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LPRC Convention Plans Updated

THE ACTIVITIES to be held by the LPRC at the New York LP Convention have been approved by the Central Committee.

On Wednesday, August 31, from 1:00 to 2:00 p.m., the LPRC will hold an open forum with members of the Central Committee. The room location will be announced at the convention and posted in the hotel.

The same evening, at 9:30 p.m., the LPRC will hold a caucus for its members at a location to be announced at the 7:00 Strategy Panel and posted in the hotel. Candidates for office will be invited to appear and answer questions.

The previously announced National Conference will not be held.

In addition, the LPRC will need staff for a table in the Exhibit Hall. If you can spend an hour or more selling literature at the table, stop by and sign up. □

Soviet Military Spending

by Jeffrey Rogers Hummel
and Sheldon Richman

ONE OF THE CENTRAL justifications for the Reagan Administration's staggering \$2 trillion military buildup through 1989 is the claim that Soviet military expenditures have exceeded those of the U.S. every year for the last decade. According to the CIA, the Soviet Union is currently outspending the U.S. by 50 percent, and over the decade 1971-1980, it outspent the U.S. by a total of \$420 billion. How reliable are these claims, and even if reliable, how relevant?

The difficulty of establishing Soviet military expenditures results from the fact that almost no Western analyst believes the official figure reported by the Soviets in their annual budget. That figure has remained nearly constant over the last decade at about 17 billion rubles, only one-eighth of U.S. military spending. It is thought to include outlays for per-

sonnel, operations, and military construction, while excluding outlays for such items as military education, retirement, research and development, procurement, and civil defense.

The problem is further compounded by the fact that the Soviet Union is a command economy, without genuine markets. Prices within the Soviet Union, where they even exist, are more the result of arbitrary decree than of the complex interaction of supply and demand. Consequently, Soviet "prices" cannot accurately reflect the real cost, in terms of foregone resources with alternative uses, of producing an item. The lack of market prices extends even to the exchange rate between rubles and dollars. The official exchange rate of \$1 for 0.657 rubles is just as arbitrary as any other Soviet "price," and does not properly equate the purchasing power of dollars and rubles. There is no consensus, unfortunately, on a substitute.

The CIA first tackled this thorny problem at the behest of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. It used what is called the "direct costing" or "building block" method to construct *two* distinct estimates of Soviet military expenditures, one in rubles and the other in dollars. The CIA continues today to derive dual estimates following the same procedure. Most direct comparisons of U.S. and Soviet military spending, however, are based exclusively upon the CIA's dollar-cost estimates. Both estimates start at the same point: counting up the array of goods and services—weapons, troops, construction, etc.—that comprise the Soviet military. For its dollar estimate, the CIA then totals how much this array of military goods and services would cost in dollar prices.

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Unfree From Strife

Reprinted from "Diana Hears," Washington Times, June 15, 1983

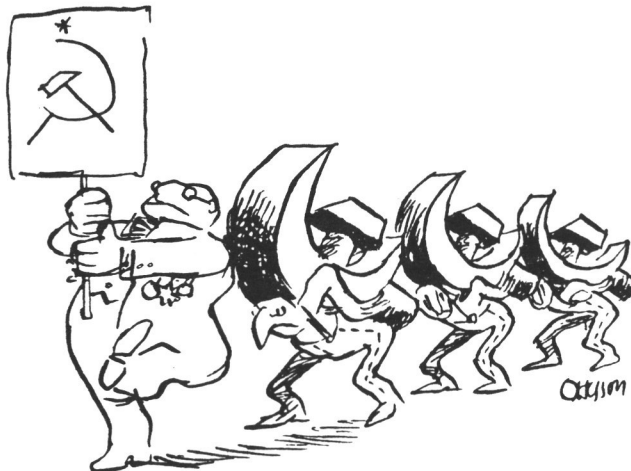
... Oh, dear. The Libertarians are sulking again (Of course, darlings, they're *perfectly* free to. That's part of the credo.) The Cato Institute, the Libbies' long-time spiritual well-spring, and its honcho, Ed Crane, are suddenly fiercely on the splits with the rest of the Party. It's gotten so ghastly that when Crane ally Eric O'Keefe, the Party's National Director, was booted from his post, the Crane-haters actually changed the locks on his office door. (Let's be frank, darlings. This Organ is shocked that Libertarians *have* locks. Or offices. Or doors. But what does *it* know?) Now, a bottom-line confrontation. The only Truly Serious Libertarian Presidential Candidate this go-round is somebody from Florida called Gene Burns, who is severely anti-Crane. You'd think they'd all yodel "So what" and toss their strange wild hats to the sky. But no. Almost *all* Libertarian bucks flow from Crane's bosom pals, Charles and David Koch, oil-rich Kansans. And Crane, it's said, tells the Koch boys where their bucks should go. "What now?" they're all growling. They don't *really* want to know, of course. Those cards. This Organ worships Libertarians. ...

Militarism Watch

The dollar-cost estimate manages to avoid all the difficulties of employing Soviet "prices," but entails other disadvantages. The least important of these is that many Soviet weapons are not sold in the U.S. and thus do not have dollar prices. Thus, the CIA must speculate about these prices on the basis of the prices of similar U.S. weapons. For instance, the CIA will ask a U.S. industrial firm, such as Rockwell International, which is building the B-1 bomber, how much it would charge to produce Soviet Backfire bombers.

A more serious disadvantage of the dollar-cost estimate is that relative prices are different within the two countries. In the Soviet Union, labor is relatively less expensive, while capital and technology are more expensive. On the other hand, in the U.S., labor is relatively more expensive, while capital and technology are less expensive. Not surprisingly, the two military establishments tend to procure more of those items that are relatively cheap within their respective economies. The Soviet military is labor-intensive, while the U.S. military focuses on high technology. Consequently, the dollar-cost estimate will overestimate the actual cost of those items that the Soviet military emphasizes (labor), while underestimating the actual cost of those items that the Soviet military deemphasizes (high technology). The net effect is to exaggerate Soviet military expenditures.

Personnel costs offer the clearest illustration of how differences in relative prices bias the dollar-cost estimate upward. An American enlisted soldier gets more than \$500 a month, while a Soviet draftee gets less than 5 rubles (about \$8) a month. Yet, in the dollar-cost estimate of Soviet military expenditures, the entire Soviet military, which is twice the size of the U.S. military and consists mainly of conscripts, is valued at the pay scales of U.S. volunteers. If the U.S. returned to the draft and old pay scales, U.S. military spending would fall, but the CIA's dollar-cost estimate of Soviet spending would fall even further. (We should note that the indirect costs to individuals and to the economy of drafting people away from more productive employment always more than offsets the monetary savings to the government, but that is not the issue here.)



As the CIA itself acknowledges:

Dollar cost calculations tend to overstate Soviet defense activities relative to those of the United States. . . . Given different resource endowments and technologies, countries tend to use more of the resources that are relatively cheap—and less of those that are relatively expensive—for a given purpose. A comparison drawn in terms of the prices of one country thus tends to overstate the relative value of the activities of the other.

The claims that Soviet military expenditures have exceeded those of the U.S. by 50 percent in the last year and by \$420 billion over the last decade are based upon the CIA's dollar-cost estimates. Rather than giving a true impression of Soviet military spending, these comparisons merely indicate what the U.S. government would have to pay—here in the U.S.—for a military machine identical to that of the Soviets in every respect.

In contrast to these direct comparisons, claims that the Soviet Union devotes 13 to 14 percent of its GNP to military purposes are based on the CIA's ruble-cost estimates of Soviet military expenditures, rather than its dollar-cost estimates. The ruble estimate starts with the same array of Soviet military goods and services, but totals their cost on the basis of ruble prices. This effort to escape the problems raised by the differing relative prices in the two countries introduces all of the problems with Soviet "prices" mentioned above. Moreover, for the approximately one-third of all Soviet military items without established ruble prices, the CIA uses the same dol-

lar prices it employed in the dollar-cost estimate and converts them to rubles on the basis of indices for relative efficiency. The resulting ruble-cost estimate is, therefore, partially based upon the dollar-cost estimate, and combines the problems of both.

Furthermore, those ruble prices for military equipment that the CIA does have are for 1970. As Franklyn D. Holzman, an economist and research fellow at Harvard's Russian Research Center, points out in a recent article in *The Atlantic*, "because of rapid technological advances in Soviet weaponry, the price of any given weapon's capability over the 1970-1982 period must have fallen relative to Soviet prices in general." Consequently, the ruble-cost estimate, to the extent that it is not nearly useless, is also overstated. Holzman concludes that "the most recent CIA estimate (12 to 14 percent) of the percentage of Soviet GNP (for 1980, but in 1970 prices) devoted to military expenditures is certainly an exaggeration and would undoubtedly be several percentage points lower in 1982 Soviet prices."

The ideal way, of course, to compare U.S. and Soviet military spending would be to relate the U.S. dollar-cost total to the Soviet ruble-cost total on the basis of a dollar-ruble exchange rate. In this ideal case, it would make no difference if the comparison were made in dollars or rubles—the results would be identical. Such a methodology, however, depends on both a reliable ruble-cost Soviet estimate and a reliable exchange rate, neither of which is available.

A more convoluted way of comparing U.S.-Soviet military spending, and which avoids a general exchange rate, is already

used for other U.S.-Soviet comparisons. It requires a ruble-cost estimate of U.S. expenditures. This permits a comparison between the ruble-cost of U.S. military expenditures and the ruble-cost of Soviet military expenditures. Just as differences in relative prices cause the comparison of dollar-cost estimates to exaggerate Soviet expenditures, the same differences cause the comparison of ruble-cost estimates to exaggerate U.S. expenditures (because it puts a very high ruble price on advanced U.S. technology). Thus, the dollar comparison provides an upper limit, the ruble comparison provides a lower limit, and taking the geometric mean provides a compromise between the two extremes.

In the past, the CIA had so little confidence in its ruble-cost estimates of Soviet military spending that it never bothered to construct a ruble-cost estimate of U.S. military spending. Recently, when it finally did so, the resulting ruble comparison found that the Soviet Union was outspending the U.S. by 30 percent. Taking the geometric mean between that lower bound and the upper-bound, dollar comparison of 50 percent yields a Soviet-U.S. annual spending gap of 39.6 percent. Admittedly, this ultra-refined result is built upon an entire edifice of dubious numbers.

The fragility of CIA estimates of Soviet military spending was dramatically demonstrated in 1976. In that year, the CIA revised its estimates upward, from 6-8 percent to 10-15 percent of Soviet GNP. "The revised budget estimates did *not* mean that the Soviets were stronger than before," cautions John Prados in *The Soviet Estimate*, a history of U.S. intelligence assessments of the Soviet military throughout the Cold War. "[T]he number of 'observables' counted by intelli-

gence did not change at all, but only the cost of these items to the Soviet economy and the burden of defense spending within that economy." In other words, the CIA discovered that, because the Soviet economy was far less efficient than previously thought, the Soviet government had to devote more resources to produce the same-size military machine. And this discovery doubled the estimate of Soviet military spending.

What are we to make of this welter of contradictory guesses? The most we can say with a high degree of certainty is that Soviet military spending *probably* exceeds that of the U.S. By how much, we do not know, but 50 percent is undoubtedly the upper limit, with the range of highest probability being between 20 and 40 percent.

The most important lesson to be drawn from our brief survey relates not to the accuracy of various estimates of Soviet military spending, but rather to their significance. As the dramatic increase in CIA estimates in 1976 attests, the level of Soviet military spending tells us at least as much about the inefficiency of the Soviet economy as it tells us about the power of the Soviet military. If military variables are constant, the less efficient the Soviet economy, the higher the ruble-cost estimates of Soviet military expenditures.

Because Soviet military spending is so sensitive to economic variables, it is a very bad measure for comparing U.S. and Soviet military power, even if it were known with absolute precision. Since both the dollar-cost and ruble-cost CIA estimates are derived from a catalog of the Soviet military's assets, it makes far more sense to look at those assets directly, if one is interested in a purely military comparison.

Nor can the level of Soviet military spending offer evidence of the aggressive nature of Soviet intentions. A commitment of more resources to military capabilities could as easily be evidence of defensive paranoia (as demonstrated by the military buildup of the Reagan Administration). Indeed, an examination of the overall world situation reinforces this latter appraisal of Soviet intentions.

Remember that both the Soviet Union and the U.S. have European allies, and U.S. allies are far more prosperous. Even if we accept the CIA's upper-bound estimate for Soviet military spending, NATO has militarily outspent the Warsaw Pact every year from the beginning of the '50s, and continues to do so today by more than 20 percent. The \$420 billion military spending gap in favor of the Soviet Union for the decade 1971-1980 becomes a \$250 billion gap *against* the Soviet Union when NATO and Warsaw Pact allies are added in.

NATO is not the only potential enemy the Soviet Union faces. According to the CIA, between 12.5 and 20 percent of Soviet military spending is directed at the People's Republic of China. Subtracting that portion of Soviet military spending diverted by China, in the same manner that U.S. expenditures on the Vietnam War have already been deducted from U.S. decade totals, raises the NATO spending lead over the Warsaw Pact to \$480 billion for 1971-1980. Finally, if we substitute the more realistic geometric mean, as calculated by Franklyn Holzman, for the CIA's dollar-cost, upper-bound estimate, the NATO-Warsaw Pact, ten-year gap widens to \$550 billion in NATO's favor.

Is it any wonder that Soviet leaders are disturbed by President Reagan's desire to widen this gap even further? □

The Wizard of Id



Issue Analysis

Should Abortion Be A Crime? The Abortion Question Once More

by Murray N. Rothbard

THE ABORTION QUESTION continues to be a difficult one for many libertarians, and hence deserves some extended analysis. The vital point to focus on here, as in all other applications of libertarian theory to the legal system, is simply this: Should abortion be a crime? For at issue is not the morality or the esthetics of abortion, which are matters of general moral or aesthetic theory or personal judgment. 1. To the *libertarian*, who must always separate legal from general moral theory, the crucial question is always: shall such and such an action be criminal, shall it be licit in the free society? There are numerous actions, for example, which a libertarian may or may not consider "immoral" (e.g., drinking alcohol or yelling at one's neighbor) but does not consider criminal. The libertarian always concentrates on what is a crime, and for him, the conclusion depends on his general theory that crime (and therefore illegality) must be confined to acts of aggression upon the person or property of others.

The common pro-abortionist argument that anti-abortionists are trying to impose their religious (e.g., Catholic or Orthodox Jewish) values on other people therefore misses the mark. For *if* the anti-abortionists are right, and abortion is really "murder," then the libertarian, who believes in outlawing murder as a crime, must join in the outlawry of abortion. The "religious" argument, therefore, misses the central point.

Much ink has been spilled on this issue trying to define the exact point at which human life begins. Birth, indeed, seems to be an event of some importance at which we can conveniently demarkate that "human life begins here," but then the anti-abortionists are able to bog the argument down in biological technicalities, and the dispute can continue ad infinitum. As I have written elsewhere, the definition of the beginning of human life is actually irrelevant to our central issue. For let us give the anti-abortionists their full argument: let us assume for the moment that human life begins at concep-

tion. Let us concede, for the sake of argument, that the fertilized egg, from the beginning, has *all* the rights of a full, adult human being.

But then, who will maintain that a full, adult human being has the legal, enforceable right to remain enclosed within the body of another human being without the latter's consent? Surely, that is absurd. But if no *adult* human being has such a legal right, then *a fortiori*, the fetus cannot have such a right either.

To put the case another way: It is axiomatic for the libertarian that every individual has the absolute right to own, to control, his or her own body. But, in that case, a woman has the right to eject any unwanted entity from her own body, whether that entity be a fetus or a non-human parasite. Hence, a woman has the absolute right to commit an abortion, or, therefore, the right to hire someone to perform the abortion on her behalf.

Abortion, therefore, should be looked upon not as killing the fetus but as ejecting it from the mother's body. The fact that the fetus might well die in the course of the ejection is incidental to the act of abortion. It might be objected, of course, that the fetus requires for its survival a continued lodging in the body of the mother. But this brings us to another fundamental libertarian axiom: that no human being, whether fetus, child, or adult, has the legal right to keep itself alive at someone else's expense. No human being can have a legal claim on someone else to perform any actions to keep it alive.

In short, the libertarian sees a fundamental difference between murdering someone, and failing to perform an act to keep that person alive. The former is a crime and an aggression, the latter is not and is therefore perfectly licit. For example, A sees B drowning in a pool; if A fails to jump in or perform other actions to save B, this *may* be morally reprehensible, but it is perfectly within A's rights. Or if A sees B dying in the street, it is not a crime for A to ignore the situation and fail to take action to save him. The same

applies to ignoring a baby who might have been abandoned in the street.

Consider, too, the implications of the contrary position. If any sick or helpless human is considered to have a legal claim to be kept alive, (a) upon *whom* can that claim be enforced? On the first person who comes along? On everyone? And (b) *how* many actions, how many resources, should the ill or helpless person be able to command? Suppose that an ill person can only be saved by the use of two trillion dollars' worth of medical equipment, which would impoverish everyone. Does the legal claim extend this far, and if not, why not?

In her defense of the right of abortion, Professor Judith Thomson put the case very well:

In some views having a right to live includes having a right to be given at least the bare minimum one needs for continued life. But suppose that what in fact *is* the bare minimum a man needs for continued life is something he has no right at all to be given? If I am sick unto death, and the only thing that will save my life is the touch of Henry Fonda's cool hand on my fevered brow, then all the same, I have no right to be given the touch of Henry Fonda's cool hand on my fevered brow. It would be frightfully nice of him to fly in from the West Coast to provide it . . . [b]ut I have no right at all against anybody that he should do this for me.

Professor Thomson continues: "[H]aving a right to life does not guarantee having either a right to be given the use of or a right to be allowed continued use of another person's body—even if one needs it for life itself."

But, if no sick or helpless person, whether adult or baby, can have the right to coerce actions to keep it alive from the body or energy of another human being, if Judith Thomson cannot force Henry Fonda to save her, then, *a fortiori*, a fetus cannot have such a coercive right either. One person's need, however dire, cannot be used to sustain any coercion over the body or energy of another human being. And so the requirements of the fetus cannot take precedence over the absolute right of the mother over her own body.

One suspects that the anti-abortionists have not thought through the logical implications of their own position. If,

indeed, abortion is "murder" of the fetus, because the fetus needs the environment of its mother's womb for its continued life, then what are the other obligations that we can coerce upon the mother? For example, suppose that if the mother does not eat a balanced diet, or drinks liquor, or allows herself to get upset, the fetus will die, or, if not that, the fetus will be in some concrete way, injured? May we send in a Gestapo to coerce the proper diet, to coerce proper behavior, upon the mother? The "murder" thesis logically implies totalitarian control over pregnant women.

But suppose that technology has advanced to the point where the aborted fetus could be kept alive in a "test tube." Should the mother or the parents have a legally enforceable obligation to keep the now separated fetus alive? But, once again, this brings us to the general problem of the sick or the helpless. How many resources are the parents to be coerced into committing in order to keep the fetus alive? Two trillion dollars? We are back, in short, to the important lesson of the Karen Quinlan case—that there can be no *legal* obligation (though there may be a moral one) to keep "the plug" in place: that is, in short, a vital philosophical distinction—and one particularly vital to *libertarians*—between murder, a violent act of aggression, and "pulling the plug," that is, deciding *not* to commit resources—not to engage in further positive actions—to keep someone else alive. Murder is criminal, pulling the plug is licit. Even if, in cases as the fetus or Karen Quinlan, the distinction seems to make little difference to the dying person, it obviously makes a great deal of difference to the alleged "murderer."

Since libertarians often suffer from contract fetishism, there is a peculiarly "libertarian" variant of the anti-abortion argument: that the mother (and the father?), by conceiving the fetus, has made a "contract" with the fetus obligating the mother to carry through with the pregnancy. There are a large number of flaws in this argument. In the first place, it conflicts with the "murder" argument, which it is intended to supplement. For if it can be clearly demonstrated that no "contract" is involved, then the anti-abortionist must approve the right to abort, and surrender completely the claim that abortion is murder. Thus,



clearly no "contract" with a fetus was involved if the fetus was conceived by an act of rape; hence, these anti-abortionists will concede the legitimacy of aborting a fetus conceived by rape. Yet, if abortion is "murder," isn't it just as illegitimate to murder a rape-begotten fetus as a voluntarily begotten one?

Secondly, the anti-abortionists don't seem to realize that more exceptions must then be granted than mere rape. What "contract" is involved, for example, in the case of a birth-control mistake? Such a fetus was also not deliberately conceived, but only arrived in error. So is *such* an abortion legitimate? But, in that case, the anti-abortionist is in bad practical shape, for how are the legal authorities supposed to decide whether a fetus was conceived because of a birth-control mistake or whether it had been actively desired? Clearly, enforcement of this distinction is impossible, and our anti-abortionists would have to give up legal enforcement in practice, since the mother would only have to *say* that the fetus was a mistake, and it would be impossible to prove her wrong.

Thirdly, there are many grave flaws in the concept of "contract" involved in

this argument. Surely, the fetus is scarcely a rational, willing entity, engaging consciously in a contractual relationship. Indeed, even the fetus was non-existent at the time when the alleged "contract" was made. And what obligations is the *fetus* supposed to be incurring in this contract? Any attribution of "implicit contracts" from human actions must be done with great care and circumspection; but here the "contract" is created hog wild, out of the whole cloth. But most importantly, this conception violates the proper, libertarian, property-rights, "title-transfer" theory of contract, the theory which declares (a) that a contract is only enforceable when it involves the transfer of a property title to another person, and (b) that a person's will, his body, is inalienable and *cannot* be surrendered in an enforceable transaction. But there is no property transfer in the alleged contract with the future fetus; there is only an alleged enslavement of the mother's body and will, an enslavement which cannot in fact and in right be made. In short, the mother, or anyone else for that matter, has the absolute right to *change her mind* with her

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In the Literature

Bibliography on Abortion

by David Gordon

AS MURRAY ROTHBARD has noted, libertarian interest in the question of abortion centers around the question: "Should abortion be a crime?" To the libertarian, who must always separate legal from general moral theory, the crucial question is always, "Shall such and such an action be criminal, or shall it be licit in the free society?" (Murray N. Rothbard, "Should Abortion Be A Crime? The Abortion Question Once More," *Libertarian Forum*, July 1977, p. 2, reprinted in this issue of *Vanguard*.)

In order for an action to be a crime, it must violate someone's rights; and since only persons have rights, it at first glance appears that the legitimacy of abortion depends on whether the fetus is a person. (The possibility that abortion violates someone else's rights, e.g., those of the baby's father, has not been widely discussed, with good reason I think.) The traditional Roman Catholic position, defended by John F. Noonan, Jr., in "An Almost Absolute Value in History," is that a fetus is, from the moment of its conception, a human being. In his view, the "positive argument for conception as the decisive moment of humanization is that at conception the new being receives the genetic code." (Noonan, *op. cit.* in J. F. Noonan, Jr., ed., *The Morality of Abortion*, Harvard University Press, 1970, p. 57). The fetus, then, is a human being; killing a human being violates its rights; therefore, abortion, which kills the fetus, violates its rights and ought to be prohibited.

The issue, however, is not as straightforward as Noonan's argument would have us believe. For one thing, why should determining whether the fetus is a human being depend on whether or not it possesses a human genetic code? As Karry Anne Warren has pointed out, the expression "human being" or "person" has two different senses. In one, it means "something like 'a full-fledged member of the moral community.'" In the other sense, it means only a member of the species *homo sapiens*. ("On the Moral and Legal Status of Abortion," *The*

Monist, Volume 57. No. 1, January 1973) It is only persons in the first sense who have rights: that some entity is, in biology, classified a certain way of itself alters nothing about the entity's moral standing. (I do not mean to exclude from consideration the view that any and all members of the species *homo sapiens* are ipso facto human beings in the first sense as well. The point is rather that to say this (or to deny it) requires some argument: the matter isn't to be settled merely by appeal to the biologists.)

Furthermore, there is an additional weakness in Noonan's argument. Even if one were to concede that a fetus is a human being in the moral sense from the moment of its conception, this would be insufficient to show that abortion violates rights. Not everything that results in the death of a human being is *murder* (i.e., killing that violates rights). Killing someone in self-defense, for example, neither is, nor ought to be, legally regarded as murder.

Abortion certainly leads to the death of the fetus, and, in some of its varieties, may involve directly killing it; but is this murder? According to Judith Jarvis Thomson, it is not. One's right to life does not give one the right to use another's body against his or her will. If, then, a mother does not wish the fetus to use her body for support, she is under no legal obligation to allow it to do so, and may expel it. (Thomson's article, many times reprinted, first appeared in *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Fall 1971.)

The argument, which in my opinion is crucial to the entire controversy, has been well stated by Rothbard: "But, then, who will maintain that a full, adult human being has the legal, enforceable right to remain enclosed within the body of another human being without the latter's consent? Surely, that is absurd. But if no *adult* human being has such a legal right, then *a fortiori*, the fetus cannot have such a legal right either." (Rothbard, *op. cit.*, p. 2) Walter Block ("Toward A Libertarian Theory of Abortion," *Libertarian Forum*, September 1977,

pp. 6-7) advances a similar argument. He claims, however, that a fetus ought to be expelled from its mother's body by a method that will preserve its life, if such a method is available.

Not everyone has been satisfied with the argument of Thomson's just presented. James Sadowsky, S.J., ("Abortion and the Rights of the Child," *Libertarian Forum*, July-August 1978, pp. 2-3) denies that the fetus is a trespasser. "But is the infant a trespasser the moment his presence in the womb is no longer desired? Does he have no right to be there? . . . To say that he is trespassing is to say that he is somewhere where he ought not to be. But where should a fetus be if not in its mother's womb? That is its natural habitat." Rothbard ("The Editor Replies," *LF*, July-August 1978, p. 3) counters by distinguishing what is natural from what is morally right. That a fetus is where it *naturally* ought to be does not show that it *morally* ought to be there. I think Rothbard's convincing rejoinder can be supplemented by noting that the force of the argument that no one has the right to use another's body does not depend on the aptness of the particular words ("trespasser" or "parasite") used to characterize the relationship between a mother and a fetus she does not want in her body.

Joel Steinberg has questioned Thomson's argument on the grounds that the right of bodily autonomy does not allow one, except under special conditions, to kill innocent persons interfering with one's exercise of that right. But this rejoinder I think will have little appeal to most libertarians. Feinberg's objection occurs in his "Abortion" in Tom Regan, ed., *Matters of Life and Death* (Random House, 1980, pp. 183-217) Feinberg's essay is an excellent summary of the literature. □

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Letters

Editor:

Murray Rothbard and Scott Olmsted ably defend the legitimacy of libertarian political activity in your April issue, but one thing disturbs me. In my view, the most irksome charge of the Voluntaryists is that engaging in political activity undermines the libertarian's ability to delegitimize the state in the eyes of the people. Since the people's assessment of the state as legitimate is the glue that ultimately holds the political system together, this is a rather serious charge.

And Rothbard and Olmsted seem to concede it. They write, "... libertarians must organize a majority, or at least a substantial minority of Americans around their ideas, and we must do it, at least in the short run, within the system that exists." (Emphasis added.) Here I take them to mean that the content of libertarian political activity is inherently limited by the very facts of life that make "a political party the only kind of organization currently available to us that can have the kind of effect we want."

In other words, since "most Americans are not interested in political ideas or organizations except as they relate to the system that currently exists," libertarian political activity must—bite my tongue—pull its punches so as not to let on that libertarians reject "the system that currently exists." To so let on would undermine the prospects for the party's long-run success. But if this is true, I wonder what grounds there are for objecting to the campaign strategies routinely disparaged by *Libertarian Vanguard*.

The Voluntaryists may feel vindicated by these implications of Rothbard/Olmsted. I myself am rather unhappy with them, but if they are valid, we ought to know it so we can make intelligent choices in the future.

Sheldon Richman
Springfield, Virginia

Murray Rothbard replies:

Sheldon Richman raises an important point: can we make use of the political system while at the same time denying its legitimacy? Let us turn for a moment to another example: can libertarians continue to send letters by the U.S. Postal Service while at the same time denying its legitimacy and calling for its abolition? Surely we can, and most of us would properly consider it bizarre and self-defeating to refuse to use the existing system and to insist on sending all our letters by the far more costly Federal Express. In the same way, it is equally bizarre to refuse to use one important channel by which the State allows us to organize and move against its rule. We must never forget that we did not create such institutions as the Postal Service and the electoral system. But we are enmeshed in State institutions willy-

nilly, and should not hesitate to use those institutions against themselves in order to break free. Refusal to do so is not principled and heroic; it is sectarian and counter-productive.

Scott Olmsted adds:

As an analogy, one might consider a person attending the theater who sees that there is a fire and wants to stop the play and get the audience out. The most effective means of doing this might be to leap to the stage and speak directly to the entire audience (whose attention is on the stage), even though at first the audience might think that this is simply part of the performance. Trying to inform members of the audience individually without disrupting the play would be ineffective in that only a small number of them could be reached before the theater burned. (Presumably, we don't care whether the "actors" currently on the American political stage burn or not.)

The mistake in the proposed chain of reasoning is to conclude that because circumstances leave us no good alternative than to use the existing electoral system to spread our message, we therefore must not let the people know that we regard the system as illegitimate. So long as libertarians regularly remind the electorate that our goal is to bring to an end the existing system of injustice, and that our participation in political life should in no way be construed as an endorsement of that system, we need pull no punches. It is not abandoning our principles to use the most effective means of organizing that is currently available.



Editor:

I read the article "Is Voting Unlibertarian?" in the April 1983 *Libertarian Vanguard*. It is an interesting article and makes some good points. I am not clear of my own position on the ethics of voting, but I have some questions that have been bothering me.

The first question is that it seems reasonable to argue that to participate in an election is to implicitly accept the results of that election, whether or not you voted on the winning side. It doesn't seem right to say that you will accept the election results if they agree with your vote, but not accept the results if you voted the other way.

The second question that bothers me is in the case of a Libertarian candidate who is elected to an executive office. You state that such an official would be acceptable if he "... refuses to enforce aggressive laws and

taxes, etc." As I understand it, any executive officeholder is required to take an oath of office affirming that he will enforce the Constitution and all existing laws. Certainly a libertarian is an honorable person who will keep his voluntarily given word. (I say voluntarily because no one forced him to run for office.)

I would appreciate your comments on these points.

Richard M. Ede
Burbank, California

Rothbard and Olmsted reply:

Richard M. Ede's thoughtful letter raises two important points. On whether or not Libertarian participation in an election means that we "implicitly accept the results," the statist, as Herbert Spencer pointed out a century ago, try to put us in a Catch-22 situation. For if we don't vote, then we are charged with "failing to take the opportunity to participate" and by that passivity implicitly accept the results. So the only thing we can do is to make clear that in accepting the opportunity to participate in elections we are not endorsing the legitimacy of the State or the limited choice it allows us. In the same way, if we use the U.S. Post Office to urge its abolition, we Libertarians are not implicitly endorsing the existence of that unfortunate institution.

On the matter of taking the oath of office, swearing to uphold the Constitution does not require us to accept the statist interpretations of the Constitution that have been imposed upon us by the U.S. Supreme Court, which, under Federalist lame duck John Marshall, usurped the power to make ultimate and decisive interpretations of constitutional law. The Jeffersonian strict constructionist view granted to such power to the Supreme Court: each person and official in the U.S. should have the right to advance his or her own interpretation of the Constitution. Thus, when Libertarians swear to uphold the Constitution, we are free to carry our own interpretation in our heart. I submit that the correct Libertarian view is that of Lysander Spooner: that the Ninth Amendment, properly interpreted, outlaws virtually every act taken by any government, federal or state, since 1789.

The "forgotten" Ninth Amendment states: "The enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." What this Amendment clearly says is that there are other rights beyond those enumerated in the first eight amendments, and, further, that it is the constitutional duty of the courts to find out what those rights are and enforce them.

What are those rights? Here we must go back to the intent of the anti-Federalists who framed the amendment. What rights meant then were clearly the natural rights of person and property, and government was not supposed to go beyond the task of defending those rights. Hence, the Ninth Amendment enshrines the libertarian moral system in the Constitution, and any acts of government violating such principles are, in our view, unconstitutional. Taking the oath of office to uphold such a Constitution, therefore, should hold no problems for Libertarians. □

Editor's Note: The following letter concerns an article that appeared in The Libertarian Forum. Nonetheless, the editor believes that it will be of interest to the readers of Libertarian Vanguard.

Editor:

I should say I am aghast at Murray Rothbard's "The New Menace of Gandhism," but I am not surprised. Aghast at the blatant intolerance, un-surprised by the Randian-Objectivist attitude toward anything spiritual.

The rising tide of Gandhism is, at any rate, not the worship of a man or even of his particular methods or beliefs, but of his attitudes. Gandhites (speaking for myself) will certainly modify the methods to befit the times. Non-violent resistance, in this country, would certainly be a far cry from the massacres and slaughter of Gandhi's time. Also, libertarians are indeed not especially pacifists by being non-violent in intent. Certainly I do not turn the other cheek, rarely. And before Gandhi came into my reading, I was cheering Thoreau, who advocated the same civil disobedience. Where do Randians get off setting the standards for a philosophy and movement, ages old long before Ms. Rand came upon the scene?

Abortion

own body and will, for the ownership of them cannot be surrendered. Even if the mother wanted the baby in the first place, she has the absolute right to change her mind, and the moment she does so, the fetus becomes an unwanted, invasive parasite upon the body of the mother. The right of abortion remains absolute. □

*Judith Jarvis Thomson, "A Defense of Abortion," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (Fall 1971), pp. 55-56.

Reprinted from The Libertarian Forum, July 1977.

Defending this libertarian's defection from Mr. Rothbard's observations, I would have to say that, firstly, I have always been a supporter of the American Revolution, violence and all. I do not, however, believe it is necessary now, but if so I have no doubts libertarians will fight one.

This "craze" does not serve a function for "burnt out" activists as, speaking for myself, I am working just as hard and harder than ever. My activity remains the same. I have simply decided I cannot support a libertarian political party. Or government by voting. I still participate in political activities but no "candidate-type" support and action. A "drop out" of anything I am not, Mr. Rothbard. Only that which has clay feet or I have outgrown. Politics is a child's-play-ego-trip. A mania for fame and power. What good have the ego trips of those who are in office, and have been for a while, done for libertarian freedom? Not one iota. Not one. They have compromised themselves right back to warmed-over republicansville from whence they came. I have yet to see a leopard successfully change his spots.

I do not think any of us are going to throw ourselves into the machinery of the state. We are not martyrs, but we are activists. I cannot speak for the others, but I do not "sit around" talking, since my non-political decision. I am still writing, to editors, to legislators, and in other areas. I am publishing, I am involved in Toastmasters, speaking libertarianese wherever I am. I have offered "education" with other writers' works and my own reasoning, to my share of potential believers. I do not consider myself burnt out or inactive. Crazy maybe. But not lazy.

I do not think reviling Gandhi's motives or beliefs serves any purpose since they are not the core of the non-violent, non-acquiescing philosophy. Certainly I have not heard anyone of us call him a libertarian or a saint. Certainly he had his personal motives just as you, I, and others have theirs. Gandhi's fanaticism is acknowledged. It served its purpose, for its time and place. It is not necessarily ours. His sexual attitudes are also his personal business. I fail to see the pertinence except to sneer and revile. A man's belief is his fortress. Although perhaps not agreed with, the man is no less guilty of anything than those who mindlessly obeyed. A man sets himself up as a certain something, rounds up a following and pursues his dream. Everyone has that privilege and prerogative, Mr. Rothbard, and may the most effective and "followed" movement win. What "type" of libertarians eventually start, or win, or lose, the "revolution" will determine the future direction of this nation.

I have chosen the way I feel is the most decent, ethical, and honest. Shame on you, Murray Rothbard, for showing your "fear" through such an intolerant article.

Yes, the best activists are deserting your LP and that is the fear. That there are no longer any libertarians in the political party. And there are not.

As for Mr. Gandhi "selling out," he had the prerogative of living and learning and changing his mind as do all the rest of us. Except we start where he left off.

Perhaps, Mr. Rothbard, you may consider that the libertarian movement is not as steeped in the heritage (?) of Rand and Mises as you think, but instead, steeped in far deeper philosophies than the objectivists and the economists. Any movement sans spirituality will die, and the LP is already very ill. I would be afraid, too, Mr. Rothbard, for truth will out and will then set us all free. Whose? Only time will tell.

Lorraina M. Valencia
Phoenix, Arizona

Editor:

In defense of the Voluntaryists, the movement needs them. Or at least the movement needs what the Voluntaryists could become. As an organization supporting candidates for political office the LP cannot directly confront the attitudes supporting democratic statism. While the LP can attack the power of political office we cannot attack the office itself. It makes little difference to the American electorate if the predominant anarchist core of the LP adamantly opposes all government. All the public will continue to see are LP candidates running for office—which they can only logically conclude is tacit support for political office, i.e., the democratic state. Today we find the LP in the curious position of advocating a return to electoral politics ("Vote Libertarian—Now You Have a Real Choice") at a time when many Americans are joining the growing non-voting public. It seems the libertarian movement should be encouraging a public disdain and cynicism of political office, not discouraging it. But, of course, this the LP cannot do if it is going to act like a political party. Consequently, we need an activist organization that can credibly say "to hell with government power, even democratically elected power"; an organization that can cultivate a public contempt for all politicians and the power they inherit. What tactics to use is still up for debate. Certainly, if all the Voluntaryists do is publish letters attacking the LP they won't get very far anyway. But the potential is there for the Voluntaryists to serve as an alternative libertarian activist organization. They should be given more than their eight months in existence to show us what they can do.

Jay Hilgartner
Arlington, Virginia

Brickbats & Bouquets

● **TIPS** for convention-goers. Watch Dick Randolph. Randolph is the most popular figure still allied with the Crane Machine. The Machine will try to get the most mileage out of him that they can. Top Crane ally and New York boss Gary Greenberg has already named Randolph as the convention's keynote speaker and has booted LP founder Dave Nolan off the strategy panel in order to seat Randolph on it.

Watch the Money. The other principal asset that the Crane Machine has is Crane's long-time pipeline to the generosity of the Koch family. Crane's usual ploy is: "If you want money, I want control."

Dark horses and late entrants: Gary Greenberg, warhawk and Crane collaborator *extraordinaire*, has sent up a trial balloon. He says in the convention newsletter that he controls that he has been positioning himself to run for National Chair. Also Larry Smiley of the Wisconsin LP is seriously considering a run for the LP Presidential nomination.

● A **BRICKBAT** to the entire Crane Machine and especially Ed Crane himself for seriously promoting the idea of right-wing Republican Avi Nelson as the LP's 1984 Presidential candidate. At the instigation of Crane Machine financier David Koch, the top Crane Machine operatives (including Chris Hocker and Howie Rich) recently met with Nelson to sound him out on his availability. . . . The funny thing was that Nelson wasn't interested in their proposal. . . .

To continue the sad, sad story of this further chapter in Crane Machine opportunism: Nelson is a Boston radio talk-show personality. The job he has is a fact rich in irony—because the Crane Machine has spent the last few months attacking the occupation of talk-show host as low, lacking in stature, and entirely un-Presidential. These attacks were aimed at crippling the efforts of talk-show host Gene Burns (whom Crane calls "a God-damn disc jockey") to obtain the LP's 1984 nomination. But once the Machine's interest in Nelson developed, radio work suddenly became a noble calling. . . .

But this **BRICKBAT** is not simply for hypocrisy but, more importantly, for the Crane Machine's affinity for crackpot conservatism. Let's start with racism. During the summer of 1975, blacks attempted to use Carson Beach, a Boston-area public beach. Rioting whites who wished to ban blacks from this government-run beach were cheered on by Nelson. In contrast, another Boston talk-show host, quasi-libertarian David Brudnoy (a frequent writer for *Reason* and *Inquiry*) deserves a belated **BOUQUET** for having defended police protection for the blacks. . . .

Nelson is a hawk on foreign policy; he made the Panama Canal a central issue of his

unsuccessful 1978 campaign for the GOP nomination for U.S. Senator. He is a superhawk in his support of Israel. Perhaps, you think, he's still an advocate of laissez-faire economics? He can't be all bad? Wrong. During his 1978 campaign, Nelson ran a 30-second TV ad in which he called for "more revenue for government programs like education and senior citizen care." Racism, imperialism, and welfare statism—our thanks to the Crane Machine for offering up such an excellent candidate for consideration. . . .

● Having just awarded David Brudnoy a **BOUQUET** for something he did in 1975, we feel it is only just to award him a **BRICKBAT** for something he has done recently. The May 26 Washington *Times* prints an opinion column by Brudnoy in which he applauds and seconds William F. Buckley's recent frank call for a consciously imperialist American foreign policy and Israeli occupation of Damascus. Brudnoy specifically endorses the idea of making Israel America's imperial surrogate in the Middle East. . . .

● **FOOTNOTE:** All movie buffs will remember the great court-martial scene in *The Caine Mutiny* in which Captain Queeg (Humphrey Bogart) starts clicking his steel balls together with mad intensity—and the great conclusion to *The Maltese Falcon* during which Casper Gutman, also known as

The Fat Man (Sidney Greenstreet), discovers that the black bird is not the real Maltese Falcon and begins obsessively hacking away at the bird. These are two high points in film-dom's portrayals of men gone bonkers. Now picture this, a scene that actually took place, but away from the lights and cameras: Ed Crane has caught a catfish and is at Jule Herbert's Virginia manor house. Crane is surrounded by his worshipful hirelings and toadies. Crane starts hacking away at the head of the catfish and chants, "This is Murray Rothbard, this is Murray Rothbard," as he cuts. At this chilling moment, the Crane Machiners break out into cheers. Ever wondered what goes on behind the facade of cool professionalism put up by the Crane Machine? Wonder no more. . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to David Boaz for his stated willingness in a hypothetical libertarian administration to use the police to hunt down tax evaders. . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to Roy Childs for his continuing drift toward a pro-Israeli position and his new-found love for an American standing army. . . . Another **BRICKBAT** or two to Roy for his most recent ventures in movement trashing: Roy is spending his time and Charles Koch's money calling and writing to people around the country urging them not to work with or cooperate with the Libertarian

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Party or a new Austrian economics institute. You would think Charles would want his money put to more constructive purposes. . . .

- A **BRICKBAT** to the Crane Machine for its latest action plan for the national convention in New York City. The Machine's scheme is to support "None of the Above" for President against Gene Burns. Then, once the Craniacs have succeeded in knocking Burns out of the race, they have a plan to reopen nominations and propose a ticket of Ed Crane for President and David Koch for Vice President. The scheme makes use of some old and some new Craniac tricks. The "None of the Above" ploy was used by Crane to defeat Hal Jindrich at the 1974 California LP convention. The ploy of not having an announced candidate in order to lull one's opposition into complacency was used by the Machine at the most recent New York state-LP convention. The bait of Koch money was used in 1979-80 to impose Crane Machine control on the 1980 Presidential campaign. So come one and come all to New York! The latest Crane Machine perfidy must be exposed and opposed. . . .

- A **BRICKBAT** to Crane Machine youth leader Milton Mueller for his recent applause (in the May-June *Competition* and in a letter published in *Inquiry*) for Judge Greene's antitrust decree on the telephone industry. . . . A big, big **BOUQUET** to *Inquiry* for its efforts to point out to Mueller the error of his ways. . . .

- Speaking of *Inquiry*, that publication deserves additional **BOUQUETS**: One for its excellent special issue on the military; another for editor Doug Bandow's recent defense of the exclusionary rule; a third for David Lampo's outstanding piece of gays, freedom, and discrimination; a fourth for Jonathan Marshall's dissection of Chile's economic disaster. Marshall is particularly to be commended for documenting *Reason* magazine's short-sightedness on the Chile issue. All four were jobs well done. . . .

- Some of you probably think that the Austrian economists at New York University are advocates of laissez-faire. Well, you're in for a surprise. The February 18 issue of the prestigious *Science* magazine featured a **BRICKBAT** article by NYU Austrian economist Dick Langlois in which he discusses how to allocate government research subsidies most effectively. How about the idea of no government subsidies, Dick? . . .

- Now let us venture to consider the Social Security issue: A **BOUQUET** to David K. Walter and SIL's *Individual Liberty* newsletter for Walter's reasonably clear descriptions of the various libertarian proposals on Social Security. . . . A **BOUQUET** to the national LP Platform Committee for passing Jeff Hummel's sound plank on the topic. . . .

- But a **BRICKBAT** to the Cato Institute for its financially disastrous, ideologically preposterous conference on Social Security.

. . . . At least *one* speaker, Roger Garrison, wanted to abolish Social Security. . . . At least *one* speaker, GOP honcho Pete Peterson, talked about the real politics of blasting those subsidized by Social Security out of their bastions of privilege—even if Peterson's solution was highly unsatisfactory. . . .

- But the big disappointment, as usual, was hero-bureaucrat Pete Ferrara of Cato and NTLF. Ferrara droned on in typical welfare-statist fashion about "contractually entitling" retirees to their "*promised benefits*"—the logic of Ferrara's position is that libertarians should favor delivering to the maritime industry the subsidies the government has *promised* it over the years. Libertarians are not here to deliver on the *promises* made by politicians past and present; we're out to see that property rights aren't violated. Ferrara also featured compulsory IRAs as an alternative to Social Security—another unsatisfactory remedy. Perhaps the most obnoxious of all was Ferrara's sly demagoguery to the effect that while the Washington Establishment politicians could not be trusted to deliver on the promises they have made, libertarians would deliver and could be trusted to deliver on the Social Security promises of the Establishment politicians. A large **BRICKBAT** to him. . . .

- Another **BRICKBAT** has to go to Bill McCuen for his article in *North Country Libertarian* (newsletter of the Wisconsin LP). McCuen also wants to guarantee "promised benefits" and use general revenues from taxation to do so. . . .

- The Libertarian Party of Ada County (Idaho) publishes a newsletter that has featured some excellent articles and analyses of issues. A **BOUQUET** especially to the February 1983 issue, which contains a flawless, in-depth argument against a state lottery, a look at a resolution by the Idaho House of Representatives asking that the Federal Reserve be abolished, along with the crank monetary groups that support it for the wrong reason, and a review of Franz Oppenheimer's theory of the state, all by D. Allen Dalton. . . .

- We just hate it when a libertarian pushes the idea that taxation is not always theft. But there it is in Robert Bakhaus's "Grassroots Lobbying Kit for April 15," distributed by the National Coalition to Legalize Freedom: "Taxation is *not always* theft! If services are being rendered, it can be a fee. Forced payment can be seen as proper collection of a debt owed. If someone has injured someone else. . . . taxation can be viewed as restitution. . . ." (emphasis in original) Bullpucky! A payment to a government monopoly is a fee only if one has the option of forgoing the service (and the fee), in which case it's not a tax. Neither is the collection of debts a tax. Nor is restitution a tax. Backhaus, who merits this **BRICKBAT**, seems to think that we need to back off from our "taxation is theft"

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stand to reach people with our tax protests. While we would agree that mere repetition of this truth is not enough, to scrap it is to abandon our principled stand. . . .

● Our long-standing request for literature and news clippings from libertarian campaigns has yielded a trickle of responses since last year's elections. Literature from the campaigns of the following candidates we hereby award **BOUQUETS** for taking a radical message to the people: Bea Armstrong, for Governor of Illinois (very attractive brochure); Dave Braatz, for Congress, North Carolina (the picture of his smiling dog should get the animal lovers' votes); Jack Moyers, for Governor of New Jersey (very readable); James L. Hudler, for State Senate, Michigan (hits hard on six key state issues); Nick Youngers, for Congress, Wisconsin (one of the better single-color, inexpensive brochures); Joe Fuhrig, for U.S. Senate, California ("There can be no compromise in the fight for liberty"); Herb Johnson, for State House, Arizona (says "Put Govt. Monopoly Postage Here" on the return mailer); and Peter B. Hull, for State Representative, Idaho (opposed "Right to Work" laws, an issue many libertarians are unsound on). Hull and friends also got an extensive writeup in the *Idaho State Journal* for their highly visible Tax Day Protest in Pocatello. A **BOUQUET** to them and all other tax protesters for an encouraging trend. . . .

● We award a **BRICKBAT** with the force of 100 equivalent megatons to New York LPer Alan Burris. In the 1983 edition of his libertarian primer, Burris reveals for all to see the underlying assumption of so many Defense Caucus types. Burris says that there is no difference between aggressors and non-aggressors. According to Burris, there can be no such thing as innocent civilians in the territory of a government that is fighting the U.S. government. "The economy and war efforts are seamless; there is no line that can be drawn between aggressors and the 'innocents' who support them." Sounds to us like a warrant for genocide. . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to Scott Burke, a libertarian in his undergraduate days, currently deputy assistant secretary for asylum and humanitarian affairs at the U.S. State Department. Scott now blesses us with the news that it would be "bad policy" to allow without restriction people from violent, impoverished, or war-torn countries to settle in the United States. Scott, would you and your fellow humanitarians in the Reagan administration (especially the ones who used to be libertarians) take a look at the words on the Statue of Liberty? Please! . . .

● **BOUQUETS** to *Reason* magazine and to the Orange County *Register* for recent pieces criticizing the idea that user fees are a cure-all for our woes. In the August *Reason*, Steve Hanks warns us to beware of "the use-fee-

mirage" and advocates private ownership rather than public ownership with user fees tacked on. An editorial in the June 27 *Register* maintains that the fees being imposed in California in the wake of Prop. 13 are taxes, "pure and simple." . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to David Luckstead, past LP candidate in Texas. In recent testimony before the National LP Platform Committee, Luckstead opposed open immigration on the grounds that Anglo culture would be "snowed under." Luckstead also testified in favor of a military draft. Here he took the left-liberal position that a military force must represent —by compulsion if necessary—a "cross-section" of the population. . . .

● Speaking of the Platform Committee, we cannot resist awarding a **BRICKBAT** to Committee member Mary Rewart of Michigan for her prize example of inimitable ultra-gradualist anarchism: She opposed as too extreme a plank calling for removal of margin restrictions on stock market transactions. . . .

● Another **BRICKBAT** goes to Platform Committee member Bill Marina of Florida for favoring the application of antitrust laws to professional sports. . . .

● A **BOUQUET** to 1976 LP Presidential candidate John Hospers for his excellent and popularly understandable critique of egalitarian academic philosophers in the June issue of *The Freeman*. . . .

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● A **BRICKBAT** to Peggy Jeney, Libertarian candidate for mayor of Tucson, Arizona. Instead of calling for elimination of victimless crime laws, her literature says that their enforcement should be low on the police's list of priorities. What we have here is a new variety of opportunism: Low-enforcement "law and order" conservatism. . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** is hereby awarded to *Liberal*, the Los Angeles County LP newsletter, for printing Joe Wheeler's article attacking the LP and all hierarchical organization. . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to California LPer Dick Mitchell for his article in the Fresno LP newsletter *Time for Liberty*, saying that libertarianism must transform itself so as to accentuate the positive. Mitchell is simply wrong to believe that anti-taxation, anti-central bank, or anti-slavery slogans have historically been unsuccessful. He even has the rather odd view that the slogan of hatred for war is not anti-war, but pro-peace. This example, in fact, sums up the absurdity of Mitchell's whole thesis. We have no quarrel with Mitchell's search for "positive" slogans that "appeal to the underlying self-enhancement dreams of many diverse individuals." But this does not mean that people cannot be mobilized behind anti-government slogans that attack government actions that destroy or deny those "self-enhancement dreams." And fur-

thermore, we hoist the flag of caution: Past efforts to make libertarianism a "positive" doctrine have usually resulted not in better restatements of libertarianism but in statist accretions to libertarian doctrine. . . .

● A **BOUQUET** to Scott Bieser and the Texas LP for their "Cartoonist's Introduction to the Libertarian Party of Texas." Current wording of one panel tends to imply that the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Spanish-American War were non-aggressive on the part of the United States. And there are one or two other improvements that could be made. But overall, a commendable and imaginative effort. . . .

● A rather large **BRICKBAT** to the British Libertarian Alliance International led by Chris Tame and Tony Hollick. Tame is working with British fascists in a supposed attempt to combat the left. It is a sorry spectacle indeed to find a long-time libertarian like Tame working in collaboration with Alan Winder (south London organizer for the fascist British Movement), Charles Hanson (now of the National Socialist Workers Initiative, formerly of the National Socialist Movement), and Mary Page (one-time member of the fascist National Front). You would think that Tame would have learned better after his involvement with the Russian fascists of NTS. . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to those SLS Student Board members who, along with SLS National

Director Chris Gunderson, favor the repeal of the Solomon Amendment, which links draft registration to government financial aid. It seems to us that Libertarians should favor the abolition of all government financial aid rather than its restoration. The claim that "we'll lose touch with the anti-draft movement" is not a sufficient excuse. This is an excellent occasion for SLS to make the point to the anti-draft movement that with government aid comes government control. . . .

● You probably thought we were through with Pete Ferrara for this issue. Well, we wish we were. But Cato's hero-bureaucrat has come up with another **BRICKBAT**-worthy humdinger. In a book recently put out by the "New Right" Free Congress Foundation, Ferrara argues for replacing Jefferson's doctrine of a "wall of separation" between church and state, with the egalitarian theocratic policy of nondiscrimination in government subsidies to religious groups for secular purposes. May Paine, Jefferson, Madison, and Rand haunt your nightmares, Pete. . . .

● Believe it or not, a **BOUQUET** to British free-market conservative Enoch Powell. Powell's opinions on immigration and Ireland are execrable, but at the end of May, during Britain's recent election campaign, Powell delivered a bold critique of both Britain's own nuclear deterrent and America's doctrine of extended deterrence. . . .

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