and Eric Garris wish to dissociate themselves from the publication of this article.

In the Literature

Bibliography on Anti-Semitism

by David Gordon

THE TERM "anti-Semitism" first appeared in 1879 in a pamphlet, *The Victory of Judaism over Germanism*, by Wilhelm Marr. Though the term is thus scarcely more than a century old, the concept it designates, viz., hatred of Jews, is of course much older, predating the rise of Christianity. A good general survey of the entire field is Edward H. Flannery, *The Anguish of the Jews* (New York: Macmillan, 1965). The author, a Catholic priest, offers a very useful summary of all aspects of his subject from the Hellenistic period to the 1960s. Another survey, exceptionally well written, is Malcom Hay, *The Foot of Pride* (Beacon Press, 1950). The paperback edition of this work appeared under the title *Europe and the Jews*. (Incidentally, Hay is the author of a book sharply criticizing Pascal for anti-Semitism, among other failings; although it offers an unusual perspective on its subject, I cannot recommend it and forbear from listing it). Another general account, stressing modern developments more than Flannery, is James Parkes, *Antisemitism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963).

Although anti-Semitism antedates Christianity, it is undeniable that conflict between Christianity and Judaism greatly intensified hostility toward Jews. In particular, Jews were scorned for their alleged role in the death of Christ and for their continued rejection of Christianity. One of the most remarkable surveys of this topic is by the Austrian historian Friedrich Heer, *God's First Love: Christians and Jews over Two Thousand Years* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970). There is an even more detailed treatment in the three-volume work of Léon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974-1975). A very thoughtful account is Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

To the extent that anti-Semitism was the result of religious conflict, one might have expected that the Enlightenment, which was marked by a decline in

religion, would have lessened anti-Semitism. This is indeed the conventional view of the Enlightenment; but it receives a strong challenge in Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968). A judicious verdict on this issue is that of Jacob Katz: "On the one hand, the criticism of Christianity removed the justification of discrimination against the Jews on the grounds of Christian doctrine; on the other hand, it provided new weapons to the opponents of the Jews by casting aspersions on their own religious heritage." *From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 25. Katz's book is the best treatment of anti-Semitism for the years indicated in its title.

Anti-Semitism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is probably best studied on a country-by-country basis. Some standard works are: R. F. Byrnes, *Antisemitism in Modern France* (Rutgers University Press, 1950); Uriel Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974); Paul W. Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Antisemitism in Imperial Germany* (New York: Harper, 1949); and S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and*

Poland (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1916). The first part of Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1958) gives a penetrating analysis of nineteenth-century developments.

The rise of Hitler to power in Germany in 1933 raised anti-Semitism to a new level of intensity, culminating in the attempt to exterminate European Jewry during World War II. Among the many works on this topic, perhaps the most comprehensive are Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961) and Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (New York: Beechhurst, 1953). It is unfortunately the case that a recent group of "revisionists" has seen fit to challenge the historicity of the Holocaust. Although this is obviously not the place for a discussion of this issue, unwary readers should be warned that the works of Butz, Faurisson, *et hoc genus omne* are of no historical value whatever.

In bibliographies, there are inevitably titles one wants to mention which can't be conveniently classified. I shall confine myself to two works of this sort: the very influential essay of Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew* (New York: Schocken Books, 1948); and A. K. Chesterton and Joseph Leftwich, *The Tragedy of Anti-Semitism* (London: Robert Anscombe, 1948). The latter volume is an exchange of letters between an anti-Semite and a Jew. □

Rothbard on Strategy

Why should libertarians be "abolitionists"? Why are "cadre" important to the movement? What are the errors of "sectarians" and "opportunists"? Why should libertarians participate in coalitions on particular issues? Why should libertarians be optimistic about the long-run prospects for liberty?

Read the paper that answers these questions and more, by the pre-eminent theoretician of the modern libertarian movement, Murray Rothbard. For your copy of *Strategies for a Libertarian Victory*, send \$2.00 and your name and address to: Libertarian Party Radical Caucus, 3790 El Camino Real, No. 172, Palo Alto, California 94306.

On the Campaign Trail

Cranial Trickle-Down At Work in Michigan

by Greg Kaza

DETROIT—The name Dick Jacobs should sound familiar to you if you are in the habit of reading the national LP organ, *LP News*, or looking over the national LP's various mailings. Furthermore, this is the same Dick Jacobs who—along with Larry Dodge in Montana and Dick Randolph in Alaska—is being played up by New Right columnist Kevin Phillips. Dick Jacobs is the LP's gubernatorial nominee in Michigan; his campaign is a sell-out of libertarian principles.

Mention in Phillips's nationally syndicated column is said to be proof of our "moving up in the world," as one Crane Machine apologist put it to me. Of our "making the big time." Of our "busting up the two-party monopoly." How can success be far behind with the Alan Barons and Kevin Phillipses of the world tailing after us? How can we possibly fall on our face with these "big-time" boys beating the drum on our behalf?

Easily. The Jacobs campaign, even at this early stage, is rapidly sinking into the quagmire of sell-out opportunism. I'm afraid we're even deeper than we imagined into our worst nightmare if the Jacobs campaign here in Michigan is symptomatic of what is occurring around the country. A complete disaster for principled libertarianism is in the

making unless many voices are raised in protest—and fast.

Many of the most important 1982 campaigns at the state level promise to be bastardized repeats of the 1980 Presidential atrocity. As odious elements again rear their ugly heads, the time has arrived for all good, principled libertarians to speak out. A strange new phenomenon can now be discerned—Cranial trickle-down. The Cranial chicanery of 1980 is seeping down to work its paralyzing effect on principle at the state level. This Cranial trickle-down is turning out to be the hallmark of all too many 1982 LP campaigns.

DAY ONE: THE SELL-OUT BEGINS

MICHIGAN IS IN the midst of a Depression. Crime is on the increase, and public school systems are collapsing. Surely this is an ideal time for our unique analysis to be explained. Right? Wrong.

One need look no further than the Jacobs campaign's kick-off press conference, held in Lansing on January 21, to discover signs of sell-out. In a slyly worded statement to the assembled media, Jacobs stated that his campaign would focus on "reviving Michigan's sagging economy, cutting government

spending, repealing business taxes, fighting crime, and cleaning up the environment."

Well, well, who is against any of the above? Not me; I'm for these policies. I'm also for apple pie.

The problem is that by being deliberately vague, by being all things to all listeners, Jacobs has lost his chance to present the uniquely libertarian perspective. (In fact, when he's clear, Jacobs isn't always so libertarian either. Witness his support for child support laws and mandatory wheelchair-access laws.) Jacobs is sounding like every other politician; he's no longer able to give the public the libertarian vision of a free society.

And why the insertion of the buzzwords "fighting crime," which, as some of us know all too well, have a special meaning to repressive law-and-order conservative types? Whatever happened to safeguards for the criminally accused, judicial reform, and victimless crimes?

And why the choice of "cleaning up the environment," a slogan dear to the heart of many a liberal or leftist? What became of property rights as the solution to pollution?

In their defense, the Jacoboids scream that "yes, yes, we're for all of that other stuff too." But if this is so, why wasn't any of "that other stuff" emphasized? Why do all of the newspapers across the state report the above statement? Is this any way to kick off a libertarian campaign?

This repulsive statement destroyed Jacobs's perfect opportunity to present our unique approach to the public. This was it. And all we, and the non-libertarian public, received were rapid remarks and evasion.

Jacobs isn't the only Michigan LP candidate to be seriously misleading. The television news story on the state LP convention in Romulus, carried on the local NBC affiliate, contained the following strange definition of the LP's stance by U.S. Senate candidate Bette Erwin:

"Our party combines the best of the Democratic and Republican philosophies." Stop. Cut.

What do you suppose that muddled statement really meant? My younger brother Steve, who had recently come to take an interest in libertarianism, shook his head slowly as he watched the

Libertarian VANGUARD

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Editor Scott M. Olmsted
Editorial Board Bill Evers, Eric Garris, Colin Hunter,
Scott Olmsted, Justin Raimondo, Murray Rothbard

news program. "Do you mean to tell me *that* is what I've come to be interested in?" he angrily badgered me in disbelief "What have you been hiding? Is this really a hybrid?"

In the past, I had come to expect some problems from Erwin. After all, she doesn't believe that taxation is theft. And she has been known to defend some coercion (for example, her support while an LP candidate of a compulsory bottle deposit bill). But this? What was this? And on TV?

THE DARK HORSE

JACOBS, IN HIS traipsing about Michigan, has waxed eloquent about his "dark horse candidacy" and his "outside chance." Steve Furr, running for lieutenant governor, claims that "only 800,000 votes in a 4-way race" would push Dick into the governor's mansion.

At the heart of the campaign is the Jacobs Amendment [see "Brickbats & Bouquets," *Libertarian Vanguard*, June, 1982]. In addition to cutting the income tax by a piddling 15%, the amendment abolishes the single business tax and requires a referendum on future proposed tax increases. But funding to state-run public education is locked in place.

There is considerable opposition to the Jacobs Amendment within the Michigan party. At the February State Central Committee meeting, Larry Kulp of Kalamazoo introduced a resolution to rescind the LPM's partial endorsement of the amendment. Kulp and others took exception to the language in the measure protecting funding for public education. They argued that the LPM's partial endorsement could lead to the Jacobs Amendment being taken for an actual LPM proposal.

Jacobs argued that the language protecting state funding for education was necessary to prevent a tax increase or a tax shift. (I might add, however, that with interviewers Jacobs shows off a letter from the Grand Blanc Board of Education endorsing his amendment. Could it be that concern for the votes of public school employees has led to the entrenching of public school spending?)

The Kulp proposal was narrowly defeated, but a compromise proposal by Brian Wright of Birmingham passed. The SCC rescinded its endorsement,

while remaining on record as supporting the tax-cutting aspects of the measure.

Overlooked in the furor over the Jacobs Amendment was the anti-tax amendment being proposed by Citizens Against Taxation (C.A.T.). The C.A.T. amendment would go much further than merely cutting taxes—it would abolish taxes. The proposed amendment reads:

"No tax shall be imposed by the state or any of its political subdivisions. . . . The revenue of the state and its political subdivisions shall only come from—(1) gifts, (2) lotteries, (3) interest, (4) criminal fines, (5) court costs to the extent that the state or political subdivision prevails in court, (6) the sale of public assets, (7) federal aid, (8) the sale of publicly produced goods and services, and (9) borrowing."

Despite the fact that some government monopolies remain in place under the C.A.T. amendment, the amendment stands as a shining example of anti-tax radicalism. It provides a sharp contrast to the timid pseudo-reforms put forth in the Jacobs Amendment.

Not surprisingly, C.A.T. is headed by a tax rebel, libertarian activist Lynn Johnson. According to friends of hers on the SCC, Lynn soured on the party, for obvious reasons. Here is C.A.T. toiling away while the state LP offers ultra-reformist panaceas.

In addition, the state LP finds itself in a position that should be embarrassing. It is weaker in opposing taxes than the C.A.T. people. Murray Rothbard once wrote (concerning the 1980 Presidential campaign):

"Libertarians are nothing if not anti-taxation, and it is therefore our duty to take the lead in pushing for 'drastic' (as the platform calls it) cuts in taxation, pointing towards its eventual abolition. It therefore behooves us never to allow ourselves to be outflanked by other groups; never to allow any other group to be more libertarian than the LP on taxation."

And yet that is what has happened in Michigan. The LP has been surpassed by the C.A.T.'s proposal for abolishing taxes. And C.A.T. isn't alone in outflanking the LP. Robert Tisch, a populist version of Howard Jarvis, is back again—this time with two proposed amendments. One would cut property taxes,

while the other would convert the Michigan legislature from a full-time to a part-time operation. Tisch has been viewed in the past as *the* tax-cut rebel in the state. He had Michigan's political establishment shaking in their shoes in 1978 and 1980 with his "Jaws I" and "Jaws II" amendments, both of which went down to defeat. This year Tisch is running for governor on the ticket of his newly formed "Tisch Independent Citizens Party."

The possibility also exists that Republican voters will nominate a tax-cut advocate in the primary. Richard Headlee, a pro-business Mormon who wants a crackdown on "degenerates," is widely remembered for his 1978 tax-lid amendment to the state constitution. There exists here a golden opportunity for Michigan libertarians to distinguish themselves as the most radical opponents of taxes and as the only political group which combines opposition to taxes with support for full civil liberties. Will Michigan Libertarian candidates seize the opportunity? Not if they follow the path blazed thus far by Dick Jacobs.

THE JACOBS APPROACH

THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN Jacobs has had trouble explaining to the public how libertarians differ from Reagan Republicans. His usual answer is to say that Libertarians are Reagan Republicans who mean what they say. Jacobs's new brochure (printed in June), for which a distribution of 500,000 copies is planned for the fall, omits all mention of civil liberties issues.

In addition, by holding himself out as a responsible, "good government" candidate, basically running to win, Jacobs has sold libertarian ideals down the river. Listen to how Jacobs comes across in a typical newspaper article:

"Among his suggested cuts are elimination of some state workers starting at the top with the executive branch and possible elimination of the state Department of Natural Resources and state welfare programs. He also advocates freezing state employee salaries. . . ."

"He also advocates reducing licensing requirements for persons wishing to start new businesses in the state, particularly small businesses, and reducing regulations which he believes hamper businesses already in operation.

"He believes workmen's compensa-

Militarism Watch

Hummel versus Dunn: Debate Over Disarmament

by Sheldon Richman

tion and unemployment compensation rates in Michigan need to be more competitive with other states and the definition of disability is currently too broad."

This is a lily-livered, cowardly mish-mash. It is not a bold standard to which the wise and honest will repair. It is a disgrace to the noble and honorable cause of Liberty.

Have I been too harsh on Dick? Perhaps I overdid it? I think not. There can be no let-up when it comes to exposing the ignoring or diluting of our principles. All good radicals must keep pressure on the Jacobs campaign, to push it back on a principled path. Michigan radicals must resolve to remain active in the campaign as a "conscience." We must argue and dispute with the Jacoboids every time there is a let-up on principle.

We must beware of the sectarian trap pushed by some of our "drop-outs," our "principled" non-voters and "sit-outs." In their haste they overlook one big fact: The Revolution isn't just around the corner. It must be built up, be created—and their sectarianism cannot assist us in that task.

There are long months remaining in the campaign. Dick M. Jacobs will be traveling across our state promoting our party—the party we've worked so long and hard to build. We have to do our best to ensure that he promotes our party's principles.

If we fail to make this effort we will see a repeat of the debacle of 1980, when, for the sake of party unity, we restrained ourselves and stifled our cries of warning. Let us not be taken in by these apologists' pleas for "Unity! Unity!" Let us respond to this by replying: "Unity for Principle, Demise for Deceit." Otherwise our ideals will be washed away in a torrent of Cranial trickle-down.

If we succeed, Dick will come across as a real libertarian radical, and an updated critique of his campaign won't be necessary. He will shine when compared with all the Tisches and Headlees. In this way we can preserve our principled LP.

And our future freedom. □

Are You Moving?

Please send us *both* your old address and your new address so you won't miss an issue.

Editor's Note: This is the first column in a new department in *Libertarian Vanguard*. We plan in "Militarism Watch" to provide regular coverage by Jeff Hummel and Sheldon Richman of military issues with emphasis on controversies about these issues within the libertarian movement.

IN WHAT SOME considered the confrontation of the year, unilateral disarmament advocate Jeffrey Rogers Hummel debated *American Defense* newsletter editor Michael Dunn at the recent Students for a Libertarian Society convention in Madison, Wisconsin.

For some time, Hummel and Dunn have carried on a fierce exchange over the issues of disarmament and nuclear deterrence in letters and articles in *Libertarian Review*, *Caliber*, *Individual Liberty*, and *Free Texas*. Dunn, moreover, has extended his attack against Hummel (and against your humble columnist) in his newsletter, published by the Libertarian Defense Caucus, formerly the Adequate Defense Caucus.

Hummel opened the session by noting that deterrence is not defense and that there is no defense against nuclear weapons if the Soviet Union wants to destroy the United States. All policies entail risk, he said. He set out to compare the risks of disarmament and deterrence. The worst outcome of disarmament—a Soviet conquest of the American people—is not so bad as a nuclear war, in which fifty to seventy-five percent of the U.S. population would be wiped out in even a "victory." On the other hand, the best outcome of nuclear disarmament—genuine peace—is better than deterrence's best outcome: an ongoing arms race.

Hummel further argued that the best outcome of disarmament is more likely than the best outcome of deterrence and that disarmament's worst outcome is less likely than deterrence's worst outcome. He said that Soviet nuclear blackmail is unlikely if there is complete free trade because in such an eventuality, the Soviets would turn to more pressing problems.

In dealing with a potential Soviet conquest, he said that all states depend on their being accepted as legitimate by the populace and that this places constraints on their activities. Foreign conquest is also subject to limits, Hummel said. It can be accomplished only when a minority is overwhelmed by sheer numbers or where the conquered are persuaded of the legitimacy of the conquerors. Neither would apply in an attempted Soviet conquest of the United States.

Deterrence, he said, starts with the notion that nuclear war is unthinkable, but it by nature habituates people to the point where it becomes thinkable.

Turning to his general principle, Hummel argued that proponents of "strong national defense" fail to realize that brute force does not rule the world. "Ideas do," he said. "If you change people's ideas, you change the direction in which they point their weapons." He closed by saying that national defense is not a special problem but a subset of the problem of how to defend against any state.

Dunn's opening statement recalled the horrors of the U.S. bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and spoke of his personal stake in avoiding a nuclear war. (His job at Boeing, he said, is near a presumed Soviet target.) Noting that the purpose of a libertarian society is freedom and that each person has a right to engage in self-defense, Dunn said that all defense entails the possibility of harming innocents. Bullets can ricochet, for example. While one should try to avoid "collateral casualties," superior strength should be available to ward off aggression. Besides, the lives of Soviet people rank lower than the freedom of Americans, he said.

"U.S. defense without nuclear weapons would be a pitiful thing," he added. He said that Afghanistan demonstrates that it takes only two percent of Soviet troops to subdue one hundred percent of a foreign population. He said that there would be no end to a Soviet conquest.

Rejecting the targeting of civilians, he endorsed "counterforce" (targeting of Russian missile silos and military installations). Nuclear weapons, he said, are the only means of defending freedom and can be used in accordance with libertarian principles. "If we throw them away, we throw everything away."

In rebutting Hummel, Dunn said that a Soviet attack would kill fifty million, not one hundred million, and that Europe recovered from its loss of fifty-five million in World War II. In contrast, he said that the Bolsheviks killed sixty to eighty million in conquering Russia. He denied that Soviet rule requires legitimacy. He dismissed the possibility of a revolution by Americans against Soviet rulers, saying that severe retaliation against the first revolutionary act would stifle resistance.

Hummel, in his rebuttal, said that the state does not defend freedom, as Dunn asserted, but rather it defends its own existence and its own territorial integrity. In rejecting a Soviet military threat, he scoffed at the devil model of a diabolical leader who acts without constraints based on the ideology of the people. To illustrate the power of ideology (used broadly to mean people's implicit world-view), he noted that the popular explanations for the U.S. defeat in Vietnam are ideological. Whether one believes that the U.S. lost because the Vietnamese people rejected the U.S.-backed government, or because the domestic peace movement undermined the will to win, these are ideological explanations for why the mighty U.S. government was ignominiously beaten by a pipsqueak country.

Dunn insisted that while ideas are important in the long run, without force to back them up, there is no defense.

I watched this debate not as a detached observer but as a Hummel partisan. Indeed, Hummel will share this column's byline in the future. Yet I think it can fairly be said that Dunn's case is simplistic and unsophisticated. For one thing, it is based on bad history, being totally uninformed by Cold War (and World War II) revisionism. It is unsophisticated in its adamant rejection of Hummel's point about the dominance of ideology. As Hummel has pointed out elsewhere, a threatening state is not analogous to a bully in a schoolyard, though this analogy guides Dunn's anal-

ysis. A state is an elite lording it over a mass of people who are potential allies of the state's adversaries. So both the analysis and the policy prescription must be more subtle and intricate than Dunn's.

Dunn also refuses to face Hummel's challenge regarding the U.S. government. If brute force is what counts, shouldn't libertarians be preparing to defend against the U.S. government's nuclear arsenal? If we seek ideological defense against the U.S. state, why shouldn't the same be called for against the Soviet state? It is not enough for Dunn to repeat that the Soviet rulers are Marxists who believe that they will someday rule the world.

Dunn has also failed to come to grips

with the mess deterrence leaves us in. During the debate, he praised deterrence for giving us thirty-five years of relative peace. But he must respond to Hummel's challenging point that deterrence has a negative dynamic about it that makes nuclear war more thinkable as we go along. We have seen "mutual assured destruction" turn into both "flexible response" and "nuclear war-fighting capability" in those thirty-five years. That is a dubious recommendation for the status quo.

In sum, Dunn has merely reiterated the prevailing military orthodoxy. Hummel has challenged this with some of the most refreshing and innovative thinking in the movement—make that "anywhere"—today. □

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Brickbats & Bouquets

- A **BRICKBAT** to Mike Tanchek for his editorial in the May/June issue of *The Porcupine*, the publication of the Montana LP. Tanchek attempts to distinguish local politics from other levels, declaring that "community politics is oriented toward personal participation, self-reliance, and problem-solving... [W]e should... allow people in communities to find their own level of acceptable government... Community politics is politics on a human scale. Toeing the party line isn't as critical when the individual can have a real effect on the system." In the communities we know well, politics means zoning neighborhood stores out of business, closing down "adult" bookstores, soaking the local "tax base," prohibiting handgun ownership, and imposing rent controls. But maybe these communities have found an acceptable level of government...
- A **BOUQUET** to Hans Sennholz for his article "Free Markets in Chile" that appeared in *The Freeman*, May 1982. Sennholz notes that the right-wing junta has restored some of the features of the market order abolished by the Allende regime while preserving, with minor variations, the basic political order of taxation, redistribution, and irreconcilable social conflict. His excellent article is a good example of how one can register approval when some progress in a libertarian direction is made somewhere, while remaining properly critical of unlibertarian aspects that remain...
- A **BRICKBAT** to convention program chair Larry Pino for inviting Charles Reese to the recent 10th Annual Convention of the Libertarian Party of Florida. A nationally syndicated columnist, Reese's topic was "Defense Posture: Are Libertarians On Target?" He advocated use of the U. S. Navy's "projections of power" to force countries to trade with us, a massive buildup of U. S. nuclear arms to counter the Soviet overkill capacity (!), covert operations expansion to overthrow "unfriendly" regimes and assassinate their leaders, and reimposition of the draft. A **BOUQUET** to newly elected LPF Chair Alan Turin for his candid report on this and other events of the convention in *Common Sense*, the LPF newsletter... A late report has it that Larry Pino has joined the Young Republicans...
- A **BOUQUET** to LPRC activist and newly-elected Florida Vice-Chair Diane Pilcher for initiating and organizing petition drives to get herself, Alan Turin, and another candidate on the ballot as candidates for the Florida state legislature. Pilcher and Turin had the courage and commitment to ignore the pessimistic attitude on campaigns held by the old-time leaders of the FLP.
Despite ballot access laws requiring signatures of at least three percent of the voters in a district, Pilcher, of Orlando, Turin, of Miami, and Jerry Nyren, of Jacksonville, were

able to qualify in less than a month. Pilcher collected over 1200 signatures in a district of only 29,000 registered voters.

For more information, contact Pilcher at 637 W. Princeton, No. 2, Orlando, FL 32804.

- A **BOUQUET** to Jeff Hummel for his stirring speech at an SLS anti-draft rally, July 11, in Madison, Wisconsin. Hummel argued that opposing the draft is truly patriotic and in the finest American tradition—in doing so he showed how effective use can be made of American cultural values in arguing for libertarian ideals...
- What is the savvy New Right group, National Conservative Political Action Committee, up to in supporting Dick Randolph's Alaska campaign? We don't know. But the one reason given us by NCPAC chief Terry Dolan, a strong proponent of U. S. intervention overseas, is that he approves of Randolph's stance on military spending and America's military posture. A **BRICKBAT** to Randolph—if he's not upsetting NCPAC by his position on U. S. military policy, he's not doing his job as a Libertarian candidate...
- Howie Rich, Chairman of *Campaign 82*, recently distributed a memo by Eric O'Keefe, LP National Director, on the subject of campaign issues. In it, O'Keefe suggests that candidates only make proposals that could be implemented in the near term. Says O'Keefe, "Of course the proposals should be radical, but they should be proposals which could conceivably be passed next year." If we read O'Keefe right, he is saying to LP candidates, "Don't propose it if you can't imagine a majority of Demopublican legislators voting for it next year!" O'Keefe also claims that repealing the income tax is "impractical" and shouldn't be brought up as an issue. A **BRICKBAT** to him for suggesting such timidity as correct campaign strategy. For those who doubt the importance of making the electorate aware of our overall program and goals, may we suggest reading Murray Rothbard's paper on strategy, advertised elsewhere in this issue...
- The Manhattan Institute for Policy Research (dedicated to "imparting a better understanding of the market and its institutions") held a symposium in June, 1981, on "The Future of the Arts in an Era of Reduced Federal Spending," featuring six prominent cultural commentators. Writing in *The Intellectual Activist* (August 1981) attendee Leonard Peikoff described this sorry affair in which not one of the speakers came out against subsidies or for the market in principle. A Manhattan Institute official revealed afterward that his policy is "marginalism"—attacking government policies only at the point where he and the non-capitalist audience meet, hoping gradually to extend the area of agreement until one day his group

could come out fully for capitalism. A **BOUQUET** to Peikoff for ripping "marginalism" to shreds in a report that deserves wider attention...

- A **BRICKBAT** to Ted Brown for using his editorship of the Los Angeles newsletter of the California Libertarian Council, *Liberal-Cal*, to unendorse its candidate for Lt. Governor, John Vernon. Brown included a brochure and ran a half-page ad for candidate B. J. Wegener and neglected to mention that Vernon was the endorsed candidate. By an odd coincidence, Brown was mentioned in the brochure as having endorsed Wegener, the only CLC member in L. A. County to be so named...
- The LP National Office periodically sends out a collage of news clippings about libertarian candidates, and though reduced in size, most are still readable. In the latest such group two **BRICKBATS** are evident: Larry Dodge of Montana exempts national parks and wilderness areas from public lands to be privatized because they are "such choice plums," and Ted Carson of Alaska declares "the courts have generally been entirely too lenient in sentencing." Is *this* what libertarianism is coming to in Alaska—a call for "law and order"?
- You can often identify a true politician by the vague statements he makes on difficult issues, so we're annoyed by Dick Randolph's claim in a letter to the newsletter of *Libertarian Parents for Children's Rights* that "Children have the right to be protected from abuse or deprivation [sic] of any kind, mental or physical..." Does this mean the parents must not forgo *any* expense in giving the child everything, or what? A **BRICKBAT** for this waffle on an issue where libertarian principle clearly contradicts what Randolph seems to want this particular audience to hear...
- A **BOUQUET** to Ed Crane for his review of *Nuclear War: What's In It For You?* in the May, 1982 *Update*. The book's authors are Roger C. Molander and Earl A. Molander, the organizers of Ground Zero Week. Crane notes that the book is a good introduction to the debate over the nuclear arms issue, although its historical perspective is flawed...
- Minnesota U. S. Senate candidate Fred Hewitt should read the above-mentioned book before he calls again for the U. S. to develop an ABM capability against Soviet missiles. While making foreign policy the main issue of his campaign (a laudable choice), Hewitt mars an otherwise sound set of policy recommendations with this technologically infeasible and strategically unsound proposal, which merits a **BRICKBAT**, launched without warning. Marc Joffe of the New York University Libertarian Students Association shares the **BRICKBAT** for claiming in their journal *Comment* that the U. S. is

currently capable of building a satellite that could destroy Soviet missiles soon after lift-off and urging that this be done....

● A **BOUQUET** to Alaska Libertarian legislator Ken Fanning for sponsoring a law to bar cities from regulating or taxing firearms. Alaska legislators passed the law shortly before adjourning in June....

● A **BRICKBAT** to the "Liberty Slate," which ran for the Rochester (Minnesota) City Council in May, for their support of zoning laws. The slate's candidates—John Voskuil and Rob Chamberlin—wrote in their brochure that "the original purpose of zoning was the protection of neighborhoods," and that the city council "should guard against arbitrary changes or applications of zoning laws"....

● A **BOUQUET** to Jeff Friedman of Brown University SLS for an article entitled "Poland: The Failure of Socialism." Writing in the May, 1982, issue of *Spectrum*, the "Political-Economic Journal of Brown University," Friedman effectively uses the Polish tragedy to demonstrate for Brown student readers the impossibility of achieving social and economic progress through central planning....

● A **BRICKBAT** to Robert Wilson for his article on "privatizing" roads and highways in the April/May *Minnesota Libertarian*. Declaring that "an implicit contract exists between the American people and their government which allows it to collect taxes" and that "selling the highways to a party that will doubtless set up tollways is a good way to get ourselves screwed," Wilson cooks up a complex, unlibertarian scheme by which taxpayers vote on highway "by-laws." Well, we vote to sell the roads to the highest bidder, with the proceeds returned to the taxpayers. Implicit contracts are made to be broken....

● A **BOUQUET** to Minnesota LP Treasurer Jack Ardoyno for his testimony on drug paraphernalia before the Criminal Justice Committee of the Minnesota House of Representatives. In fine radical fashion, Ardoyno noted both the injustice and the bad results these laws produce....

● A **BRICKBAT** to Tom Glass for writing recently in *Free Texas* that libertarians need to be positive. By this he means that libertarians should not merely oppose, say, a bond issue for a municipal stadium, but rather should form a corporation to build a private stadium. Another **BRICKBAT** for his feeble attempt to invoke Austrian economics—with its accent on individual action—in the defense of this diversion from the libertarian cause....

● **BRICKBATS** to David Henderson, former Cato Institute staff economist, and Jennifer Roback, Yale economics professor, who is active in the Connecticut Libertarian Party. During a foreign policy debate at the Connecticut LP convention in June between

LP vice chairman Sheldon Richman and New York LP chairman Gary Greenberg, Henderson endorsed taxation for the present because "I don't think we can defend ourselves against the Soviets without it." Roback joined in by saying she could conceive of circumstances under which taxation and the draft would be preferable to some unspecified catastrophe. When the crowd began mumbling in discomfort, she said defensively, "Hey, I'm a libertarian." She also said she would never repeat her position to a non-libertarian audience. Henderson said he couldn't go along with Roback on the draft because "it's inefficient."

● **FOOTNOTE** for movement historians: It was the insistence of Ed Crane and Roy Childs in 1979 that David Henderson be hired as Cato's staff economist that sparked the still persisting disagreements in the libertarian movement between the Crane elements and the Rothbard elements. Henderson is now part of the Reagan administration. Murray Rothbard, Bill Evers, and David Theroux, who each objected to Henderson's hiring at Cato, were subsequently purged from Cato by Crane....

● Another **BRICKBAT** to Greenberg for endorsing U.S. government intervention in other countries so long as it is on the side of "pro-freedom" governments or groups. He attacked nonintervention as "traditionalist" on the grounds that it calls on the United States government to extend de facto recognition to all governments and respect national boundaries. Richman replied that noninterventionism is justified because it keeps mischievous governments from clashing, not because boundaries deserve any respect. Greenberg and Roback both charged that de facto recognition implied moral support of foreign governments by the American people. A **BOUQUET** to Richman for reminding them that *government* neutrality in no way diminishes the people's ability to morally judge all governments....

● **HORSELAUGH** of the Month goes to Ed Crane for his attempt at a book review of Leonard Peikoff's *The Ominous Parallels in Update*. The only occasion on which Crane has done something more laughable was the time he called himself a "feminist"....

● Funny **COINCIDENCE** Department: On June 8, 1982, *The Wall Street Journal* ran an exposé on who gets subsidies from the Small Business Administration. This article was then summarized in the July 1982 issue of *Tax Action Report*, the newsletter of the Crane Machine's National Taxpayers Legal Fund. But, interestingly enough, the summary neglected to mention that Federal Express—whose chairman Fred Smith has been touted by the Crane Machine as a possible 1984 LP Presidential candidate—is one of the companies listed in the article as having been subsidized by the SBA. A

BRICKBAT to Tax Action Report editor Jule Herbert for this oversight....

● Speaking of government money... the Koch Refining Company received a \$6.3 million contract from the U.S. Department of Defense recently. A **BRICKBAT** to Charles Koch for that one....

● A **BRICKBAT** to the Cato Institute for one flaw in an otherwise **BOUQUET**-worthy Policy Analysis by Thomas Moore on the re-regulation of the transportation industry. While opposing antitrust laws when applied to otherwise free markets, Moore notes that entry into the maritime industry is strictly controlled by the U.S. and foreign governments. To him this means that "no exemption from the antitrust laws for collusion is appropriate." Libertarians should never support *more* regulation as an antidote to current regulations, *even if* current regulations result in a privileged group....

● A **BOUQUET** to Tom Palmer for his April 15 op-ed piece in *The New York Times*. Palmer argues clearly and forthrightly that taxation is theft. He stresses that tax collection is backed up by threats of armed force. He attacks the "drapery of consent" that is "wrapped around taxation to make it appear no different from the voluntary purchase of, say, a clock radio"....

● A **BRICKBAT** to *Inquiry* publisher Chris Hocker for his article in the August issue of that magazine in which he maintains that Ted Kennedy is the third most libertarian member of the U.S. Senate. We thought Kennedy-worship was simply a misleading symbolism that Hocker and Ed Crane used during the Clark campaign, but apparently it lingers on....

● A **BOUQUET** for Graham Smith for his excellent 1981 article, "Laissez-Faire and the Closed Shop," in *Free Life*, the journal of Britain's Libertarian Alliance. Smith indicates that the law should be neutral about closed shops, neither for nor against them. Libertarians maintain that an employee can be fired—if and only if this is in accord with the employee's contract—for belonging to a union, for not belonging to a union, or because the boss doesn't like the color of your eyes. Thus the existence of closed shops is a consequence of liberty; of contract. Most importantly, Smith gives a thorough critique of Hayek's shaky notion of coercion and how it leads to the wrong conclusion about the treatment of closed shops by the law....

● A **BRICKBAT** to British libertarian John Blundell for including in a listing of British libertarians (published in the February 1982 *Institute Scholar*) the names of Michael Oakeshott and Shirley Robin Letwin. Letwin, after all, is the author of an article, "Why I am not a Libertarian," published by the conservative Heritage Foundation. She is also one of the world's few living pro-

ponents of the views of Thomas Hobbes, the famous seventeenth-century advocate of might-makes-right. Oakeshott is a traditionalist of the most extreme variety...

● A **BRICKBAT** to the Libertarian Alliance in Britain for its aid to the Russian fascist emigré organization, Narodno Trudovoi Soiuz (NTS). The self-proclaimed ideology of this organization is "solidarism" (See Mises's attack on solidarism in *Socialism*). The NTS is not very open about its views these days, but what it wants is Mussolini-style corporatism. The NTS is explicitly hostile to liberal institutions and values. It promotes Great Russian nationalism. It claims that libertarianism leads to "economic anarchy." For a good discussion of NTS's ideology, see George Fischer's book *Soviet Opposition to Stalin*. The assistance that the Libertarian Alliance is giving to NTS is reported in the June 1982 issue of the British publication *Searchlight*. While it could have given a fuller account of NTS's differences with the Nazis, the article's contentions that NTS cooperated with the Germans during World War II and with the CIA after the war are essentially accurate...

● The biggest **BRICKBAT** we can find goes this month to Harvard philosophy professor Robert Nozick, who signed a pro-Israel ad in the July 11 *New York Times*. The ad describes the Israeli invasion of Lebanon as an effort by Israelis to defend their country. It also calls for the United States government to become a "full partner" involved in the post-invasion settlement...

● Another **BRICKBAT** to Nozick for his adoption of a paternalist stance unbecoming a libertarian theorist. Nozick is lately in favor of preventing those trying to commit suicide from carrying out their wishes. We have to ask Nozick, as the recent play and film title asks: Whose life is it anyway?...

Steiger

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Later in the interview, Steiger also comes out for the educational voucher plan (which he identifies as "not Libertarian") and for a flat rate tax in Arizona.

Libertarian Party candidates *must* take a libertarian stance on the issues, otherwise there is no point in having a Libertarian Party. Nothing will send a more effective signal to any politician—domestic or foreign—who seeks to tyrannize the American people than the abolition of the draft system as part of a self-conscious, militant struggle of the people for their liberty. Nothing is more certain to ensure that we never obtain our liberty than deference to every war scare and foreign devil manufactured in the lie factories of Washington, D. C. This is the message that Libertarian candidates should bring to the American

public. We hope to be hearing it soon in Arizona.

Late Bulletin:

At the Billings, Montana, National Committee meeting, LPRC Central Committee member Bill Evers introduced a resolution criticizing LP spokespersons for pro-draft statements. After several ballots on Evers's resolution (and on amendments to it), the LNC was unable to agree to a resolution on this matter.

O'Keefe Fired

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O'Keefe's memo insists that LP candidates should talk to voters only about changes that could realistically be accomplished within one year's time. The memo also says that LP candidates must present to the voters a libertarian budget of government spending. This is in contrast to the LPRC approach of always criticizing and never embracing government spending.

Other recent positions of O'Keefe's include instructing LP candidates not to call for abolition of the income tax and opposing National Office aid to internal education programs within the party.

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