

LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD

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The Rise of Radicalism



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The Libertarian Vanguard

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Anna Mosashvili, Editor-In-Chief

It was a bold move. Two continents, dozens of countries, and an ocean were crossed to make it. When I was fourteen I decided I did not like where I was living, so I took the necessary actions to change this. Those actions brought me over six thousand miles from Georgia (the country not the state) to a sleepy little one-horse town in Iowa. It was equal parts terrifying and exciting. My family, my first language, my foundations, I left it all behind on a scholarship to come to the US as a student ambassador. I was to travel around the country and give speeches to organizations as varied as universities, rotary clubs, and elementary schools with a mission to begin the healing of relationships between the US and former Soviet republics. I quickly realized that despite some surface cultural differences, on a more fundamental level, people here and people there are very much alike.

As the years went on, the honeymoon period passed and I began to see some things about America that I did not expect. Some things that were, however, quite familiar. As some of you may not know, the country I left was a part of the recently

dissolved Soviet Union. The Evil Empire was still very much alive. How could there be any similarities between the USSR and the USA? You see, the USSR was infamous for petty bureaucracy deeply ingrained in every daily aspect of existence. The name itself, if translated literally, means "The Union of Committee-Run Socialist Republics." Years later, I came up with an expression "the world is run and ruined by committees". My experience here in the US was not much different. Seemingly simple and straightforward tasks such as getting a drivers license or a social security number were monumentally tedious and intrusive. Going to the hospital for a sprained ankle, even with excellent insurance, was a twelve-hour ordeal of sitting in the waiting room and filling out endless questionnaires. I was sure that that experience was an anomaly, but when I passionately complained about it the next day, no one seemed surprised. It turned out that is a routine part of the process of receiving healthcare. The average person in the Soviet Union wasn't sent to gulags or starving, but they did suffer a lack of opportunity and options at the behest of the bureaucratic state, and more and more the average American seemed to be suffering the same fates I thought I had escaped.

Growing up, I was always involved in and often initiating organizational endeavors such as student government, putting on competitions, plays, social awareness campaigns, and so on. Naturally, I sought to find my political home in my new country. This turned out to be a difficult and lengthy process. Being entirely unimpressed with the faux virtue of the Democrats, the rigid social controls of the Republicans, and the blatant hypocrisies expounded by both, I thought of myself as an independent. I had heard of the Libertarian Party, but never gave it much consideration as it appeared to be a fringe movement of little real world consequence. It was years later that a friend took me to a Libertopia convention, where my original views of the Libertarian Party began to change. I met a long time activist and writer named Sharon Presley with whom I stayed in touch and who invited me to work on a project of hers. Through Sharon, I met other "old timers" - libertarians who have been in the party since its inception. This led to me eventually joining the party. Within months of officially joining the LP, I found my way to the Radical Caucus, and it has been my home ever since.

The Radical Caucus platform was and is libertarianism to me. It represents an unwavering dedication to the principles that the Libertarian Party was founded on, and I believe a world more in line with these principles would be a more beautiful and just world. If only people knew about it... Last year, I was driving home from the California LP convention when I was overcome with a sadness. All the lights, all the cars and buildings and people, most of them have never even heard of the Libertarian Party. I want for this to change. The Radical Caucus wants the same. For the past several years we have been producing educational materials to distribute not only at Libertarian Party events, but outside our circles as well. Education is one of the main goals of the Radical Caucus. Our ideas for a better world are sound and practical and our principles are just. People tend to like them once they've been exposed to them. We need to widen our reach. My and LPRC's goal with this publication is to do precisely that and I invite you, my fellow Libertarians, to join us in our effort.

Help us spread the message of liberty by
joining the Radical Caucus today!
<https://www.lpradicalcaucus.org/join>

OUR PLATFORM: THE ESSENTIAL LINK BETWEEN PRINCIPLES AND PEOPLE



Joe Dehn was LP National Secretary from 1989 to 1993 and has served as a member of platform committees at both the state and national level. He is currently chair of the LPRC's Platform Committee, as well as a candidate for Congress in California's 17th District.

The Libertarian Party has been developing and publishing platforms from the beginning. There was a temporary platform even before the first national convention, and subsequent versions of the national platform were for several decades all incremental derivations of that. And while there have been some more dramatic shifts in content and style in the past two decades, the platform remains one of our most important governing documents.

In spite of this long history, some Libertarians question why we even need a platform. We have our Statement of Principles – that should be enough, they say, to define what we are about. Or they say that it should be up to our candidates to address specific issues in more detail, because that's how the other parties do things.

However, the Libertarian Party was intended from the beginning to not be like other parties in this respect. We are not supposed to be merely a group of politicians with the common goal of being elected. Nor are we supposed to be a party with a loose and ever-shifting brand. The founders of our party envisioned it as an institution that would be *much more consistent*, both in terms of the positions taken by candidates at a given time and in terms of the stability of those positions over time, than either of the existing major parties.

Let's review why a platform is still important in fulfilling the vision of our type of party.

The Functions of a Platform

First of all, even though our Statement of Principles (SoP) serves an essential function in anchoring our positions on issues, the appropriate application of those principles to specific issues is far from obvious. This should be clear to anyone who has participated in platform debates during conventions. While some of that debate is more about how we express our positions than the positions themselves, there are a number of areas where there simply is not a consensus, among our members and delegates, about what the proper "libertarian position" should be.

And even when there is consensus, that still doesn't make the platform redundant, because that consensus can't necessarily be found in the Statement of Principles itself. *Several of the positions for which the LP is most well known* are not mentioned directly in the Statement of Principles. There is no mention, for example, of taxation, or the War on Drugs, or anything at all about foreign policy. We may see strong connections between language in the SoP and what are now considered standard Libertarian positions, but the positions themselves are not stated there. In addition, we can't rely on the fixed language of the SoP to adequately express our

positions to average voters because the popular meaning of various terms changes with time. Consider, for example, that the SoP contains the phrase "right to life", which is currently associated in most people's minds with a set of positions which very clearly does not correspond with a consensus view within the LP.

However, despite continuing disagreement about a few issues, there is in fact a consensus on a great many issues within the LP. It's useful to be able to document that fact, but we need something more than the SoP to do that job. These positions need to be recorded somewhere, using specific language. A platform is the way we do that.

The Importance of Having Documented Positions

Why, exactly, is it so important, even essential, to document these consensus positions? There are many reasons, all relating to another key feature of a political party – that it is as much about people as it is about ideas. Principles and positions can't implement themselves.

So the most basic way that a platform is useful is as a mechanism for maintaining the link between membership and ideas. We can't expect advocacy and implementation of our ideas from people who don't agree with them. Everything we do as a party depends on achieving and maintaining a consensus about our goals. That doesn't mean we all have to agree on absolutely everything, but since the whole point of creating a new party was to be an alternative to the overly broad and continually drifting coalitions that the Republicans and Democrats had become, with their consequent lack of commitment to the principles of liberty across the board, it is absolutely vital that we be able to maintain an ideological commitment among our membership, one that is both much more focused and much more persistent than is the case with those other parties. The platform helps us do that in three distinct ways.

First, it is the basis for recruitment, by allowing people whose views are already largely in line with our goals to see that the LP is the party for them. This does not mean, as some critics of the platform are fond of posing as a straw man argument, that sticking the text of the platform in front of prospective members is the best way to actually recruit them. Although doing exactly that will be effective for *some* prospective members, most new members will be brought in using other tools and processes, ranging from issue brochures, to campaign videos, to personal conversations with existing members. But the ideological consistency of the membership brought in through all of those mechanisms in turn depends on the consistency of the messages being delivered through them, for which the platform is the essential, underlying foundation.

Second, it is the basis for internal education. Most people who join us, even after they have formally become members and started contributing financially or as volunteers, will not have views fully consistent with our goals. In some cases they may have been attracted to the LP by our positions on only a few issues, or possibly even just one. But most of them will be able, if they are given the opportunity, to learn why our positions on other issues are the right ones. As with recruitment, while giving new members a copy of the platform itself and telling them to study it like a catechism may not be the ideal approach to internal education, the platform plays an essential part in maintaining the consistency of the message that new members will be getting in every other way.

And the *process of platform development*, the way we go about making changes to our platform, also plays a significant role in internal education. When members attend a convention and participate in debating and voting on platform amendments, they get an opportunity to consider libertarian perspectives on a wide variety of issues, some of which they may have never thought about before. Both the arguments presented and the way they get resolved can help these members increase their understanding of, and ultimately agreement with, the evolving consensus libertarian positions on those issues.

This sort of "learning by doing" is almost always more effective in imparting knowledge than mere study of a static text. Some members will of course be even more deeply involved in the process, by becoming members of a platform committee, which will give them an even stronger understanding of why we take the positions we do, which they can then use to help spread that understanding to other members outside the formal platform process.

Third, the platform helps preserve the ideological consistency of our membership by letting some people know that the LP is *not* for them, at least not yet. Of course we want to grow our membership, but that's only useful in the long run to the degree that people join us for the right reasons, because they agree with our principles and goals. To the degree that they don't, they will be less helpful in promoting and supporting what we are trying to do. And to the degree that they actually disagree with us they can hinder our progress. Helping people who actually disagree with us, either on a fundamental level or on a large number of specific issues, recognize that fact by comparing their own views, directly or indirectly, to what we say in our platform, even though it may hinder our effort to grow our numbers in the short term, helps our overall membership development process in the long run, through a process of self-selection.

Beyond those effects, the platform has special significance when members take on other roles. The most important example is that of candidates for public office. Like members generally, members who run for office are often motivated by, and are most familiar with, relatively few issues. But unlike members generally, it's often necessary for candidates to take public positions on other issues with which they are less familiar. It's an expected part of their role. And our members expect our candidates to take positions that are consistent with our principles, with our ideological "brand", *and* with the positions of other Libertarians running for office. A detailed platform is very helpful both for candidates who are trying to fulfill this important role and for members in deciding whom to support. The larger the number of issues on which a candidate or potential candidate agrees with the position stated in our platform, the more likely that person will support the views of most of our members, both currently and in the future.

But it's not just candidates. In many cases our party officers also play a role in presenting our ideas to the public, and our platform provides similar types of guidance to them. Other volunteer and paid staff may also serve officially or unofficially in this role. Tonie Nathan, our first candidate for Vice President who then went on to serve for many decades in various kinds of publicity and press relations positions within the party, often commented on the value of the platform in her work. When something came up in the news or she was asked a question by a reporter, even if it was something about which she personally knew very little, she almost always could come up with a statement that would be supported by party leaders and most members by checking the platform. She did not need to attempt to derive an appropriate position from first principles or wait for some committee to deliberate on the issue. In most cases something was already in the platform that she could quote directly, and when there wasn't then there were at least enough points in there about related issues that she could by interpolation come up with something that would make sense. Without a platform with that level of detail, it would not have been possible for her to do that kind of job.

Objections to a Detailed Platform

In spite of all of these reasons that make a clear and comprehensive platform essential, there are still some who object, saying we don't need one, or that if we have one it should be very different in form. Most of these arguments relate to the length of the document.

They say it is too long to read – that nobody will want to read it. That's not even true. Some people will want to read it. But it misses the critical point that it is not necessary for anybody to read the whole thing for it to serve the im-

portant functions outlined above. It can serve all of those functions even if people only refer to it part by part.

They say most people aren't interested even in reading small parts of it, because most people aren't interested in reading at all. They point out that most voters today, especially younger voters, get their information about politics from media that are not structured as plain text. That misses the critical point that the platform is not intended to stand alone as our only tool for marketing our positions. Of course we should be making use of many other kinds of tools, from live and recorded formal speeches to bumper stickers to podcasts to music videos to "meme" graphics to personal one-on-one conversations.

But we need a way to consistently *represent, compare, and amend* the positions on which all of those other styles of communication are based, and with which they must be consistent. Short of adopting some even more formal language, something akin to mathematical notation or a computer programming language, which even fewer people would be interested in reading, written English text remains the most effective tool for these kinds of tasks.

Finally, they say that spelling out detailed positions on a large number of specific topics has the effect of scaring people away, because it gives almost everyone some reason to not want to join us. As explained above, this is missing the big picture. We want people to join us who agree generally with our goals. Almost nobody agrees with every position of the other parties or any particular individual politician for that matter – and yet millions of people support them. The answer is not to make our ideas and their implications for specific laws and government programs harder to see. If we grow our numbers that way we will only be fooling ourselves. The only way we can make actual progress toward "a world set free in our lifetime" is by figuring out ways to get people to understand that it is the entire package that we offer, a package of more individual choice and less government control, that is better than the packages presented by other parties.

The Role of State Platforms

Some activists accept the usefulness of a platform, but question why we need more than just a national platform. Since our ideas are supposed to be universal, isn't one statement for the whole country enough? The answer is no, for many of the same reasons why we need a platform in the first place, and for at least one additional reason.

Issues can come up in a particular state – or even a particular city – that are not addressed in the national platform, and all the same advantages of being able to document our positions

SCATTERED REMINISCING OF A '60'S LIBERTARIAN...

by Marshall Beerwinkle

The 19th Century libertarian Voltarine de Cleyre said she believed that some people were just born predisposed to being a libertarian. That was just their natural state of being. I have often thought that about myself. And over the decades I have thought that about other libertarians I have encountered in person and in literature and other fields.

When I was 14 years old, in 1964, Lyndon Johnson was running for President. He campaigned that "he would never send your boys to Vietnam." But we already had boys in Vietnam from the Eisenhower era, expanding in the Kennedy era. In August 1964, based on a supposed second attack on an American destroyer that never happened – that the captain of the destroyer said never happened – the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was passed in the Senate giving the President power to use whatever force necessary in Southeast Asia. Some may object saying that is not what the resolution said, but that is exactly how it was used. My father, a career Army officer, received his orders in October for transfer to Okinawa. Under him were officers serving with the Green Berets in Vietnam.

But something else was happening at the same time, there started to be a nascent libertarian awakening in other areas of the country. This I did not discover until 1968 or '69, when I was out of high school, and started college. In the mid '60's, different libertarian publications started popping up. Where did all those libertarians come from, I wonder more and more. I have, for example most of the back issues of a publication called Innovator, that started out named Liberal Innovator, Liberal in the classical liberal sense of course. It ceased publication in 1969, but reviewing the back issues, one see themes that still resonate among libertarians today; the immorality of taxation, "retreatism" or going "off grid" as we would say today, attacks on censorship, leaving the country for freer countries, etc. One of the editors was Kerry Thornley, accused by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison as being the "second Oswald" and involved in the JFK Assassination! The unparalleled New Individualist Review was started at the University of Chicago in 1961, and all its issues can be found online, and even bought in a bound reprinted volume.

But some real action that libertarians involved themselves in was the Free Speech Movement at the University of California at Berkeley. I remember reading about it during November-December 1964. The tumultuous series of events that were part of the Free Speech Movement is too long to recite here. I will have to grossly oversimplify it. Clark Kerr, head of UC Berkeley, and a conventional '50's and '60's liberal, along with the Regents of the university, insisted on dictating who, what, and where speech could occur on the Berkeley campus. Students from a rainbow of ideologies, from various left wing groups to libertarians and conservatives, said "no." And so the picket lines and sit-ins began. Perhaps the very first student group with the word "libertarian" in its name was formed there. The Alliance of Libertarian Activists was formed in 1965. They were anti-draft, anti-war, pro-psychedelic drugs, anti-tax... well, you know the libertarian drill. One of the founders, Dan Rosenthal, was involved in something called the "filthy speech movement." Lenny Bruce had given a comedy concert at the University and it was deemed "obscene." (It is available on YouTube. One can imagine it offending a lot of the woke now.) The word "fuck" was not supposed to be used publicly at the university. So Rosenthal said he was going to order 1000 "Fuck Communism" placards. The steering committee of the Free Speech Movement had at least two libertarians on it. One was Mona Hutchin. She was known for wearing a button that said, "Extreme Right Winger." She is also personally responsible for ending the "men only rule" for riding the running boards of San Francisco trolleys. She decided she was going to ride one and ended up in police custody. Nothing came of that, in effect, for her, and the "men only rule" was quickly abolished.

Meanwhile, in 1965, I rode with my mother and sisters on a contract Continental jet to Okinawa. My father had left months before and had assumed his command, and he even did a brief visit to Vietnam. There were only a few dependents such as my family on board the jet. It was filled with Marines going to war. I sat with two young men. I won't forget them. They were from Philly. We talked about baseball and the things young guys talk about. For the next three years, I don't know how many young soldiers I met in Okinawa...either coming up from "down south" (Vietnam) or going there. The island had not yet reverted to Japan. At that time, Japan was recognized as having "residual sovereignty", in other words, sometime in the future Okinawa would go back to Japan. It has since happened. But at the time I was there, American money was being used on the island. Not yen, like today. The dollar was at its strongest at that time. In Japan, you could get 360 yen to the dollar. You could get multiple German marks, French francs, Swiss francs for a dollar up in the '60's. Not any more. A dollar is now less than one euro. One dollar is worth slightly less than one Swiss franc. The great inflation started in the '60's to fund the Vietnam War and the Great Society notoriously cut the last tenuous link to gold. But it also started deliberate devaluation of the dollar against most of the West's currencies. In my youth, this was called "exporting unemployment." Now, it seems to be done on autopilot. In 1972 you could get a VW Beetle for under \$2000. Yes, cars are a lot better now. But their cost has risen far above official inflation. As late as 1986 or 1987, Mercedes-Benz launched a \$19,000 "Baby Benz" to attract young boomers.

Speaking of inflation, Harry Browne made a name for himself by publishing a book in 1970 called, *How You Can Profit from the Coming Devaluation*. He explained, using Austrian analysis and speaking intelligently, not down, to interested readers, why he believed a devaluation was coming before the end of 1971. He was right, of course. And it made his reputation. He also made another prediction less well known. He believed from that same analysis there could be bank failures. He was right about that as well. By 1974, the book value of savings and loans was technically underwater. Milton Friedman, in an article in the July 1974 issue of Fortune magazine, entitled "Monetary Correction," said that every one of those institutions would be technically insolvent. The wonderful, but too unknown libertarian editor of Barron's, Robert Bleiberg, devoted repeated editorials in the '70's to the subject. When the Democratic Congress "deregulated" the S&Ls in 1983, a CATO study put them about \$69 billion dollars underwater. Real money back then. There were other estimates. But the key is that the government did not do its self-allocated duty to shut them down and pay off the depositors. Instead, they off loaded to the private sector. So, six years in, as the losses mounted, "Deregulation" was blamed. The critics said, "Things were just fine when they were regulated, but greed stepped in!"

apply. Having a clear statement of our positions helps in recruiting new members at the state and local level. It helps develop the understanding of those new members about issues with which they may not be familiar. And it helps keep us on track by discouraging people who might agree with us on just one issue, but disagree on fundamentals, from becoming formal, voting members.

Even more important is the role of a state platform process in integrating new members. Not everybody who joins or becomes active in their local or state LP organization will attend a national convention and have a chance to participate in the debate and voting that happens there. Not everybody who is interested enough in developing platform amendments can serve on the national Platform Committee.

The process of developing a platform at the state level – typically involving a state-level platform committee and then debate and voting during a state convention – not only creates the opportunity for development of ideas of special relevance to politics in that state, but even more importantly it creates opportunities for a much larger number of people to be involved in that kind of process. Members who are seriously interested in platform development can much more easily volunteer to serve on a state platform committee than the one at the national level, and the rest of the members who are interested enough to attend their state convention also become part of the process, giving them exposure both to libertarian approaches to issues and appropriate ways to express them.

These activities at the state level also indirectly provide support for the platform development process at the national level, both in terms of

ideas and people. Many of the people who start out attending a state convention will go on to be delegates at the national convention. Some of the members of a state platform committee may go on to be members of the national Platform Committee. And if they do, their experiences at the state level will help prepare them for those roles. They may also, through work on a state platform, help develop ideas and language that eventually finds its way into the national platform.

Finally, maintaining platforms and a process for developing them at the state level provides a kind of distributed safeguard against possible failures at the national level. While the process at the national level includes fairly strong mechanisms to keep the national platform aligned with both the Statement of Principles and the views of members on particular issues, it is not impossible to imagine cases where these mechanisms could be overwhelmed by circumstances, resulting in a platform that becomes seriously disconnected from the views of a large portion of our membership, at least for a time.

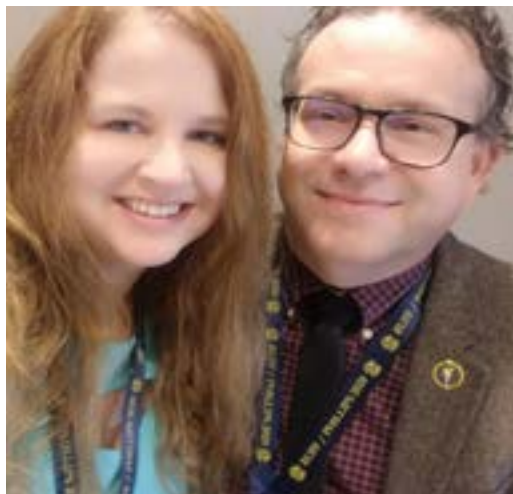
For example, while we generally attempt to recruit a presidential candidate who is already largely in agreement with our platform, and expect him or her to run a campaign consistent with it, or at the very least to acknowledge any significant deviations, we can't be sure that will always be the case. If a candidate came along who had a significant disagreement with the existing libertarian consensus on important issues but was able to recruit a large enough number of people as delegates to the national convention, specifically because of its role in making the nomination, it's possible that those same delegates would also amend the national platform to match that candidate's views. There

are several planks in the current national platform that seem particularly vulnerable to modification or deletion under such circumstances. State platforms provide a "backup" mechanism, allowing the larger portion of our membership and our other candidates that year to still have a platform that reflects the broader and longer-term consensus libertarian positions.

To some extent, platforms developed and published by caucuses, and similar sets of written statements by other groups with a particular focus within the party, can also serve some of these same functions. Because their membership, practically by definition, is limited to only a portion of the entire party, their ability to provide the benefit of "learning by doing" is correspondingly limited, and so their usefulness is more skewed to the idea side than the people side. But to the degree that they encourage their own members to participate in the development of their platforms they can help create additional opportunities for members to learn, and as long as they base their ideas on our common Statement of Principles they can help in developing, supporting, and maintaining a consensus message.

The Essential Link

In summary, a platform is an important tool for defining and maintaining our purpose as a party, and a set of mutually reinforcing national, state, and possibly additional platforms is even better. These platforms are important *both* because of the way they document our positions *and* because of the role they play in the development of our membership. A political party is not just a set of ideas, nor is it just a collection of people – it is a combination of both, and for an ideologically-focused party like ours, our platform is the essential link between the two.



Memorial for Chris Davis

Chris Davis was the Libertarian Party of Virginia District 7 Chair, LP Virginia Radical Caucus Representative, and Chesterfield County LP Chair as well as an activist for small businesses, veteran care, and many other issues that faced his community. During his time in the LP, he served in marketing, communications, outreach, membership drives, and fundraising. His memory and work are continued and honored by his surviving wife, Erin Davis, and their children.

COALITION RADIO NETWORK

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WORLD VIEW

WHY IMMIGRATION IS NOT LIKE METH

by John Hudak

Several months ago, when I went on Dave Smith's podcast Part of the Problem to discuss my problems with his promotion of Stefan Molyneux, the conversation eventually turned to our differences on immigration. Smith, in trying to make his point that it is not unlibertarian or in violation of anarcho-capitalist theory to support state border enforcement while the state exists, used the analogy of someone smoking meth inside of a public school, reasoning that it is reasonable for the school to use force to remove the meth user from the premises. For Smith, this was analogous to the state using force to keep out foreigners.

My response at the time was that the difference is that the meth user is being disruptive in interfering with classes. Although I will be the first to admit that my reasoning could have been better, something about the situation seemed different to me in a way that I could not put into words, given my unfamiliarity with the argument he was making. Smith contended that for someone to say that national border enforcement was not a libertarian position, they would also have to say that the school could not remove the meth user.

I will note that there is merit to the argument that the public school could not remove the meth user and stay consistent with libertarian principles. This argument was put forward as the "bum in the library" example by anarcho-capitalist scholar Walter Block:

But what if it is a public library? Here, the paleos and their libertarian colleagues part company. The latter would argue that the public libraries are per se illegitimate. As such, they are akin to an unowned good. Any occupant has as much right to them as any other. If we are in a revolutionary state of war, then the first homesteader may seize control. But if not, as at present, then, given "just war" considerations, any reasonable interference with public property would be legitimate.

The fact that certain outcomes (i.e. a "bum" in a library) are regarded as "bad" by the majority of people is not an argument that immigration enforcement is in line with libertarian principles but is instead used in an argument by the person making it for sacrificing those principles. If someone were to say, for example, that they recognize that individuals are able to use drugs given that they have the right to put whatever they want into their bodies, but that they are against drug legalization because of the way it may affect society or increase healthcare costs, this does not make drug prohibition a libertarian position; it would instead be a pragmatic rejection of libertarian principles. Likewise, border enforcement cannot be said to be a libertarian position in itself, even if some who call themselves libertarians argue for it pragmatically (wrongly, in my opinion).

Alternatively, let us for the sake of argument

dismiss Block's reasoning as illegitimate and contend that it is acceptable under libertarian principles for the school to remove the meth user. Are we now at an impasse, where we must either admit that libertarianism permits the state to engage in immigration enforcement while the state exists or knowingly contradict ourselves? Not quite, based on an argument put forward by Murray Rothbard, the father of anarcho-capitalism.

In Rothbard's "Confiscation and the Homestead Principle," he reasons that by way of the homesteading principle, "property justly belongs to the person who finds, occupies, and transforms it by his labor." He applies the real-world example of state universities:

The proper owners of this university are the "homesteaders", those who have already been using and therefore "mixing their labor" with



.....
 “Property justly belongs to the person who finds, occupies, and transforms it by his labor”

the facilities. The prime consideration is to deprive the thief, in this case the state, as quickly as possible of the ownership and control of its ill-gotten gains, to return the property to the innocent, private sector. This means student and/or faculty ownership of the universities.

Rothbard goes on to say that he would favor the students over the faculty, in part because the faculty are “to some extent a part of the state apparatus.” Applying this reasoning to Smith’s example of a public school, one could argue that the students (and to some extent, the faculty, although this can be negated by Rothbard’s state apparatus reasoning) are the homesteaders in this situation, given that they are using the school for the purpose of education (libertarian arguments as to the quality of this education notwithstanding). In such a scenario, the students (or someone acting on behalf of them) would be justified in removing from the premises someone who is being disruptive. As I alluded to earlier, this is in no way condoning the current state of compulsory public schooling, but such schools are supposed to be at least in theory about providing an education to children.

But wouldn’t using agents of the state to remove someone from a school still be in conflict with anarcho-capitalist theory? To a point, yes, given that the state itself is considered to be illegitimate. But such a scenario would be more analogous to state agents responding to an actual “victim” crime (such as robbery, murder, etc.) than the “crime” of crossing a national border without the state’s permission.

Accepting this line of reasoning would bring us to another question: wouldn’t this also mean that the state could act to keep out foreigners on behalf of its citizenry? I contend that the answer is no. The amount of barren, unimproved land within the United States is massive. Given that some mixing of labor or use is required to homestead land under Rothbardian theory, a random man in Iowa has no more claim to barren land in the southwest United States than does a random man in Guatemala. The issue of whether “net-taxpayers” have the right to government-owned land (which I’ve discussed in detail elsewhere¹, finding that such an argument is full of holes) is one of restitution (which would also be owed to victims of the state across the world, not just domestic net-taxpayers), not homesteading. There is no victim in a scenario where someone peacefully crosses through land that does not have a legitimate owner; the way to create a victim is to use violence against the person to prevent them from crossing.

¹ <https://beinglibertarian.com/debunking-idea-net-taxpayers-public-property/>

One could try to stretch to make an argument that under “Confiscation and the Homestead Principle,” those currently enforcing immigration restrictions on the ground would at least have the right to the areas designated for legally crossing the border, but Rothbard’s contention that those who are part of the state apparatus are less deserving would seem to negate such a claim. Even if this were to be accepted, for the sake of argument, there would still be countless square miles of barren land throughout the border and within the United States that could not be considered to have already been homesteaded.

Throughout this article, I purposefully did not take a position on whether I agree with the Blockean or Rothbardian argument more, as I wanted to illustrate that there are multiple possible arguments that can be used to dismiss the claim that “immigration restriction can be libertarian because removing an unwanted guest from a public school can be libertarian.” I will say, however, that the argument that the state, while it exists, should act as if it were a private property owner (as put forward by Smith and others) is extremely dangerous. The entire point of anarcho-capitalist theory in the Rothbardian tradition is that the state is not a legitimate property owner but a “gang of thieves writ large.” An anarcho-capitalist acknowledging that fact, and then essentially ignoring it to say that we should pretend the state is not that while the state exists, is like saying that we should consider a fugitive serial killer to be a doctor helping out his victims with assisted suicide until he is captured. It is getting the theory right in the beginning and then proceeding to misapply it to the point where the spirit of what was said is ignored.

As I have attempted to illustrate, the idea that state immigration enforcement is justified from a libertarian standpoint by the “meth user in a public school” example is easily objectionable. Either the decision to remove the meth user from the school is a deviation from libertarian principles that in no way legitimizes other deviations as part of strict libertarian theory, or it is based in homesteading grounds upon which state immigration enforcement cannot stand. It is my hope that Smith and others who have made this argument move to abandon it in favor of the idea that state border enforcement should be opposed.



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PROUDLY OWNED AND OPERATED BY AN LP RADICAL CAUCUS MEMBER!



John Hudak is the co-founder of Fakertarians, a watchdog group dedicated to calling out problematic elements in the liberty movement



*Welcome Back to the
 Libertarian Vanguard!*

*With Love from the Libertarian
 Chocolate Caucus*

@Libertarian Chocolate Caucus

THE MC HAMMER



by Marc Montoni



Photo by Avens O'Brien, avens.me

Marc Montoni has been involved in the LP since election eve 1980, when he happened to catch Ed Clark's five-minute infomercial. He joined at that time and is now a Life Member. He has started over 18 local Party affiliates, and has personally recruited 1200 new or renewal dues-paid LP members. He currently lives in Mesa County, Colo-

The Mises Caucus, spawn of the Sarwark-Woods feud of 2017¹, has reached full velocity.

Word is that their impact at Reno will either be substantial or a total victory. Where should radicals stand on this takeover?

Let's dig in and find out, starting with the official stuff - the bits on the MC website². Most of it looks pretty good; spartan, but NAP-compliant platform, links to single issue campaigns, etc. The central themes of the MC are that we need bold messaging (hooray!), and to win elections at the local level.

I've seen some discussion by MC members of proposed deletion or alteration of three platform planks, but since I'm unable to find a citation at press time, consider this part as hearsay.

Abortion: While I'm sympathetic to the anti-abortion case, I can't accept it for a few reasons, the most important of which is that I can't see an anti-abortion stance as anything other than an advocacy of positive rights. This plank should be left intact.

Immigration: Absolutely not. Migration is a fundamental human right. As radicals, we cannot hold one right hostage until a separate injustice is fully corrected.

¹ <https://reason.com/2021/06/23/inside-the-battle-over-the-soul-of-the-libertarian-party/>
² <https://lpmisescaucus.com>

Bigotry: Libertarians absolutely must not make value judgements about the voluntary behavior of individuals. We don't make value judgements about whether individuals should consume mushrooms or marijuana, we don't make value judgements about whether individuals should have risky sex with each other. We don't make value judgements about people who marry the same sex. In the same vein, Libertarians don't make value judgments about whether individuals should separate themselves from other individuals or groups they don't like.

Libertarians who wish to be thought police to punish those who think bigoted thoughts might be doing the Lord's work, but they're not doing Libertarian work.

Libertarianism does not address how individuals treat each other; it addresses how governments treat the individual.

Libertarians of all people should understand that a free, robust economic market does more to mitigate the harms of bigotry and prejudice than any protests ever will.

The best part about allowing markets to work is that they tend to work quietly and peacefully, without burning property or assaulting neighbors. Markets slow the pendulum from swinging wildly from one kind of radical unfairness to another - until the pendulum stops swing-



Tom Woods



Nick Sarwark

ing altogether and people don't even remember why they were ever bothered by those two women who married each other.

In short, Radicals should be in support of removing the judgment calls and criticism of individual behavior choices from the LP platform.

Up next, let's have a look at some of their candidates in New Hampshire, an early MC victory.

I searched for LPNH Gubernatorial candidate Karlyn Borysenko. No candidate site as of press time. So I watched a couple of her videos, including her post-nomination edition³. Is Karlyn's appeal in the intense study of libertarian philosophy and deep internalization of the NAP in the months between taking off her MAGA hat and receiving her nomination? No, Karlyn has yet to crack her first book on the subject. The reason she was nominated can only be her reputation as a culture warrior on YouTube. Karlyn did say that her candidacy is something of a lark, and that she wouldn't be putting much effort into it. She has certainly kept her word. Karlyn says the energy of the state party is going to the Jeremy Kauffman campaign.

So I ambled over to Jeremy4NH.com for a look-see. On the front page, and in the Foreign Policy section, he's channeling Ron Paul. Pretty good, in my book. But the rest of the "Key Issues" page is a mixed bag. These are generally pretty standard Libertarian messages, with the exception of "Censor the Censors", which leaves us to guess at what federal action Jeremy is advocating. Overall, not particularly bold, but certainly acceptable.

I won't call them out here, but websites for MC candidates running for lower office are pretty mild looking. I guess the boldness is reserved for the top of the ticket. To some extent, this is natural, as the most egregious violations of liberty are at the state and federal levels.

Let's address the informal themes of the MC, namely, the messaging we've seen from MC members, with a focus on prominent MC members' use of Twitter accounts.

³ <https://youtu.be/FJPrAqJ3HZ4>

There are a lot of culture warriors in the MC. There is a lot of talk about "righting the ship" after so much woke messaging. But will the MC just replace it with anti-woke messaging? Radicals should want no part of this. **The radical vision is a rail-thin libertarian message, focused on fighting state aggression.**

The only exceptions to this are tactical concerns, such as ballot access and voting systems, as well as economic education, to which our philosophy is inextricably linked.

Then there is the matter of some MC members wanting to stand down rather than nominate a candidate where an above average Republican is running. This gets a 'hard no' from me. If I were happy to settle for a little better than average, I'd have no use for the LP at all.

Finally, consider some of the one line "edgelord" tweets, such as "legalize child labor" or "bigots rights are human rights". Standing alone, as they did in these cases, I consider such statements to be low-effort trolling. But when accompanied by a link to a cogent argument, I'm 100% on board. Misesians, please do better.

None of what I say here should be construed as broad agreement with their critics. Culture wars aside, many of the critics lack a solid grasp of the philosophy, due in no small part to the ongoing dearth of internal education. One yokel claims that secession may violate the NAP, and sadly this is far from the most egregious failures to grasp the philosophy. In spite of our differences, most of the MC crowd at least get the basics.

The same simply cannot be said of many of their most vocal detractors.

Among the odder complaints from MC critics is that their chair isn't elected and has no set term. What does that have to do with the price of tea in China? Libertarians are within their rights to select any model of governance they choose.

.....
"In spite of our differences, most of the MC crowd at least get the basics."

Early voting patterns indicate that the MC are marching in lockstep, and it is likely that they will have a majority, if not a supermajority, of delegate seats. If that is true, and their immediate goals all come to pass, then what are radicals to do?

First, enjoy the good. We've long favored bold messaging, and where it aligns with plumbline libertarianism, we should rejoice. Maybe we'll finally get an anti-IP plank in the platform.

And of course, spread some schadenfreude on your morning toast while the gradualists and moderates experience life as a minority faction for the first time.

As for the bits you don't like, well, this too shall pass. Everything is temporary in the LP. Few have the stamina for sustained minor party activism, and no faction holds power forever. Stay the course, and be ready to pick up the pieces when the new boss inevitably storms out and many of the followers drift away.

Eventually, the people who are now involved in the MC will simply become part of the fabric that makes up the LP.

I doubt you will convince many of them to peel away and leave the MC by fighting them constantly.

Engage with them, instead.

You weren't a perfect Libertarian either, when you first joined.

Welcome them and help them take the next steps to complete their internal rebellion.

ISSUE ANALYSIS

BENEFITS OF OPENING THE URBAN TRANSIT MARKETPLACE

by Michael Hewitt Wilson



The Covid crisis has left a lot of government agencies scrambling for funds and it would be a benefit to Libertarians if we offered some open market alternatives to replace the government ones. Urban transit would be a good place to start.

The transit agencies may be having serious problems because as ridership has declined their fare revenue has been reduced. As revenue were reduced so were services which left some riders looking for alternatives. If they bought a car the agency has probably lost that person's business as a fare paying rider. In some cities urban rail has lost more than fifty percent of their riders. Buses have seen similar, if not worse, declines in some places. Libertarians should be promoting the idea of opening the transit marketplace to the private sector all the time and now may be an opportunity to get our ideas across.

Put yourself in the position of a retired woman who lives alone and depends on Social Security for her income from which she receives \$1,125 a month. Her studio apartment costs \$800 which is an average estimate from one source. Insurance for the apartment and the car, plus gas, would cost about \$170 a month. That doesn't leave much for food or anything else. However, if this woman could eliminate the car she would save about \$130 a month for other uses. The government dial-a-ride services require you to make a trip request 24 hours in advance which eliminates most emergency trips. Fares on the jitneys in Bergen, New Jersey start at \$1.50 for a short trip and go up. Maybe our lady lives close to a grocery store and can get by on a couple of trips a week which means she would spend \$6 for a round trip twice a week. At \$30 a month for fares having access to such a service would save her money. Unfortunately, that type of service has been outlawed in most U.S. cities.

Out of work because you lost your job? Need to make some extra money? Or just want the dignity of owning your own business? In many cities getting approval to own and operate a private transportation service can be difficult and if you are competing with the local bus agency it is almost impossible to get permission, regardless of whether the private providers are mom and pop businesses, co-ops, corporations or some other form. Offering people an opportunity to fill a need should not be so difficult, but it gets tied down with high fees, licensing laws,

and red tape. Having the owner/operator behind the wheel offers a lot of benefits. It takes management out of the office and saves money by putting them behind the wheel. It may also reduce the costs of maintenance by having the driver work with the dealers to provide maintenance instead of having the bus agency provide it as is done now in most places.

In 1914 the private transportation business using a car was started when L.W. Draper, a Los Angeles car salesman, took advantage of a crowd on a streetcar route and decided to offer those who were waiting a ride. Draper is recognized as the first person to use his own auto to offer the public a faster way to get to work than waiting around for a streetcar to arrive. These vehicles became known as "jitneys," because the cost was a nickel which was also known as a jitney.

Within a year there were some 62,000 jitneys operating nationwide picking up people in an estimated 700 cities who would have been riding streetcars. That reduced the profits the streetcars earned and benefits they provided to cities, such as fixing the streets and providing no-cost transportation for some city workers. What really got the attention of city officials was the decline in taxes the city received when streetcar fares dropped. That reduction in taxes quickly caught the attention of the city fathers across the nation and by 1918 regulations had killed the jitneys across much of the nation except for San Francisco, Atlantic City, and a few cities where even today private share ride vehicles known as gypsy cabs still operate. Uber, Lyft, and a number of other businesses have cropped up in the last few years. But they also have been subject to assault by lawmakers.

In 1935 Congress passed the Public Utilities Holding Act which required the electric companies, which owned most of the streetcar companies in the nation, to sell their streetcar businesses. Because the streetcars were subsidized by the electric utilities, they were often unprofitable and, after a period of lawsuits over the law, they were shut down. The General Motors streetcar business, known as National City Lines, has often been blamed for much of this problem. In fact it was more myth than anything else.

Then in 1964 the Urban Mass Transit Act gave \$375 million to cities for transit, followed by President Nixon's \$12 billion and President Ford's \$11.8 billion. Since then many jurisdictions have taken over the private system that operated in their area or started the own system from scratch. "In 2016, more than 6,800 organizations provided public transportation in a variety of modes. An estimated 4,580 non-profit providers make up the majority of these public transportation organizations. Systems operating in urbanized and rural areas receive grant money from the Federal Transit Administration (FTA) and report to the National Transit Database (NTD) as full, reduced, or rural reporters. Out of the 2,222 NTD reporting systems, 1,295 are in rural areas and 927 are in urbanized areas."

The systems located in urban area should be the easiest to convert to the private sector. In many cases we will find that the quality of the service is poor in low income areas and during times that low income workers need the service the most. This is most important for people, such as working mothers, who have a job as a register operator at the local grocery store or who work in the janitorial sector or need a way to get safely to and from work without spending a lot of money doing so. This is where a ride sharing business might be helpful that is presently illegal.

Zoning and other urban policies have increased the costs of ur-

.....

"Zoning and other urban policies have increased the costs of urban transit, along with the costs of anything that has to be delivered to your door over the last fifty years whether it is the mail or an emergency medical technician."



ban transit, along with the costs of anything that has to be delivered to your door over the last fifty years whether it is the mail or an emergency medical technician.

Reducing those costs will require big changes in urban zoning but in the meantime we need to find ways to improve transit and provide the services to more people in this ageing society. That will require some innovation which seems to be lacking when it comes to government agencies.

As noted in a National Research Council study (TCRP 49) "The lack of personal mobility has economic, social, and human costs, such as higher unemployment, reduced tax revenue, greater welfare, medical costs, and limited social potential."

Focusing on specific groups, it reports:

- Women: "23% of full-time working mothers and almost 60% of part-time working mothers have non-traditional work hours. This reduces women's ability to join car-pools or find appropriately scheduled transit options."
- The elderly: "Almost half of those without an automobile are persons 65 years or older, and of these, 81% are women."

More recent information on minorities informs us that while 6% of white households do not have a car 14% of minority ones do not and the hardest hit are black households where 18% do not have access to a car.

Do you want to reduce urban auto emissions? A recent study showed that a car used less fuel per passenger-mile than a transit bus did. If so, consider using passenger vans which carry 10 to 15 people and with owner/operators behind the wheel. Most city coach buses cost \$500,000 or more, get 5 miles to the gallon and often are nearly empty. The passenger vans cost about \$50,000 or one tenth of a coach bus

and get from 10 to 15 miles per gallon.

In the event of an earthquake a transit system that relies on rail, such as a subway or light rail, may be damaged but a system that is run using small twelve to fifteen passenger buses with independent owner/operators behind the wheel is flexible and more likely to be working to some extent. In Bergen, New Jersey a system of small mini-buses that are private, and profit making, charge less than the government run buses, and run every few minutes, is available to the public.

Contracting out may be best in some areas. A study from the international consulting firm L.E.K. Consulting looks at the benefits to cities worldwide, and notes that services provided by private organizations can be delivered more efficiently than government agencies and that the savings are from twenty to fifty-five percent. With their contracts and profits at risk, the private organizations have every reason to be open to innovation and focus on the quality of the customer services.

The international corporation Transdev operates in seventeen countries providing bus, rail, streetcar, and paratransit services. In the United States they provide services to two hundred cities.

One of the world's best systems, a color-coded multi-level transit network in Curitiba, Brazil, considered the birthplace of the Bus Rapid Transit concept, was featured in the PBS program Frontline/World. This city "has one of the highest per-capita car ownership rates in Brazil. But the city's gasoline use per capita is one third below that of eight comparable Brazilian cities". The reason? "More than 60 percent of overall travel in Curitiba is by bus". The city "contracts out the service to 22 private companies, who operate the buses and taxis and share revenues with the city to support road maintenance and upkeep of the terminals."

From color-coded vehicles to ride-sharing innovation lies the future of urban transit. To a great

LV: You're an elected officeholder. What were you elected to and when?

AK: I was elected Central Valley Soil and Water Conservation Board Supervisor #3 in Eddy County NM. The election was in November of 2021 and I was sworn into office in January of 2022.

LV: What inspired you to choose this office to run for?

AK: The office is closely tied to agriculture and the oilfield, both of which I have extensive experience in, so it was a good fit for me to try to tie Libertarian ideas into the office.

LV: What were your main areas of focus during your campaign?

AK: Our main focus was to try to make as much in person contact with the voters as possible, which involved myself and my team walking around town with flyers and door hangers. There was also a school board election going on at the same time so we looked for neighborhoods with more than average yard signs to canvas as we knew there'd be a likely higher voter turnout from those areas.

LV: What else did you do for public awareness?

AK: Our other primary campaigning was a massive flyer campaign. We put them up in the post offices, on street lamps and next to the crosswalk buttons near bars and restaurants downtown.

LV: What did you do for fundraising?

AK: The funds necessary for this particular race were extremely low, but what we did have were just local donations.

LV: What was your opposition like?

AK: My opponent had held the office for around

2 decades and seemed assured that he would win as he didn't really campaign against me.

LV: What were your opponent's policies?

AK: Specific policy is hard to pin down, but I did hear several complaints and questions about how he was voting on grants from voters.

LV: What was your opponent's party affiliation?

AK: The race wasn't explicitly partisan, but from my knowledge he was running with the backing of the GOP.

LV: What issues did you campaign on?

AK: My primary focus was on building more transparency between the board and the public, as even something as simple as meeting times and dates can be difficult to find. I have yet to have made much headway in this regard though as we've only had one in person meeting since I took office.

LV: Aside from the vote totals, what was the reaction you received from the people in your district?

AK: Everyone I talked to I had a positive interaction with while campaigning. A lot of people were simply asking about the office itself as it's not overly well known.

LV: What are some of the more interesting things that happened on your campaign trail?

AK: It was a fairly laid back campaign all things considered, but it was nice to have interactions with people that got them to realize that the Libertarian platform is closer to what most everyday people want than what either of the Republi-crats offer.

LV: What are some of the points that were resonating the most with them?

AK: I heard a lot of "you're absolutely right, taxation is theft" responses for one, which was tied into my stance of wanting to lower part of the property tax that the board is involved in.

LV: So you literally told your prospective constituents that taxation is theft?

AK: I said that verbatim a few times and in a more drawn out way quite a bit, yes. I even said sales tax was theft to the clerk when I picked up a batch of door hangers at the print shop in town.

LV: What else did you say that some would tell you to absolutely never say in public?

AK: I criticized the status quo of how conservation is done in America, from how the EPA caused the Animas River Disaster to how poorly wildlife management is done by the states. Whenever the overall more broad topic of conservation came up. Essentially, by saying that the functions being carried out by governmental conservation groups would be better done if done by private parties who had financial incentives for the conservation of resources.

LV: How often is your board supposed to meet?

AK: Under normal conditions, there's an in-person meeting once a month.

LV: What's been happening instead?

AK: A combination of in person meetings and phone conference calls due to state level Covid restrictions on government meetings.

LV: How bad are these restrictions still?

AK: They just removed those restrictions within the past couple of months.

LV: So you'll be meeting again soon?

AK: Yes, we had a meeting scheduled for last

week but it was cancelled because not enough supervisors attended to have a quorum.

LV: Aside from the adventures of actually getting a meeting together, what are some of the highlights of your time in office so far?

AK: I'm sure the upcoming meeting will be a highlight as it will be over our annual budget so it will probably be a lot me asking why we need to spend money on items.

LV: Anything that stands out yelling 'cut me' more than the rest?

AK: I haven't seen the proposed budget yet, however one thing that I am going to bring up is the possibility of lowering the property tax that we're part of as there's a significant excess of funds per the last Treasury report.

LV: What are some of your recommendations for prospective LP candidates?

AK: My main recommendation is, if the constituent area allows for it, to go out and interact with the public as much as possible. Most voters like to be able to talk to their potential representatives even if it's just for a few minutes at their door.



Andrew Kennedy



SLASHING THE GORDIAN KNOT OF BIPARTISAN BALLOT ACCESS CENSORSHIP

D Frank Robinson

According to Article I, Section 4, of the United States Constitution, the authority to regulate the time, place, and manner of federal elections is up to each State, unless Congress legislates otherwise. However, the final authority on regulations of the time, place, and manner of elections are the citizens who have natural, inherent and constitutionally recognized rights that neither the Congress nor any state legislature may violate. The right to vote is one of those natural, inherent individual rights which is protected by the First, Ninth, and Fourteenth Amendments by implication elsewhere in the US Constitution.

How did Americans exercise their individual right to vote before and after the ratification of the Constitution? To begin with when voting with paper ballots the paper each voter used to publish his vote (only males voted back then) was the private property of the voter. The voter could write the name of anyone he pleased on his ballot and transfer that published preference to state authorities for tallying with the published preferences of all others who voted in an election. This straightforward exercise of the voter's right worked satisfactorily for 100 years until the 1880s when the notion was spread that voters were influenced or intimidated too much by some partisans and need protection at the ballot box when the voter cast his ballot (still only males voted). The solution

to this alleged crisis was to adopt the balloting procedures invented and adopted in Australia in the 1850s – the secret ballot reform.

How was enabling the voter to cast his ballot anonymously implemented? By monopolizing the claim of ownership for production of ballots and compelling all voters to vote using only the state monopoly ballot. Where in U S constitutional documents can the power to seize ownership of the private property, the ballot, be found? Nowhere. Nevertheless, in a short period of time beginning in 1888 in Massachusetts and New York the socialized ownership of the ballot by state governments as a suddenly public utility was adopted and is now the regime in all states and US possessions. By the way, there was no just compensation for the taking of ballots from voters as one might think was due as stated in the Fifth Amendment.

The monopolization of the ballot created an artificial scarcity. The state must bear the cost of paper and ink to print ballots. The costs of printing ballots was directly related to the number of offices and candidate names which must appear on the ballot from whom voters were compelled to choose. The state asserted the power to limit how many candidate names they are obligated to print to give the voters a "fair" range of choices. The relief valve from this rationing of ballot space was to continue to allow voters to write-in the name of any candidate which was not printed on the ballot by the state. This relief valve avoided a confrontation over ballot censorship so long as it was also easy for candidates to meet very lenient quotas to have their names printed as "official" candidates on the ballot.

For a couple of decades until well into the 20th century the relief valve of the write-in vote and lenient quotas for candidates and parties to be advertised on the ballot as officially "recognized" was accepted by voters and endorsed

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"How was enabling the voter to cast his ballot anonymously implemented? By monopolizing the claim of ownership for production of ballots and compelling all voters to vote using only the state monopoly ballot."
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"What I want to know is can a majority of Libertarian Party members support my challenge to the cult of the omnipotent state..."
.....

by the judiciary.

Then came the Red Scare of the 1920s. The idea was spread by the media to the public that "the Russian Communists and their socialist fellow travelers are coming" and they will use the ballot to overthrow the Constitution. The reflexive action was to centralize power in the status quo by imposing new more difficult and expensive quotas on access to the list of recognized official candidates minimizing the value of the write-in vote to zero or as close as the courts would allow to zero. Some states have succeeded in enforcing an absolute ban on the right to vote by write-in. One of those states is Oklahoma where the author was born and has resided most of his life.

We have summarized the history of the monopolization of the ballot and the rise of censorship as the principle that has entrenched two, and only two, political parties in power for the last 100 years in all states and nationally. The result of ballot access laws, which effectively censor voter rights, has been ever-increasing corruption in government were the institution of a duopoly of parties which act as quasi-governmental agencies and are almost totally unaccountable to voters.

Hyperbole? Then why is ballot access reform to strike down the barriers to maximizing the voter's right to choose so vociferously defended in the legislatures and the courts? All we are asking is to let the voter choose without the censorship of fees, petitions, deadlines, and discriminatory "regulations" which favor the candidates of two particular parties and suppress all other candidates partisan and independent. The present electoral system is authoritarian and rigged to the extent that it raises questions of the legitimacy of the entire government.

There is a sword which can slash this authori-

tarian Gordian Knot. An open all write-in ballot. One can find a working example of such a ballot in the Federal Write-in Absentee Ballot. There is a catch. Only American citizens who are residing abroad are allowed to use this ballot. All domestic voters must use the ballots of the state monopolies or their votes are null and void. The adoption by the Congress of the format for the FWAB, as it is called, as the universal ballot which all states and territories must use would defeat the rationale for rationing ballot access by censorship. All voters would have the same unlimited power to write-in candidates and that means the power to overthrow governments without overt violence. That is the purpose of voting which our forefathers presented to their posterity. Today, their posterity votes in circles in a blind ballot alley.

I have legal standing and I want to sue the state of Oklahoma in federal court to present this argument and seek to effectively abolish all ballot access laws. To my chagrin, a majority of the present composition of the Libertarian National Committee refuse to support my complaint and join with me as a co-plaintiff. The most I have been able to glean from my presentation to them in 2018 is that they believe my strategy is too radical and too far outside of conventional legal dogma. But as I contend, it is the voters who are the final arbiters of the extent of their own political rights and not the courts staffed by adherents of the duopoly parties. The people can be roused to speak if someone asks them to speak for their rights. The history of civil rights in the U S makes this evident. Raising voting rights as a major issue is consistent with the Libertarian Party's founders' pledge to "challenge the cult of the omnipotent state and defend the rights of the individual." I was there.

What I want to know is can a majority of Libertarian Party members support my challenge to the cult of the omnipotent state and the sect of slicing all challenges as thinly as will fit in the duopoly ideology democracy?





THE PROBLEM WITH LINCOLN

People who have delved deeply enough into Abraham Lincoln – or have at least read the works of those who have – can appreciate that there are two Abrahams Lincoln.

One being the almost saintly abolitionist who was the champion of the founding principles of the United States and the rights of those who were unjustly enslaved or downtrodden, who defended the US as intended by our founders. The master statesman who we can only wish had served during better times.

The second being the racist, oligarchical, and duplicitous monster who actually existed.

The Problem with Lincoln is Thomas J. DiLorenzo's third book explaining this in painstakingly sourced detail.

In *The Real Lincoln*, DiLorenzo made his case against the widely accepted beliefs about who Lincoln was and what he actually stood for. If you want a general overview of Lincoln's evils, start with this one.

In *Lincoln Unmasked*, DiLorenzo expanded on this and added information about areas where Lincoln was even worse than he had understood him to be when he wrote the first volume.

In this book, DiLorenzo focuses on three things: a number of specific and hard-to-dismiss sources, the political mindset that Lincoln emerged from, and the effort to posthumously beatify him as the only superficially recognizable figure we're taught about in public schools and countless worshipful and dogmatic biographies.

Some of the documents that DiLorenzo focuses on include Lincoln's first inaugural address, the Corwin Amendment, and the Emancipation Proclamation – with the exact text of ten selected and important documents included in appendices to eliminate any inconvenience for the reader checking these documents personally. In his first inaugural address, Lincoln stakes out his neutral to favorable stance on slavery and states the exact conditions under which there won't be bloodshed and violence. Despite denying knowledge of the exact language of the Corwin Amendment in that address, DiLorenzo outs Lincoln as the architect and probably author of this amendment to prevent constitutional amendments to ever eliminate slavery (we'd be stuck with such provisions to this day if Lincoln had his way). In the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln went out of his way to NOT free even one slave in any areas under Union control, to the point of enumerating twelve Louisiana parishes and New Orleans as places where slavery would continue.

DiLorenzo documents that Lincoln built on the views and writings of many. He presents Lincoln as the de facto successor to Alexander Hamilton and Henry Clay and their so-called American System that flew in the face of what the colonies fought for against the crown. A system that centered around spending large amounts of public money on what we would call corporatism. This is why tariffs were so important to Lincoln that he would launch one of the bloodiest wars of the 19th Century to protect them. For his day job, Lincoln was an attorney and the preeminent lobbyist for the railroads. If this sounds like a recipe for dubious to corrupt actions and policies it only means that you're paying attention.

Just as we have major pushes today for states of mass conformity that would be rightfully seen as horrific at any other time, Lincoln's assassination was the trigger for such an event – specifically a massive retcon of what anyone was allowed to openly acknowledge as historical fact about Lincoln. DiLorenzo documents the steps of this, but it seems clear that to do it proper justice an entire book on this topic alone will be needed.

Sprinkled throughout are references to other books that may be of interest for further reading by those seeking an antidote to Lincoln worship. These include *Lincoln's Wrath* by Jeffrey Manber and Neil Dahlstrom, *Lincoln's Critics: The Copperheads of the North* by Frank L. Klement, and *Forced into Glory* by Lerone Bennett Jr.

If you've read the first two books, you do not need a review to tell you that you will want to read the third.

If you're looking for which one to read first,

that depends. In the case where you just want to get started on all three, start with *The Real Lincoln* and consider the other two books to be additional material. The fact that you're reading *Libertarian Vanguard* implies a good chance that you aren't too married to established, widespread narratives.

If you may be either skeptical to rejecting of the anti-Lincoln case for any reason or are in need of arguments to present to such people, start with *The Problem with Lincoln*. It's the most bulletproof indictment of Lincoln. You could then follow up with *The Real Lincoln* and then *Lincoln Unmasked*.

STRONG RECOMMEND

The Problem with Lincoln, 2020, Thomas J. DiLorenzo, *Regnery History 2020 ISBN 978-1-68451-018-4*



James Gholston



CULTURE

THE RISE OF RADICALISM

by Jonathan Mangnall

The term "Radical" is often used to label something as bad. In common parlance it means something like "beyond the pale" or "outside that which is reasonable." Basically if someone is a radical it means they've gone too far. This negative understanding of the term "radical" had such a meaning to the now defunct Pragmatic Caucus who often thought that we needed to temper our more radical voices and inclinations so as to be more palatable to the average voter, A.K.A. normies.



Jonathan Mangnall

However, the party has had 50 years of a predominantly prag program, and it's fair to say that a great many people who identify as libertarian are less than thrilled with the results that this pragmatic strategy has yielded. I would argue that this alone is enough to justify a change in tactics, but I don't need to argue that as it is already happening which is evidenced by many things including our biggest and most popular influencers taking a far more radical and aggressive approach to spreading the libertarian message. Spike Cohen cyber-bullying the ATF on a near daily basis and Dave Smith praising the absolute collapse of trust in our governmental institutions and their propaganda wings in the corporate press would have been enough to cause an epidemic of pearl-clutching within the old, now dead, pragmatic caucus.

We live in a very interesting time. People are beginning to see through the welfare/warfare state's propaganda and the old Overton Window has been shattered. It's no coincidence then that this bolder, more radical libertarianism has achieved a much larger platform for libertarianism. We get celebrities on TV now, not to mention huge podcasts with the likes of Joe Rogan and Tim Pool. You could argue that this wouldn't have worked *before now*, that it was correct to avoid the unapologetically radical path. You wouldn't find me easily convinced of that, but even if it's true, it *is now*. Now, more than ever, is the time for libertarianism to go full bore, and with the two remaining caucuses being Mises and Radicals it seems we will get exactly that. I would simply ask those who are skeptical of this approach to give it a chance. Wait and see what happens, and remember the other way didn't work in 50 years, give us at least a few years of our own.



Every ship needs a compass.
Every movement needs a north star.

We are the consistent, principled anchor and
we'll keep the light shining for you.

When you're ready, join us.



LIBERTARIAN PARTY
RADICAL CAUCUS