

FROM THE CHAIR

Maximizing efforts

by Jon Michael Hall

In an earlier column, I stressed the importance of linking electoral efforts to community involvement. In this column, I will expand upon the theme of community involvement and suggest ways for libertarian activists to take part in community activities which increase liberty and which may serve as a basis for the growth of the movement.

Good sources for ideas about what is going on in your community are local newspapers which usually include a column of announcements of meetings and volunteer activities, community bulletin boards provided as a public service by radio and TV stations, and the presentations of persons who may approach local Libertarian Party organizations soliciting aid.

Once you have gained some idea of what affiliations are available to you in your community, you must decide how to budget your finite time and energy as specific commitments. I submit that your primary considerations in making this decision should be: 1. is this activity congenial to me and, 2. is the effect of this activity likely to be pro-liberty.

In my own case, I prefer working with people rather than paper work or figures; further, I prefer teaching or informing individuals rather than persuading them. Obviously, if the only positions open in a community group are back office or hard-sell type jobs, I should look elsewhere no matter how committed I may be to the ideals involved. I would probably not be happy and therefore would probably not do a good job and serve as an example of libertarianism to others.

Once you have determined which involvements would be congenial to you as an individual, you must distinguish those that are pro-liberty from those that are neutral or even anti-liberty.

Some examples:

In the case of groups working for changes in the system of public education, those which would abolish public schools or institute tax credits to free up and privatize the system should be viewed as pro-liberty. A voucher system permitting choice among public schools, on the other hand, is neutral although it does

expand individual options. A proposal to institute year round use of school buildings as a cost cutting measure is anti-liberty.

Some taxpayer groups advocate the repeal of or resistance to specific taxes or taxation in general; such groups are pro-liberty. Groups which advocate reduced taxes, tax ceilings, or changes in the way in which taxes may be imposed are neutral in their effects while those groups which advocate closing loopholes in order to achieve 'fair taxes' are anti-liberty.

The military draft is a clear example of pro-liberty vs anti-liberty groups. Groups which call for repeal of or resistance to the draft are clearly pro-liberty while groups which call for a 'fair draft' including women or with no deferments are clearly anti-liberty. Groups which are effectively neutral might call for only a wartime draft, or a system which permitted many types of deferments.

As a general rule, congenial pro-liberty groups and activities should be enthusiastically supported while avoiding anti-liberty commitments. Neutral groups should be supported or aided only to the extent that there is a very good chance of radicalizing them into a pro-liberty stance. If community groups in your locality are only marginally pro-liberty and seem resistant to radicalization, you might be well advised to devote your time and effort to working for Libertarian Party or California Libertarian Council projects such as internal education, voter registration, or candidate support.

Mike Hall is chairman of the California Libertarian Council, the membership organization officially recognized as the state affiliate of the national Libertarian Party.

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SPECIAL NATIONAL CONVENTION ISSUE

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"What democracy needs most is a party of liberty." —H.L. Mencken

August-September 1981



AtLP/10

Four will vie for chair in Denver

See page 16

National chair candidates John Mason of Colorado, Alicia Clark of California and Kent Guida of Maryland appeared in California on August 1 & 2 before delegate caucuses in Orange County and San Francisco.

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I hereby certify that I do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political or social goals.

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CALIBER subscription (non-member) \$10

- Donation for regional newsletter (Suggest \$2-\$10)
- Donation to assist regional activities
- Donation to help support the California Libertarian Council
- Membership dues only—no California Libertarian—minus \$8 Total

*This includes a 20% discount off the Libertarian National Committee dues.

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...and much, much more!!



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EDITORIAL

"Let Truth and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" —John Milton, 1644

Defending the Party of Principle

by Less Antman

In the summer issue of **FREE TEXAS**, a news report carried the unsurprising information that there are factions involved in the present race for National Chair. Fulfilling his journalistic responsibility to the members of the Texas LP, executive editor Mike Grossberg reported the opinions of some of these factions. With the quality and good taste that is the hallmark of **FREE TEXAS**, none of the editor's personal opinions were injected into a story filled with strong opinions.

While he should have been roundly praised for his courage in reporting on a rather uncomfortable subject, Grossberg has received strong criticism instead. Although there were legitimate claims that the opinions reported on deserved rebuttal (which this editor knows is often difficult to obtain when deadlines are approaching, and which was offered to offended parties for the subsequent pre-election issue), much of the criticism of the story focused on the supposedly damaging effects of party organs allowing the expression of opinions on any matter which divides members of the LP. If so, then this editor has been (and will continue to be, with the support of a laid-back and tolerant membership only California could produce) a culprit as deserving as any for a lynching. What are we up to?

After four issues of the "new" **CALIBER**, it's a good time to address the reasons for our present editorial policy - one of encouraging open analysis of divisive issues, and harsh (and occasionally unfair) criticism of the efforts of various individuals and groups within the Libertarian Party.

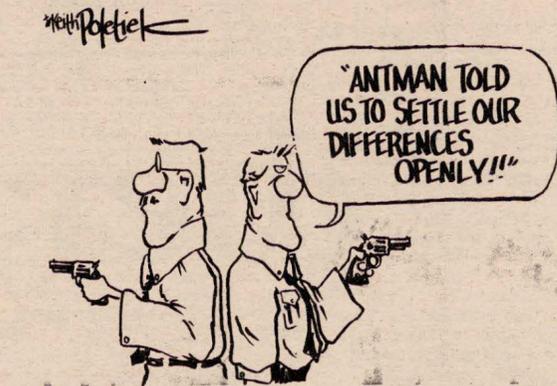
It has long been a tradition that party newsletters and newspapers limit their content to news of past events, calendars of future events, swipes at Democrats and Republicans, and regular editorials exhorting members to work harder and contribute more. Some of the larger state publications devote space to useful educational pieces on issues and a review of the libertarian heritage. All of these services are valuable, and I don't mean to suggest that such approaches should be condemned.

CALIBER, however, has chosen to take a different approach - one which fills a void in the party which we feel is potentially dangerous. We have chosen to allow - and even encourage - views which are unconventional, critical, and even (in the judgement of some people) downright crazy.

Are we out to destroy the party through nasty and factional disputes? Is this an anti-LP plot? How does the editor explain his support of Richard Nixon in 1972, and the frequency with which he is seen conversing with Sam Konkin?

It's time to explain what philosophy motivates the approach we have taken, one so different from such outstanding state party publications as **FREE TEXAS** and **COLORADO LIBERTY**. To do so, it's useful to look at our party and the libertarian movement today.

At the 10th anniversary celebration of the Libertarian Party in Denver this year, several questions of great importance to the future of the party will be discussed. In addition to the normal process of strengthening the platform and choosing a new National Chair, a number of potentially angry and divisive battles may ensue on the control of future presidential campaigns, and even the desirability of



a national committee. Already there is a cry on the part of several individuals to stop criticizing matters of tactics and structure, and to forget the past. This attitude, while superficially the one most conducive to unity, is possibly one of the key reasons for the continued factionalism and negativism of many in (and many other no longer in) the party.

Dave Nolan and a few other Coloradans formed the LP on December 11, 1971. There have been constant bitter battles over goals, issues, and strategy ever since, and there is no reason to expect that any two libertarians (let alone several thousand) will ever come to total agreement. However, it is essential that the existence of such diversity be recognized by all members. Chastising members for disapproving of various actions and exhorting them to stop being negative is as ridiculous a demand when made by libertarians as when it is made against libertarians by conservatives and liberals. How often have we been attacked for being negative about government?

This is not meant to suggest that all of the charges and proposals are correct. Certainly members are obliged to point out the errors by those who criticize or advocate various reforms. It is hard to believe that all of the charges made against the tactics of the Clark campaign, for example, are true; and equally hard to believe that they are all untrue. Unless we discuss them in the open, however, we cannot come to any kind of consensus.

It is likely, furthermore, that the calls for unity and suppression of dissent by the hierarchy during the campaign have been responsible for both the defection of many long-standing members of great value and integrity, and the overly-bitter and sometimes exaggerated criticisms by others. Had there been a tradition of respectful criticism through official organs, then there would not have been so many private letters and independent exposes circulated, nor would so much destructive and unfair gossip be observed.

Indeed, even Clark at the 1980 LPC Convention answered a question about a slip in one of his press conferences with the comment that he had made an error and wished the questioner, who was present at the time, had corrected him. He clearly saw that the proper alternative to the cataloging of his errors for post-election attacks was the process of LP members speaking up at conferences and sending letters to the editor correcting misstatements and/or misquotes. Such actions could easily have been taken without implying that the errors were deliberate on the part of Clark. Furthermore, *balanced*

we do not. It is necessary to identify and praise successes as well as criticize failures. Such praise is more meaningful, in fact, when made by those who express their opinions honestly than when done as a matter of policy.

The other danger was noted above in referring to the presentation of *balanced* information. If a party newsletter limits its opinions to that of the editor, then it probably is more dangerous than useful. A policy of limiting the editor's opinion pieces to one page per issue, as does **CALIBER**, is helpful. Furthermore, opinions should be solicited on both sides (or all sides) of disputes whenever possible.

Admittedly, many states have not passed the stage where the essential service of news and event calendars can be presented with any leftover space. **CALIBER** benefits from the size of its membership and the large number of outstanding local newsletters which carry some of the burden. This allows the presentation of viewpoints from all wings of the movement.

Hopefully, the publication of opinion pieces by Ed Crane, Justin Raimondo, Richard Slomon, Andy Garrett, Milton Mueller, Wendy McElroy, Kevin Dye, David Boaz, Jeff Hummel, and myself do not represent a conspiracy to push a particular position to the exclusion of others. Former members of the John Birch Society are invited to submit their theories, however.

It is time that we abandon the traditional view that discussion, disagreement, and debate constitute a threat to the party and the movement. Without the constant refinement of our application of libertarian principles, and the ongoing error-filled process of determining the proper strategy for advancing our ideas to the general public, we will have no integrity, no principles, and eventually - no Party of Principle.

With open and honest criticism we can continue to build a party and a movement of which we can be proud. It is toward this end that **CALIBER** is dedicated.

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Caliber Deadlines
October-November September 1
December-January November 1

CLC EXCOM MINUTES

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

MAY 30-31, 1981, San Jose
I. CALL TO ORDER, MINUTES, AGENDA: The regularly scheduled meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order by Chair Mike Hall at 1:20 P.M., May 30, 1981 at the LaBarron Hotel in San Jose.
The minutes of the February 13-15, 1981 State Convention were approved. Items and times on the proposed agenda were adjusted and several new items were added with the required two-thirds approval.
2. Representatives from Kern County applied for membership in the CLC to become Region 21. This was ruled out of order by the Chair, as no formal petition with the required signatures had been presented.
3. Martin Burger, Northern Vice Chair, made his report. He noted some slippage in the level of Libertarian activities following the November election. However, the San Jose office is now open full time. He commented on the need for Council-Party participation in election preparations. In the last election, approximately 70% of the Congressional, State Senate and State Assembly seats were contested by Libertarians. \$112,000 was spent on these races, \$40,000 of it raised locally.
He had several suggestions to pool resources more effectively. By setting up a Political Action Committee at the national level, money could be funneled into the most promising local races, those with the greatest chance of a win, or of scoring a significant vote total. Also, he proposed forming a Northern California Committee to elect Libertarians, to perform the same functions for State Senate and Assembly races.
4. Melinda Pillsbury-Foster, Southern Vice Chair, reported. She stressed the importance of establishing contact with the media, including the use of media packets with information on the Party and Council. The suggestion was made to form a Libertarian Advocates organization, a group of lawyers which would assist individuals pursuing lawsuits, wherever it would advance the Libertarian movement.
She also suggested sending booklets to talk shows, listing Libertarians who would make interesting interview subjects. In line with this, a Libertarian Speakers' Bureau has been organized in Los Angeles and is looking for affiliates.
The Eagle Rock office is now operating and is seeking to start classes on Libertarianism and to become self-sufficient.
5. Bob Lehman, Membership Secretary, reported. The membership file has been converted to a new IBM486 word processor, which will reduce our costs. The CLC currently has 1146 members. Membership cards will be printed and information packets are being sent to new and renewing members.
6. Treasurer's report: Level 1. We are currently retiring approximately \$1000 of debt per quarter. He pointed out that extraordinary fundraising efforts are called for, since our current debt runs between \$5000 and \$7000. (There are some disputed charges.) The Audit Committee reports are now ready.
7. Less Antman, editor of **CALIBER**, reported. The first two issues under his editorship have come out on schedule.
Less set the following policy for copies of **CALIBER** being sent to non-subscribers: individual copies will cost \$1.00, 50-100 copies will cost 25¢ each, 100+ copies will cost 10¢ each. Fifty free copies will be sent to each Region that provides news items. He requested that individual members become Regional **CALIBER** contacts, providing news and articles.
A motion was made to give the complete CLC mailing list to the **CALIBER** editor. It passed, unopposed.
8. Karen Huffman gave the Literature Committee Report. New literature order forms are being completed and will be ready for use in July. These are available from Liberty Books in San Jose.
9. A motion was passed to suspend the rules to hear Bart Lee, a possible Libertarian candidate for California Attorney General in 1982. Bart noted that \$15,000 was spent on his race for San Francisco District Attorney in 1979. His goal is to raise \$30,000 for the Attorney General's race, the issues to be raised including the prospect of turning the Attorney General Office's Anti-trust Unit against the State Government.
10. A motion was made to abolish the Membership Committee. Mark Hinkle cited the need for local responsibility over membership drives. Clayton Cramer countered with arguments on the economies of scale, that a statewide committee could be more effective. The motion to abolish the committee passed.
11. Mark Hinkle moved to abolish the Fundraising Committee. The motion passed, although Jack Dean argued that the Committee was necessary.
12. Sara Baase moved to abolish the Ballot Drive Oversight Committee. The motion passed, unopposed, with no discussion.
13. A report was made for the Victory in California Committee. Several hundred dollars remain in the Committee account. B.J. Waggoner has indicated that he would like to be held responsible for the account. The Chair stated that he will handle this situation.
14. A motion was made to abolish the Election Code Committee. It passed, unopposed, with no discussion.
15. Bill Evers moved to create a five member Endorsement committee, which would review all known registered Libertarian candidates for state office, including State Board of Equalization members, and make recommendations to the Executive Committee. The five members would be chosen by the Executive Committee, their terms to expire following the November 1982 elections. The motion passed.
16. The following candidates were nominated to be Endorsement committee members: Sara Baase, Martin Burger, Ed Crane, Jack Dean, Bill Evers, Mike Hall, Gary Meade and Jerry Seivers.
17. Elected to Endorsement Committee: Sara Baase, Martin Burger, Jack Dean, Bill Evers, Mike Hall.
18. Sara Baase reported on the Libertarian Party National Committee meeting.
19. Mike Hall reported on the plans for the 1982 CLC Convention. The banquet speaker will be Ron Paul, Texas congressman.
20. The CLC delegation to the LP National Convention in August will number 90, plus automatic delegates.
21. Eric Garriss suggested setting the next CLC EXCOM meeting for early August, so as to allow candidates for National Chair to speak before the Committee, as well as discuss issues to be raised at the National Convention. Sara Baase argued that it would be easier to hold the meeting after the NATCON.
22. A motion was made to set the next EXCOM meeting for late September. It passed: 15 yes, 11 no.
23. A motion was made and passed to suspend the rules so as to consider setting up National Convention Delegate Caucus meetings for both Northern and Southern California.
24. A motion was made to coordinate the planning of those meetings, to be held August 1 and 2. It passed, unopposed. Eric Garriss will organize the Northern California Caucus. Will Marshall will organize the Southern.
25. Colin Hunter and Scott Olmsted were nominated to be Platform Committee members at the NATCON.
26. A motion was made and passed to postpone the vote for Platform committee member until Sunday and to keep the nominations open until the vote.
27. Ed Wolford was nominated to be Platform Committee Coordinator and was elected by acclamation.
28. Lyn Sapowsky was nominated and elected for membership on the National Credentials Committee.
29. At 5:04 P.M. the meeting was recessed until Sunday morning.

30. At 9:25 Sunday morning, the Executive Committee reconvened.

31. Clayton Kramer was nominated for Platform Committee member. He mentioned abortion and the militarization of space as issues which should have separate plans.
32. Scott Olmsted was elected to be Platform Committee member.
33. Kevin Dye moved to recind the Policy Statement passed on 5/10/80 changing the name of The Newsletter to **CALIBER** to **CALIFORNIA LIBERTARIAN**. It passed, unopposed.
34. A motion was made to recind the Policy Statements passed on 2/21/77 and 4/30/77, regarding State Newsletter policy instructions to the **CALIBER** editor. It was argued that the editor should have a free hand in setting policy. The motion passed, unopposed.
35. Bill Evers moved to make **CALIBER** subscription fees separate from CLC membership dues. The motion failed.
36. A motion was made to allow **CALIBER** editors to set the price of any issues of **CALIBER** marketed outside of regular CLC channels. It passed, unopposed.
37. Mike Hall proposed that a fund-raising raffle be organized to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the upcoming National Convention. He pointed out that an attendance of 2000 was expected.
The mailing would be held June 10th, the drawing to be held August 10th. The prizes: 1. Package trip to the Convention, including transportation and lodging; 2. Subscriptions to Reason, Libertarian Review, Inquiry and Vanguard; 3. Auto-graphed copies of "Time For a New Beginning"; 4. A complimentary copy of the book "The Road to Nowhere".
Estimated cost of the prizes is \$700: printing - \$600, mailing list - \$50, postage - \$70 (\$360 if first class).
If 10,000 tickets can be sold at \$2.00 each, profits to the CLC could run to \$18,000. The first prize would be convertible to cash. One complimentary ticket would be given for each \$9.00.
38. Bob Lehman moved that we conduct the raffle as proposed by Mike Hall. It passed, unopposed.
39. Andy Garret reported on a proposed marijuana initiative. He noted the simplicity of the initiative and the number of groups willing to be involved in getting it on the ballot. The text of the initiative is as follows: "Adults, 18 years or older, shall not be punished criminally, or be denied any right, privilege, or reason of their private possession, transportation or cultivation of marijuana for personal use."
40. A motion was made to endorse this initiative and to affiliate with the sponsor. It passed, unopposed.
41. The following motion was made by Martin Burger: The Executive Committee of the California Libertarian Council establishes the following guidelines for the handling of memberships:
1. The processing of membership applications and dues, **CALIBER** subscriptions and membership packets and sending out of renewal notices are a primary responsibility of the state officers of the CLC.
2. Activities for obtaining new memberships or renewing current memberships are a primary responsibility of each regional organization of the CLC.
The Executive Committee of the California Libertarian Council establishes the following procedures for carrying out these guidelines:
1. That the Membership Secretary and Treasurer include in future reports how quickly membership applications and dues are being processed and corrective measures taken to reduce delays.
2. That the Membership Secretary develop a packet of materials to be sent to new and renewing members and report on its implementation at the next meeting of the EXCOM.
3. That changes in memberships by region need to be given a high priority in communications to the regions. In particular, that the Membership Secretary work with the editor of **CALIBER** to report on changes in membership in every regular issue.
4. That the regional organizations take responsibility for the membership drives, including the maximizing of renewals in their area.
The motion passed.
42. Bob Lehman moved that the CLC membership application be altered as follows: 1. To change the City, State, Zip line to City, County, Zip. 2. To delete the lines "I am eligible to vote in _____ County." And "I am (I am not) registered to vote in the Libertarian Party." 3. To substitute "Additional Donation in place of "Donation for regional newsletter (Suggest \$2-\$10)." "Donation to assist regional activities," and "donation to help support the California Libertarian Council." 4. To delete the line "Please allow six weeks for processing your application." (A motion to amend this line to "Please allow four weeks for processing your application." was also made and passed.) 5. To change the words "California Libertarian" to "Caliber." The motion passed. New CLC membership applications will reflect these changes.
43. Mark Hinkle introduced the following resolution, which passed, unopposed:
Whereas the C.A.S.T. initiative would prohibit any new tax, fee, or levy of any kind, increase, or extension of any existing tax, fee, or levy imposed by the people; and
And whereas the C.A.S.T. initiative requires that taxes imposed be spent only for the purpose for which it was passed; and
And whereas the C.A.S.T. initiative contains a "Sunset Clause" which requires the expiration of any tax, fee, or levy which is approved by the people of not more than six years;
Be it therefore resolved that the CLC endorses the C.A.S.T. initiative and pledges its support for its passage.
44. A motion was made to allow Reason Magazine to rent the CLC mailing list, at the rate of \$50 per 1000 names. It passed, unopposed.
45. Sally Foster introduced the following motion, which passed unanimously:
Whereas the platforms of the California Libertarian Council, Libertarian Party of California affirm our opposition to State certification and licensing of the practices of medicine and midwifery;
And whereas resolutions at the State and National levels of the Libertarian Party condemn the ongoing harassment of lay midwives by government officials and agencies;
Therefore, be it resolved that the Executive Committee of the California Libertarian Council endorse the efforts of the California Association of Midwives (CAM) and the many concerned individuals and groups who are working on behalf of Delia Burns, and join them in urging that Governor Brown fund their executive demands immediately.
46. Eric Garriss moved that the CLC oppose Assembly Bill 2131 and lobby against it. This Bill would very likely have the effect of forcing the Peace and Freedom Party off the California Ballot, which in turn would have the effect of driving voters from the Democratic and Republican Parties, primarily the Democratic. The motion passed unanimously.
47. Susan Love Brown introduced the following resolution, which passed unopposed:
Whereas the California inheritance tax constitutes the final indignity for citizens who throughout their lives have had their assets confiscated by numerous unarranged taxes only to be the victims of one final theft after death;
Whereas onerous taxes also steals from the survivors their rightful gift from the decedent;
Whereas Proposition 13 clearly demonstrates that the only way to reduce government spending is to restrict the government's ability to tax taxes;
Whereas individuals should have the right to dispose of their

assets as they see fit without fear of government seizure;
Therefore it is resolved that the California Libertarian Council support and endorse the I.N.H.E.R.I.T. constitutional amendment to abolish the California inheritance tax.
48. Bill Evers reported on the status of the state Assembly bill to change the rules under which we are currently operating, which were adopted from the rules of the Peace and Freedom Party. This bill would also include "None of the Above" on the Libertarian Party Primary Ballot. The bill was rejected and appears to be dead for the time being. He also reported on the search for an Executive Director to replace Don Doig, who has resigned. Candidates are being screened.
49. Alfonso Washington and Mel Tall, from Omni-Designers, made a presentation of fundraising and advertising proposals.
50. A motion was made to create a three person committee to study the proposals and past performance of Omni-Designers and report to the next Executive Committee meeting. The motion passed. Eric Garriss, Sally Foster and Clayton Kramer were selected by the Chair to be on this committee.

51. A motion was made to expand this committee to four people. It passed, Susan Love Brown becoming the fourth member.
52. Sally Foster introduced the following motion: The CLC commends Omni-Designers to its members and regional organizations as a vehicle for outreach through community development without government assistance or control.
The motion failed, following the argument that not enough was known about Omni-Designers and that any action of this nature should wait until after the Omni-Designer Study Committee report.
53. Regarding as yet unchartered regions, Mike Hall delegated responsibility to the Vice Chairs for negotiating with the Chairs of adjacent chartered regions and deciding which chartered region will represent any particular unchartered region.
55. The meeting was adjourned at 1:01 P.M.

Please report any errors or omissions to Mark Pickens, Recording Secretary, 1446 48th Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94122.

ELECTIONS/from p. 20

With these caveats in mind, however, the figures may be very useful. We are accustomed to speaking of aggregate vote, a habit acquired when our candidates' performance levels were not generally very impressive. Aggregate vote figures give us a way to see the forest, rather than just the trees... to perceive broad trends by comparison of comparable figures for successive elections. 1978 and 1980 might not seem comparable at first blush, due to the inclusion in 1980 of the large presidential vote. However, this was balanced by the drastically reduced number of governorships and other state offices up in presidential years. Indeed, the combined Clark for President and state level office vote in 1980 was only about 6% above the total state office vote of 1978. Thus, we see that the great increase in aggregate vote came not from the presidential campaign, but from the great number of lesser candidates running in 1980.

Twenty-nine states ran at least one libertarian candidate in 1978, while 36 ran at least one other than the presidential ticket in 1980. Eleven states ran no such candidates either year, three (Maryland, Minnesota, and Missouri) ran a candidate in 1978 but not in 1980, and 10 which had run none in 1978 ran at least one in 1980, while the remaining 26 ran candidates both years. The most prodigious increase was in the number of candidates for U.S. House of Representatives: while the numbers of U.S. Senate, state legislative, and local candidates each more than doubled, the number of House candidates increased over five fold!

The increased number of candidates was also focused on a few states. Nine-teen states ran roughly the same number of candidates in 1978 and 1980. Twelve sported a modest increase. In addition to the three states already mentioned, New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Massachusetts ran fewer candidates in 1980 than in 1978, for a total of six such states. Six of the 10 states to run candidates in 1980 but not 1978 ran only a few candidates. The remaining seven states scored spectacular increases in the number of candidates they ran. These were California, Delaware, Michigan, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas and Wisconsin.
The various states followed several different patterns of electoral development, which can be grouped into six rough categories. Fourteen states ran no candidates below the presidential level. Five states ran only a single candidate. Nine states ran a small number of candidates following no discernable pattern. Four states (Colorado, Virginia, Alabama, and Washington) focused on the U.S. House level. Eight states focused on legislative races (this category included some of the best performances; Alaska's two victories and one near victory in Montana. Ironically, it also included the only state to lose in aggregate vote, number of candidates, and average share of the vote - New Hampshire). The 10 remaining states ran large numbers of candidates at all levels, in some cases approaching full states.

One final anomaly deserves notice for comic relief: the only two states to run write-in candidates for U.S. Senate in 1980 were the same two states that were the only ones to list John Hospers as a presidential candidate in 1972.

That's right, Colorado and Washing-

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DYE/from p. 30

ilar problems.
Would the adoption of this proposal resolve our principal organizational problems, or at least those connected with our presidential campaign's relation to all the various party organs? Far from it. We haven't even mentioned the problems associated with the relations between state and national organizations, or state parties

and the presidential campaign, such problems will persist in droves so long as our party apparatus is modeled so faithfully after the federal government, which was after all, originally devised to be rather inefficient, a desirable quality in government, but not in private associations. This proposal is but a single modest reform of many yet to be made.

DYE from p. 13

paing and the ongoing party organization?"

To answer that question in the affirmative is to conceive of the convention as the only true national organization, the only organ capable of rendering decisions on both questions of education and public exposure, one which meets (and hence truly exists) only biannually, and which nominates a presidential candidate as its way of hiring a sort of glorified public relations man for the purpose of creating a pleasant impression in the public mind, and which chooses a national committee as its way of forming a sort of standing committee on internal education which should not interfere with the work of the PR man. It is, in short, to conceive of these two realms as so unrelated as to require no real coordination. To answer it in the negative is to conceive of the party as a unified, ongoing organization whose various activities serve a common goal and therefore require centralization of authority in the national committee between conventions to ensure their integration.

The biased manner in which I have stated the alternatives reveals my own position on this question; and, indeed, the adoption of the latter view places special emphasis on the need for a mechanism to mesh the efforts of the National Committee and the presidential campaign.

The second question, however, looms just as large whatever one's answer to the first: how is the envisioned relationship to be enforced? If one adopts the former view, for example, how is the convention to be sure that the "PR man" does the job it "hired" him to do? Likewise how does the convention effectively prevent the national committee's educational work from interfering with the campaign? If one adopts the latter view, what prevents the intransigence of either the national committee or the campaign committee from preventing their cooperation? No matter what model one adopts, there is no escape from the necessity of building controls into our party organization.

We are now in a position to address the issue at hand by holding the first question in abeyance until we see if the answers to the second may shed additional light on the subject. Only three general approaches to the question of control of presidential campaigns present themselves: either we retain an independent campaign, under the existing or similar arrangements; or we establish some special machinery for the sole purpose of regulating the campaign; or we subordinate the campaign to some existing party organ. Let us examine each of these alternatives in its principal variants with respect to enforceability, flexibility, and the potential for the generation of gratuitous discord within the constraints imposed by libertarian ethical and strategic considerations.

The existing arrangement offers the advantage that it requires no changes in our governing documents. I am hard pressed to think of any other. It fails all three of the tests suggested above. The most obvious of these defects is its lack of flexibility; it offers no sanction to lay against even the most wayward campaign short of repudiating the candidate or threatening to do the same. If ever a situation arose in which it became clear that such a

"By and large, the motivation of profit is primarily responsible for the vast amount of mutual service we find among us today. It is responsible for the constantly increasing standard of living in our country and the world in general. It is a moral method of encouraging all of us to serve each other better and effectively."
—Benjamin Fairless

severe sanction was warranted, it would probably come too late for the candidate's name to be removed from any ballots, and it would be virtually impossible to prevent the candidate from continuing his campaign. Even if it came earlier, however, there would be no way to compel the state organizations to put someone else on their ballots. The chaos and confusion could well destroy the party. Moreover, the negative publicity that would attend any such action would be so great as to call into question whether it would be used against any but a campaign that had taken on, say, the complexion of Tom Metzger's and thus ensured bad publicity come what may. In sum, the sanction is unenforceable. It is also likely to create gratuitous discord. If a NatCom member knows that the sanction will never be used, he is free to carp about the campaign, to his heart's content, knowing that no one will test his sincerity by putting the matter to a vote. Likewise, the campaign staff knows that it need show no respect to the NatCom, for there is nothing the NatCom can do in appropriate response. It is arguable, in fact, that these factors unnecessarily increased last year's rancor.

The second class of proposals is the broadest of the three. I include in this class of "special machinery" both proposals for the institution of some contractual arrangement and those calling for the establishment of some special oversight committee. This class seems to offer the most fertile field for implementing the schizoid "PR man vs. Education Committee" model of party organization, as it affords ways of bringing some measure of control over either NatCom or presidential campaign without subordinating either to the other.

Let us consider the contract proposals first. These have the virtue of defining in advance precisely what we have a right to expect of the presidential campaign, thereby providing a basis for minimizing the friction one may expect from any second-guessing campaign oversight. They also seem to offer a way to implement the suggestion, offered by Ed Clark and others, that the job of setting the goals of the campaign belongs to the nominating convention, while offering some relief from the criticism that the convention lacks the longevity to enforce its understanding of the covenant on the candidate.

Withal, these proposals must be rejected as unworkable. It is difficult to conceive how any contract could be so ingeniously devised as to cover the contingencies of a national campaign. Thus, it flunks the flexibility test. Moreover, who would negotiate its terms using what bargaining power? The convention could bargain by threatening to nominate some other candidate, but it lacks the longevity and cohesion, not to mention the technical knowledge, to negotiate such a complex agreement. The NatCom might have the knowledge and cohesion for such a task, but certainly not the longevity. We must conclude that either the "negotiations" would consist in accepting a blatant *diktat* laid down by the candidate, or it would be necessary to create some special committee to negotiate with each of the candidates in advance of the convention. This last notion leads full circle back to the question of what it would use for bargaining power.

Moreover, supposing it were feasible to negotiate and draft such a contract, how could it be enforced? Would it be a legally binding contract, enforced in the courts? Imagine, if you can, the spectacle of various organs of the national party embroiled in law suits against one another in the midst of a presidential campaign! What, then, of the notion of granting sanctions to the NatCom or, say, the Judicial Committee, to enforce the contract. In the case of the NatCom, we have just abandoned the "schizoid" organizational scheme in making such

a proposal. Even if the Judicial Committee is chosen, however, what sanction could it be endowed with so terrible as to ensure compliance? Denial of mailing list privileges, you suggest? By the time any crisis warranting withdrawal of mailing list privileges would likely emerge, the campaign would have its own list developed. We are left with only the current sanction of repudiation, already rejected above as inadequate. (One variant of this proposal, advanced in a late issue of *Frontlines*, even suggests watering down that sanction by forbidding the NatCom to replace any candidate it repudiates, and requiring it to come to terms with the candidate within 60 days of the nomination or lose him involuntarily; some negotiating position!)

We turn, then, to the idea of some sort of oversight committee. The problem of sanctions sufficient to make one of these proposals enforceable is no less than in the case of a contract. For the issue of who negotiates the contract, we need only substitute the question of who chooses the oversight committee. All of the difficulties inherent in a contract apply to the oversight committee, with one major addition: contracts don't talk. To create a committee outside the campaign chain of command with a charter to criticize the decisions of some contract staff is to set up an official board of hecklers, back seat drivers, and second guessers. Such a provision would be a blueprint for nasty strife. Moreover, if one could solve the problem of finding adequate sanctions, the oversight committee would in effect become the campaign staff. In that case why not simply let the people who choose the oversight committee choose the campaign staff instead, and be rid of a redundant body?

What, then, of the third approach: subordinating the campaign to some existing party organ? This approach permits a solution to our thus far most difficult problem: enforcement. 2 U.S.C. 432 (e) (3) (A) (i) provides:

"the candidate for the office of President nominated by a political party may designate the national committee of such political party as a principal campaign committee..." Consider the implications if we make the designation of the LNC as the principal campaign committee of our candidate a condition of accepting our presidential nomination: we need adopt no special sanctions to enforce control over the presidential campaign as the FEC stands ready to prevent the candidate from campaigning under any other aegis. Likewise, we need make no special provision that the NatCom owns any of the assets of the campaign, or may limit its debt, or hire and fire its staff, or approve its literature, or take any other action to control the campaign, as the NatCom would legally be the presidential campaign committee! How's that for solving the enforcement problem?

Two objections are invariably raised even against weaker versions of the NatCom supremacist position: that the NatCom is too large and meets too infrequently to manage a campaign on a day-to-day basis, and that the NatCom would abuse such authority by interfering in the management of the campaign. Never mind that these two objections contradict one another; they are still advanced in tandem. What both objections ignore is the flexibility of this arrangement: the NatCom wouldn't have to run the campaign; it could take as strong or weak a hand in the management of the campaign as circumstances seemed to warrant.

So much for enforcement and flexibility; now what about potential for discord? Wouldn't the NatCom contain elements who opposed the nominee, and wouldn't they try to use their positions to sabotage his campaign? Undoubtedly, many views could be represented on the NatCom, but to suppose that enough members would

be so vehement in their opposition as to sabotage the campaign supposes that the same convention that nominated the candidate would elect a NatCom implacably hostile to him. This would be a problem under any system; under our present arrangements such a NatCom could repudiate the candidate and replace him with one more to their liking. Even without this power, the NatCom could cause no end of trouble to the candidate by embarrassing him with hostile resolutions and the like. With the NatCom bearing ultimate responsibility for the presidential race, however, it is likely that it would do all possible to come to terms with and support the candidate. Thus it is arguable that this system would do more to reduce strife than any other.

What about the ethical objection? Doesn't this system involve using the power of government to solve our problems, when that is precisely what we advocate no one do? Not really, it merely recognizes the regulations that exist as a fact of reality, to be used to best advantage so long as they exist, much like gravity or any other force outside our immediate power to abolish.

How would the NatCom most likely use such authority in practice? The candidate would appear before the NatCom immediately after his nomination and suggest a steering committee and campaign manager to them. They would approve such choices as inspired their confidence. If an emergency later arose so severe as to cause them to reverse their judgment, they could replace their appointees, by mail ballot if necessary, almost certainly with others suggested as suitable by the candidate. The NatCom would probably restrict such action to a 2/3 or 3/4 vote at the time they made the initial appointments, in order to give some security to the campaign staff, and permit the recruitment of especially capable people. If, at any stage, they deemed it necessary to impose specific restrictions on the campaign, or to sic an investigative or watchdog committee on some phase thereof, it would be their prerogative to do so.

We are now in a position to draw some inferences concerning the two competing models of party organization mentioned earlier, and which I irreverently dubbed "schizoid" and "organic." The former, aside from the objections I leveled against it earlier, turns out to be exceedingly difficult to enforce, and, if many of its forms, exceedingly inflexible. Moreover, it is inherently prone to produce discord, as it sets up two competing organizational wings of the party, with divergent but overlapping goals, and drawing on the same resource pool. The latter, by contrast, admits of a simple but complete solution to the problem of enforcement, which also gives a tremendous amount of flexibility, and many even militate against discord.

What may we expect from our proposed solution? Will it save us from errors, financial, managerial, or strategic? Of course not, candidates and managers are human; so are NatCom members. It will, however, at least provide a mechanism through which wayward campaigns can be reined in short of complete catastrophe, and afford an opportunity for the unification of the party structure behind a common agenda. Errors we will make to be sure, but under the arrangement envisioned here it is at least more likely they will be consistent errors which will more readily present themselves for what they are, rather than lying hidden by a veil of conflicting policies and bickering bigwigs who can't agree on who was responsible for what. Note that the proposed relationship between the NatCom and presidential campaign bears a striking resemblance to that between a corporate board of directors and that firm's officers, a relationship developed to resolve sim-

Liberty, business & the demise of America

by Tibor Machan

In the Spring of 1980, the city of Santa Barbara witnessed a rather fierce campaign centering on rent control. As the rest of the state of California battled over Propositions 9, 10 and 11—concerned with tax-relief, local versus state rent jurisdiction, and special taxes on the energy industry, respectively—those in Santa Barbara were considering a measure which proposed placing rental agreements, negotiations, and pricing in the hand of a board of bureaucrats, leaving renters and owners at the mercy not of the difficult economic times, which is bad enough, but of a group of men and women who had no personal concern with the issues they would have been asked to decide on.

The rent-control proposal, Measure E, was defeated in Santa Barbara 2 to 1, at a margin even greater than the defeat suffered by a similar measure several years ago. What the campaign brought to the fore was far more than a concern for the issue at hand, however. It became clear that many citizens were beginning to think not so much in issue-oriented, narrow ways but in terms of broad changes in our society. Many supporters of rent-control, among them some prominent professors from UCSB, are on record favoring the gradual change of this society from one that still pays at least lip-service to free enterprise and the market economy to one that is governed by means of democratically elected boards which would decide on all the various economic matters that arise in society. Among opponents of rent-control were numerous supporters of a free market system which goes far beyond anything that has been tried even in the so called days of *laissez-faire* in this country. Those foes of rent-control also included some distinguished professors from UCSB, mainly from the department of economics (virtually all of whose members signed an anti-rent-control letter to the local daily press), and numerous business people and local citizens with a history of political involvement.

Only one group of people, those who are libertarians, had no trouble arguing against rent-control. You may wonder why? The answer to that question explains much more than the difficulties experienced by those who oppose incursions on the private property system and on freedom in general throughout this society on a piecemeal basis. It explains, in fact, why the entire culture of the West has been so much on the ideological and political defensive for the last hundred years.

The plain fact of the matter is that freedom has been shouted about in this country (and some others) without a clear understanding of what it is. Let me give you an example. In 1964 California had a measure on its state referenda which would have forced the government to refrain from interference in the home trading business. The idea was that government should not interfere with home trading even in support of the goal of integration and decency toward blacks and other minorities against whom many home sellers and realtors discriminated quite shamelessly. Millions of people voted for this measure. One fervent proponent was State Senator Schmitz of Orange County. The senator later went on to run for president on the ticket of the American Independent Party and advocated a free market in

his campaign, waving about a book by the eminent economist, Ludwig von Mises, as the foundation of his economic ideas.

During these years the craze surrounding topless dancing developed in California. That involved, of course, the employment of women for state shows in which they would perform without wearing any garments on their upper bodies. Several restaurants in Orange County began to feature topless dancers. And what do you think happened? Our wonderful proponent of *free* enterprise, Senator Schmitz, introduced a bill which would have made such entertainment illegal.

This is just one of thousands of stories of inconsistency when it comes to America's history with the ideal of free enterprise. Others include various breaches of free enterprise embodied in such measures as Sunday blue laws, prohibitions against smoking the evil weed, measures that would prohibit more than a certain number of people from living in a home, etc. Indeed, just at a time as many people in Santa Barbara were voting against rent-control, many of the same people were also appalled at the California State Supreme Court's ruling against a Santa Barbara ordinance which would have prohibited a large group of people from living in a single house.

What I am driving at here is that many people who claim to be for freedom are for it mainly when this suits their narrow purposes; but they are perfectly willing to oppose it when some one else's purposes would be thwarted by some legal measure.

Only the libertarians in our country are consistent defenders of liberty. This is evident not only from looking at the conservative end of our orthodox political spectrum. Consider the so-called liberals who stole their name from a group of political theorists of the 18th and 19th century who had at least some real concern with liberty.

Liberals are notorious for advocating freedom of the press, freedom of political advocacy and freedom of self-expression in the movies and theaters. The American Civil Liberties Union, a very prominent liberal outfit in this country, constantly boasts about defending the United States Constitution, including civil and human rights.

The sort of freedoms the ACLU and liberals in general tend to support are just the sort that help keep the ACLU and other liberals politically effective. There is nothing wrong with that. But you never see the ACLU come to the aid of some professional who is required to obtain a license from the state in order to practice, unless this has something to do with the press. Why? Is there something sacrosanct about people of the press? Why should their right of self-expression gain such devoted concern from liberals while the rights of plumbers, psychiatrists or exterminators are violated left and right? When the Federal Trade Commission assaults the advertising industry for running distasteful ads or not telling all, why aren't liberals up in arms and defending the rights of those in the business world with as much vigor as they defend the rights of those in the academic world? *Why do so many liberals and liberals discriminate so much in their defense of human liberty?*

Whatever the answer to that question comes to—and it is a very interesting answer, going into the philosophical basis of each general political outlook—it is clear that at their extremes the liberals and the conserva-

VIEW FROM THE RAMPARTS

LIBERTARIAN APPOINTED TO PLANNING COMMISSION: Dan Mahaffey, who ran for city council and then for Congress in the 40th District, was appointed to the Huntington Beach planning commission in June by city councilman, John Thomas. Mahaffey, 33, is a 25-year resident of the city, president of Mahaffey Machine Company and a member of the Orange County Libertarian Central Committee. Thomas said that he selected Mahaffey from among six applicants for the commission seat because "he's the only one who applied who isn't run by a special interest and has lived in the city long enough to know what's going on."

Mahaffey stated in an article in the *Huntington Beach Independent* of June 11 that he "will not be as dependent of staff reports as most other commissioners" and plans "to get involved with individuals involved in the various issues" that come before the commission. For his campaign efforts in 1980, Mahaffey received the second annual *Karl Bray Memorial Award* for activism at the CLC State Convention last February in San Diego. Mahaffey's wife, Barbara Kamm, chaired the 1980 State Convention held in Orange County.

ATTENTION CALIFORNIA DELEGATES: At the convention in Denver, the *Caliber* booth in the exhibit area will be used as a central information point for the California delegation.

RESTITUTION BECOMING A REALITY: In July, a 43-year-old Pontiac, Michigan man was awarded \$1.8 million in damages after both his legs were crushed in a 1976 beating by four workers at a nuclear plant construction site. Oakland County Circuit Judge Hilda R. Gage ordered the four to pay \$750,000 plus \$1 million in exemplary damages to Alfred L. Sowles. Sowles, a work supervisor at the site of Detroit Edison Co.'s Enrico Fermi nuclear generating plant, spent 11 months recuperating from the attack. According to the suit, Sowles was beaten about the legs with a car jack for 20 minutes after he laid off two of the men because of their poor work records. The award attaches the four men's life earnings and compensates for the "malicious, willful, wanton, barbaric act which shocks the conscience of the court and the community," Judge Gage said.

KEYS TO LEARNING/EXPO 81: John Holt, leading spokesman for the growing 'home schooling' movement, will speak Sunday, August 16, at California State University, Fullerton, in the University Center Building. Holt is editor of the bi-monthly newsletter, *Growing Without Schooling* which has a nationwide circulation of over 3,000. His latest book is *Teach Your Own*, a handbook for home schoolers and those parents who are considering it.

Throughout the day of the conference, Holt will be available to talk to parents interested in educating their children at home. Other speakers at the Keys to Learning Conference, which runs from 9:30 a.m. to 6 p.m., will be Lawrence and Bonnie Williams of Oak Meadow School, who design independent study programs for small private schools; Greg Bodenhamer, head of "Back in Control", an organization to help parents with their out-of-control children; and Gene Takamine, Santa Ana attorney, speaking on tax credits, the voucher system and the history of education. Introductions will be made by Dr. Nancy Reckinger, former director of the Center for Educational Alternatives.

General admission is \$12, children under six are free. For further information call Mrs. John Levesque of Anaheim (714) 995-6059. Main sponsors of the event are Rampart Institute and the Society for Libertarian Life.

DID HE REALLY SAY THAT? Yes, it was in the *Washington Post*: "I went with the best deal, said Rep. John B. Breaux (D-La.), one of the 29 Democrats who joined the Republican side... on a key procedural vote on the Reagan (tax) package. Somebody wondered if that meant Breaux's vote could be "sold". No, Breaux responded, but "it can be rented." Breaux's "deal", as he understood it, was an administration commitment to accept potentially costly price supports on sugar....

WANNA RUN THAT BY ME AGAIN? Who says the State Department does not have a coherent, well-focused foreign policy? Read what one aide told reporters during the recent Haig visit to New Zealand concerning the administration's new policy on Asia:

"What we are seeking to do is to force an integrated political, economic and security mosaic that is structured to be responsive to local needs and sensitivities while above all serving the United States global interests and objectives, and in that sense this Pacific region is integrated conceptually with all we are doing in other regions."

We don't understand it. But it sure sounds awesome.

GREENE SENTENCED FOR INCOME TAX EVASION: William Greene, the wealthy, self-styled "tax rebel" who wrote a book called *Welcome to the Tax Revolt* has been sentenced to two years in prison and fined \$20,000 for evading payment of \$97,000 in income taxes for 1973 and 1974. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the LP's vice presidential nomination in 1979.

Greene, who likes to boast that he has paid no taxes since 1968, shouted, "I am innocent," after he was sentenced in Federal Court in San Francisco by Judge Stanley Weigel. He was convicted in April on two charges of tax evasion, but was given a suspended prison sentence on one of the charges.

Greene, who is 42 years old, will remain free pending an appeal. He is also the author of *Think Like a Tycoon*.

Randolph for Governor: Alaskan Libertarian Legislator Dick Randolph has made an early declaration of his candidacy for Governor in Alaska's 1982 election. Randolph is running because he has a significant chance of winning. He plans to spend around half a million dollars, and he expects to raise about half of this money in Alaska, and half from thousands of supporters in the "lower 48."

Elections: Libertarians have been running active campaigns in nonpartisan municipal races in many states around the country. In one of these Marshall Danenberg, the former chair of the LP of South Carolina, was elected to a city council seat in a four-way race in Elgin, South Carolina.... Libertarians also ran in two recent special Congressional elections. In Michigan, a special election to fill the vacancy created by David Stockman's move to the OMB was held in May. Libertarian Bette Erwin ran in this contest, and gained 1.5% of the vote. The Libertarian Congressional candidate in the same district gained 1.2% last November. In Maryland's fifth district, Libertarian Tom Mathers gained 1.2% of the vote. Ed Clark had obtained .8% of the vote in this same district last November. Tom Mathers was the first Libertarian Congressional candidate ever in Maryland.

Both of these races were held in districts which had seen very little Libertarian activism before, even in 1980. The improvement over November, while small, reflected votes from solid supporters in elections with only one item on the ballot.

Ballot Drives: The LP of North Carolina has just completed a drive for 15,000 signatures. This will assure ballot status for 1982 and 1984. The drive was done entirely with funds and volunteers from within North Carolina. The Montana and Indiana LP's are each sending fundraising mailings to contributors in their regions. They each plan early starts and rapid completions of ballot drives for 1982 ballot status. Both parties started July 1st, and hope to finish by Labor Day. Both of these parties plan to finance their \$5,000 - \$6,000 ballot drives internally. North Carolina's success and early fundraising success in Indiana indicate these fundraising goals are realistic. The LP's in each of these three states had all relied heavily on funding from the national party for previous ballot drives. This new approach reflects their much improved state organizations, and much expanded (thanks to the 1980 campaigns) contributor lists. Ballot drive leaders in these states include Naudeen Beek in North Carolina, Duncan Scott in Montana, and Kevin Grant in Indiana.

REGIONAL ROUND-UP: A rejuvenated Region 10 (Riverside & San Bernardino Counties) hosted Pablo Campos, chairman of CAST, at a dinner meeting on July 8 in San Bernardino. A luncheon and

See RAMPARTS/p. 18

CALIFORNIA LIBERTARIAN COUNCIL HEADQUARTERS

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
5332 College Avenue; Suite 100, Oakland, CA 94618 415/652-5223
1800 Market Street, San Francisco CA 94102 415/861-2982
401 East Taylor Street, San Jose, CA 95112 408/279-3733

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
9550 Warner Avenue, Suite 250, Fountain Valley, CA 92708 714/975-0905

LOS ANGELES AREA
8006 Hesperia Avenue, Reseda, CA 91335; 213/345-FREE

Tibor Machan is senior editor of Reason Magazine.

See MACHAN/p. 23

See DYE next page

CALIBER READERS' FORUM

Should we make value judgments?

Dear Editor:

Bart Kosko's letter on "Libertarianism Without Values" in the June-July Caliber proposed a libertarianism based on empiricism and observations, as opposed to a "value-laden" moral philosophy. I believe such views reflect a gross misunderstanding of the nature of morality and its role in libertarianism.

Kosko wrote that if libertarianism is not a tautologous theory (which would be circular), then it must be empirical. This dual choice requires further explanation - it is certainly not obvious to me. It is possible to have a non-tautologous *a priori* theory. The fact that libertarian ethics are usually expressed in a circular manner (e.g. the right to do what you want as long as you respect the rights of others to do what they want - a meaningless statement, to be sure) reflects the poverty of contemporary "establishment" libertarian philosophy, but this doesn't mean that a non-circular theory is impossible. Non-circular *a priori* moral arguments have been constructed and provide a logical basis for libertarian philosophy.

It is impossible to be a rational human being without making moral decisions. If you damage a parked car, for example, you have the choice of leaving a note, or driving off without leaving any message. We may not necessarily articulate a moral view or philosophy, but in our social lives we inescapably make moral judgments - moral because they are right or wrong, i.e. they harm or benefit others. Such decisions and judgments involve values and interests, rather than raw evidence that can be "refuted."

Certainly there is a place in libertarianism for empirical evidence that can confirm or refute the practical applications of libertarian moral philosophy. It is important to show that the free market works, and works better than the coerced economy. It is important to show that a non-aggressive foreign policy will be less dangerous than our interventionism, and that the elimination of victimless crimes will not result in the breakdown of society. But without a rigorous moral philosophy behind the empirical evidence, we are left with utilitarian views which are highly vulnerable to both moral and empirical attacks. Socialists can point to China and show great material

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

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

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

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

We, on the contrary, deny the right of any government to do these things, and hold that where governments exist, they must not violate the rights of any individual: namely, (1) the right to life - accordingly we support prohibition of the initiation of physical force against others; (2) the right to liberty of speech and action - accordingly we oppose all attempts by government to abridge the freedom of speech and press, as well as government censorship in any form; and (3) the right to property - accordingly we oppose all government interference with private property, such as confiscation, nationalization, and eminent domain, and support the prohibition of robbery, trespass, fraud, and misrepresentation.

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

"progress", and say that it is worth the temporary human sacrifices to create a glorious future utopia. Stripped of our moral arguments, how can we refute this?

The rejection of value judgements is itself a value judgement. Kosko is really saying that we should not use value judgements, but where does this "Should" come from? Stripped of any moral judgements, there is no reason to think the initiation of force is any different from retaliation against force.

Actually, Kosko has come very close to expressing the moral basis for liberty! In rejecting value judgements, Kosko came within a hairline of discovering the formula for natural moral law. What he missed was the distinction between *personal* values and the "values" that derive from natural moral law. The very rejection of personal values as a basis for moral standards necessarily is a moral standard in which it is precisely the imposition of personal values on others that is morally wrong!! And this is an *a priori* statement.

Some writers have expressed amazement that libertarianism is both morally correct and happens to work the best in practice. But it should not be so surprising, since both the theory and the practice flow from human nature, from human psychology.

Libertarianism without a philosophical moral basis is like a car without an engine. It may look nice, but it just won't run. We cannot have a party of principle without principles.

Fred Folvary
Berkeley

Dear Editor,

We are all tiresomely familiar with poor thinkers who start off with an emotional condemnation of a real topic and then go on to articulating a weak argument in favor of a narrow and dogmatic tactical program with absolutely no empirical evidence to suggest that it is even worthy of a moment's idle consideration.

I refer to the pretentious and absurd letter of Bart Kosko in the June-July issue of Caliber. For one who supposedly reads Caliber, with its constant and well-done emphasis on strategic considerations, I can think of nothing that would quite so well sacrifice all strategy in support of a purely tactical program as Kosko's ravings.

His entire emphasis is on urging libertarians to commit themselves to digging up empirical and utilitarian arguments in favor of a more liberty oriented social structure. If this is not single-mindedly tactical, then nothing is. He attempts, puerily, to dismiss out of hand all those who maintain what he slurs as a dysfunctional emotionalist appeal in favor of abolition of authoritarianism.

Perhaps he needs reminding. Historically, empirical appeals have met with little support (and this holds true today) because not many people are susceptible to his brand of authoritarian reasoning. He can marshal all the facts, figures, and statistics he wants; and then watch as his loosely committed followers fall for similar arguments from the other side. Hamilton and Paine were two relevant figures from our distant past; if he so well trusts the lessons of history he will quit ranting and do some positive work for a change.

If, as Kosko maintains, all ethical positions are groundless, why does he even talk at all? Or better, why does he think that subjective utilitarian values are any better than those nasty and untamable subjective absolutist values? You will not win men for the fight with your nihilist mouthings, Bart. More likely you will win opponents. And if your present opponents are the kooks, I suggest a

visit to the nearest libertarian mental health professional. Maybe such an act of real commitment will help you cast away your fears of what might happen if we try the unknown: libertarianism. And maybe you can even give up your need to eliminate (rather than tolerate) all dissent.

G. Reith
Sheridan, Wyoming

Dear Editor:

Presumably Bart Kosko believes that libertarianism should be defended on empirical, rather than moral grounds. But that is a moral judgment and violation of which, he also seems to believe, has led to all sorts of bad things like having been shunned, laughed at, etc. Now if this is not a contradictory stance to hold—that is, "we should avoid using claims as to what anyone should do"—I don't know what is.

I recommend that we keep doing battle on all fronts and resist the temptation of reductionism even if its promise of easy answers are difficult to match with more realistic but true promises of success via the pluralism that includes economics, history, ethics, law, politics, and the rest of the humane disciplines.

Tibor Machan
Santa Barbara, CA

SUPPER CLUB SCENE

FREE MARKET SUPPER CLUB OF LOS ANGELES: This newest entry in the California dinner circuit is being sponsored by the Foundation of the American Economic Council, and will feature Douglas Casey, author of *Crisis Investing*, at its inaugural gathering on September 15. Meetings will be held on the third Tuesday of each month at the Beverly Hillcrest Hotel in downtown Beverly Hills. Cocktails at 6:30, dinner at 7:15, and program at 8:30. Cost is \$20 per person including tax, tip and valet parking. Reservations must be made by 5 pm of the preceding Friday by calling 213/550-6394.

SOUTH BAY SUPPER CLUB: Meets monthly at Del Conte's Restaurant, 2900 Pacific Coast Highway, Torrance. Cocktails at 6:00, dinner at 7:00 and program at 8:00. Cost is \$15 per person, \$5 for program only. Reservations are required and may be made by calling 213/428-1866 or 213/796-1376.

LIBERTARIAN SUPPER CLUB OF ORANGE COUNTY: Meets on the third Thursday of each month (except for Nov. and Dec. when it's the second Thursday). Libertarian author and lecturer Robert LeFevre will be the guest speaker at the September 17 meeting at the Revere House, 900 W. First Street, Tustin. Cocktails at 6:30, dinner at 7:15 and program at 8:30. Cost is \$13 per person, \$10 for Season Members, \$6 for program only. Reservations are required and may be made by calling 714/975-0905.

LIBERTARIAN ALTERNATIVE/SAN DIEGO: Meets on the third Tuesday of each month at Sir George's Smorgasbord, 6942 University Avenue, La Mesa. Call Sara Baase for information on upcoming programs at 714/460-9136.

SANTA BARBARA LIBERTARIAN SUPPER CLUB: Meets monthly at Petrini's Restaurant in Goleta. Diners may order from the menu. \$1 charge for program. Write to P.O. Box 323, Camarillo, Ca., 93010 for information.

LIBERTARIAN SUPPER CLUB OF LOS ANGELES: Meets the second Monday of the month at Little Joe's, 900 N. Broadway, dinner at 7:15, program at 8:30. Cost is \$10 per person, \$2 for program only. Reservations required. Call Janice Allen at 213/466-3776 for more information.

Let's stop this arguing and debate
Over anarchy vs mini state.
Let's work toward the best
Then, debate the rest
That's left, right or indeterminate.

Avoid being pickers of nit
Wherever bureaucrats preside
over it.

Until the state dissolves
Always keep firm resolves.
If it's government, it's full of shit.

Bill Webster
Los Angeles

SAN FRANCISCO SUPPER CLUB: Meets monthly at various San Francisco restaurants. Information may be obtained from Beverly Locke at 415/864-3969.

EAST SAN GABRIEL VALLEY SUPPER CLUB: Meets monthly at Howard Johnson's Restaurant near the 605 and 10 Freeways. Cocktails at 6:30, dinner at 7:00 and program at 8:00. Cost is \$11 per person, \$3 for program only. For reservations call 213/912-3809 or 213/734-0444.

LETTERS

Letters to the editor are welcome, and should be sent to: Caliber, Libertarian Headquarters, 9550 Warner Avenue, Suite 250, Fountain Valley, CA 92708.

The editors reserve the right to edit all letters for reasons of taste, clarity or length.

spite of inevitable internal conflicts, all these groups are united in their allegiance to the state capitalist system.

At the very bottom of the pyramid we have the individual recipients of welfare programs designed to co-opt discontent and buy-off the most oppressed. This sub-caste, what is evolving into Imperial America's permanent underclass, owes no political allegiance to those at the top of the pyramid. An increasingly large proportion of these new plebeians is black and Third World; this is a direct consequence of the history of imperialism and state-supported racism.

OPPORTUNISM VERSUS LIBERTARIANISM

Given this radical libertarian view of political events and movements, it should be clear why Mueller's classless concept of "constituencies", and his "theoretical" defense of Clark's "low-tax liberalism" tells us *nothing* about how to allocate scarce resources — The only "strategy" Mueller seems to offer is to attempt to be all things to all constituencies. In contrast to this sort of opportunism, a strategy based on a libertarian class analysis would seek to *split* these "constituencies" along *class lines* and thus build the LP. For example, this means that in the mass organizations devoted to fighting high tax rates and inflation the radical libertarian strategy is to *link up* economic issues with foreign policy questions by raising the demand for a monumental cut in the "defense" budget.

The differences between the radical libertarian strategy and the opportunistic appetites of our "low tax liberals" go much deeper than this, however. They not only involve contradictory tactics, but also mutually exclusive long-term strategies for advancing the cause of liberty. For Mueller's "strategy" can only lead to a tepid attempt to "reform" the statist system, while keeping it essentially intact. Rather than seeking to overthrow the elite, reformists seek to "make a deal" with their own ruling class by "temporarily" siding with them to preserve some aspect of the system. By underestimating the power and stability of statism, our opportunists undertake a crusade to make the state more "efficient". As we say in the LPRC *Draft Program*: "Such a reform strategy only *strengthens* the public sector, and consigns Libertarians to permanent political impotence. Opportunism is class treason. Any ostensibly "Libertarian" Party which reduces its program to "low-tax liberalism" ultimately consigns itself to inevitable degeneration into a pressure group with negligible influence.

The "low-tax liberals" and the opportunists in our movement have no long-term strategy; their political horizons do not extend beyond the next election. Just as they have no way to understand the objective conditions without a libertarian class analysis, so they have no idea how political capital is generated and nurtured. Because they think it is possible to win a "quick victory" by means of patchwork reforms — a strategy which will ultimately mean aligning the Libertarian movement with some section of the ruling class, "temporarily" of course — short-term gains are everything to our opportunists. Radical libertarians, on the other hand, take the opposite tack; we realize the tremendous staying power of America's elite, which sits atop the biggest imperialist power on earth. We are preparing for a *protracted conflict*. We know our battle will not be easy, but we also know that reducing Libertarianism to low-tax liberalism will only make our task all the harder. For it is the *power* of our ideas that will attract the cadre we need today in order to build the mass movements of tomorrow. There is and will be quite enough external pressure on libertarians to give up their ideas on the long road to liberty — the last thing we need is pressure to capitulate

in advance coming from *within* our own party.

It is true, as Mueller says, that we desperately need an analysis of statism as a "system of power" (Mueller's emphasis) — but "low-tax liberalism" has not and can never provide us with such an analysis. Opportunists are usually too busy chasing after political trends to be bothered to analyze them. It is true, as Mueller says, that "the activist needs to know what to do, i.e. which issues are most important, where to focus his energies, and how to proceed," but "low-tax liberalism" *a la* the Clark campaign tells us we are for the ERA, against abolishing the welfare system until we have "full employment", all the while maintaining that we want to "roll back government to the point it had reached under Kennedy" (according to Ed Clark.)

Mueller will talk about "allocating" political "resources" (i.e. people) as if they were the given, like inanimate objects. But where do these resources come from? Did we get this far by pro-

"We make transition demands to attract support outside the movement," writes Mueller in his Caliber article, "but within the movement, abolitionism should reign supreme"...presumably new recruits will also be taught to employ Mueller's Doubletalk Principle in the service of the LP.

claiming the virtues of "low-tax liberalism"? And how are we going to keep what resources we have if we keep dishing out this diluted line?

These "resources" are nothing less than individual human beings, Libertarians, veterans of the only political movement in the U.S. dedicated to rolling back the State on every level. They cannot be manipulated, like pins on a map, any which way. It is possible for them to become demoralized, inactive, disenchanted, no matter how many years they've been in "the movement." This, in fact, has been one largely ignored consequence of Clark's "low-tax liberal" campaign: discouraged by such a blatant sell-out, many long-time Libertarian activists have dropped out of the LP. The worst drives out the best, and our political capital is further depleted.

We can ill afford to lose cadre, especially more experienced cadre who tend to be more radical. If we are going to brace ourselves for the long haul, instead of frittering away our resources on chasing every "constituency" in sight, we must nurture our best cadre like the rare and valuable specimens they are. For they will be the nucleus of the LP in the future — if we are to have a future.

In the wake of the Clark campaign debacle there should be no doubt about how to allocate our time, energy, and resources.

1) **Unity must be preserved.** No one should doubt that the unity of our movement is in serious jeopardy when David Nolan, one of our founding members, writes: "One more campaign like (the Clark campaign) will, quite literally, kill the party; nobody in his right mind will stick around for another round of lies, abuse, and betrayal of principle like the one Ed Crane engineered in 1980." Now all of us are probably aware that many LP members support various proposals — to be voted on at the Denver National Convention — designed to make candidates at the national level more responsive to the LP as a whole. The LPRC heartily endorses these proposals — the more our candidates cleave to principle, the better. However, it would be illusory to believe for a moment that such measures — no matter how strictly enforced; and we do believe that they *ought* to be strictly enforced — will resolve the crisis in our movement. "Low-tax liberalism" couldn't have

even gained a foothold in our movement if the LP had understood the vital need to educate activists and LP rank-&-file in the fundamentals of Libertarianism. *This*, by any strategic yardstick worth a damn, is where we should allocate our resources — not on half-baked TV commercials which reduce Libertarianism to an innocuous little jingle! The incalculable damage done to our movement by the Clark campaign must be dealt with if the LP is to continue as an effective national political force. While we *strongly* urge the readers of Caliber to support a change in the Bylaws of the national LP which would make our Presidential candidate *answerable to the party* (and not some committee appointed by the candidate), it should be clear that much more is required. No only do we need to replace the current national leadership — we need a thorough attempt to rectify the LP's political line by means of an educational campaign directed at our own membership. A comprehensive "Principles of Libertarianism" course needs

to be developed by the national LP and sponsored by every local LP organization. Completion of such a course could be a requirement for membership in the LP at both the state and national levels — this, one might add, makes far more sense than making new recruits sign a vague and utterly meaningless statement declaring they do not believe in the initiation of force to achieve political objectives. If the "pledge" taken by new members is not really understood, if the provisions of this "contract" are not specifically outlined, then it is utterly worthless. Rather than abolish this aspect of LP membership we should take decisive steps to *strengthen* it by transforming theory into practice. If, in theory, we wish to restrict membership in the LP to libertarians, then — in practice — we must at least have some means for new recruits to make a meaningful choice.

2) **The exclusively electoral focus of the LP must be shifted to include other movement-building activities.** The likelihood that our proposed "Principles of Libertarianism" course might be thought of as simply another "candidates" training school" leads us to make the following important point: the roots of "low-tax liberalism" go much deeper than anyone in our movement now imagines. Far from being merely a dispute over tactics, the debate over how to sum up the Clark campaign involves two irreconcilable answers to the question: What is Libertarianism? What will such a course teach — "Libertarianism" or "low-tax liberalism"? The focus on electoral politics, to the *de facto* exclusion of all else, is one of the sources of opportunism in the LP. No one is arguing that the LP should *not* participate in elections — nor are we saying, at this point, that the primacy of electoral politics (at this stage) is wrong. But the all-out effort to field as many candidates as possible has taken a serious ideological and financial toll. On the ideological plane, it has led to a ten-

endency to see *everything* in terms of electoral politics. If the "low-tax liberals" in our movement will declare, before a TV audience of millions, that libertarianism is the equivalent of Kennedy's New Frontier, one shudders to think what form a more extended version of this "New Frontier libertarianism" would take. Ironically, if our proposal to develop a "Principles of Libertarianism" course were to be adopted tomorrow, such an awful spectacle would be entirely possible. "We make transition demands to attract support from *outside* the libertarian movement," writes Mueller in his Caliber article. "But within the movement, abolitionism should reign supreme." Of course, this elevation of double-talk to the status of a serious "strategic" proposal is part of the continuing effort by our "low-tax liberals" to turn our ideas into icons, to be trotted out on special occasions and ritually adored — but otherwise ignored. Presumably new recruits will also be taught to employ Mueller's Doubletalk Principle in the service of the LP; perhaps our internal educational lectures will devote an entire evening of study to "Basic Principles of Applied Doubletalk" especially for candidates on the national and local levels. This is usually the point of those "nuts-&-bolts" workshops and "candidates" training seminars — by focusing on achieving political objectives *exclusively* in terms of electoral politics, this "nuts-&-bolts" view of the world invariably sees the world through "low-tax liberal" glasses. Thus, two parallel political lines, two entirely separate (and often mutually exclusive) political programs emerge. Now *this* is the road to disaster. For those who denounce all criticisms of the Clark campaign as "factionalism" to propose such a "strategy" is truly doubletalk of the highest (or lowest) order. For such a "strategy" not only encourages and promotes the worst sort of "factionalism", it would also ultimately lead to a factional explosion and an inevitable *split*. Simultaneously nurturing two competing versions of Libertarianism how can we avoid the splintered fate of so many other radical organizations and "third" parties? By advancing transitional demands which *contradict* our platform instead of seeking to *translate principles into policy*, the "low-tax liberalism" of both Mueller and the Clark campaign has evolved into an internally-consistent deviation from Libertarianism. Although the roots of opportunism run deep in the history of our movement, this monomaniacal obsession with electoral success *at any price* is the principle aspect of opportunism at the moment. As a corrective measure, we in the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus propose the massive intervention of the LP in the growing anti-war, anti-draft movement. Although this would, of course, not rule out electoral campaigns by any means, it would give such campaigns a *focus*. The question of when and where such campaigns should be attempted, what resources to allocate and where those resources ought to be allocated — all these questions should and would be answered in terms of this new political perspective.

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RAIMONDO/from p. 7

ing cutting the budget 100% immediately the LP approves of remaining government expenditures and opposes bigger cuts. Mueller then knocks down his straw man with ill-concealed gusto: "Had Clark proposed complete elimination of the entire federal budget in the first year, no one outside the libertarian movement would take the demand seriously."

Of course, no one *within* our movement would take such a demand seriously, either. It is here that the political dishonesty of the low-tax liberals in our midst is highlighted, bolder than a whore. To anyone who has read our published criticisms of the Clark campaign, or even a few issues of *Libertarian Vanguard*, Mueller's version of the LPRC's views is distorted beyond recognition. Mueller almost never utilizes direct quotations to summarize the views of others, but instead resorts to crude characterizations. The fact is that virtually *no one* in our movement opposes *transitional* demands. The debate is over what form these transitional demands should take and how they can be utilized to build the Libertarian Party. As we stated in the *Draft Program* of the LPRC:

Counterposed to both (opportunism and sectarianism) is a revolutionary program — a program which can build a bridge from the old society to the new. Transitional demands are a bridge whereby the road is paved for a frontal assault on statism in the commanding heights of society and the economy. The specific formulations differ as the objective and subjective conditions change — yet the principles regarding their formulation must remain constant if our movement is to be guided by a coherent plan of action. *This is the true meaning and spirit of abolitionism — not the convenient strawman constructed by opportunists of every variety.* ("Beyond Left & Right: The Unfinished Revolution". *Libertarian Vanguard*, Nov. Dec. 1980; p. 12).

Mueller's unwillingness to confront our actual positions — which have been published in *Caliber*, in *Libertarian Vanguard* and elsewhere — is disappointing, and in a certain sense, ominous.

What kind of cuts should Clark have proposed? We believe that it was certainly unnecessary and *counter-productive* to propose an "alternative budget". If it had been up to the LPRC, in answer to a direct question concerning the extent of our proposed budget cuts Clark would have answered: "We'll cut as much as we can get away with as fast as we can get away with it — while deregulating and slashing taxes at a similar pace." It was difficult for the average Libertarian let alone the average voter to differentiate between Reagan's tax cuts program and Clark's. Not that there weren't differences: the biggest difference being that Clark was much more specific about what *wouldn't* be cut, whereas Reagan wasn't tied to any rigid "master plan" and so was freer to imply a more radical approach than will actually be implemented.

Mueller brings up another phony issue by recalling an incident which occurred during the question and answer period after Rothbard's speech to the 1980 Libertarian Party of California Convention in Sacramento. "In the... speech," says Mueller, "he called for a balanced budget and a return to the gold standard. Roy Childs... stood up and asked Rothbard whether it was 'opportunistic' to call for a balanced budget when we do not believe in having a federal budget at all, or to call for a governmental gold standard when we actually want to cut the ties between government and the money system altogether." Of course, Roth-

bard endorsed the concept of the balanced budget — but he pointed out, although Mueller fails to mention this, that Clark did *not* call for a gold standard and, in fact, blamed inflation on "deficit spending". But in "Toward A Coherent Strategy", history is being re-written by our very own Court Intellectuals, and suddenly we have Ed Clark advocating the gold standard! "Whereas the Clark campaign may stress the balanced budget and gold standard, other Libertarian institutions... could be spreading the idea of total denationalization..." But, in fact, Ed Clark never once raised the demand for a gold standard — not in his generally available campaign literature, not in anything the press could get their hands on, not even in a speech before the "gold bug" American Economic Council — in fact, Ed Crane berated those who dared to even raise the question, alienating a number of potential contributors in the process!

"Derived from the libertarian ethic, a libertarian class analysis is a description of things as they are as well as a tool for achieving what ought to be. This... is the nature and function of technique in the art of politics."

In answer to both Mueller and Childs: in the context of the present political situation, it is not enough to raise the demand for a balanced budget without *simultaneously* calling for a gold standard as a *transition* measure toward the denationalization of money.

Now what about Mueller's claim that "abolitionism helps us to frame our goals, but it does not tell us how to attain them?"

Of course, no strategic doctrine is going to "tell us" precisely how liberty will be achieved, or even if it will be achieved at all. One might as well examine the entrails of sheep, if one is looking ("empirically") for signs and potents, for all the good it will do you. Politics is an *art*, not a science; there are no "laws" of history to be discovered by means of "political analysis", empirical or otherwise.

In the sense that abolitionism is both a moral imperative and a *policy*, however, it *does* provide activists with an indispensable framework and a sure guide to action. If liberty is to be defended in the name of *morality* and man's rights, then it follows that all of humanity can be divided into two broad classes: the innocent and the guilty, those who are ruled and those who do the ruling. Juxtaposed to Mueller's "empirical analysis" — which boils down to tailing after anything with a large following, from the anti-nuclear movement to the New Right — is a *libertarian class analysis* of political events and movements. Derived from the libertarian ethic, a libertarian class analysis is a description of things as they are as well as a tool for achieving what *ought* to be. *This*, as is also true of the other arts, is the nature and function of technique in the art of politics. As we say in the *LPRC Draft Program*:

Because liberty is a moral issue, we seek to expand the private sector in every instance and on every front. From this moral precept our strategy of unrelenting class conflict follows. Thus, our libertarian worldview comes ever more clearly into focus as we draw the line *politically* between two opposing classes with mutually exclusive relations to the State. *What side are you on?* Do you defend the State or do you side with the people? This is the question that, today, each individual must ask him or herself; the answer to it is the essence of what we mean by a

distinctively *libertarian* class analysis of political events and movements.

This radical libertarian view contrasts sharply with the opposite view offered by Mueller's article. Instead of a sharply defined picture of the political landscape to what we get from Mueller is a rather murky view of a world people by "constituencies" of various sizes looming on the political horizon, drifting aimlessly in the breeze. Having talked himself into a "theoretical" rationale for junking libertarian theory as a guide to action, Mueller and his "low-tax liberal" friends are then free to go chasing after these political hot-air balloons, libertarian theory be damned!

Without a libertarian class analysis, Mueller can allocate scarce resources only to those issues and "constituencies" which promise *large numbers* — of votes, recruits, and contributions. By separating theory and practice, by walling off our ideas from our actions, Mueller *reverses* the political process — and *political backwardness*, liter-

ally, is the inevitable result. Mueller's "empirical analysis", in practice, means pandering to the lowest common denominator. At a time when the New Right is on the rampage, when Imperial America is beating the war drums, how long will a libertarian movement operating on such a "principle" hold out against the war hysteria? If Reagan's phony "free enterprise" fails to even temporarily revive the American economy and the free market is discredited in the midst of another 1930's-style Depression, how long will it be before the opportunists in our movement transform the LP into the "Low-Tax Liberal Party?"

TOWARD A LIBERTARIAN CLASS ANALYSIS

These much-vaunted "constituencies", which we are supposed to bend over backwards to accommodate, evaporate into thin air the minute we subject them to close scrutiny. Opportunists like Mueller use this term constantly, and it is high time we blew this one out of the water.

Of course, everybody knows what is meant by the different "constituencies": blacks, women, gays, Chicanos, Christian fundamentalists, the white middle class, a whole litany of "ideal types". According to the opportunist scenario, the idea is to tailor our program to whatever demands are being made by these groups and then hitch a ride on the bandwagon all the way to the glorious libertarian future. But a libertarian class analysis reveals that it isn't as simple as that. These allegedly homogenous "constituencies" are, in fact, split along *class* lines. We are not talking here of differences in income, but of the diverse relationships each *individual* "constituent" has to the State and the ruling elite, who actually have the power. Unlike the Marxists — who have tied themselves to the primacy of the industrial proletariat — libertarians see none of these groups as being *the* agency of social change. We see that these divisions, and subdivisions, are of secondary importance; what really matters is, as we say in the *LPRC Draft Program*: "Which side are you on? Do you defend the state or do you side with the people?" For example, in the black community the class line is clearly drawn: on one side you have the poverty-pimps, like Jesse Jackson, political operatives in the service of the Democratic Party, and all those blacks who have been admitted to the lower rungs of the elite in exchange for co-opting the black struggle for self-determination. On the

other side of the class line you have the *overwhelming majority* of black people in this country who have suffered more at the hands of the State than any other comparable group in American history. The same pattern holds true for the *latino* community, the gay community, and on down the line; in each and every instance these "constituencies" split along class lines when confronted with an important political issue.

Therefore, in contrast to Mueller's vague formulations, radical libertarians draw a clear line of demarcation between different forces. "In fact, as long as the application of the political means continues, social evolution will be shaped by a process of class conflict. The state, as the institutionalization of the political means, necessarily generates a process of continuing class conflict since the political means, by its very nature, creates a series of negative sum relationships — that is, one individual or group gains only at the expense of another. This is in comparison to the economic means characteristic of market systems where all exchanges necessarily lead *ex ante* to increases of utility for all participants entering into them (otherwise the exchanges would never have been consummated in the first place." ("Toward a Theory of State Capitalism", *Journal of Libertarian Studies*).

These two broad class formations form distinct subgroups and tendencies, which can only be briefly outlined here.

At the apex of the statist caste system is *finance capital*. Protected by the state capitalist system, backed by the Federal Reserve, the cartelization of the banking system permits banks to literally "create" assets out of thin air. "As a result of all these factors," write Grinler and Hagel, "the banking institutions significantly expand their role as ultimate decision-makers within the capital market and, more generally, within the economic system, and they emerge as a key locus of ultimate decision-making within the state capitalist system. ...there is a process of concentration of ultimate decision-making within the banking sector and, even more importantly, this is accompanied by an increasing insulation of this decision-making activity from the... competitive pressures inherent in a free market..." (JIS; pg. 65). This is the ruling class, the elite, narrowly defined. By maintaining financial and ideological control over university institutes, research associations, etc., both public and private, they maintain hegemony over policy — for it is in these bastions of the elite where the outlines of public policy are defined. The U.S. ruling class "prefer(s) to remain far from the political limelight while occupying their positions as ultimate economic decision-makers." (Grinler Hagel; p. 70)

All remaining subdivisions of the political class are politically subordinate, occupying lower positions on the statist pyramid of power. The military caste, ultimate protector and enforcer of ruling class policy, is, in the Western "democracies", a part of the government bureaucracy. As such it is controlled by civilians, just as all other branches of the bureaucracy are mere instruments in the hands of the elite. On a still lower rung is occupied by the "major political parties" — which, especially in Western Europe, depend on direct subsidies and other forms of government support — which are a concession to the prevailing pluralistic ideology. Although these politicians nominally direct the state apparatus, the cost of mounting a serious political campaign ensures that those at the apex of the pyramid will have the final say. Private corporations which depend on the political means are another significant subdivision of the ruling class; organized labor is yet another such pillar of statism, especially public employees unions. In

Is defending people in other countries immoral?

Dear Editor:

Thank you for publishing the "Face-Off" on defense in your April/May issue. The "interventionism/non-interventionism" debate divides libertarians here too, sometimes bitterly. If we are ever going to reach a libertarian agreement — that is, a position acceptable to *all* libertarians — we will do so only by debating our differences on this matter, not by pretending (as some groups do) that they do not exist.

By "debate" I mean honest, rational discussion of the pros and cons of both positions. I do not mean mindless name-calling, such as the letters from Jorge E. Amador and Robert Colburn (June/July). Both have written Andy Garrett out of the movement due to his "interventionist" foreign policy. However, neither offers any proof that "interventionism" is unlibertarian; instead, both assume that position, and use it as a premise to argue that Garrett's "interventionism" is proof that he is not a libertarian. In my Objectivist days, that was called the "Argument from Intimidation."

Of the two, Amador is the most vicious. While conceding that Garrett's justification of military cooperation is "theoretically correct," he nevertheless attempts to smear it by linking it to "present-day fascists" and to "Franklin Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson, General Westmoreland, and the other freedom-loving 'libertarians' who gave us World War II and the Vietnam War." (Putting "libertarian" in quotation marks like that is particularly dirty, since it is meant to imply that Garrett has called these people libertarians.)

According to Amador, Garrett asserts that it is Americans' "duty to defend other people, including Canadians; or morally wrong to tation: Garrett was arguing against the position taken by some "non-interventionists", including Amador, that "intervention" *per se* (that is, defending other people) is "morally wrong," and that libertarians therefore have a duty to sit back and watch them be killed. By condemning any type of defense alliance as unlibertarian in principle, is this not what Amador is saying?

Both authors imply that Garrett's "interventionism" implies support for (in Colburn's words) "conscription and increased taxation." This claim poses a slight problem, since Garrett has stated the exact opposite. But it is fun to watch them try to prove it.

First, Colburn: "Andy Garrett says he doesn't think that U.S. taxpayers should be forced to pay for the defence of other countries. If Canada is attacked, and the U.S. does not force its taxpayers to pay for the defence of Canada, and yet we have a foreign policy that is not isolation, what exactly should we do?" (my emphasis)

If the U.S. government were libertarian, it would not "force the taxpayers to pay for" anything; all funds for the hypothetical defence of Canada would have to be raised voluntarily. If it were not libertarian, then it would "force its taxpayers to pay for" its operations in any case. Suppose that, its foreign policy being isolation, it simply deployed its tax-supported army along the Canada-U.S. border. In what way would that be more libertarian than crossing the border?

Amador's argument is similar: that since "in today's context, a mutual-defense pact would be an agreement among states — which means that all people under the thumb of the respective states would be (and are)

forced to contribute to the defence of others... then, Mr. Garrett must, by the logic of his position, oppose all alliances and all prospective U.S. interventions anywhere, so long as the U.S. government is funded by taxation and inflation."

By Amador's "logic", an opponent of taxation and inflation must oppose all U.S. government activities so long as it is financed by these means; whether the U.S. government entered into defense alliances, or whether it chose to defend the U.S. alone, it would be equally evil. What is the additional, specific evil in "alliances" and "U.S. interventions" that causes Amador to single them out? What is the moral difference between forcing California taxpayers to pay for the defense of, say, Ontario, and forcing them to pay for the defense of New York?

"If we are to have mutual defense," says Amador, "then let us first get rid of the state." In fact, the entire "non-interventionist" position makes sense only in the absence of states. The very term "non-intervention" is of course biased; it is meant to imply that defense agreements are somehow equivalent to government "intervention" in the economy, religion, or whatever. But "non-interventionism" in the latter sense means that government should not intervene in the lives and property of free, non-aggressing individuals (I think; at least I have never heard any libertarian call for "non-intervention" into the affairs of criminals.) In the former sense, however ("in today's context"), "non-intervention" means that the state should not intervene in the affairs or territory of other states. One can only make a libertarian case for this type of "non-interventionism" by arguing that all states, by virtue of being states, have a right to the territory and citizens that they claim. (Even this dubious claim does not rule out the possibility of military co-operation between states.)

Of course one can oppose "interventionism" as costly, futile, and dangerous. One can also oppose "non-interventionism" on similar grounds. But these are pragmatic, utilitarian arguments; there is nothing specifically libertarian about either position. I hope that in the future "non-interventionist" libertarians will either recognize this fact, or find the moral case for their position that has so far remained hidden, or remain quiet.

George Dance
Toronto, Ont.

Dear Editor:

In the two letters to the editor in the June-July CALIBER, in response to the Raimondo-Garrett debate on Military Defense and Foreign Policy, several questions were raised to which, as a member of the LP Adequate Defense Caucus (ADC) I would like to respond.

The main arguments against our pro-defense position may be summarized as follows:

Jorge Amador (author of one letter) states that "There is nothing in libertarian morality that makes it a duty to defend other people, including Canadians, or morally wrong to sit by and watch them killed."

"Present day fascists" are using the threat of totalitarianism to "justify" more taxes and a new draft.

People have a right to enter defense contracts with other people (just as they have the

right to hire a police service on a communal basis) — but due to the fact that "in today's context" a mutual defense pact would be nothing more than an agreement between governments, governments in which people have little or no say — therefore any alliance or mutual defense contract should not be binding on those who didn't participate. I shall deal with these points in reverse order:

1. Nobody is disputing the fact that "in today's context", international treaties are nothing more than agreements between heads of government — and that these are governments in which individuals have little or no voice. As pointed out by Robert Colburn (in the second letter):

Mr. Garrett thinks it'd be okay to have alliances between libertarian governments. That may be, but I don't know of any libertarian governments on this planet. All governments violate people's rights."

I agree. But is this not what the libertarian movement hopes to change? Are we not working for the creation of a society in which no government will be able to violate the rights of individuals? The question is, How is defense to be handled in the meantime? How can it be provided without resorting to coercive and immoral means such as the draft (involuntary servitude) and higher taxes? That is a far cry from saying we need no defense at all.

The ADC does not regard Soviet intentions as innocent, nor do we believe the Soviet arms build-up and aggression is based on a fear of, or in reaction to, US policies. The Berlin Wall, the bloodbath of Hungary, the invasion of Afghanistan, a possible invasion of Poland — these are the testimonials to Soviet intentions. This is part of "the context of today's world."

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CALIFORNIA NEWS ROUNDUP

'82 California convention slated for Queen Mary

With "Destination Freedom" as its theme, the 1982 California Libertarian convention will be held, appropriately, aboard the Queen Mary in Long Beach, Feb. 12-15.

"Because we want to make this our best convention ever," said Carol Ann Moore, convention committee chairman. We'll be celebrating our 10th birthday and we'll be nominating candidates for governor and U.S. Senate.

"We want to show Libertarians around the country that California is the leading edge of the movement. We're lining up speakers of outstanding caliber and stature for our meals, workshops, panels, debates and seminars," she said.

Among those tentatively scheduled are Congressman Ron Paul (R-Tex.), Alaskan state legislator Dick Randolph, and psychiatrist Peter Breggin.

Moore explained that the convention's theme, which had been suggested by Ellen Baker of Region 14, was chosen to reflect the party's direction.

"Destination Freedom" really describes where we are today; we're on our way, but we're not there yet. It captures the flavor of an adventure, a voyage. At the convention we'll be discussing some of the party's potential destinations. And we'll cover the ways to get from here to there," Moore said.

"Besides, it's deliciously ironic. The Queen Mary had been brought to Long Beach as a tourist attraction by the city of Long Beach. It became such a white elephant that the city finally had to sell it. Now it's in the hands of a private company, rescued from the bureaucrats," she said.

The company that bought the Queen Mary, the Wrather Corporation, also operates the Disneyland Hotel. It is spending \$8 million to restore the Queen Mary.

Moore admitted she had heard complaints about the selection of the Queen Mary because room rates will be higher than those charged at this year's convention in San Diego. She said, however, that other arrangements are being made for those who cannot afford the Queen Mary.

"One thing you've got to realize is that our conventions are really growing in size," she said. "We're expecting upwards of 500 people. We need a large hotel to accommodate such a crowd. There are only two other hotels here in the South Bay area that could hold our convention. And instead of staterooms we would have gotten just

ordinary rooms for about 50% more."

Moore said all events will be held on the Queen Mary, so people will not have to travel anywhere. In addition, she said, admission costs will be kept low and it will be possible for people to buy tickets strictly for individual events. A bonus for those who prereg-

Anti-draft sham exposed

The Reagan Administration's waffling over the issue of conscription has come to an abrupt end. On June 19 the Selective Service System sent out letters to 150 young men who failed to register for the draft last year. Those who fail to register within 15 days of their receipt of the letter are threatened with prosecution; their names, the letter says, "will be forwarded to the Justice Department."

Interestingly, the names of suspected non-registrants were not obtained by means of systematic searches of computerized lists (such as high school, Social Security and IRS lists) as the SSS always threatened. Instead, the small number of names (150 out of over a million non-registrants) were gleaned from letters from informants among the general populace. SSS spokespersons admit that only non-registrants whose stance spurred pro-draft citizens to send a letter to the SSS have been identified and threatened with prosecution.

There are at least 1 million non-registrants. Even more draft eligible youth registered but broke the law by refusing to give their Social Security number and/or failing to notify the SSS of a change of address.

The SSS has a few hundred more names of suspected non-registrants gathered from such letters. SSS spokesperson Joan Lamb says "more letters will go out each day."

Representatives of Students for a Libertarian Society, LP National, the National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors and the United Church of Christ met in Washington June 24 to plan a registration resisters defense fund. A news conference announcing the initiation of the fund was held Wednesday, July 1st. Contributions are needed.

Libertarians were in the forefront of the resist the draft movement. Thus it

ister will be a guided tour of the Queen Mary.

The convention's kickoff event Friday night will be a debate on the merits of political versus nonpolitical action in spreading libertarian ideas between Caliber editor, Less Antman and philosopher, George Smith.

is likely that many libertarians are threatened by prosecution. One SLS member and non-registrant, Paul Jacobs of Arkansas, did indeed receive the SSS letter in late June. Libertarians who wish to help meet this challenge are encouraged to contact Students for a Libertarian Society and send contributions. Their address is SLS, 2262 Hall Place NW, Washington DC 20007. (202) 965-6997. Due to funding cutbacks SLS has not been able to respond to this development as quickly or as strongly as it would like. You can help.

In a related development, the Supreme Court ruled on June 24 that a "males-only" draft was constitutional. Disregarding the fact that thousands of women already serve in the armed forces and only a small fraction of all military personnel are ever used in combat, the Court held that women's inequality in combat permitted their exclusion from conscription. While the ruling thus "saves" women from the draft, from a libertarian standpoint it has two fatal flaws: First, it erects a legal distinction between men and women, undermining the libertarian principle of equality under the law. Second, and rather ironically, the Court's exclusion of women, far from restricting the scope of slavery, had the effect of keeping the draft alive. Had the court ruled that the draft must include women, the entire registration program now in effect would have been null and void. Congress, to reinstate a draft, would have had to pass new legislation because the Military Selective Service Act does not now include women. Congressional observers agree that a draft which includes women has virtually no chance of passing.

LP speaks out on Medfly

Terming the state's malathion spraying program "an insult to the American tradition of respect for privacy and property rights," Libertarian Party state central committee chairman, Bill Evers, issued a press release in July calling for an immediate halt to the aerial spraying. He urged turning over to the private sector all efforts to eradicate the Mediterranean fruit fly.

Carefully separating the party's criticisms of the anti-medfly program from those of critics who cite alleged health hazards, Evers was nonetheless equally severe in his criticism.

"The anti-medfly program to date," according to Evers, has:

- wasted million of dollars on the wrong ground spray and helicopters that don't work;
- vastly multiplied the fly population by importing hundreds of thousands of fertile flies;
- unjustly confiscated tons of fruit from the backyards of innocent property owners;
- threatened fruitgrowers each with hundreds of dollars in fines in an on-again, off-again fashion that can only

Dick Randolph, who already has announced he will run for governor of Alaska in 1982, is tentatively scheduled to set the convention's tone at breakfast on Saturday. That evening he will be in the convention hospitality suite for two hours to meet with California Libertarians and further discuss the party's success in Alaska.

Peter Breggin, whose new book "Psychology of Freedom" has been popular among libertarians nationwide, will hold a special 2-hour workshop along with his wife Phyllis. In addition, he'll be speaker at Sunday's breakfast.

"Breggin's breakfast talk should prove extremely interesting," Moore said. "Politics of the state and the economics of free enterprise are two of the most discussed topics in the movement. Breggin will discuss whether the movement can survive without a third concept — a libertarian culture."

Ron Paul is currently scheduled to be the featured speaker at the banquet Sunday night. Though a Republican, he considers himself a "small-L" libertarian and has an almost perfect libertarian voting record in Congress.

"We realize some people may question our choice of a Republican as the banquet speaker," Moore said, "but we believe he'll offer many important insights. He also should be a drawing card for people who are just slightly familiar with the Libertarian Party and would be interested in learning more about us. We do need to attract new people."

Moore said the convention committee is soliciting ideas for speakers and subjects for discussion at the convention. She also said the committee is seeking volunteers to work at the convention and people who would offer crash space to delegates. She may be reached at (213) 325-7008.

Excom reprise

A mini-conference and a Saturday night party were highlights of the Executive Committee meeting of the California Libertarian Council held May 30 & 31 at the LeBaron Hotel in San Jose. (See meeting minutes elsewhere in this issue of Caliber).

The lead event of the weekend was a

See EXCOM/p. 19

be called arbitrary and capricious; and —given something of a police state atmosphere to the Santa Clara Valley with nighttime air raids and National Guard and highway patrol conducting street searches."

"The Libertarian Party," added Evers, "believes that the fly infestation is a burden that fruit farmers should be the ones to shoulder, and not a burden that is imposed unwillingly on the rest of us."

Evers outlined what he described as the Libertarian Party's solution to the problem. First, eliminate government funding and enforcement of anti-medfly efforts. Second, farmers' associations and others involved in fruit production should negotiate with property owners for permission to put out fly bait, whether on the ground or by air, or negotiate to buy out fruit crops. Holdouts' property could be surrounded with concentrated doses of fly bait or by releases of sterile flies.

"This course of action would knock out the fly, save the taxpayer immense amounts of money, and preserve us from constant invasions of privacy and property," said Evers.

are dropped. Their votes are then distributed among the remaining candidates according to the next available preference on each ballot. Candidates are declared elected when they have reached a mathematical number called the "droop quota," and the surplus of votes for an elected candidate is distributed in the same manner as before. This "droop quota" is simply a number which insures that exactly the required number of candidates will be declared elected, no more and no less.

Providing a measure promoting proportional representation made it onto the ballot, what groups would be likely to support or oppose it in California?

As a group, politicians may oppose such a change. After all, they are sort of sitting in a tree, and this type of measure shakes the tree. While some might fall onto a better branch, others would be certain to fall out of the tree. After talking with some people, however, I would hesitate to suggest that individual Democrats would oppose it. There is, after all, an aspect of fairness and equity to the concept and Democrats have traditionally been less resistant to change. The STV system encourages voters to think for themselves rather than following their party's position "right or wrong." In Ireland, it was found that large numbers of people who generally support Fianna Fail (their largest party) opposed its position and voted for proportional representation. If party preferences stay the same as in 1980 (they are changing already), the Democratic Party would almost certainly lose several seats and much of its clout.

Interestingly, however, ethnic minorities which typically vote with the Democrats could actually gain seats. Under the STV system, this could occur even without the formation of separate parties for Hispanics and blacks. Largely due to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and concentration in urban areas, blacks have won a degree of parity in their representation. In the future, however, there may be more support for such groups as the national Black Independent party which met recently in Chicago.

Hispanics are another important group in California. While they are not distributed between Democrats and Republicans much differently than the rest of the population, there are 4.5 million of them in California, and they have been agitating recently for fair representation. An Orange County group, Californios for Fair Representation believes Hispanics have been deliberately split up in the districts around Santa Ana to make them politically weak. Larger multi-member districts and proportional representation would virtually eliminate this complaint and give Hispanic legislators a "fair share" in the legislature.

Last year in Los Angeles, there was considerable attention given to the fact that when the only Hispanic seat on the Board of Education was vacated, Hispanics strongly felt one of their number should fill it. Countries which use proportional representation sometimes allow the next person who would have been elected from the same party to fill a vacancy without a special election.

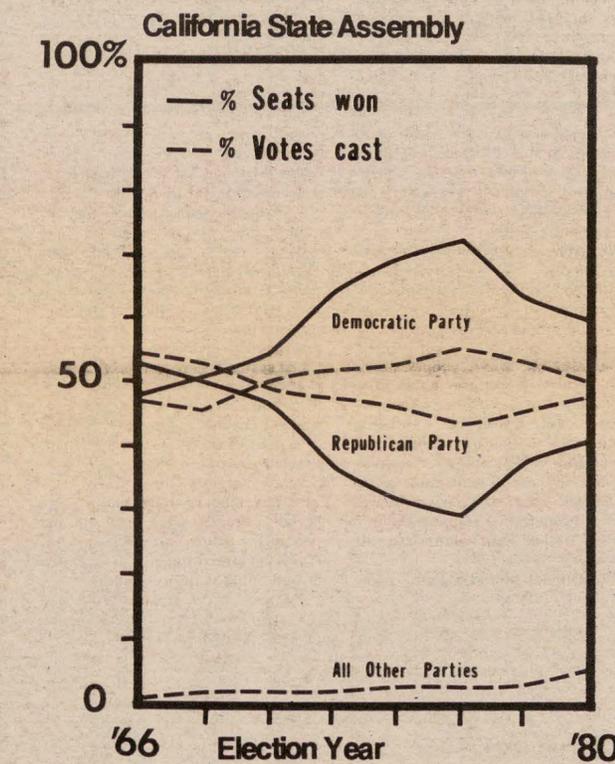
At first I thought Republicans might be universally in favor of the idea of proportional representation, but I was wrong. As you can see in the chart, they have suffered a very lopsided underrepresentation for the last ten years. Their party suffers the most from disproportionate representation, and they would stand to gain seats and power in the State Assembly. But, perhaps they think the pendulum will swing their way again.

The other day, I discussed the matter with Pete Wilson, the present

mayor of San Diego and a candidate for governor, and he raised a number of common objections. He felt this type of change would be more revolutionary than evolutionary, and was thus unlikely to achieve acceptance. He believed proportional representation would destroy the "two party system," creating weak government, and cited examples of Western democracies which experienced political impasses and had difficulty forming governments in the early 70's. He also believes that politicians are more "accountable" in the present single member districts.

A hundred years ago, one could have made the point that proportional systems were revolutionary, but not today. Now it would be equally valid to suggest that the plurality system is antiquated.

As for the imminent demise of the two party system, I would like to say it has already occurred without proportional representation, but thus far the evidence would hardly support me. Nonetheless, available evidence simply does not support the contention that proportional representation gives birth to numerous parties.



Seventy five years of proportional representation in Tasmania, Australia has not even produced a third party, whereas in Great Britain (which has a plurality system like ours) not only can no single party form a majority, but neither of the two largest can form a majority without the help of at least two smaller parties. The comparison with countries which have difficulty "forming" governments and frequently dissolve their governments with votes of no confidence, is an erroneous one. This problem has nothing whatsoever to do with proportional representation. It arises in countries like Israel, which have a parliament and many parties, and where no one party has a majority.

In that country recently, the president met privately with each of the parties after the election, acting somewhat like a judge to guess which of the dominant parties would be most likely to make an equitable "deal" with several smaller parties, and achieve a majority. Typically, such governments rule with a monkey on their back. If the dominant party breaks its covenant (an eight page

written document in the case of Israel), a vote of "no confidence" results and new elections are called. In the case of California, we simply propose that the composition of our State Assembly be determined by a proportionate method, and that the Governor be elected directly by Alternative Vote.

There are several dimensions to the accountability aspect. On the one hand, to which members of your multimember district would you go with your problem? An individual would actually have access to more assemblymen, which would be advantageous, but it might be logical for him to go to the one which he helped to elect, or who would be most sympathetic on the issue involved.

In Ireland in 1969, over 90% of the voters had a representative who was at least a member of their party, and for 75% of those, this representative was a person chosen in preference to other candidates of the same party. Thus the personal link with "your" representative is likely to be much closer than it is today in California.

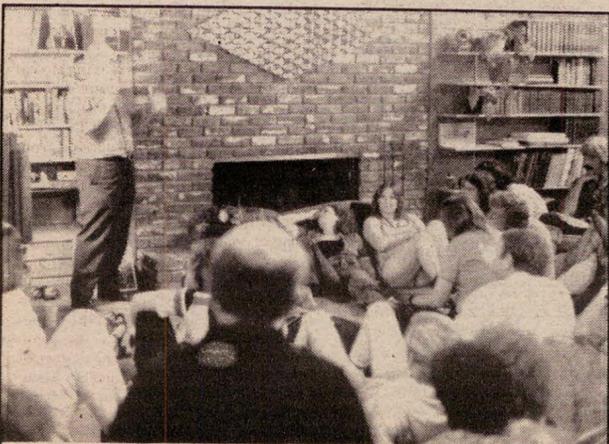
If "your" representative's performance displeases you, your vote in the next election would be very effective

they are today, where they may face hotly contested reelection battles in close single member districts with members of other parties. If a politician could find the required quota of support in a small area he would not need to cover an entire district, and parties could present "slates" of candidates and combine campaign staffs for efficiency. After all, the same number of candidates taken as a group must reach the same number of voters as the number of candidates prior to proportional representation.

Libertarian Party self interest might suggest we support a system of proportional representation unless it were in conflict with our principles. However, I have found not all Libertarians will agree with this. What then do our principles say about a proportional representation process. Obviously, by electing any Libertarians at all, our positions will be heard, and government may be influenced, slowly at first, in the direction of a freer society. Proportional representation cannot by itself limit the potential impact of government on our lives. That was the intended function of our Constitution. Proportional representation can, however, limit the remaining influence of one group of citizens on another. This influence is limited to a "proportionate share." Furthermore, within the larger geographic boundaries of a multimember district, constituencies are truly voluntary. Today we are told every ten years, by two parties with which we have no influence, where our constituency is. Our votes are diluted, and we are not given the choice of choosing a non-geographical or less geographical constituency called libertarianism.

Libertarian principles might also suggest a preference for one particular system of proportionate representation. For example the STV system maximizes a voter's freedom of choice, and in so doing makes the electoral process a more voluntary one. STV allows the voter to choose candidates either with or without regard to party affiliation, and guarantees no vote will assist in the return of any candidate or party unless that is the voter's wish. An STV system emphasizes the worth of individuals as something more than bloc voting machines. Either system eliminates a voter's fear of "wasting" his vote. In large geographical areas, all parties could field better qualified slates of candidates. Libertarians might get votes even from areas where we were not strong enough to field a candidate in the 1980 elections. While support for proportional representation might seem like a self-serving grab for power (...or balance thereof), asking for only a "fair share" sounds neither unreasonable nor greedy, and the Libertarian Party would hardly be accused of plotting to abuse power. After all, we are the party which seeks to reduce the number and size of state tentacles.

Proportional representation will begin to attract serious discussion in California if the Libertarian party continues its growth, and the largest party in the state becomes a minority. Libertarians have already begun to challenge the two party system, and only proportional representation is consistent with that challenge. Most western democracies except Great Britain have adopted one form or another of proportional representation. In only a few instances, such as France, has such a system been abandoned once adopted. Even in Great Britain, which has a plurality system like our own for single member districts, 70% of the voters think it would be a good idea to have a new voting system which would insure that the seats won by a party were proportional to the votes cast for its candidates.



STANDING ROOM ONLY — Murray Rothbard spoke to over 100 Southern California libertarians at the "Second Bi-Annual Bastille Day Celebration" held in Costa Mesa on July 11. The event was sponsored by the Libertarian Supper Club of Orange County.

ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

A discussion of proportional representation

by Larry Denton

Do you know how many groups are not represented in the California State Assembly in proportion to their numbers and the "one man, one vote" principle of democratic theory? Besides minority parties like ours, one could name ethnic minorities such as blacks and Hispanics, and yes... even Republicans. To an extent, these groups suffer taxation without representation. While taxation is bad enough, taxation without representation is worse.

One wonders why our founders, in their wisdom, did not foresee and prevent such inequities. The answer is that these men intended for government to be small and unobtrusive. Government was not at first the nuisance it has become today. While there were originally no parties, they soon developed. Our founders actually thought many small parties would form. The "two party" system is a result of our electoral process, but an unintentional one. As long as government did not control our lives, trample on our liberty and confiscate our property, it mattered little how many parties there were or which of them prevailed. It matters now...

The flaws in our electoral process show up most clearly in voter apathy at the polls. Does anyone really feel his vote counts any longer? (The California initiative process is, I suppose, a counter-example, where voters actually see their opinion counted on an issue). Think for a moment how little our vote counts in a State Assembly race: In any particular district there are really only two parties, of approximately equal size: the party that votes and the party that refuses to vote. In the past, the race has been between the Demopublican incumbent and a Demopublican challenger. Since the electorate cannot tell the difference, Republican and Democratic votes are almost always evenly divided. If more

Democrats than Republicans get elected, they are said to have a "mandate." The fact remains, however, that almost all of our representatives are elected by less than twenty five percent of the eligible voters.

With our plurality electoral process, if each district voted 50.0001% Democratic and 49.9999% Republican, the State Assembly would wind up 100% Democratic. In general, for N parties in plural elections it is possible for (50/N)% of the electorate to win a majority in the legislative body. If those examples sound extreme, consider this one: The Single Transferable Vote (STV) system of proportional representation was used between 1937 and 1947 to elect the New York City Council. In 1945, two Communists managed to get 7% of the vote and 7% of the seats. In 1947, with public opinion running strongly against Communism by that time, and under pressure from Tammany Hall, proportional representation was defeated and replaced with a majority system. In the next city council election, the Democratic Party won 24 of 25 seats on the council with only 52.6% of the vote. Reapportionment and gerrymandering tend to make the problem worse after each Census.

We erroneously refer to this system as "majority rule," and as an institution, it ranks right up there with Mom, Apple Pie and the Flag. What we actually have in State Assembly races is a plurality system, and winner-take-all. Most people don't even realize there are alternative electoral systems from which to choose, but developed countries around the world are using them today. Importantly, many countries which used our Constitution as a model for their own, nevertheless chose "proportional representation" systems rather than winner-take-all systems.

Proportional representation is im-

possible without multi-member districts. In my opinion, a minority should not have to live in one place - like the Mormons in Utah or the blacks in metropolitan areas - to achieve equitable representation. While it's a long shot, one way to achieve proportional representation may be to change the electoral process itself through an initiative to amend the state constitution. Recently, a committee was formed to study the feasibility of just such an initiative, perhaps for the 1984 ballot.

On March 28th, Jack Dean and I met with William Shearer and Thomas Goodlow of the American Independent Party, Albert Gonzalez and Jack Tucker of the Peace and Freedom Party and moderator C.T. Weber to discuss the merits of working for proportional representation in California. Basically, two types of measures were favored by the group... one, a "list" or STV system for election to the State Assembly; and the other, an "Alternative Vote" for the election of Governor or U.S. Senator. Members of the group resolved to seek the endorsement of their respective parties for the idea. While AIP and P&F received such endorsements, the LP ExCom decided in May against making a commitment at this time to the effort. ExCom members were preoccupied with candidate selection for the 1982 races, and believed resources for a proportional representation effort were not justified or even available at this time.

List systems were first proposed by Thomas Gilpin of Philadelphia in 1844. Today they are used to select the upper or lower house in such countries as West Germany, the Netherlands, Israel, Guyana, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Finland, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Italy, Sweden and Turkey. France once used a list system for a few years after World War II but later dropped it in favor of a second ballot majority system.

Under a list system, parties are given legal recognition and treated as units for which fair representation is sought. Although that is usually the way it works in practice, I'm sure you could drop the legal recognition part, and replace the word parties with lists for which fair representation is sought. Anyway, the state would be divided into multimember districts. At present, we have 80 single member districts.

Although all multimember districts need not necessarily be of the same size, one possibility would be to divide the state into 8 ten-member districts. As illustrated in the accompanying table, if California had used a list system with 8 ten-member districts in the 1980 election, the Libertarian Party would have won three seats, exactly our share. Actually, if the electorate really believed Libertarian candidates would win office, our vote totals would have been much larger.

While there are many versions of list systems, the one described most easily (and which comes the closest of any system to the proportional ideal), is the "greatest remainder" version. In this system, parties submit lists of candidates on the ballot, and are awarded seats in proportion to their total votes. Within a multimember district, the total votes are divided by the number of seats in the district to establish a quota. Each party's total vote is divided by this quota.

A party is awarded a seat for each whole quota it polls, and the remaining seats are allocated to the

party or parties with the largest remainder left. West Germany allocates seats to national remainder totals. A party's seats may be filled by its candidates in the order of their names on the list (determined separately in a primary, or a convention, or by caucus); however, in some countries voters have the discretion to vote specifically for or against individuals on a list, and even to make substitutions. A ballot qualified individual could of course be a list of one.

Until 1971, women were much under-represented in Norway. They organized the crossing out of men's names and the substitution of women's, with the result that they dominated some councils and became a very large minority on others.

An alternative to the greatest remainder rule is used in most of the countries mentioned. The object of this formula, developed by its Belgian inventor Victor d'Hondt, is to make sure that the average number of votes to win one seat shall be as nearly as possible the same for each party. In California, for example, the average successful Republican candidate must poll 50% more votes than the average successful Democratic one, due to a sort of natural gerrymandering. The vote totals for each party are divided by the integers 1, 2, 3 and so on as far as may be necessary, and the smallest of the N highest numbers becomes the quota, where N is the number of seats. Each party is then given a number of seats equal to its vote total divided by the quota, fractions being ignored.

While the greatest remainder formula slightly favors small parties, the d'Hondt formula gives a slight edge to larger ones. Denmark, Norway and Sweden use the Lague variation of the d'Hondt formula, which reduces the reward to large parties but increases the handicap to smaller parties. The Lague formula consequently promotes middle size political parties and reduces the number of legislatively represented small parties.

The Single Transferable Vote (STV) was first suggested by Thomas Wright Hill in 1821 and further elaborated by Thomas Hare in 1859. STV systems are used today in Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton Canada, in Australia, India, South Africa, and Malta. About twenty U.S. cities have used STV to elect city councils at one time or another, including Sacramento about sixty years ago, and, as mentioned previously, New York City. Presently, Cambridge, Massachusetts and Boulder, Colorado use the system. An STV system allows a voter to express his preferences for individual candidates, either with or without regard to party affiliation. An advantage over the list system is that no vote assists any candidate or party unless the voter so desires. Both STV and list systems offer equitable representation to parties and eliminate the voter's fear of "wasting his vote." The Alternative Vote is another name for an STV system in a single member district. Its use will become increasingly desirable in California gubernatorial races when no single candidate can achieve a majority due to expected Libertarian Party growth.

The STV system employs a ballot which allows the voter to "rank order" competing candidates in order of his preferences. While voting is easy, counting is complex. In principle, what really happens is that candidates with the lowest vote totals

STRATEGY FORUM

Integrating theory and practice

by Justin Raimondo

Milton Mueller's article, "Toward A Coherent Strategy" (Caliber, April/May 1981; p.9) couldn't have come at a better time. Radical libertarians can only welcome such additions to the growing genre of literature devoted to analyzing the twists and turns of the Clark campaign.

THE REAL ISSUES

Although Mueller is rather timid about defending the Clark campaign in any particular instance — Clark isn't even mentioned until the very end, and even then only briefly — it is clear that this is the real focus of the debate over strategy and tactics. Behind Mueller's smokescreen of coined phrases, misty jargon, and "empirical" pragmatism is a first attempt at a "theoretical" justification for Clark's "Low-Tax Liberalism." That this attempt starts out by declaring that Libertarians "have failed to define any principles of social change with which to guide their actions" can mean only one of two things: either Mueller is admitting, in public and in print, that the Clark campaign was a disaster and SIS is well on its way — or else Mueller has fallen prey to the fallacy of self-exclusion. (One can only assume that when Mueller uses the term "Libertarians" he means to include himself.)

"The absence of a coherent political strategy," says Mueller in the first sentence of his article, "is a problem which continually haunts the Libertarian movement." Thus, with refreshing candor, one of the major (or, perhaps, one of the more vocal) defenders of the Clark campaign tells us that Libertarians "have failed to define any principles of social change..." (Emphasis added.) But what does this mean, coming from someone who has been running Students for a Libertarian Society (SIS) since it was founded? Is Mueller saying that both the Clark campaign — which he defends to this day — and SIS were operating like rudderless ships adrift at sea, waiting for a strong current to push them into prominence? If so, then we say: Bravo! This, of course, is what we in the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) have been saying all along.

Clearly, an overwhelming majority of LP activists perceive that the upcoming Libertarian Party National Convention in Denver will be a fork in the road. There is a very good reason why most LP publications are filled with debates over strategy, these days, the specifics of which don't vary greatly from state to state. The widespread revulsion to Clark's "Low-Tax Liberal" substitute for libertarianism extends far beyond the LPRC; in fact, we believe the majority of LP activists agree with our assessment of the Clark campaign. (See "A New Beginning... Or A Rude Awakening?": Caliber, February/March 1981 and also the LPRC pamphlet *A Matter of Principle*, which deals with the Clark campaign in detail.) The leadership of the campaign was counting on "millions of votes." Now, after the November debacle, they are faced with the onerous task of either defending the "Low-Tax Liberal" sellout (definitely a minority position among our "Low-Tax Liberals") — or else admitting that Clark "waffled" on matters of concern to "special interest groups" (i.e. the immigration issue) while summing up Clark's "Low-Tax Liberalism" "as an overall evaluation" to be "a

success and a terrific step forward for the Libertarian Party as a whole," in the words of one candidate for National Chair.

Thus, as we wade through Mueller's "political analysis" we must be careful to pull the discussion down to earth by constantly referring to the focus of the debate — the Clark campaign, and the crisis in the LP.

CLEARING THE AIR

Although Mueller claims that his article is an attempt "to lay the groundwork for strategic discussion within the Libertarian Party" and "come to grips with strategic issues on a theoretical level," "Toward A Coherent Strategy" further mystifies the issues.

"Strategy," intones Mueller, "is a means to an end." Therefore, he concludes, "once we conceive of the issue of strategy in terms of human action, we can profitably apply all the insights of Austrian economics — which analyzes the pure logic of human action — to political strategy." It is true, as Mueller states, that "a strategic framework may be viewed as performing a function similar to the price mechanism" — but the analogy is far from

ability of libertarian principles is not very helpful. Strategic thinking, then — unlike philosophical analysis — is necessarily selective and hierarchical in nature. "And so we have it: theory is to be permanently separated from practice. Mueller even has a name for this new duality; he calls it "Political Radicalism versus Philosophical Radicalism." Mueller juxtaposes what he calls "political analysis; that is, empirical analysis of statism as a system of power" to "philosophical analysis."

"Political analysis" is, apparently, the process which led the Clark campaign to throw the LP platform overboard and start proclaiming the virtues of "Low-Tax Liberalism." This method one imagines, is what led Clark and his staff to declare that welfare wouldn't be abolished until welfare could be abolished.

Incredibly, Mueller even quotes Murray Rothbard to buttress his case. He says: "That Abolitionism is not a strategic insight is shown by Rothbard's own writings on the subject. In a

being "unrealistic" when, in the 1830's, he raised the glorious standard of immediate emancipation of the slaves. His goal was a proper one, and his strategic realism came in the fact that he did not expect his goal to be quickly reached. Or, as Garrison himself distinguished: "Urges immediate abolition as earnestly as we may, it will, alas, be gradual abolition in the end. We have never said that slavery would be overthrown by a single blow; that it ought to be, we shall always contend."

In the first place, anyone with a copy of *Equalitarianism As A Revolt Against Nature* can see that Mueller's "editing" job comes very close to outright falsification; clearly, the passage cited, taken as a whole, is intended to convey the exact opposite view imputed to it by Mueller. That Mueller would even attempt to transform Rothbard's argument for abolitionism, for the full integration of libertarian theory and practice into a justification for his utterly arbitrary dichotomy is surprising, to say the least. Secondly, even if we accept the out-of-context quote all by itself, it becomes clear that Rothbard still is not saying that theory and practice are unrelated; Rothbard says that it is of utmost importance not to mix "strategic estimates with the forging of desired goals." Clearly, when read in context, Rothbard is urging libertarians to be ultimately guided by their moral sensibilities rather than by a bloodless cost-benefit analysis.

This, of course, is the whole crux of the matter. What the opportunists in our movement need to do — if their mechanical, Friedmanite cost-benefit pragmatism is to win the day — is to eradicate the moral basis of the case for laissez-faire. This harkens back to Mueller's bleak, one-dimensional creation, *homo economicus*, who lives in a world inhabited by (undefined) "constituencies" and who can only discover reality through "empirical analysis" of what is, without reference to non-"strategic" concepts such as Libertarianism.

But where, in this rather odd Muellerite universe, do values come in? Does this Never-Never Land where presumably "value-free" robots "empirically" discover how to allocate scarce political resources, really exist? If such a planet exists it is most certainly not inhabited by human beings — those infinitely complex creatures who are in fact so unlike the automata posited by Mueller.

WHAT IS ABOLITIONISM?

"In sum," writes Mueller, "abolitionism helps us to frame our goals, but it does not tell us how to attain them. That Abolitionism is persistently put forth as a 'strategic' doctrine shows just how far the Libertarian movement is from developing a real strategic framework." Before demonstrating that just the opposite is the case — that the lynchpin of Libertarian strategy can only be derived from ethical principles — it is necessary to discuss Mueller's usage of the term "abolitionism." Apparently Mueller uses this term to include a whole grab-bag of concepts; judging from his article, it can mean anything from defending liberty in the name of rights and moral principle to confining ones' political activities to calling for the immediate abolition of all taxes. "Lest you think I am exaggerating the danger of sectarianism," intones Mueller, "there is another episode from the LPC Convention which might change your mind. One RC member attacked the Clark campaign's White Paper on tax cuts as 'opportunistic.' Why?" Because, this unidentified LPRC member allegedly said, by not proposing



exact. And so, after mystifying the issue with an implied appeal to authority, after draping his simplistic view of *homo economicus* in the robes of what passes for "Austrian economics", Mueller goes all out. From a simple literary flourish, Mueller constructs a forbiddingly mechanistic, rather sterile view of the world according to the "pure logic of human action." "Political strategy," declares Mueller, "is best thought of as a problem of allocation," but who or what is being "allocated" here? Where do these abstract "resources" come from? There is not even a hint that we are talking about living, breathing individuals here; so much for Mueller's claim to the mantle of methodological individualism and "the insights of Austrian economics!" By stretching the analogy of the price mechanism to absurd lengths, Mueller goes off the deep-end — but where does it all lead?

It leads straight to "Low-Tax Liberalism", rampant opportunism, and political oblivion.

THEORY VERSUS PRACTICE?

Mueller posits his barren worldview and then asks: "What can provide the proper basis for selecting and prioritizing issues and constituencies? What standard can we use to evaluate conflicting claims?"

Given his view of politics as essentially a game involving the manipulation of various "constituencies", certainly the entire body of libertarian theory is going to be no help. And, in fact, Mueller is the first to admit this. "For the activist, the universal applica-

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COMMENTARY

An answer to critics of the Clark campaign

by David Boaz

Adolph Hitler said that if you make a lie big enough and repeat it often enough, many people will believe it. Two interrelated Big Lies are being regularly propounded in libertarian circles these days, and it's time to examine them in light of the facts.

The two Big Lies I am referring to are, (1) that the Libertarian Party, or at least the Clark campaign, has not been successful recently, and (2) that "Libertarian principle was betrayed" by the Clark campaign. Those who advance these arguments blame both problems on the recent leadership of the party, particularly Ed Crane, Chris Hocker, and the other members of the Clark for President staff. So, they say, Crane and "the people around him" must be removed from positions of leadership in the party.

This whole argument is a tissue of lies, and it is time someone said so.

Let's look first at the success of the party. Did anyone meeting in Denver in 1972 really believe that the Libertarian Party would be as successful as it has been by 1981? Some 85 idealogues met in June 1972 to found a new political party based on an ideology never before consistently expressed in America and not even approached in generations. The party offered a point of view that, being neither right or left, confused the media. Reporters found it difficult to explain to their audiences, so they fell back on the standard "laundry list" article listing any number of libertarian positions—preferably the most radical or frightening—without any coherent explanation of the underlying philosophy. Early party leaders encouraged this tendency by telling the media that "we combine the John Birch Society and SDS," thus managing at one fell swoop to alienate 99% of the American people.

In 1974 Ed Crane was elected National Chair. The two previous party leaders, David and Sue Nolan, turned the party's membership file over to him—several hundred names kept in a shoebox. The party in 1974 was a small group of people occupied mainly by infighting, bickering, and name-calling. (Strangely, seven years later some of those early party leaders are at it again.) The newsletter was an 8½ x 11 sheet sent to a few hundred people. Crane turned it into a professional tabloid and sent it to every libertarian name he could find—Reason subscribers, bookbuyers, and so on. State organizations generally consisted of one name on a file card. Crane set about building real, functioning party organizations. Libertarians both within and outside the party soon came to believe that libertarian political activity might actually be viable.

The next important task was to find a credible presidential candidate for 1976. The obvious choice was Roger MacBride, a highly intelligent, well-read man with radical principles and sufficient wealth to fund a campaign, a lawyer, author, and television producer who would be regarded by the media and the voters as a man of substance, not the usual third-party candidate. There were only two problems—MacBride didn't want to run for President, and some libertarians objected to a wealthy lawyer who presented radical ideas in a reasonable way. But Crane managed to convince MacBride that only he could give the party—and the cause of liberty—the boost it needed, and at the 1975 nominating convention those who wanted a principled, effective Libertarian Party carried the day, nominating MacBride by a

David Boaz, who served as research director for the Clark for President campaign, is a policy analyst for the Cato Institute in San Francisco.

comfortable though not overwhelming majority.

Crane gave up a successful investment career and took a substantial pay cut to become a full-time National Chair for the duration of the campaign, and moved to Washington to run both the party and the campaign. The Libertarian Party managed to get its candidates on 32 ballots that year, more than any other third party, stunning political observers who understood the intricacies of ballot laws. And in November, after a campaign virtually ignored by the major media, MacBride received 177,000 votes—not a landslide by any means, but enough to finish ahead of all other third parties, even the American Independent Party headed by Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox, who had received many times the press coverage.

After 1976 the Libertarian Party was recognized by aware members of the media, if not the public, as the third largest party in America, though admittedly still in the minor-party league. The 1978 elections, however, substantially improved on that image. As 1978 approached, it was clear that there would be two major focuses of attention for the party—Alaska, where a Libertarian might actually win a legislative seat, and California, where a significant gubernatorial campaign could really put the party on the map. Again, there was an obvious choice for Governor of California—Ed Clark, a longtime party activist. Again, the obvious candidate didn't want to run. Crane, who had stepped down as national chair in 1977 and turned a well-organized party over to David Bergland, and California activist Ray Cunningham persuaded Clark that he was essential to the party's growth in 1978. Crane set the basic strategy for the Clark campaign, and Chris Hocker, Bob Costello, and I managed

"The truth is that the Libertarian Party has become progressively more principled (more "hard-core," in the vernacular) in the last nine years."

it. The campaign was remarkably successful.

How did it happen? Murray Rothbard, in describing Clark's "phenomenal performance" in *Libertarian Forum*, said Clark did it by "captivating the media," explaining that "Clark had the rare ability to cleave to radical and principled positions, while coming forth with transition programs consistent with principle that sounded cogent and reasonable to the media."

Libertarian successes in the 1978 campaigns brought the party to the attention of the major media. Perhaps just as important, they convinced a number of libertarians that political activism was effective—David Walter of Pennsylvania and Eric O'Keefe of Michigan, to name just two, first became active in the Libertarian Party after the 1978 elections.

The 1980 campaigns built on this success. For the first time ever, a third-party candidate got on every state ballot—even George Wallace had not accomplished that. Sure, John Anderson did it, too, with four times the money, a thousand times the media coverage, and a series of court and FEC rulings as amazing as a July blizzard in South Texas. Nevertheless, 50-state ballot status was a stunning achievement for a third party. Not only did it give the party needed credibility, the process of achieving ballot status strengthened existing state parties and developed organizations where none had existed before.

Some 5 million pieces of literature were distributed. American television viewers saw 250 minutes of Libertarian advertising. Ed Clark spoke to tens

of thousands of people in person and to millions by radio and television interviews. And in the end, almost a million people voted Libertarian in a presidential race that was tightly contested and offered them three well-publicized choices. Two and a half million Americans voted Libertarian in at least one race.

But success isn't measured in vote totals alone. The 1980 campaign produced real, working party organizations in virtually every state. The party's contributor rolls were tripled. Membership increased 67% in the first four months after the election.

Is this just hype? Is it just another party activist assuring other activists that our work is not in vain? Well, perhaps—but three of the leading political analysts in America agree. Jack Germond and Jules Witcover, writing in the *Washington Star*, said, "In terms of what they set out to do, they have to be considered one of the modest political success stories of 1980. The goal was, and is, no less than to establish a real third party movement in the country, and his (Clark's) success in winning more than 900,000 votes was the best of a no-name candidate in this century." Germond and Witcover's chief rival, David Broder of the *Washington Post*, wrote, "Ed Clark and the Libertarians have had a great success in terms of their own objectives. Clark has emerged as a man of charm and conviction. With the extensive advertising his contributors have purchased, the Libertarian message has reached a far wider audience than ever before. It has an internal logic that challenges conventional thinking and stimulates debate."

At his writing, eight months after the 1980 election, it is clear that the gains we made last year were lasting ones. Despite the usual post-election letdown, state parties in most states

are more active than ever. A Libertarian has been elected to a city council in the Deep South. Dick Randolph has a real chance of winning the governorship of Alaska. Already, plans are being made for ballot status in 1982, serious major campaigns in several states, and attempts to win some legislative races in the lower 48.

I should address one significant criticism of the 1980 campaign here. Some campaign critics have pointed out that Clark and campaign staffers had predicted "several million" votes. Thus, they say, when the campaign finished just under a million, either it was a failure on the campaign's own terms, or the campaign had made a serious mistake in deluding libertarians into unrealistic expectations. There are basically two answers to this. The first is that, without John Anderson, Clark might very well have gotten several million votes. The campaign's most vocal critics won't acknowledge that Anderson was a real problem, or they say that Anderson took votes from Clark only if we were seeking liberal votes. Such a refusal to acknowledge Anderson's impact can only stem from either a malicious desire to criticize the campaign regardless of the facts or from a political naivete so hopeless as certainly to disqualify them from any significant political role.

It's not just that Anderson took voters who might otherwise have voted for Clark, though he did in fact get the votes of many independent-minded voters who wanted to vote against Carter and Reagan, and from voters who perceived him as fiscally responsible, socially liberal, and

somewhat dovish—just the voters who should have been attracted to a candidate who was really anti-tax, socially liberal, and pro-peace. But the problem is also that Anderson took the media attention that might otherwise have been Clark's. The media knew that voters were dissatisfied with the two major-party nominees. When Anderson, a non-threatening "alternative," came along, they were able to satisfy their audiences and their consciences by covering him. That way they could avoid covering Clark, who would otherwise have been the third candidate. Any realistic analysis of the 1980 election must point to this conclusion.

The second answer to the criticism of the "several million" hype is that campaign staffers dropped the point when it became clear that Anderson was in the race to stay. They told Clark orally and in written memos that he should avoid any specific vote prediction. But reporters always want one, and Clark mistakenly gave it to them.

But this is a minor caveat. Can anybody seriously look at the LP's record and call it anything other than success? Who among the small group of people that gathered in Denver in 1972 could have expected the results we have achieved in barely eight years? Anybody who had even an inkling of the obstacles—legal, institutional, and traditional—placed in the way of new parties in America should have regarded the task as almost hopeless. And anybody who hoped for a quick victory was dreadfully naive; the libertarian revolution is progressing, but it will not be won in a day, or a decade. The struggle is a long one, as is usually the case when the goal is so important. But we are well ahead of schedule. To say otherwise is to advance a Big Lie.

Let us turn, then, to the other Big Lie: that the party, or particularly the Clark campaign, has achieved its success by selling out libertarian principles. This is a serious charge. Clearly, none of the accomplishments cited above would constitute success if they had been achieved at such a price. Success for the Libertarian Party must mean progress toward liberty; anything else may be vote totals, or organization, or public recognition, but it is not libertarian success.

The truth is that the Libertarian Party has become progressively more principled (more "hard-core," in the vernacular) in the last nine years. At its founding, the LP was virtually an extreme right-wing organization. It endorsed civil liberties, but its emphasis was on economics, and its foreign policy was vague at best. The Party's first platform, drafted by David Nolan (who is now referred to in his own publications as "the conscience of the Libertarian Party"), was a right-wing document—strong in its defense of individualism and free-market economics, but hardly radical in its presentation of foreign policy, which was after all the greatest issue of 1972.

By 1974, the Party still had not clearly chosen a radical course. The leading contender for National Chair was Eric Scott Royce of Virginia, who urged support for such "libertarian" Republicans as Steve Symms, then a newly elected Congressman from Idaho. The Party's radicals chose Ed Crane, who had been outspoken in his criticisms of so-called "libertarians" in the major parties and who argued that the Libertarian Party must clearly set itself apart from the older parties, as their candidate. The convention delegates, offered a clear choice of strategies, chose radicalism. Crane was elected National Chair, and the

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linking of the campaigns for President and Chair is the last thing we need.

In addition, were these objections to be overcome, there is another problem with the idea of the Chair and the nominees negotiating. The problem has to do with what are their "fallback positions." In the usual case of a negotiated contract, each party has the option of declining to enter into an agreement at all, and this is always kept in the back of their minds: the alternative to reaching agreement is to be left where they were before they started. But what does this mean in our case? What if the Chair and the nominees cannot reach agreement on the relationship between the party and the campaign? They are not just strangers who can go their separate ways. Not to reach agreement on a contract would jeopardize the campaign, throw the party into confusion, and discredit the party and the campaign in the eyes of the media and the public.

Then, there is the question of the adequacy of a successfully negotiated contract to handle unforeseen problems. Kevin Dye, Treasurer of the California Libertarian Council recently wrote of the Emerling proposal: "It is difficult to conceive how any contract could be so ingeniously devised as to cover the contingencies entailed by a national campaign. Moreover, even if the contract were perfectly drawn, the sanction provided would be inadequate to enforce it. It is reasonable to suppose that, by the time any crisis warranting withdrawal of mailing list privileges could develop, the campaign would have progressed to the stage at which the campaign committee would have already developed an extensive list of its own, putting it largely beyond reach of such a 'sanction.'"

Lastly, let us not forget that the place where disputes over contracts are handled is the law courts. Do we really want a long, drawn-out battle—airing internal differences in the LP before the public—beginning in the middle of a campaign and probably continuing unresolved long after it?

Dye himself, of course, has proposed elsewhere in this issue the radical alternative of making the National Committee itself the Presidential Campaign Committee. This proposal initially appears quite attractive, as we would need adopt no special sanctions, nor make any special provisions about ownership of mailing lists, approval of literature, or limitation of debt.

The proposal has two serious flaws, however. One is that the unwieldy size of the NatCom would make effective and timely decision-making difficult. The National Committee now meets quarterly and has its hands full when it does, yet campaign strategy decisions must often be made in days, or even hours.

The second problem is really the more serious. As with the above proposals to have the Chair play a major role by negotiating a contract, the Dye proposal would lead to immense pressures for those competing for the nomination to "get their people elected" to the NatCom. This would completely change the character of the National Committee, and disrupt future-oriented management of the party. There would be no future-oriented management if all NatCom members were primarily concerned with short-run campaign needs.

Let's face it; it is very often a different kind of activist that we want on the NatCom than on the Presidential Campaign Committee. Imagine being a delegate at the National Convention deciding how to

cast your votes for the National Committee: Do I vote for the experienced activist who I know has the long-run interests of the party at heart, or do I vote for his opponent who supports my candidate, but doesn't have a track record of activism?

It would be far better to remove the oversight of the campaign one step from the National Committee. If I may draw on my experience as an engineer and a management consultant specializing in decision-making, I think there is a way to gain most of the good features of Dye's proposal without the bad. At a more abstract level, the main advantage of Dye's proposal over the others is that it allows for an adjustable amount of feedback. The others are examples of what is known as "on-off" control; that is, their sanctions are generally of the "all-or-nothing" type.

Such controls are appropriate in certain situations. The thermostat in your home is an example. In maintaining the room temperature, it turns the heater on and off rather than trying to adjust its temperature. This leads to the room temperature continually rising and falling by a few degrees, but it's not hard to live with. On the other hand, imagine trying to drive your car down the street if the steering had only two possible positions—"right turn" and "left turn". You would go careening wildly from curb to curb.

While I will be the first to admit the shortcomings of mechanical analogies

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poly privileges or land grants, state-owned railroads or state investment in railroads was negligible.

The heaviest state involvement in railroads came prior to the Panic of 1837, and nearly all the state-owned railroads were unloaded during the subsequent financial hard-times. The states not only left the development and expansion of the railroad network to the market, but also during this period, they finally threw off their mercantilist and interventionist heritage and, for the first time, instituted a reign of near *laissez-faire* at the state level. Not coincidentally, the period prior to the Civil War witnessed some of the most rapid economic growth in the nation's history.

The second case involves government debt that clearly should have been repudiated, but was not, with pernicious consequences. During the American Revolution, when the members of the Continental Congress made the fateful decision to keep George Washington's puny Continental Army in the field, rather than relying totally upon the militia with its guerrilla tactics, they locked themselves into a financial bind. They had to find a way to supply and pay Washington's army. Since taxation was out of the question, Congress resorted to printing unprecedented amounts of paper money and to borrowing. With the Revolution won, Congress had no qualms about virtually repudiating the \$226 million in paper money it had issued during the war, much of it forced upon citizens through impressment of goods and services, legal tender laws, and wage and price controls. In contrast, it considered the \$35 million it had borrowed from various sources to be a sacrosanct obligation.

Very few of the loans to Congress had been coerced. Only a portion of the \$4 million in civilian claims against primarily the Quartermaster and the Commissary Departments could conceivably fall into that category. Of the remainder, \$12 million represented claims of the officers and men of the Continental Army or claims of other public officials, while \$8 million had been borrowed from foreign governments. Worst of all, the final \$11 million in

to human action, it seems to me that there is a valuable lesson here. Building a movement for successfully rolling back the State is more like driving a car than it is like keeping a house at a livable temperature. The degree of stability you get from being able to make small corrections to movements in a wrong direction will greatly reduce the likelihood of the party crashing through the guard rail to its destruction.

Dye's proposal has such an advantage; because the NatCom would be the campaign committee, it would be able to make relatively minor corrections to the campaign early, before they got out of hand.

How can we retain this degree of flexible control without the previously mentioned drawbacks of making the National Committee the Presidential Campaign Committee? I believe it can be done by empowering the outgoing NatCom to appoint a five-member Campaign Review Committee that is empowered to impose a graduated series of possible sanctions on the campaign. The committee's powers might include:

1. Prior review of literature, broadcast scripts, and other material, whenever possible;
2. Withdrawal of previously-released literature or other material;
3. Revoking permission to use the National Committee's mailing list; and
4. Termination of a campaign employee, consultant, or volunteer.

Because of the severity of steps 3

and 4, it might be required that they be approved by a majority of the group consisting of the four officers of the party and the Campaign Review Committee.

In addition, the debt of the national campaign should be limited at all times to some fraction of contributions received by a certain date, say, one-fifth of contributions of \$500 or less received by June 1 of the election year. The current language empowering the NatCom, by a three-fourths vote, to revoke the nomination should also be retained.

This kind of structure will, I believe, give us some degree of control over the national campaign short of having to unseat the candidate, while insulating the National Committee to some extent from the heat generated during election years, and not asking impossible things of it. It is a fundamentally sound decision structure, without ambiguities of the sort inherent in other proposals. It does not rely too heavily on the performance or contribution of any single person, and yet it offers the possibility of responding to rapidly occurring events in a timely fashion.

Responsibility is a key word to libertarians. It is my hope that the adoption of this proposal will retain the admirable tradition of holding our Presidential candidate and his or her staff responsible for the campaign, while introducing a degree of accountability that will prevent any recurrence of errors made in the past. Such accountability is essential to our long-run success.

debt resulted from loans that had been made to the Continental Congress in its own depreciated paper currency. The specie value of \$11 million had been deflated from a face value of \$67 million for these loans, but this still represented a clear overestimate of their real specie worth and, thus, a generous subsidy to the creditors. Certainly, once Congress had repudiated its paper money, which was morally the more pressing of its obligations, there should have been no obstacle to repudiating the debt. Unfortunately, this did not happen, although Congress did have to suspend interest payments for a while.

Because Congress failed to repudiate its debt, the debt became a political weapon which was skillfully manipulated by such nationalists as Alexander Hamilton in order to bring about a statist counter-revolution, and replace the more libertarian Articles of Confederation with the Constitution. When the new government went into operation, the debt had grown from \$35 million to over \$55 million, mostly through accumulating interest payments. Hamilton increased the debt further by having the national government assume \$20 million worth of the states' war-time debts, which also had not been repudiated. The interest on this \$75 million debt accounted for approximately one half the total expenditures of the new government. Because of this heavy

interest payment, Hamilton was able to expand his Treasury Department into the largest in the government, employing 2000 customs officials and revenue agents who swarmed across the land, collecting tariffs and an onerous array of excise taxes.

I do not intend to simplistically imply that everything would have happened differently if only Congress had repudiated its debt. Nonetheless, the debt was a major factor in generating pressure for the increasing centralization of state power that took place during this era.

Conclusion

Those who favor big government have good reason to oppose the repudiation of government debt. The opposition to repudiation on the part of the foes of state power, on the other hand, involves a moral and practical contradiction. This contradiction remains unnoticed because the opponents of debt repudiation refuse to specify their alternative. As I stated at the outset, government debt will not just go away. Repayment, perpetual maintenance, or repudiation are the sole options. The repayment or perpetual maintenance of a trillion dollar government debt, or of the half trillion that is actually owed to the public, would necessitate a powerful government imposing heavy taxes. The complete repudiation of this debt is the only course consistent with the goals of justice and liberty.

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credit was designed to be larger than that. Also, the credit is \$400 more than the one Clark endorsed in his campaign for Governor, the campaign Rothbard describes as "cleaving to radical and principled positions."

Rothbard goes on to say that there is no clear-cut statement by Clark that tax credits are only a transition program. Balderdash. The White Paper says, "It is fundamentally contrary to the principles of a free society for government to involve itself in education...It is time that we establish freedom of education...and remove government from this area altogether." The same statements are made in *A New Beginning*.

Rothbard thoroughly distorts the campaign's treatment of money and inflation, he states, "(In the White Paper on Taxing and Spending Reduction) there was not a mention of Fed responsibility. Quite the contrary. The public was assured that if the Clark 30% budget and revenue cut were put into effect, this would end inflation." (Rothbard's emphasis.) Not true. The closest thing to such a statement is "The federal budget must be balanced as part of a realistic, hard-nosed program to stop inflation." In the real world, it is necessary to stop deficit spending to stop inflation. Of course, that's not all it takes, and that's why the White Paper refers to a balanced budget as "part" of an anti-inflation program. It is true that there is no mention of Fed responsibility. That's because it is a White Paper on Taxing and Spending Reduction, not on inflation.

Rothbard goes on to say, "Later in the campaign, under severe pressure by outraged libertarian economists, Clark did, at various points, endorse the gold standard, as well as issue a paper by myself on the causes and remedies for inflation. But all this was grudging and low-key. The real, upfront discussion was balanced budget all the way." Poppycock. To answer just a few of the misstatements in this brief paragraph: To my knowledge, no libertarian economist other than Rothbard ever brought "severe pressure" or "outrage" on the campaign over this issue. The paper by Rothbard on inflation was requested in January 1980 (hardly "later in the campaign"). It was not published until late in the campaign because we did not receive it until late in the campaign. "Grudging and low-key" are rather subjective charges. All I can do is point to the position paper and *A New Beginning* as examples of what Clark said about inflation. The discussion in *A New Beginning* is, I believe, one of the best popular explanations of a complicated subject (inflation) available. It is also more hard-core than Rothbard's call for "the gold standard," which is normally understood to mean a government-established standard. Clark called for abolishing the Fed and urged consideration of F.A. Hayek's proposal for private, competing currencies—the real libertarian position on money.

In the area of foreign policy, Rothbard writes, "Clark's policy pronouncements, supported by his White Paper on Foreign and Military Policy, abandoned a principled policy of non-intervention." (Emphasis his.) Hogwash. The White Paper states, "The case for non-intervention is based on the moral principles of peace and respect for other peoples." Both the White Paper and *A New Beginning* set our foreign policy in the tradition of the Founders: "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none." Both then go on to

present a realistic picture of the world that demonstrates the practicality of libertarian foreign policy. Now, if one's goal as a libertarian is to engage in intellectual masturbation, to sit around in a living room with other libertarians telling each other how principled we are, then one doesn't need such a practical analysis of foreign policy. But if our goal is to change the world by persuading people of our position, then it seems obvious to me that we have to demonstrate that our ideas will work.

Moving now to a specific foreign policy point that has been made more than once, it is charged that the White Paper described the Iranian rescue mission as within the "outer limits" of permissible intervention. Once again, not true. The campaign put out a press release denouncing the raid as soon as it happened. And the "outer limits" phrase appeared in the rough draft of the White Paper, which had been sent to Rothbard and other members of the Review Committee before the campaign staff had made its own revisions (thus refuting another standard argument of the campaign critics, that the Review Committee never saw material in advance; Rothbard could only have found that phrase in the rough draft). The phrase was removed from the published version of the White Paper, which said instead, "No military actions—like the April rescue mission—can be considered acceptable." Any complaints about that?

"Anyone who heard him (Clark) talking to a group of non-libertarians must acknowledge that he was persuasive — he was able to convince people that libertarian ideas made sense — and in the final analysis, isn't that the most important thing to ask of any presidential candidate."

Another charge Rothbard makes is that the White Paper on Spending promises to keep OSHA. I refer the reader to pages 46 and 47 of the White Paper, where the discussion of OSHA concludes with "It should be abolished." Clear enough?

I could go on. A complete list of the misstatements of fact in "The Clark Campaign: Never Again" and other critiques of the campaign, however, would fill *Caliber* and then some. So I must conclude with an examination of one of Rothbard's most absurd sections, "Where Reagan Was Better." First, Rothbard states that Clark's tax cut was not "perceivably" (his emphasis) more radical than Reagan's. Well, an immediate 50% cut in everyone's taxes is more radical by far than Reagan's reduced tax increase (a hoax that Rothbard has commendably finally gotten around to discovering this spring). Unfortunately, the media portrayed Reagan as a radical tax-cutter, and we weren't able to destroy that image. That's the breaks—but I don't think we should have changed our whole approach just to "prove" we were more radical than Reagan. Then Rothbard offers five "significant areas where Reagan was more libertarian than Clark": (a) Clark was for the ERA; Reagan was against it. Well, as I said above, I also oppose the ERA, but I can't say I think the libertarian position is clear on it, and anyone who thinks Reagan is more libertarian than Clark on women's rights obviously has a bizarre notion of both libertarianism and women's rights. (b) "Clark was in favor of outlawing nuclear energy *per se*. Reagan was not." Clark never made any such statement, though in my opinion the nuclear power flyer implied such a position. It did not, however, state that, and no other Clark statement even suggested it. As for Reagan, to say he was "not in favor of outlawing nuclear energy" is the height of disingenuousness. Reagan, of course, is in favor of massive subsidies to nuclear energy. I have never accepted the dark

mutterings of anti-nuclear libertari-

ans that Rothbard, Evers, and so on are actually pro-nuclear, but if this statement is any evidence, I may be wrong. (c) Clark was in favor of restricting Mexican immigration; Reagan "presumptively" seem to call for unrestricted immigration. Clark did waffle on this issue, but the campaign statements did not, and Clark stopped waffling in the fall. As for Reagan, he never made any such suggestion, and it appears now that all he wants is to reinstitute the bracero program, described accurately by Rothbard as "government-sanctioned-and-enforced exploitation on a massive scale." (d) Clark was against welfare cuts until we have achieved full employment. He did imply that in some off-the-cuff statements, but the White Paper did propose major welfare cuts in the first year—something, again, that Rothbard has finally realized Reagan is not doing. (e) Clark favored "enterprise zones" for Miami only. In a pig's eye he did. Campaigning in Miami, he proposed making Miami an enterprise zone. Campaigning in other cities, he urged the same thing there. This is a good example of the kind of distortion found in the Rothbard and Nolan epics. Take a statement issued in one city, designed to show the residents of that city how libertarian ideas could have an immediate beneficial effect on them, and then pretend that Clark opposed the same idea elsewhere. During the campaign, Clark frequently talked about unemployment when

he went in to Midwestern states in particular. His statements usually began, "Too many people are out of work here in Ohio." Why doesn't Rothbard charge that Clark therefore did not think that too many people were out of work in the other 49 states? Well, this listing of misstatements must draw to a close somewhere. With even this many identified untruths in the major critique of the Clark campaign, one must wonder: how much of the rest can be true? Some of the statements cited above are so obviously untrue and so easily checked that one must conclude that their author either intentionally misrepresented the truth or engaged in a willful and reckless disregard for the truth. In either case, it is hardly the appropriate form of libertarian debate.

Let me pose a question here. It is true that Clark waffled on some issues. It is also true that the campaign chose to put major emphasis on the immediate programs that a libertarian administration could implement, and I will agree that there is room for debate as to whether each transition program was of the appropriate magnitude. The attempt to present libertarian ideas in such a way as to make them appealing to the American people certainly carries with it a risk that we may not present a sufficiently principled argument in some cases. On the other hand, one could go before every audience and say, "I own my life and the fruits of my labor. Therefore, taxation is theft and the state is evil. We must abolish the state, and if some people get hurt, that's their problem." That would be a morally correct approach, and in that case one would never run the risk of failing to present libertarian principles. One would also never convince anyone. So let me ask this: Which is the greater betrayal of the noble cause of freedom in our time—to attempt to present a reasonable, radical, libertarian program that appeals to people and occasionally to err on the side of caution; or to

self-righteously throw libertarian principles in people's faces, thus ensuring that we will remain pure and unfree?

It is easy to sell out, to join the Reagan administration or the Jerry Brown administration, or to hail Reagan's victory and urge him to cut domestic spending (though not military spending) as Rothbard's new-found allies at *Reason* magazine have done. It is also easy to become sectarian, to withdraw into one's living room and insist that only we are pure. The difficult task is to make the decision to try to achieve freedom. That requires avoiding the traps of both opportunism and sectarianism. It requires sticking to one's principles and building an independent movement and it also requires living in the real world, learning to present principled positions in a practical, appealing form, learning to deal with the needs and fears of real people, and being willing to take the responsibility for making difficult decisions that cannot always be answered by repeating the non-aggression principle at the top of one's lungs. It is regrettable that those libertarians who have made the difficult decision to try to roll back the state and achieve freedom have been subjected to such hysterical and unprincipled attacks.

I have been encouraged recently, in talking to a number of libertarians, to find that so many of them are dismayed by the pettiness, the backbiting, the hysteria being displayed by some prominent libertarians. To quote just one example, I received a letter recently from a Clark state coordinator, who said, "I am really distressed with the seeming split in the Party, but I am enraged with the immature and obvious smear tactics being conducted by some of our so-called 'pure' libertarians...If (my state) libertarians are representative of libertarians all over the nation, then in my experience, I find that the people who have the biggest mouths are also the ones with the biggest fannies—because that's all they do—sit and mouth off. It makes our job more difficult, but it also makes me more determined to work harder. Why don't they go back to their small living room meetings and leave the rest of us alone?"

We've talked about the Libertarian Party "coming of age." Perhaps this controversy will be the real test of whether we have come of age as a serious movement for change. Will libertarians have the maturity to step back from the mud-slinging and analyze our success in real-world terms? Or will they fall for the petty jealousies, personal vendettas, and sectarianism that have destroyed so many other political movements?

Let me conclude by re-emphasizing the point I made at the beginning of this article. Some prominent libertarians are engaging in a form of Orwellian Newspeak. The White Papers, the best collection of libertarian public policy material ever produced, are "infamous." The presentation of reasonable, radical, libertarian proposals for change is "betrayal of principle." The most professional libertarian television ads ever are dismissed as "tacky and sleazy." Some of the hardest-working, most competent, most dedicated, most radical people in the libertarian movement are derided as "liars, cheap opportunists, toadies, hirelings, and unethical individuals." Distributing 100,000 copies of the best popular book on libertarianism available is described as "mis-educating." A tripling of LP membership and contributor rolls is described as "minuscule." And the achievements of the Clark campaign—organizations in virtually every state, ballot status, 5 million pieces of literature, 2½ million Libertarian votes—are dismissed as "an abysmal failure."

Well, it's time to call this attack what it is. It's the Big Lie.

platform became much more hard-core. (Ed Clark served as Platform Committee Chair.)

Over the next three years Crane and other radicals kept the party on an increasingly hard-core course. The 1975 convention approved a yet more radical platform and chose the most consistently radical candidate for the presidential nomination.

Let's skip a few years and move to an examination of the main point in the second Big Lie: that in the Clark for President campaign, "Libertarian principle was betrayed, the LP platform traduced and ignored, our message diluted beyond recognition." They sold their souls-outs, unfortunately, along with it—for a mess of pottage." (*Libertarian Forum*, September-December 1980).

Quite simply, that is untrue. What the Clark for President campaign largely did, in point of fact, was what LF praised the Clark for Governor campaign for: "cleave to radical and principled positions, while coming forth with transition programs consistent with principle that sounded cogent and reasonable to the media." The major proposals of the Clark campaign were presented in four White Papers. These White Papers represented the most extensive body of public policy proposals yet produced by libertarians. They were also widely cited by journalists as the best material produced by any campaign. And what did the White Papers say?

The White Paper on Taxing and Spending Reduction called for a \$200 billion one-year budget cut and a \$180 billion one-year tax cut, thus producing a balanced budget in Clark's first year (assuming Jimmy Carter's budget figures had been correct). The proposals included abolishing three major taxes—estate and gift taxes, customs duties, and the windfall profits tax—cutting every American's income taxes by at least 50% with greater reductions for lower-income taxpayers whose standard deductions had been eaten away by inflation, a major business tax cut, and an education tax credit. Now of course this is not the only one-year tax proposal that would be consistent with libertarian principles. One could easily argue that we should have called for a 75% income tax cut, or for abolition of the corporate income tax along with a 25% personal tax cut, or for any other such proposal. But we believed that this was the best proposal we could devise for cutting taxes quickly. It is a reasonable, radical, libertarian tax-cutting proposal, and no libertarian should have been ashamed of it.

In that same White Paper, we offered a line-by-line description of \$201.4 billion of budget cuts. This detailed budget analysis was tremendously impressive to journalists, who despair of ever understanding the federal budget. Of course, libertarians believe that everything or virtually everything in the federal budget should be abolished. But we can't achieve our goals instantly, and it is important to convey to the public the knowledge that we have practical proposals that could be implemented right now if libertarians were elected to office. Finally, of course, the White Paper point out that libertarians didn't intend to stop with this \$200 billion cut in government but would go on cutting more and more as long as we were in office.

The White Paper on Foreign and Military Policy, largely written by Earl Ravenal, offered the same sort of radical yet practical proposals based on the principle of non-intervention. In it Clark pledged to withdraw all U.S. troops from overseas, to dismantle all our land-based missiles and to cut the defense budget immediately by \$50 billion. The White Paper pledged to seek corresponding troop withdrawals and force reductions from the Soviet Union, but made the important point that the U.S. should and President Clark would make them unilaterally if need be. The Paper also, of course, called for

an end to draft registration and foreign aid and listed a number of weapons systems that could be terminated.

The White Paper on Social Security Reform offered the only practical proposal yet advanced for actually getting out of the social security system. Of course, libertarians favor abolition of social security; but the flat statement "abolish social security" will not be taken seriously. You've got to show how it can be done. We did, in a proposal that would start by an immediate end to social security taxes.

Finally, the White Paper on Education offered a proposal for major education tax credits. It went on to describe tax credits as merely a first step to the abolition of public schools.

The other major campaign document, Ed Clark's book *A New Beginning*, had chapters on each of these subjects as well as on inflation, energy, poverty and welfare, and civil liberties. As LP activists across the



country have stated, it is the best introduction to libertarianism available anywhere.

The distribution of 100,000 copies of it to date is yet another major achievement of the Clark campaign.

These five documents formed the substance of the Clark campaign. Every one of them presents a radical libertarian program in reasonable, practical terms. The television ads, too, offered a principled argument in a reasonable manner. These were the major means of communication by the Clark campaign to the outside world, and they were in virtually every detail thoroughly principled and reflective of libertarian values.

Of course, most of the criticisms that campaign critics like David Nolan and Murray Rothbard have made are directed at things Ed Clark said in off-the-cuff remarks. Interestingly enough, however, both Nolan and Rothbard condemn the nefarious Ed Crane, who moves like a sinister force through all their writings, for being "really" responsible for everything Clark said. Perhaps they have been afraid for political reasons to attack Clark directly, or perhaps they genuinely feel a reluctance to insult so severely a man who deserves such gratitude from libertarians.

But consider: When they portray Clark as an unthinking puppet of Crane, they insult him far more than if they criticize the things he said. Ed Clark is a highly intelligent, well-educated man with an independent life and career. He is fully capable of formulating his own answers to questions about libertarianism. If he made mistakes, let us at least concede that they were his mistakes. If there are criticisms of the campaign's printed materials, Clark, Crane, Hocker, and myself as Research Director must share whatever blame is dished out. But Ed Clark's speeches and interviews were his own.

Before I offer my own criticisms of some of Clark's statements, let me point out something that the campaign's critics rarely do. Ed Clark

deserves an enormous amount of gratitude from libertarians. He was the candidate that we needed in 1980. Had he not run, we would have suffered a major setback. Anyone who was not on the campaign trail with Clark, as I was, can simply not imagine the physical and mental exhaustion, the indignities, the strain that a presidential campaign involves. For sixteen hours a day, six or seven days a week, for four months Ed Clark traveled from city to city, answering the same questions over and over, rarely seeing his family, occasionally getting a good meal, once in a rare while getting a full night's sleep. For his time, his money, and his effort, we can never repay him. Beyond that, Clark has unique ability to understand issues from a libertarian perspective and to explain libertarian positions in a way that sounds reasonable to non-libertarians.

Anyone who heard him talking to a group of non-libertarians must acknowledge that he was persuasive

—he was able to convince people that libertarian ideas made sense — and in the final analysis, isn't that the most important thing to ask of any presidential candidate?

The failure of campaign critics to make even these basic points that has deterred many of the campaign's critical supporters from offering their own perspectives. One hardly wants to be grouped with the people who have let personal vendettas, political ambition, or whatever lead them to a blind condemnation of everything about the campaign.

Nevertheless, perhaps it is time for a more balanced appraisal. As Research Director and then as Clark's traveling political aide, I saw both Clark's work and the staff's from up close. As my comments to this point indicate, I believe the campaign was both principled and effective. And having seen the incredibly long hours of hard work put in by a group of dedicated libertarians, I regret the level of the attacks on the campaign. But few things in life are perfect, so let's look at some of the mistakes.

Clark waffled on immigration, the critics charge. That's true. (The White Paper on Spending doesn't.) He stopped this waffling, however, after pressure from the campaign staff. But it did happen, and it shouldn't have.

Clark's appearance on ABC *Nightline* five days before the election was quite bad. In his last three minutes with the American people, he talked about President Kennedy instead of the positive programs of his campaign. As anyone who was around the campaign office the next day knows, Crane and other senior staffers were livid about the performance. Clark had been in four different cities that day before his late-night appearance. That's not an excuse, but it may be an explanation. At any rate, it certainly wasn't any grand plot by Clark, Crane, or anyone else—it was just a mistake.

Clark originally used the term "low-tax liberals" to describe a group of people he expected to be attracted

to his campaign—primarily the kind of people who gave his campaign for Governor 8 and 9% in the suburbs of San Francisco. It was a valid term in that context to explain what kind of people would vote for a candidate who was neither right nor left. But he occasionally used it to describe himself or libertarians, and it was not valid in that context. Staff members argued against it, and I never heard the term in the fall.

There were other mistakes during the campaign. I have yet to see a perfect candidate (but I also have yet to see a better one than Ed Clark). But they were not part of any self-defeating strategy to "sell out libertarian principle for a mess of votes." They were mistakes, made in an honest attempt to present libertarianism as a radical yet practical and appealing idea. And in keeping with the libertarian principle of being responsible for one's own actions, let's blame the individual responsible for each mistake, not blindly select some devil-figure and make him responsible for everything bad (though nothing good) about the campaign.

To continue my promise to acknowledge some real mistakes of the campaign, let me point out that I even have some disagreements with things the staff did. Like many of the campaign critics, for instance, I oppose the Equal Rights Amendment (for reasons that have generally been well-presented by Messrs. Rothbard and Evers). But Clark made it clear from 1978 on through the 1979 convention that he supported ERA. The convention delegates either agreed or didn't find that a major problem. So I can't say I was deceived or "sold out" on that issue by Ed Clark. I supported him even though I disagreed with him and other campaign staffers on that issue. Also, like every other campaign staffer, I think the use of Chris Hocker as an "Anderson supporter" in a campaign commercial was risky and highly improper. Finally, I think the nuclear power flyer was a mistake. Even here, though, I must object to the hysterical charges of the campaign critics. The flyer did not involve, as Rothbard charges, Clark "endorsing" Gofman. What does such a statement mean? The fact is that Gofman endorsed Clark, and we should accept that endorsement just as we accepted Nicholas von Hoffman's endorsement and sought Howard Jarvis's, even though none of those people is a libertarian. But the flyer did imply that libertarians oppose nuclear power per se (though it did not state that), and I object to that misrepresentation. I argued against its text in the office; I was overruled. So what should I have done? Worked for Reagan, who according to Rothbard was "substantially more libertarian than Clark on several significant issues"? Spent the campaign sulking? Denounced Clark publicly? I hardly think libertarianism would have benefited by any of those courses. Instead, I chose to work very hard for a campaign that was bringing a reasonable, radical, libertarian viewpoint to the American people even though I disagreed with some parts of it.

So I have agreed that some of the specific criticisms of the campaign, or of Clark's statements, were valid. Now let's look at a few of the charges that are not valid. Many of these are to be found in the September-December issue of *Libertarian Forum*. There's not space here to refute every incorrect point made, but I think a few obvious misstatements should be pointed out.

Rothbard, for instance, demands to know why the Clark education tax credit is limited to \$1200 per student, which he says is "substantially below most private school annual tuition." That is not true; the average private school tuition is about \$1100, and the

ISSUES FORUM

The trillion dollar question:

Should the national debt be repudiated?

by Jeffrey Rogers Hummel

The total debt of the national government currently exceeds \$900 billion. That figure is greater than one third of the gross national product of the U.S. In the last ten years, since 1970, the national debt has more than doubled from a meager \$383 billion. Earlier this year, Congress raised the debt ceiling to \$985 billion, and on April 6th, the House Budget Committee recommended raising the ceiling again still higher to \$994 billion for fiscal year 1981. Thus, despite his promise to balance the budget, Ronald Reagan will probably go down in history as the first U.S. President to preside over a trillion dollar national debt. When that happens, interest alone on the national debt will approach \$100 billion per year.

The debt of the national government is only part of the problem. The recent near-bankruptcy of New York City brought home the fact that the debt of local and state government is also reaching staggering proportions. State governments owe more than \$100 billion, while local governments are in debt to the tune of nearly another \$200 billion. The total debt of government at all levels within the United States, consequently, is already well over a trillion dollars, or more than half the GNP.

The ability to borrow is extremely important to government. Government obtains revenue in one of three ways: taxing, issuing money, and borrowing. At first glance, borrowing may seem much less harmful than the other two means of government financing. Borrowing is voluntary and does not involve the coercion of taxation, nor does it cause the inflationary discoordination within the economy that result from governmental monetary expansion.

Government borrowing is nevertheless detrimental. It depends upon the power to tax. No one would voluntarily loan money to government unless it had some means of paying the interest and repaying the principal. Government, in effect, uses its coercive power to guarantee its own loans. The result is that loanable funds are enticed away from other uses more desired by consumers. This diversion of savings from productive investments drives up interest rates and lowers the capital structure of the economy. Consumers are poorer than they otherwise would be.

Borrowing, furthermore, inevitably increases the tax burden. Borrowing may appear to be an alternative employed in lieu of taxation, but it obligates the government to pay interest and repay the principal, increasing the future tax load. Even if the debt is never repaid, but continuously refinanced, the perpetual stream of future interest payments involves a net tax increase larger than the amount borrowed. Through borrowing, the government takes money out of the loan market which it replaces subsequently with tax money. Government borrowing plunders the economy twice over. First it misallocates savings; then later it raises taxes.

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Libertarians wish to reduce significantly, if not totally eliminate, the power of government. The libertarian position on taxation and government monetary expansion is clear and unambiguous. Taxation is theft, or more precisely, extortion, and should completely cease. Government monetary expansion should be brought to a halt by denationalizing money, making money into a good provided solely by the market. There is, however, no generally accepted libertarian position on the third source of government revenue: borrowing.

Yet, anyone who is serious about rolling back the state must do something about government debt. It will not magically disappear. There are only three possible alternatives with regard to government debt. (1) Government debt can be paid back. (2) Government debt can be maintained in perpetuity, with interest payments going on forever. (3) Government debt can be repudiated. These three alternatives, or some combination of them, are inescapable. Those who advocate substantial reductions in the size of government must decide which of the three they prefer. I believe that the only proper and defensible position of government debt is total and immediate repudiation.

"Over 40 percent of the national debt is held not by private citizens but by government agencies."

The Moral Case

The strongest argument for the repudiation of government debt is moral. Repaying the debt, or financing the debt with permanent interest payments, would require continued taxation. Since taxation is coercive, this course is clearly unjust. No one has a legitimate claim to stolen tax money, especially not the owners of government securities.

The government's creditors bargained in good faith, it will be answered. Repudiating the debt is a breach of contract and therefore also unjust. This is a peculiar rejoinder at best. If taxation is indeed theft, then the owners of government securities are morally no different than a group of investors who loaned money to finance the operations of a gang of thieves. No one would seriously argue that private thieves should go on stealing until they pay off their creditors. But this is precisely the position of those who would use tax money to repay government debt.

All other investments entail risk. Why should investing in government be uniquely risk free? Indeed, those who loan money to the government are, in reality, investing in a criminal organization. The risk they face should be many times greater than that faced by investors in private, non-coercive, legitimate businesses. If the holders of government securities suffer huge losses as the result of repudiation, it will be no less than they deserve. The agreement between the government and its creditors is indeed voluntary, but voluntary agreements to commit theft and murder are not worthy of respect and ought not be carried out.

The fact that the owners of government securities may not

believe that taxation is a form of aggression is irrelevant. They do know that the government taxes, regardless of their opinions about taxation's moral status. Should we excuse those who, prior to the Civil War, invested in slavery if they honestly believed that enslavement was the proper station for black people? If investors in a gang of thieves believe that stealing is a moral activity, they are still not entitled to the proceeds from theft. Government creditors have less of an excuse, because it is possible to loan money to thieves without knowing their source of income, but hardly anyone is ignorant of the fact that the government collects taxes.

Admittedly, the government victimizes more than it benefits many owners of government securities, such as the elderly who put their life savings into government bonds only to see their capital wiped out by inflation. The state induces others to invest in its securities with various regulations. Commercial banks, in practice, must hold some government securities, while anyone wishing to receive the tax breaks from trust funds faces a similar requirement. The government, at times, even coerces individuals into loaning money, as for instance when new Army recruits are advised that

allocating some of their pay to savings bonds would be a "good idea." And some lost souls may conceivably go through life oblivious to the fact that the government is an engine of taxation.

The moral case for repudiation, however, does not depend upon the culpability of the government's creditors. Opinions can vary about the level of guilt or innocence of each of these groups, but this does not alter the coercive nature of taxation. The plight of these groups may make them legitimate objects of either voluntary charity or enforced compensation from their oppressors, but it cannot justify taxing innocent third parties.

Some have suggested that an alternative to taxation would be to retire the debt with the revenue obtained from the sale of those government assets—such as national parks, public buildings, and streets and highways—that become available as the state is dismantled. First, there is a practical difficulty with this option. Suppose the sale of government assets does not yield sufficient funds to cover the entire debt? Then do you use taxation to repay the remainder, or do you permit partial repudiation? If you are willing to allow partial repudiation, on what grounds can you object to total repudiation?

Much more important than this practical difficulty is still the moral objection. The government is an institution that has both voluntary and involuntary relationships with its citizens. The involuntary relationships have visited untold damages upon those whom the government has taxed, regulated, and in general, exploited. The revenue from the sale of government assets should compensate people for these involuntary

damages rather than reimburse them for their voluntary dealings with the state. A gang of thieves should be required to repay their past victims before they repay those creditors who knowingly invested in robbery.

Consider the victims of the social security system. Year after year, they have been forced to pay taxes into a government retirement fund that is not nearly as lucrative as alternative private schemes. Surely, they have a much better claim to the proceeds from the sale of government assets than do the owners of government securities. In fact, I would argue that all taxpayers should be reimbursed, with interest, for every cent they ever paid in taxes, long before consideration is given to the claims of the government's creditors.

Taxpayers are only one of the groups due compensation. The direct victims of numerous other government interventions, from drug laws to licensing restrictions, also have valid claims. Including them makes it obvious that all of the government's assets are hardly sufficient to fully compensate the victims of the state, much less pay back the state's voluntary allies. Even if every past and present government official were made personally liable for the damage, there still would not be enough money. It is a cruel fact of reality that the very existence of government has resulted in a massive waste of resources which are no longer around for any kind of compensation. To let the allies of government feel this loss would be fairer than to inflict it on the state's victims. Since most owners of government securities have also been, in one respect or another, exploited by the state, they would be entitled to some compensation anyway.

Any plan for maintaining the debt by perpetually paying interest on it encounters similar problems. A totally voluntary government could just not afford the \$100 billion yearly interest payments on a trillion dollar debt, or even a substantial fraction thereof. The total liabilities, including both bonds and stocks, of the largest U.S. corporation, General Motors, equal only a little more than \$30 billion, and one would hope that a voluntary nightwatchman state would be much smaller.

One last principled objection to debt repudiation remains. Does not the repudiation of government debt imply that government should never go into debt? If so, this indicates an error in my reasoning, since there is obviously nothing wrong with a completely voluntary government contracting debt. For the anarchist libertarian, of course, this objection poses no problem, since the anarchist wishes to see the state abolished. Even for the advocate of limited voluntary government, there is a crucial distinction between a debt contracted by a government once it has, in fact, started to rely on voluntary financing, and a debt contracted by a government which still retains the power to tax. The latter debt is guaranteed through the coercive power of the state; the former is not.

The distinction is analogous to that between an loan that Chrysler obtains voluntarily on the market, and a loan that Chrysler secures because the government has guaranteed repayment. Suppose Chrysler defaults on

ideological oversight they can offer. In this case, there was a sharp difference of opinion between the campaign and the Natcom. After intense lobbying and some biased reporting [in *Frontlines*] from the pro-nuclear lobby within the LP, the Natcom passed a resolution denouncing the leaflet. The advocates of Natcom control thus imply that the furor which erupted over the Gofman leaflet would never have happened had there been an effective oversight committee. This argument seems strong at first, but is actually self-defeating.

The real issue here is not campaign structure but campaign strategy and the libertarian position on nuclear power. The advocates of oversight are begging the question when they start by assuming that the Gofman leaflet was "unlibertarian" and then conclude that some method is needed to suppress such things. I think the Gofman leaflet was impeccably libertarian, and many other people within the Party agree with me. My letter to *Frontlines* challenged its critics to list a single "unlibertarian" sentence or idea within it. There was no response. From my perspective, it would have been unprincipled to suppress the leaflet, just as some people saw its production as a betrayal of principle.

In other words, any position the Clark campaign took on nuclear power was bound to offend someone. On issues such as nuclear power, where there is no clear consensus within the LP, oversight by the Natcom would not avoid such problems. It would intensify them. Ideological opponents would try to use the campaign as a battleground in the struggle to impose their views on the Party.

We had many indications of Clark's position on nuclear power, and the views of his closest issue advisors, before we nominated him. Even if you disagree with the content of the Gofman leaflet you must concede that Clark spoke out against nuclear power several times before we nominated him. I have filmed interviews from the '79 Convention to prove this. Clark won the nomination fair and square, and had a right to take the stand he did on nuclear power because of this.

Indeed, the nuclear power dispute exposes one of the central fallacies of Natcom oversight. The advocates of such oversight conveniently assume that libertarians do not disagree over what constitutes a compromise of principle by a candidate. They say that "we" need protection from "their" compromises, but they never say just who is "us" and who is "them." The members of the Party would be unanimous in their disapproval of a candidate only in the most extreme cases - if our nominee announced his support for the Chrysler bailout, for example. But in extreme cases, where the candidate engages in an act of total betrayal, the only solution is outright repudiation.

The Natcom can do that now; no constitutional amendment or oversight is needed. If it is not a clear, obvious case of compromise, there is likely to be a lot of disagreement. If libertarians are divided, what gives the Natcom the right to overrule the decision of a National Convention? What makes them a better judge of

this than the delegates, the local parties, or the campaign staff - who can always choose not to support the candidate, or refuse to distribute a piece of literature which offends them? Giving the Natcom power over the campaign merely adds another layer of bureaucracy, and with it, more potential for infighting and power plays.

The lesson of the 1980 campaign is not that we need oversight and bureaucracy. The lesson is that once we nominate a candidate, we are stuck with him - stuck with his interpretation of the issues, his chosen staff, and the strategy that they together represent. To me, this indicates that we had better be very careful, very selective and very tough negotiators with our candidates for the Presidential nomination. The candidates themselves should not be the only issue; their strategic vision, their understanding of libertarianism, their campaign staff and their financial backing should also be given weight. If we do not choose competent and principled candidates, nothing the Natcom can do will make them any better. If we think otherwise we are deluding ourselves.

The virtue of the present system is that it is more analogous to the operation of a free market than the alternatives proposed, and hence has all the beneficial features of free competition. A candidate for the Presidential nomination does not formulate his positions because he is ordered to by a Central Committee, he does so because the nominating process gives him an incentive to maintain good relations with the bulk of the party. He must win both the nomination and their active support for the campaign itself. If no one supports him, there will be no precinct workers, no contributions and no votes. No candidate wants that.

On the other hand, if a nominee wins the cooperation, support and participation of party members, who is the Natcom to say that he is doing something wrong?

At any rate, it is plainly unlibertarian to attempt to keep our candidates on the right track by means of oversight committees and the like. Libertarians should not have to be told that one group of people cannot really control the actions of another. Indeed, the only way to control the ideological content of a campaign is to run the campaign, and the only way to control the actions of a candidate is to be the candidate.

If the advocates of these constitutional amendments really want to assure themselves that a candidate and campaign staff will not sell out, they can put up a candidate and run a campaign themselves. If they cannot win the nomination, then they are certainly not qualified to sit in judgement over those who can. That's the entrepreneurial way. The proposal for Natcom control is just another expression of a fundamentally unlibertarian desire that apparently lingers on even within the movement: the desire to control what other people do, without having to exert the effort necessary to persuade them to do it. For that reason alone, we ought to reject the proposed constitutional amendments.

MACHAN/from p. 3

tives have equally low regard for liberty. Ultra conservatives, like members of the NAZI or KKK parties or similar fascistic groups are not even pretending to defend free enterprise. They, unlike their less consistent fellows, realize that given their prime goal of remaking human nature and society, they cannot tolerate even freedom of trade. And ultra liberals, like members of the Socialist Workers Party, the Communists, and so forth, are not ashamed to admit that freedom of the press means little to them except as a means by which they can secure a place in our society. After all, both fascism and communism are through and through totalitarian, with no liberty remaining anywhere in their systems, except, of course, the liberty that can exist because such systems obviously cannot manage the total control that they wholeheartedly intend.

So what we have here is the following scheme. Looked at sensibly, we have on the one end of the spectrum totalitarianism (Left or Right), and on the other libertarianism. Those are the real alternatives we must choose from. There are middle-of-the-road systems, of course, but most of these are drifting toward the totalitarian end of the spectrum. Only those who commit themselves to liberty completely can effectively argue against those who propose yet another "minor" step on the road toward the establishment of the total state.

You will notice, of course, that each such step is proposed very meekly, quietly. First it is only the very, very rich who must be regulated (liberals) or the very, very naughty (conservatives). After this obviously does not achieve the desired goal of utopia, some more measures are required, ones that would firm-up the loose and half-hearted commitment to improving mankind. It is only the natural resilience and experimentalism of ordinary human beings, committed to nothing very much but enjoying their liberty more or less, that prevents some countries from going all the way.

But that happens only when the general conditions of society are not in a state near panic. One can live in semi-slavery and remain pretty stable, sacrificing only what one knows little about, namely, the rewards of living in full freedom. Since through most of human history most people have lived under almost total subjugation, most people aren't well aware of how glorious it could be to live in full freedom. So they will tolerate some of the impositions of welfare states, mixed economies, city planning boards, or architectural commissions, etc.

But playing with these semi-slave social tools eventually leads to disaster. Housing markets collapse; energy sources dry up; students begin to revolt; blacks begin to call for revolution, and so forth. One cannot tax, tax and tax business and expect it to be flourishing. You cannot impose price controls on gasoline and expect that natural adjustments will be made to the shrinkage of some resources, with gradual development of others. You cannot draft people, forbid them to entertain themselves as they will, and expect them forever to remain silent. You cannot close up the labor market through greater and greater government supported unionization and expect the age-long disenfranchised black and women population to sit idly while others get all the good jobs (and even the bad ones being taken from them by minimum wage laws which closes them off economically).

So upheavals stemming from semi-slave legal administration will wake-up the population once in a while. At this time we begin to ask some of the large questions even in small elections. At this time the issue arises as to whether the words we speak so casually at Fourth of July celebrations

have any meaning, and whether we mean what we say when we use these words.

Currently Americans, who still live reasonably well compared to the rest of the world, are beginning to be awakened. Those who have sat on the sidelines, who only voted every four years without really thinking much about the general ideas that have always been at issue—these people are beginning to ask questions they did not think were necessary to ask before. And the main questions they are asking are: "What direction should we take in our thinking and in our legal policies? Should we accept further moves toward some type of restrictions, whether proposed by the Right or the Left? Or should we take a very determined turn toward liberty and stake our chances and those of our children on the capacity of human beings to solve their problems instead of being told what to do?"

Libertarians say this: Cut the chains, open up the gates, let individual initiative reign free. This very general point comes to the following in practical affairs: Wherever possible, reduce the bureaucracy, decentralized decision-making, leave it up to individuals to form their own voluntary groups and do not herd them into groups they did not freely and willingly join. Do not collectivize property but make it even more private than it seems now—for it mostly only seems private now, while hundreds of commissions and groups sit in charge ordering private owners to jump this way or that.

Libertarians argue for confining government to do what it can do best, namely, to secure for us the rights to life, liberty, and happiness. To do that, government should do no more than make sure that force and fraud are not permitted to reign in human affairs in one's community. The police should worry about murder, assault, theft—not vice, dirty movies, prostitution, dope, etc. The courts should worry about whether the Bill of Rights have been adhered to by private citizens and government alike, no more. Disputes arise and the courts should judge whether anyone's rights have been infringed. If not, throw it out of court! And the legislature—well this, the greatest culprit of them all—should merely extend the principles of the Bill of Rights to cover novel situations. Nothing new should be done by the legislature after it has repealed 90% of the legislation of the last 100 years. Then, after that glorious wiping of the slate of governmental sins, the legislature should concern itself with updating the basic principles of a free society so as to handle new technology, new art, new relationships, and so forth.

Many people say that we must emerge from the 18th century and move into the 20th, that is why we need more government, more collectivization, more central planning, more permissions from groups of little dictators who wish to rule on our lives day in and out.

But moving toward the central state is not progress but regress. It is the King and his cronies that ruled before the 18th century. It is the Shahs and the theocrats of Iran who operated central states. Socialism and communism, contrary to the views of many, are not progressive but regressive systems, embodying the principles of feudalism, not of democracy.

Libertarianism is progressive, taking further what was the best modern idea of them all, the freedom of the individual.

"Democracy in the United States will last until those in power learn that they can perpetuate themselves through taxation."

—Alexis de Tocqueville (1832)

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direction of the campaign? Don't we need continuous checks upon the candidate to prevent disaster?

My answer is an emphatic NO. We need that kind of "protection" the way the ghetto needs the protection of the vice squad.

It is impossible for the Natcom to run the campaign. This is not to say that the Natcom is incompetent, but simply that it is not set up to fulfill such functions. How can it run a campaign when it has 32 members who live all over the country, and who meet four times a year at most? Also, there is no consensus on anything in the Natcom. Again, this is not because there is something disagreeable about its members, but simply because of the way it is structured. Two thirds of the Natcom members are elected by regions, and the other third (not counting the National LP officers) are elected by factions. Indeed, the virtue of the Natcom is that it is drawn from different regions and factions with different ideas about what to do. It is there to represent our differences, not our areas of agreement.

But a Presidential campaign ought to be run by people who agree with each other. The campaign ought to operate with a consensus on tactics and strategy, and the purpose of the nominating convention is to determine which consensus prevails. That is why the Campaign Committee is separate from the LP Natcom now, and why it ought to remain so.

Let me dispose of the argument from "democracy" quickly. It is specious and unlibertarian to argue that the Natcom is "representative" of the members and can thus be given authority to overrule the candidate they nominated. Libertarians, as anti-collectivists, know better than this. The Natcom is not the embodiment of the "will of the Party," it is a collection of individuals whose constituencies, talents, interests and ideology vary dramatically. Representative democracy may be a fine way to hold in check the coercive power of the state, but it is a lousy method with which to run a campaign or any other creative enterprise.

Natcom control of the campaign would also lead to insurmountable practical difficulties. For example: what if the Natcom and the Presidential candidate strongly disagree over who should run the campaign? Under the present system, the candidate chooses the campaign manager, and hence we are assured of a unified and integrated campaign organization. But if the Natcom can overrule the candidate, then the candidate might have to work with a campaign manager and staff he didn't like. This is a prescription for disaster. Presidential campaigns are very stressful affairs. Try to imagine a candidate and staff working together under trying circumstances if they were brought together against their will! Can you really see a candidate with some integrity, like Ed Clark, delivering speeches with which he doesn't agree, his schedule controlled by people with whom he'd rather not work, and his picture on literature that he thinks should be done differently?

It is not far-fetched to worry about this problem, either. Ed Clark was very popular, but his chosen campaign staff was not. Thus, under the proposed constitutional amendment, the Natcom could easily have selected a campaign staff that Clark did not prefer. Furthermore, a majority of the Natcom could support one candidate for the nomination but the Convention could nominate a different candidate. The Natcom could thus thwart the choice of the Convention by imposing its own staff and campaign strategy on the nominee.

Natcom control of Presidential

campaigns would unduly centralize the Party by making all Presidential candidates beholden to the Natcom. Whoever controls the campaign staff in effect controls the campaign. Sure, the candidate can say whatever he/she wants. But most of his/her public image - the leaflets, tv ads, issue research and nationwide advance work - is shaped by the staff. If the candidate does not have the power to hire and fire his/her own staff, then the staff can do whatever it wants with him as long as it has the support of the Natcom. Thus, in the future all candidates for the LP Presidential nomination would have to win majority support of the Natcom to be viable. No candidate is going to spend all the time, money and effort it takes to get the nomination if upon doing so they merely become a slave of the Natcom, subject to its oversight and its choice of a staff. To confuse matters even more, because the Natcom is elected at LP National Conventions after the Presidential candidate is nominated, we wouldn't even know who would be controlling the campaign until after we nominated the candidate.

I think it is self-evident that a committee of 32 members which meets only four times a year cannot be the central decision-making unit of a campaign. But some people think differently; I will, therefore, demonstrate its absurdity so plainly that they cannot fail to agree.

The LP Natcom can make decisions in three ways: a) it can hold a meeting; b) it can hold a mail ballot; and c) it can delegate a smaller committee to exercise its powers. Clearly, meetings are not very significant if we are considering control of a Presidential campaign. If the Natcom is to oversee the production of literature, evaluate the campaign staff, and be responsible for the general tone of the campaign it will have to make decisions more than three times a

"If a nominee wins the cooperation, support and participation of party members, who is the Natcom to say that he is doing something wrong?"

year. That leaves it with mail ballots and smaller committees.

Mail ballots are one of the worst decision-making methods ever devised by man. They are slow, they promote factionalism, and they do not facilitate rational deliberation. Natcom member A can call up Natcom member B and tell him that members C, D, E, F, & G all agree with him that the Campaign manager should be fired or a piece of literature suppressed. Natcom member B, who hasn't been following the controversy very closely, might agree to go along with this request if in fact most other people on the Committee, especially his good friends C, D, E, F, & G, believe so.

But how does he know they agree? He doesn't. Thus, to verify A's assertion B has to call them up himself (if he is neither energetic nor skeptical of A's claims he won't make the calls, thus increasing his chance of making an irrational decision). Moreover, he doesn't know of any counter-arguments to A's proposals. Natcom member H may be able to answer all of A's arguments easily - but the method of communication makes it impossible for him to do so directly. Things can even be arranged so that H doesn't know what is happening until it is too late to reach the other members of the committee. Thus, to get the other side of the story, assuming he is energetic enough to do so, B must call all the other members of the committee. If he still can't make

up his mind, or if he hears disputed assertions which he must check up on, he has to call around still more. With 32 members we are talking about nearly 500 calls per round.

Conference calls are no solution. First, it takes nearly the same amount of calling and return-calling to reach agreement on what time each member is available to be on the phone. Second, once connected, conference calls with 32 people eager to have their say could easily bankrupt the campaign treasury.

It will take a week to decide whether or not to have a mail ballot, another week to send the ballot out, verify its receipt and discuss it, and yet another week to send it in. That's three weeks. How many times during the course of a Presidential campaign can action be postponed for three weeks? But that is not even the worst problem. The greatest problem is the enormous amount of time, money and effort the campaign staff would have to squander on internal politics. Faced with the looming threat of Natcom intervention, the campaign staff would have to spend time currying the favor of each of the 32 members. This means that they are not going to be on the phone to local LP organizations, the media and fundraising sources as often as they could be. Every minute spent on such politicking is time stolen from building the movement.

Because the Natcom is so large and diverse, its power to intervene in the campaign could easily lead to just such a maelstrom of phone-calling and politicking, votes and counter-votes. Any campaign, no matter who runs it, is bound to displease some faction within the Party. Moreover, the Natcom has every incentive to intervene in the campaign and little reason not to. The Natcom is in no position to help the campaign in a positive way - it cannot work precincts, deliver literature to the public, produce a television spot or issue strategy memos. All the Natcom can do in the course of a campaign, is

criticize or seek to change what the candidate and staff do.

In fact, the more problems it can find with the campaign, the more important its own role becomes. Thus it will have a built-in tendency to intervene but no incentive and indeed no ability to contribute to the campaign in a positive manner. This is especially true when decisions are made "blindfolded," i.e. through mail ballot. A small, dedicated faction with an ideological or personal axe to grind can spend all of its time calling up other members of the committee attempting to provoke intervention.

The Natcom cannot meet regularly and its power to make decisions by mail ballot is undesirable. That leaves the appointment of a smaller committee. To be sure, appointing a smaller committee overcomes some of the practical problems relating to size, but it seems to me a peculiarly self-defeating solution. For whose views are to be "represented" on this small committee and whose are to be excluded? And what oversight do we have over the oversight committee?

Immediately, we run into the same "dire problem" with which we began, namely that a small group of people outside the reach of the nominating Convention controls the campaign! Since the Natcom's agent of oversight has become as small as the Campaign Committee which was supposedly the problem to begin with, why is it in any position to do better?

The only possible answer is that it is

elected by, and subject to the direction of, the Natcom. This is supposed to make it more "accountable." But it doesn't. An airtight case can be made that the candidate and his/her hand-picked campaign staff receive a far more direct and meaningful vote of approval, and from a larger portion of the Party, than the Natcom or any committee it appoints.

The nominating process undergone by an LP Presidential candidate is the most exhaustive of any LP office. The candidate and (to a lesser extent), the central figures in his campaign, are subjected to a thorough examination. Candidates seeking the LP nomination must speak before numerous State Conventions and field questions directly from the members. They begin to campaign long before the National Convention itself. The staff chosen by the candidate must prove its mettle in practice, not merely in theory, by organizing the campaign to win the nomination. As candidates are interviewed by libertarian publications, their comments and positions become a matter of public record. Also, candidates for the Presidential nomination must debate their opponents, who are always more than willing to unearth flaws in that candidate's positions.

If we contrast this with the scrutiny received by Natcom members, we embarrass the Natcom. Most LP members cannot even tell you who is on the Natcom. Natcom members campaign for only the three short days of the Convention. The only information we get about them comes from three minute nomination speeches or, at best, a short leaflet. This is hardly an elaborate review process - and it shows. One recent member of the Natcom caused a fuss when he ran in a local election as a Republican. The Natcom couldn't even muster enough votes to censure him. This is our great guardian of principle?

The worst thing about the case for Natcom control of Presidential campaigns is that it is based on self-delusion. The pretext for the whole argument is the bitter disappointment over the Clark campaign felt by a few people. Whatever our individual opinion of the Clark campaign might be, we are deluding ourselves if we think that bureaucratic oversight would make things any different. Even the harshest critics of the Clark campaign admit that Clark was far and away the best candidate available. Yet with one exception (discussed below) all of the mistakes and slip-ups they denounce were not committed by the campaign staff and the nefarious Ed Crane, but by the candidate himself. Clark took an unlibertarian position on immigration, was soft on heroin legalization, predicted too many votes and concocted the term "low tax liberalism," all by himself. In each of these cases, the campaign staff disagreed with him and attempted to change his statements. Clark's appearance on the ABC Nightline program, which drove Dave Nolan into a rage by suggesting that libertarians were seeking a return to the Kennedy era, also irritated Ed Crane, Chris Hocker, Tom Palmer and other campaign staffers. This means that even if the Natcom or Murray Rothbard himself had picked the campaign staff, the outcome would have been no different. Unless someone is suggesting that men with dark suits and wrap-around sunglasses follow our candidates around and rough them up a bit when they say the wrong thing, there is simply nothing we can do about it.

The printing of an anti-nuclear leaflet featuring the endorsement of John Gofman has been used by the other side in this dispute as their main example. That's not surprising, because it's really the only concrete example of the alleged need for



the coercively guaranteed loan. Would a true advocate of voluntary government endorse using tax money to pay off the loan? If not, then why confer an identical privilege to those who have loaned money to the government directly? As long as the government collects taxes, all loans it negotiates will be tainted with the stigma of coercion. Not until the government converts to voluntary financing will its loans be worthy of the same respect due the loans contracted between private individuals and institutions.

Economic Impact

One reason that people oppose government debt repudiation is that they fear that it will lead to economic dislocations and hardships. They also automatically assume that the major beneficiary of repudiation will be the government itself. A little economic analysis will show that both of these worries are unfounded.

Over 40 percent of the national debt is held not by private citizens but by government agencies at various levels. Of the \$934 billion national debt outstanding at the beginning of this year, U.S. government agencies and trust funds held \$190 billion, the Federal Reserve held \$117 billion, and state and local governments held \$73 billion. That portion in the hands of U.S. government agencies and trust funds is money the government owes to itself, and repudiating it would merely eliminate an accounting fiction. Repudiating that portion owed to states and local governments, while affecting the solvency of those governments and perhaps forcing them to repudiate as well, will not have a direct impact on the welfare of private citizens.

Repudiating those government securities owned by the Federal Reserve System would have the added advantage of exposing the true source of inflation. Many conservatives charge that the national debt is inflationary. Strictly speaking, this charge is false. If the government borrows from the public, purchasing power is merely transferred from the public to government. When the government borrows from the Federal Reserve System, in contrast, the Federal Reserve creates new money to cover the loan. This process is called monetizing the debt. What seems on the surface to be a simple loan transaction is, in reality, an act of governmental monetary expansion. In this respect, and in this respect alone, the national debt is inflationary.

Repudiating the national debt will technically bankrupt the Federal Reserve System. The Federal Reserve will no longer have sufficient assets on one side of its balance sheet to match all the outstanding Federal Reserve notes and deposits on the liabilities side of its balance sheet. This apparent bankruptcy, unfortunately, would amount to another accounting fiction. Since the Federal

Reserve creates money, it cannot go bankrupt. It would simply be forced to admit that what it really does is issue fiat money.

To understand the economic impact of repudiating those government securities held by the public, we must first examine the nature of non-government debt. Every loan transaction has two parties, the lender who foregoes the current use of money in exchange for a financial asset, and the borrower who gains the current use of money in exchange for a financial liability. No new wealth is created. Purchasing power is transferred. For every asset created, there is an offsetting liability. Thus, on the macro-level, the repudiation of private debt (which I do not advocate) leaves unchanged the net wealth of

"Those who have an investment portfolio...will find that, as their government securities are wiped out, their other assets rise in value because of the reduction in the anticipated tax burden."

society. For every liability repudiated, an asset is destroyed. On the micro-level, in contrast, repudiation has a distribution effect. Debtors gain at the expense of creditors.

Now let us apply these principles to government debt. The holders of government securities have acquired assets, but where are the offsetting liabilities? It may superficially appear that government itself holds the liabilities, and while technically correct, this impression misses the underlying economic reality. The ultimate liabilities that the creation of government debt brings into existence are tax liabilities, since it is taxation that supplies the revenue to pay interest and, on infrequent occasions, the principal on government debt. Just as private debt creates no new wealth, neither does government debt. For every financial asset created by government borrowing, a corresponding tax liability also exists. The discounted present value of this stream of future tax liabilities exactly equals the present value of government securities.

To the extent that individuals perfectly anticipate their tax liabilities, the repudiation of government debt will cause, on the macro-level, no change in new wealth. More important, on the micro-level, the existence of these offsetting tax liabilities serves to mitigate the distribution effects of repudiation. Opposition to government debt repudiation is based upon the understandable but superficial impression that the gains from repudiation accrue to the government. Instead, the real gainers are taxpayers.

Since nearly everyone pays taxes or owns assets whose value is reduced by

taxation, it is impossible to predict, without additional information, whether a particular owner of government securities will, on net, gain or lose from the repudiation of government debt. Those who have an investment portfolio consisting of some government securities plus a selection of other assets, will find that, as their government securities are wiped out, their other assets rise in value because of the reduction in the anticipated tax burden.

People will tend to gain or lose not on the basis of whether they own government securities but on the basis of whether, over the entire range of their economic activities, they are net tax consumers and losers from repudiation on the one hand and net taxpayers and gainers from repudiation on the other will not be exact. Government debt is not the only means by which the state dispenses the benefits from taxation. The correspondence, however, will be close enough to insure that large numbers of the government's creditors will be helped more than they are harmed. These offsetting gains, because they result from the lifting of future tax liabilities, would be in addition to any compensation that the state's victims might receive for past deprivations.

To what extent people actually anticipate the tax liabilities generated by government debt is a technical issue debated by economists and one of the more obscure points in the monetarist-fiscalist controversy. We need not resolve this question here. Even if people do not perfectly anticipate their tax liabilities, they

confiscating the gains to taxpayers of repudiation. To argue, however, that we should not eliminate one form of government oppression because another might take its place is invalid. I could just as logically object to the repudiation of government debt because the government might simultaneously decide to exterminate all libertarians. The fact of the matter is that debt, by its nature, obligates the government to make future payments. That obligation will ultimately be met through taxation or monetary expansion. Repudiation, by definition, eliminates that obligation.

If after considering the moral arguments and the mitigating economic impact, anyone still worries about the fate of government creditors, that individual is perfectly free to give his or her own money to the most deserving losers from repudiation, and to persuade others to do likewise. I am continuously amazed at those gradualist libertarians who acclaim the efficacy of voluntarism in the long-run, but are afraid to try voluntarism during the transition period. If private charity is sufficient for a free society, then it ought also to be sufficient to help those few, if any, who are undeservedly harmed by the transition to a free society.

Historical Cases

A look at the early history of the United States provides additional evidence for the repudiation of government debt. If this historical survey is representative, it contradicts the prediction that debt repudiation brings dire consequences. It also shows that debt repudiation is associated with decreasing state power, while a rigorous adherence to the sanctity of government obligations tends to centralize power.

The first case involves beneficial debt repudiation. After the War of 1812, New York State began the construction of a canal connecting the Hudson River with the Great Lakes. The Erie Canal, completed in 1825, was unfortunately one of those rare and curious cases where a state-run enterprise actually made a good profit, and it encouraged other states to emulate New York. An orgy of canal building resulted. Usually, state governments owned and operated these new canals. In those few instances where the canals were privately owned, the states contributed the largest share of the financing.

By 1840, the canal boom had blessed the United States with 3326 miles of economically unjustified canals at an expense to the states of \$125 million, a large sum in those days. This massive state investment in canals, when added to the budget growth stimulated by the War of 1812, led to a huge outstanding debt for most of the states. Virtually all of the new canals were a total waste of resources and did not bring the returns for which the state governments hoped. The states consequently faced financial stringency, and during the Panic of 1837 most of them became desperate. By 1844, \$60 million worth of state improvement bonds were in default. Six states - Mississippi, Louisiana, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Michigan - repudiated their debts outright, while several others defaulted temporarily.

Rather than having disastrous consequences, this repudiation brought on a widening circle of benefits. States became very wary of investing money in internal improvements or in anything else, while investors became very cautious about loaning money to the states. This insured that when railroads came into prominence, the states left financing to the market. Although the states continued to subsidize the railroads in subtle ways, through special mono-

See HUMMEL/p. 28

THREE PERSPECTIVES ON CONTROL

1 Entrepreneurs or bureaucrats?

by Milton Mueller

Milton Mueller, one of Caliber's contributing editors, is former executive director of Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS) and is currently editor of their newsletter Liberty.

Everyone is familiar with the race for LP National Chair. Delegates have been dunned with the candidates' mailings and solicited by their supporters. But a far more important debate seems to be passing by unnoticed: the debate over the proposed amendments to the LP Constitution.

Most LP members are bored to tears with Constitution debates. Admittedly, they usually involve bureaucratic trivia and mindless rule-mongering. But this is not so in 1981. This constitution debate has become another battleground in what Murray Rothbard has labelled "the war over the soul of the Party."

Murray is the only libertarian I know who can start wars so easily and so frequently. But this time he is right-even though he's on the wrong side of the war. This constitution debate reflects two fundamentally different ideas of what the Libertarian Party should become. On one side we have the advocates of bureaucratic oversight and democratic decision-making, and on the other side, the advocates of entrepreneurial organization and methods.

It should not go unnoticed that a debate over the Constitution of the LP, and not its platform, will determine whether the Party will take an entrepreneurial or bureaucratic direction. For ten years now, we have been literally obsessed with our platform. At times, we act as if we can guarantee that freedom will prevail simply by defining it clearly and precisely enough. Granted, when the LP and its entire ideology were new, it made sense to put a lot of time and energy into the formulation of our platform. But the main problems facing the Party are no longer issues of principle, they are issues of political strategy. How do we put our principles into practice?

The attempt to define a viable libertarian strategy is intimately bound up with the question of the Libertarian Party's internal organization. For if we cannot organize ourselves in a manner that is both effective and consistent with libertarian ideology, then how can we expect to spread libertarianism to the rest of the world? That is why the LP's strategic crisis has led to a constitution debate.

What are the issues in this debate? There are several, but the sole issue with which I am concerned is how the constitution should define (or refrain from defining) the relationship between the national LP organization and its Presidential campaigns.

Currently, the LP organization is a separate and distinct entity from the Campaign Committee which actually runs the Presidential campaign. If a candidate wins the nomination at the LP National Convention, he/she chooses his/her own campaign committee and campaign manager. Usually, a candidate seeking the Presidential nomination will form a Campaign Committee before winning the nomination, and this Committee will raise money and set up an organization in its attempt to win the nomination. Once the nomination has been won, the Campaign Committee runs the campaign with the cooperation and endorsement of the national LP and is allowed to use the LP's mailing list.

In other words, candidates for the LP nomination are much like competing entrepreneurs. State and National LP Conventions, with all

By far the most controversial question our 10th anniversary national convention will face is how to define the place of our presidential campaign in our organizational structure. For months, those who advocate placing the campaign under some sort of external discipline have been telling us that such a reform and nothing else will secure the ideological purity, sound management, fiscal solvency, and moral integrity of future campaigns, while those who oppose any such measure have warned that it would paralyze our campaigns and frighten off all but the weakest of candidates.

I submit that both these opinions are mistaken. Each side in this controversy seems to evaluate the proposals by envisioning a rerun of the Clark campaign, with themselves filling the same roles they did last year, but endowed with omniscience, and with the proposed machinery at hand. Thus, the proponents seem to imagine the campaign staff repeating last year's mistakes in a zombie-like fashion, while the body entrusted with campaign oversight, all-foreseeing, vigorously exercises its authority to cut off

the zombies at the pass, before they can recreate the anticipated debacles. Likewise, the opponents seem to imagine themselves struggling valiantly to avoid those same errors, while the oversight authority, enraged by mistakes which are yet to be made, vents its spleen by abusing its authority, interfering in the day-to-day affairs of the campaign. Like generals, we are all prepared to fight the last war.

In fact, of course, any reform will affect not last year's participants making last year's decisions, but as yet unknown figures making fresh decisions in an as yet unknown political environment, with full knowledge of the events of 1980. Moreover, even if any proposed reform had been in place in 1980, it is doubtful that it would have been used to much advantage, as most of those now so critical of last year's campaign were unalarmed when policies they now clearly take to have been in error were still inchoate.

But if a redefinition of the place of the presidential campaign in our organization cannot retroactively rectify the Clark campaign, nor even guarantee us against future errors, what

can it do? At best, it can provide a means for integrating the party apparatus at the national level to make possible the application of all the party's resources to the achievement of a single set of goals, with a single line of authority and responsibility for their realization, frustration, or misconception. At minimum, it must enlarge the range of options available for dealing with wayward campaigns so that future situations can be dealt with according to their own peculiar circumstances. I therefore suggest that we begin our analysis, not with a defense or denunciation of last year's people or events, but instead with an examination of the strategic and organizational role of the presidential campaign in our party.

No presidential campaign is an end in itself, save possibly vanity campaigns such as those of Harold Stassen or Benjamin Fernandez. Likewise, every campaign is accountable to someone; who the appropriate authority is depends on the purpose of the campaign. If the candidate's election is the sole purpose of the campaign, it follows that the campaign organization should be accountable to him

In creating a political party to carry forward the libertarian program, the libertarian movement has embraced a strategy with great promise, but also with grave dangers. For the very *raison d'etre* of a political party in contemporary America is to run candidates for office, and lots of them. But this means that hundreds or thousands of people will be speaking for the party, and, in the eyes of the public, for the movement. They will be most effective in promoting our cause if they speak with a consistent voice, making it clear that Libertarians stand uncompromisingly for one set of principles.

The danger is that all these spokespersons will not speak in such a consistent fashion, but will diverge notably in their stands on the issues and their degree of commitment to principle.

For this reason, it is, and shall probably always be, among our highest priorities to devise structures for the party and its campaigns that incorporate an effective degree of corrective feedback and accountability into the process of running candidates for office. In doing so, we

should keep in mind that such a task is not a once-and-for-all design contest. As with all human activity, learning and changing are essential to long-run success. What works today could fail tomorrow, and we should always be ready to adapt to new and changed circumstances. But that should not keep us from acting today in the best way we can given our present state of knowledge.

Currently, the most pressing task of this sort that we face is the modification of the rules governing the Presidential and Vice-Presidential campaigns. I believe that it will prove to be to the long-run good of the party that the recent CLARK campaign and the criticism it has generated have brought this issue to the fore. To have this happen now, while we are still a relatively small party, makes it easier to experiment in order to find the best way to address this problem.

In considering changes to the structure of the national campaign and its relationship to the party, we should first be clear about what kind of choice this is. Some people seem to think that having LP controls on its own campaigns is somehow antilibertarian. This is completely on the wrong track. We are, of course, opposed to government controls of all peaceful activities. But to suggest that it is unlibertarian to believe in internal control mechanisms in a private, voluntary organization is to make a serious mistake. To follow this logic, we would have to abolish the LP's constitution and bylaws, and we would have to oppose the structure and internal controls of all corporations, partnerships, and voluntary associations in existence.

So if the question before us is how best to incorporate some feedback into the national campaign so as to check any tendency toward compromise, and yet not hinder the effective use of campaign resources, we could, without much effort, construct dozens of alternatives of varying degrees of complexity. Rather than do that, however, let me spend the time here to analyze a few of those that have already surfaced in various libertarian publications.

The simplest proposal is that we do nothing; that is, we stick with the mechanism currently in our constitution that allows the National

2 A project of the Party

by Kevin Dye

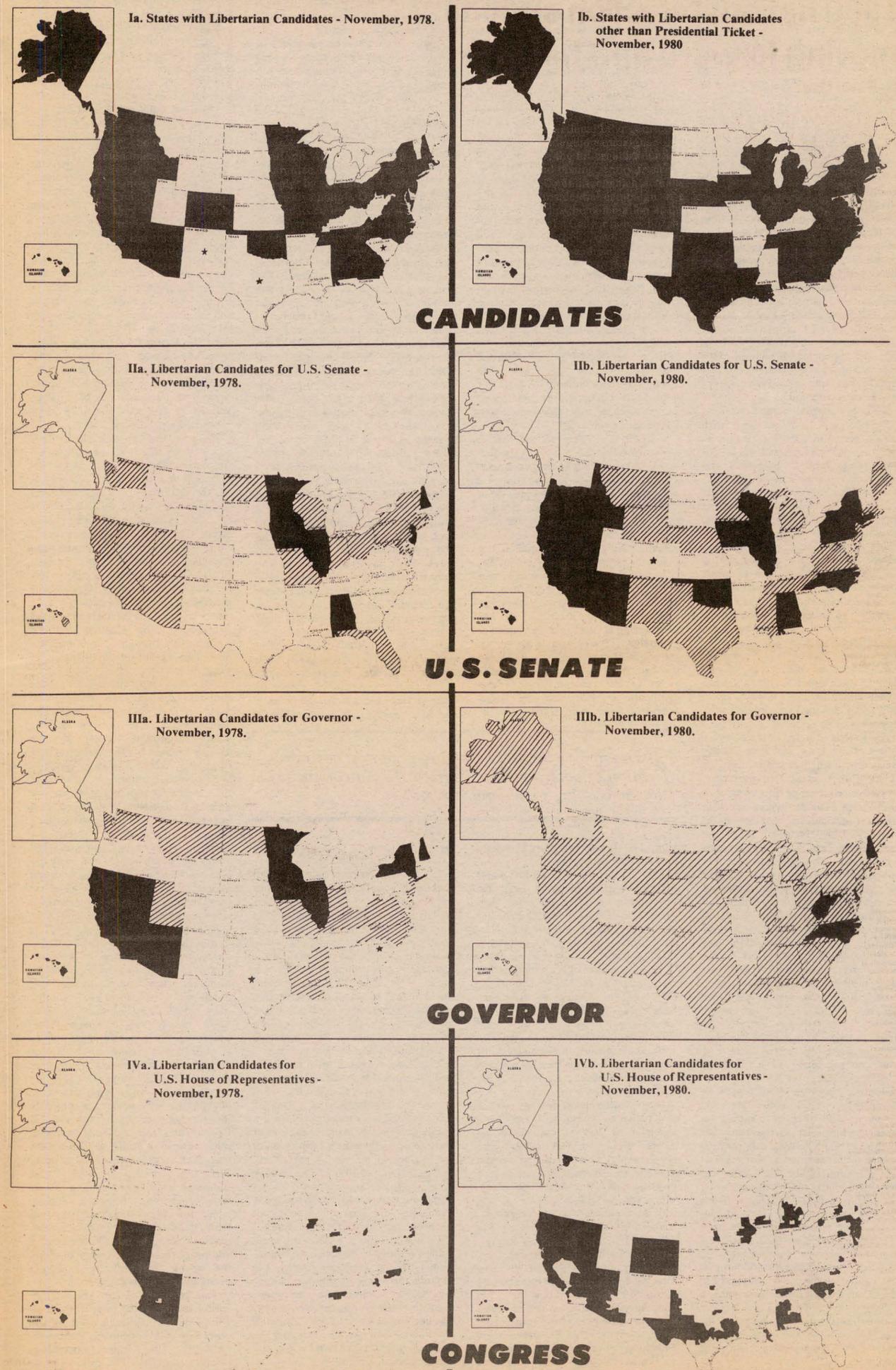
Kevin Dye is treasurer of the California Libertarian Council and a member of the Los Angeles County Libertarian Central Committee.

3 Responsibility is the key

by Scott Olmsted

Scott Olmsted is a member of the California Libertarian Council State Executive Committee, and is California's representative on the National Platform Committee.

1978 COMPARED TO 1980



CANDIDATES

U.S. SENATE

GOVERNOR

CONGRESS

1980 national election summary... moving forward and backward

by Kevin Dye

The Libertarian aggregate national vote more than tripled from 1978 to 1980, but the increase was due principally to a 2½-fold rise in the total number of candidates, rather than to any significant improvement in their average performance. This is the conclusion reached after analysis of a compilation of election returns for all of last year's candidates recently completed by San Francisco activist and ballot law specialist, Richard Winger. The compilation, and a similar one

also prepared by Winger, are summarized in tables accompanying this article. The tables show the vote totals for each type of office by state. They include candidates on the ballot as Independents and in non-partisan races, as well as those listed as Libertarians. They also include the vote totals for those write-in candidates whose returns were published by the state authorities, although such returns were not used in computing the average percentages shown for each state and class of office, and such candidates are segregated in the figures for

total numbers of candidates. In addition to those shown, 39 other candidates in 1978 and 47 in 1980 ran write-in campaigns for which no votes were canvassed. Moreover, the tables do not include candidates for offices voted on at some time other than the presidential election.

There are grave dangers inherent in using aggregate vote figures such as these: 1) a presidential year is being compared with a mid-term year; 2) there is no corresponding information on the other parties to serve as a standard of comparison; and 3) there is no

MAP LEGEND
(applies to all maps)

- Candidate on Ballot
- ★ Write-in Candidate Only
- No Candidate
- ▨ Office Not Up For Election

way to tell what sort of campaigns these candidates ran from the information given, i.e., many ran minimal campaigns, and some may even have run campaigns of dubious relation to libertarian principle, while at least a few ran races that were both serious and principled.

See ELECTIONS/p. 31

TABLE 1 - November, 1978 Election Results by State and Office

STATE	STATE OFFICE		CONGRESS				STATE LEGISLATURE				LOCAL		TOTAL	
	Governor	Other	U.S. Senate	House of Rep.	Upper House	Lower House	Upper House	Lower House						
Alabama														
Alaska														
Arizona	10,421	1,93	6	154,798	5.09									
Arkansas														
California	377,960	5.46												
Colorado			1	19,091	2.45									
Connecticut														
Delaware														
Florida														
Georgia														
Hawaii	1,059	388				2	8,283	3.31						
Idaho														
Illinois	11,420	366	7	176,277	.89	1	16,320	.51						
Indiana						2	1,612	.69						
Iowa	3,947	47				1	3,689	.45						
Kansas														
Kentucky														
Louisiana														
Maine														
Maryland														
Massachusetts														
Michigan														
Minnesota	3,689	236				2	7,108	.23						
Mississippi														
Missouri														
Montana														
Nebraska														
Nevada	1,487	79	4	24,713	3.46									
New Hampshire	1,217	45				1	2,070	.78						
New Jersey						1	3,809	.19						
New Mexico														
New York	18,990	400	2	36,215	.41									
North Carolina			1	38,469	5.39									
North Dakota														
Ohio						3	6,556	2.71						
Oklahoma						1	6,960	5.25						
Oregon														
Pennsylvania														
Rhode Island														
South Carolina	206	wi				1	2,837	1.95						
South Dakota														
Tennessee														
Texas	98	wi		280	wi									
Utah														
Vermont														
Virginia														
Washington						1	3,545	2.27						
West Virginia														
Wisconsin						1	1,697	.98						
Wyoming	430,494	1.16	21	449,843	2.82	7	39,002	.46	22	72,967	2.63	21	43,950	6.16

*Plus one write-in candidate or governor if governor state

TABLE 2 - November, 1980 Election Results by State and Office

STATE	PRESIDENT	STATE OFFICE		CONGRESS				STATE LEGISLATURE				LOCAL		TOTAL
		Governor	Other	U.S. Senate	House of Rep.	Upper House	Lower House	Upper House	Lower House					
Alabama														
Alaska														
Arizona														
Arkansas														
California														
Colorado														
Connecticut														
Delaware														
Florida														
Georgia														
Hawaii														
Idaho														
Illinois														
Indiana														
Iowa														
Kansas														
Kentucky														
Louisiana														
Maine														
Maryland														
Massachusetts														
Michigan														
Minnesota														
Mississippi														
Missouri														
Montana														
Nebraska														
Nevada														
New Hampshire														
New Jersey														
New Mexico														
New York														
North Carolina														
North Dakota														
Ohio														
Oklahoma														
Oregon														
Pennsylvania														
Rhode Island														
South Carolina														
South Dakota														
Tennessee														
Texas														
Utah														
Vermont														
Virginia														
Washington														
West Virginia														
Wisconsin														
Wyoming														
DC														

*Plus one write-in candidate

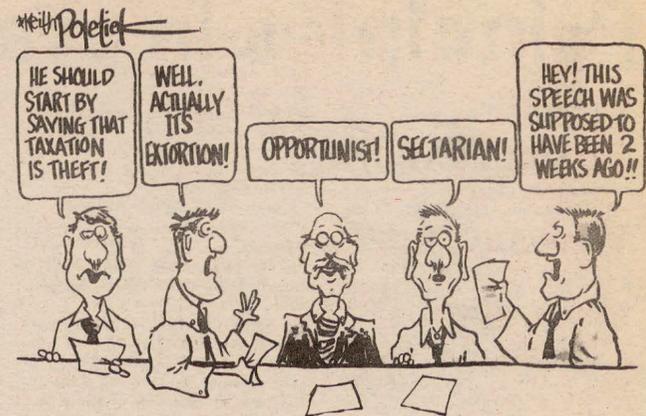
OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

their associated debate and politicking, are the "marketplace" where they compete. The LP *per se* is a separate organization which contracts with the winner to run a campaign. An example is the 1980 race for the nomination, where Bill Hunscher competed against Ed Clark. Each candidate's campaign staff and financial backers were organized as a political committee. When Clark won, the campaign committee and campaign manager he chose, not surprisingly, bore a strong resemblance to the Clark for President nominating Committee formed before the convention. (The two were not, however, identical. Political horse-trading led to some changes, including the formation of a literature oversight committee.)

Disappointment with the Clark Campaign has led some people to propose changes in this system. Specifically, they want to make the LP National Committee, a committee with 32 members (17 elected by region, 10 elected at-large, the 4 LP national officers and past national chair) responsible for the Presidential Campaign. This is to be accomplished

by making the LP National Committee (Natcom) synonymous with the Campaign Committee. This would give the Natcom the power to hire and fire campaign staff, including the manager; the power to oversee campaign literature and media productions; the power to control the campaign budget. Thus the Presidential Campaign Committee, which used to consist of four or five officers plus the hired campaign staff, would suddenly balloon into a 32 member committee plus whatever professional staff it hired.

Why, you might ask, would anyone propose to run our Presidential campaign the way the government runs the economy? Why are we adopting the model of a regulatory agency to guide the internal organization of a movement devoted to unfettered entrepreneurial action? What problems with the present system are serious enough to justify this action - and will the cure be better than the disease? These questions about Natcom control of Presidential campaigns crop up immediately. The advocates of Natcom control believe they can answer them. Let me state



their case as objectively as I can.

The LP Natcom, they say, is a representative body which, unlike the nominating Convention, is permanent. They hope that the Natcom will be able to act as a continuous guardian of the contract made between the Convention and the Presidential nominee. If a Presidential campaign

should take an unlibertarian position, or renege on a promise they made to win the nomination, the Natcom will be there to take action. Isn't it a good idea, they ask, to give the LP, in the form of the Natcom, some ongoing democratic representation in the

See MUELLER/p. 22

alone. The major parties' presidential campaigns closely approximate this situation; that is why their campaigns are run independently of their national organizations. Such a policy makes a good deal of sense for an organization which stands for little more than lust for power, but any organization which lends its name to a candidate has a vested interest in that candidate's rectitude and performance. Thus, even the major parties suffer when their candidate loses badly due to a bungled campaign (as in '64), or wins only by consuming resources that otherwise could have been used to build the party's strength in Congress (as in '68), or wins only by unscrupulous tactics that blacken the party's name (as in '72).

In the case of our own party, one must add several additional and still weightier considerations to the list. The purpose of our presidential campaign is not to elect anyone; that is plainly beyond our power and will remain so for the foreseeable future. It is, rather, to propagate a political philosophy and to build a national party organization that we run our presidential campaigns. Accordingly, our interest in the conduct of our presiden-

tial campaign is all the greater. If a major party campaign falls far short of its advertised goals, the public blames the candidate rather than the party, as it can recall earlier victories by that party; we have no such track record to fall back on. If a major party presidential campaign raises funds from all available sources, there are still those needing leverage specifically with a Congressman or legislator to whom their lesser candidates may turn; our fund-raising base, being ideological, is more limited, so lack of restraint by one candidate can seriously strap another. If a major party presidential candidate conveys an unfavorable image of his party, there are many other candidates and office-holders of that party from whom the public may garner a different impression; our presidential candidate is still the only one of whom many people are aware, so the impression his campaign creates is all many people will know of us.

These strategic considerations argue strongly that the campaign organization should be accountable to some organ of the national party. Indeed, this contention is disputed by no one; after all, whoever seeks the national



convention's nomination is by definition responsible to that body. There are, however, two organizational questions in dispute which must be examined before any assessment of the proper role of the presidential campaign is possible. The first of these was

stated most clearly by Ed Clark in his recent interview in *Update* when he asked "Will we go farther and faster if we divide up the functions of attraction and education between the cam-

See DYE/p. 30

COMPLAINT AGAINST FCC SPARKS

Principles in practice...

by Jule R. Herbert, Jr.

On August 28, 1980, the Ed Clark for President Committee registered a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). The Committee's complaint alleged that NBC's refusal to sell all 20 of the five-minute prime time slots it had requested violated Section 312 (a) (7) of the Communications Act of 1934, which governs political broadcasting.

When this fact was fully reported in *Broadcasting* magazine, it came to the attention of several libertarians, who promptly circulated a letter accusing the Clark for President Committee of violating libertarian principle. Other prominent LP members who had been generally critical of the Clark Campaign seized upon the issue, and soon the LP National Committee saw fit to appoint an "investigative" committee to look into the matter. *Frontlines* described the events as "peculiar" and treated the matter as an expose.

After all, what was the presidential nominee of the LP, which opposes government intervention in the broadcasting industry (and all others, for that matter), doing by asking the FCC for relief against NBC, presumably a private enterprise? To understand why this action was necessary and justified, we must first understand how government regulation of broadcasting in general and political advertising in particular distorts the market and smother's political debate.

The basic Communications Act of 1934 claims the airwaves as the property of something called "the public." In reality, this means that the airwaves are owned by the government. The same Act sets up the FCC to administer this property and to allocate its use. The FCC of all things is called private ownership of most broadcasting stations, but makes all the fundamental decisions concerning allocation, technical standards, licensing, and "third-party" use. A broadcaster is deemed to own its equipment but not to have a property right in a signal or broadcast itself. The history of the broadcasting industry reveals that political factors, more than any other, determined which groups of individuals came to be licensed as broadcasters.

Commercial advertising rates and program content are, in a limited sense, subject to market forces — although the market's operation is severely restricted by the limits imposed on the number of competitors and a host of other regulations. By restricting the number of broadcasters serving any geographical area, the government enables those it has granted licenses to charge monopoly prices. Nonetheless, these prices serve to "effectively" allocate scarce resources to the highest bidders.

But when it comes to political advertising, there is nothing even approximating a market principle of allocation. Indeed, the law governing political broadcasting was consciously designed to eliminate all market principles and virtually all discretion of the broadcasting equipment owner. Instead of the First Amendment protection accorded print media, political broadcasting is saddled with a system of administrative rationing guided by the ideal of "equal opportunity." The

airwaves are treated as a sort of giant public auditorium to which all politicians have equal access — some being a bit more equal than others.

As the FCC explains it: **Congress adopted the law on political broadcasting...to achieve these basic purposes:**

1. **Prevent discrimination between competing candidates by broadcasting stations...**

2. **Make sure that candidates are allowed to speak freely on the air without censorship by broadcasters...**

3. **Guarantee time rates to political candidates as favorable as those offered by broadcasters...to their most favored advertisers...**

4. **Make sure that candidates for federal elective office are given or sold reasonable amounts of time for their campaigns.**

These regulations negate the market principle of allocation by requiring the same price for all candidates — the lowest possible price. Once a candidate is sold time, all his opponents must be, too, and the time given must reach either the same or a comparably-sized audience. Like all forms of political rationing, these laws can become dreadfully arbitrary and illogical.

"Classical liberals and modern libertarians have long recognized the important role of equality under the law as a check upon arbitrary political power."

The rules exempt news programs from equal opportunity requirements, but the FCC must arbitrarily decide what is and what isn't "news." If a political ad is sponsored by an independent political committee the applicable law is different than if the identical ad is sponsored by the candidate's committee. And so on.

The government's decision to distribute valuable advertising time at below quasi-monopoly, market clearing prices leads to intense political competition for the spaces made available, because not all of the demands for time can be satisfied. The problem is getting worse: "The 1980 elections gave rise to 45 formal rulings at the FCC concerning political broadcasting laws. Those were double the number issued during the 1972 and 1976 general elections combined." (*Broadcasting*, Feb. 6, 1981)

Thus far, the FCC has not found it convenient to set out specific instructions to candidates or broadcasters as to how allocations of space are to be made or how much time the broadcasters must make available for political broadcasting. The operative rule is simply that licensees must "allow reasonable amounts of time...by a legally qualified candidate." (Emphasis added.) All time must be sold at the "lowest unit price."

What are the consequences — intended — or unintended of such a rule?

First, broadcasters, especially the three major networks, lose all incentive to make sales to political candidates. Political ads are for the networks not a benefit but a cost, part of the trade-off for their politically protected position.

Secondly, keeping in mind that broadcasting are really in the broader advertising business, competing with other advertising forms which are relatively unregulated as well as other business in general (with the effect that their regular quasi-monopoly prices

are somewhat constrained, while advertising in general is somewhat more expensive), radio and television advertising is extremely attractive to political candidates. Unlike ordinary advertisers for whom the relative costs of different types of advertising media are roughly equal, a political campaign wants to put virtually all of its advertising budget into broadcasting.

Needless to say, the scramble for available spots becomes keen.

Because the networks would prefer to run no political ads and candidates would each like to buy as many as possible, it is the FCC's rulings — not the market — which determine who will and who will not get political broadcasting time. Political advertising, to repeat, is rationed by politics — not by the market, nor by those who own the broadcasting equipment.

If a candidate's ads are a product of political intervention, then how does the LP, which opposes such intervention, promote itself through television without violating its principles?

The question is not an academic one. In fact, of all of the controversies and debates which have surfaced in the aftermath of Ed Clark's campaign, this one is probably the most practically

significant. The state did not seize the airwaves out of benevolence. Established politicians can be expected to use the power of the state to protect and shelter themselves. As the LP grows, these people would no doubt love to see the party handicap itself by following misguided and suicidal misapplications of its own principles.

Logically, there are only three alternatives a libertarian candidate can take to the problem of political advertising in a state-controlled broadcasting system.

A) The candidate can refuse to buy any time on radio or television. After all, lower than "market" prices and the requirement to sell time are mandated by the government, therefore to buy time is to coerce the owners of broadcasting equipment and to benefit unjustly from government power.

B) The candidate can attempt to buy time at the politically determined rates, but decline to employ the FCC's "reasonable access" rules should the networks refuse to sell the time. This is the position implied by the critics of the Clark Campaign who attacked the campaign for going to the FCC but not for attempting to buy the "subsidized" time in the first place.

C) The candidate can take the path actually chosen by the Clark Campaign: buy time at the rates charged and fight for access if or when the networks deny the candidate as much or as attractive time as is made available to the other candidates or which would otherwise be sold to other candidates.

Which choice is appropriate? Alternative "A" is downright silly. Television is the most important medium of political communication today. The LP has no meaningful alternative to the purchase of TV time at government-set rates, just as it has no alternative to the use of the government's monopoly postal system. If the LP refuses to buy time, because of the government's action, it

is punishing itself for the government's acts and destroying the movement to stop all such state intervention in the market. Finally, there is no way to determine whether the actual prices charged under the existing system are higher or lower than those which would emerge on the free market.

Alternative "B" doesn't make much more sense. At first impression, perhaps, it may seem to be the middle-way between two undesirable extremes. According to *Frontlines*, it is also the position that some non-libertarian network executives apparently assumed the Clark Campaign would take. But there is no libertarian logic to it, and we should be careful not to allow non-libertarians to dictate the supposed implications of our principles to us.

The Clark Campaign's correspondence with NBC clearly demonstrates that the networks allocate a certain unspecified amount of time for political advertising and then divide up the time among the "serious" Presidential candidates. Thus, if Clark did not get a specific "availability," another candidate would have.

There is a saying that "Politics ain't beanbags." Still, there are sets of "rules" which set the parameters of behavior. The rule that is supposed to control the rationing of political spots is the notion of "equal opportunity."

Currently, it is left up to each candidate to secure his or her entitlements under the plan for the allocation of the state-owned airwaves. If the LP announced that its candidates would not do so — that it would not insist on having equal opportunity with Republicans and Democrats to purchase politically allocated spots — the networks, which have an incentive to sell as little time as possible and which view third parties as a complicating factor, would not treat the LP as having equal claim to purchase ads. We would only be offered a minimal number of "availabilities."

In the real world, alternative B quickly devolves into alternative A.

Nor does alternative B offer a higher or different morality than alternative C. Suppose the FCC had chosen, as was within its power, to promulgate specific regulations in advance on the subject of access allocation: e.g., each candidate is entitled to purchase so many minutes at such and such times at certain prices. There could then have been no confusion or disagreement as to what all candidates, including Libertarians, were entitled. Those current critics who opt for alternative B would have no complaints.

Or suppose the FCC had ruled that Republicans had the right, as a matter of law, to purchase twice the amount of time as Libertarians. Who then would have objected to legal action to void that clear denial of equal protection?

The logic of alternative B is that, by putting the onus of initiating a demand for equal treatment on the LP's candidate, the state can effectively restrict access to the electronic media to the favored parties.

We are left with alternative C. In the first place, to submit that we are morally entitled to enforce a law which we don't believe in — just as we did in our suit against the U.S. postal monopoly — is bound to cause concern among some. In a just world we would not have to confront this type of problem.

But this is a problem which libertarians should get used to. The closer we

Should the LPC be de-regulated?

by Richard Winger

Assemblyman Dennis Brown (R-Long Beach) will soon introduce a proposal by the County Clerks Association to allow qualified parties with less than 5% of the registration to nominate by convention, instead of by primary, according to Brown's aide Ted Blanchard.

The bill would also repeal all of the code sections dealing with the internal organization of the Peace & Freedom and American Independent Parties (there is no Libertarian Party code section since the bill providing for one has not passed). The bill would allow these parties to make their own rules. In effect, the bill "deregulates" political parties with less than 5% of the registration, letting them run themselves with substantially less state interference and subsidy than exists now.

All registered Libertarians (and members of other small qualified parties as well) would receive a notice with their primary sample ballot, telling them when and where their county Libertarian Party nominating convention would be. County conventions would vote for delegates to the state convention, and for nominations for congress and state legislature. In the case of multi-county districts, the results from each county convention would need to be tallied before the results would be known. County chairmen would be provided with a list of registered voters in their county who are registered "Libertarian" in advance of the meeting. The state convention would nominate statewide and board of equalization candidates. Of course, the details of this proposal very likely would be altered, if the proposed bill makes any headway.

ADVANTAGES

The advantages of Libertarian Party support for this bill would be:

1) We would differentiate ourselves

"We could show that we mean it when we say we are opposed to government regulation and subsidy. Currently, the primary provided to the LP is a subsidy from the taxpayers."

from the Peace & Freedom and American Independent Parties, who are sure to oppose the bill.
2) We could show that we mean it when we say we are opposed to government regulation and subsidy. Currently, the primary provided to the LP is a subsidy from the taxpayers to the LP (taxpayers pay for the process by which the party chooses its nominees and officers).
3) We could embarrass the supporters of AB 2131 (see related article), who claim that some parties must be eliminated, in order to cut election costs.

DISADVANTAGES

If the bill passed, disadvantages might be:
1) It might seem to the public that we had been officially labeled as "small" or "minor".
2) The mechanics of nominating might be difficult.

These objections may be overcome if people become aware that even the major parties nominate by convention in some states. In Virginia, this year both major parties nominated statewide candidates by convention. There were 7,300 Republican delegates and 5,000 Democratic delegates.

3) We would lose our presidential primary, but this is perhaps no loss for 1984, since a consensus seems to be forming in the LP nationally that in 1984 we should not use the presidential primaries to which we are entitled. None of the three candidates for national chair of the LP is willing to advocate that we use our presidential primaries. Alicia Clark points out that

the vote totals in LP presidential primaries would probably be so small that the party would be embarrassed. However, if we do decide to use presidential primaries, we will very likely be entitled to use them in California (unless the proposed bill passes), Idaho, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina and Wisconsin, and there is a chance we could use them in Kansas, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York Pennsylvania and South Dakota.

EXCOM/from p. 6

panel discussion on the Reagan administration from libertarian perspectives (Bill Evers on foreign policy, Milton Mueller on civil liberties, and David Henderson on economics). After Bill established Reagan's interventionist credentials, Milton lamented "...intellectuals who used to be liberals suddenly becoming Reaganites," and David praised Reagan's planned deregulation and tax and spending cuts. Questions from the audience moved the panel into a discussion and debate of two interesting issues: (1) whether libertarians should support tax credits for special interests and (2) what is a proper libertarian position on the current defense of the United States. Concluding a discussion of difficult to understand or unpopular libertarian positions, Bill

This is by no means a complete list of the possible advantages and disadvantages. Once the bill is introduced, Libertarians who are interested in the subject should pay careful attention to it.

The LP is now entitled to nominate candidates for state office by primary in California, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada & Wisconsin, and in North Carolina if the petition just submitted is approved.

The LP is currently entitled to nominate for state office by convention in Alabama, Delaware, Michigan and South Carolina.

The California LP should solicit information from the convention states about how well that system of nominations works, to help to decide whether to support the County Clerks association proposal.

made a statement that epitomized the mood of the debate: "You have to realize that being a libertarian is not necessarily a rose garden."

The executive committee, representing the members of the California Libertarian Council, conducted its relatively routine business in a timely and fairly straightforward way. Regional representatives were pleased to receive quarterly disbursements representing the regional share of dues. Lyn Sapowsky was elected to the Credentials Committee of the National LP. Scott Olmsted was elected to the National LP Platform Committee. Ed Wolford was chosen Platform Committee Coordinator for the California 1982 Convention.

A number of committees were abolished and a new committee on endorsements was established. Resolutions endorsing the CAST Initiative and the wording of a proposed Marijuana Initiative, and opposing AB 2131 (the Democrat-sponsored bill which would eliminate the ballot status of the Peace and Freedom Party), harassment of passives, and inheritance taxes were passed. The committee heard a presentation by Omni Designers, specialists in community resource development, and then voted to rent the CLC mailing list to both Omni Designers and *Reason Magazine*.

Attendance at the Saturday night party in the new Libertarian headquarters topped 90, including many executive committee representatives from all over California; and profits from party donations (after paying for supplies), combined with donations collected at the seminars, came very close to paying for the meeting rooms at the hotel.

A series of three panels followed the conclusion of the executive committee meeting Sunday afternoon. First, Kevin Dye (CLC treasurer) moderated a panel on finding and funding local offices composed of Eric Garris, Mark Hinkle, and Jack Dean. The second panel on local newsletters consisted of Ray Strong and Scott Olmsted with Gloria Rotunno answering technical questions related to typesetting and printing. Finally, Martin Buerger, Sara Baase, and Hank James discussed building local organizations.

Volunteers who helped organize the Saturday evening party included: Karen Huffman, Aleece Huffman, Moya Huffman, Bill White, Kathy White, Erik White, Gloria Rotunno, Ray Strong, Mark Hinkle, Dante DeAmicis, Lory DeAmicis, T.F. Falcon, Russ Fridley, Bob Bennett, John Anderson, Dale Burrow, Jim Huffman, Fred Moulton, Lyn Sapowsky, Pam Loucks, Harvey Loucks, Eric Loucks, Andy Garret, Greg Snyder, Anna Justi, and many others. Bill Evers and Carolyn Felton organized the seminar series.

REQUIREMENTS FOR AN OLD PARTY TO REMAIN ON THE BALLOT

States Which Merely Require the Party to Remain Organized: 1.*Alabama 2.*Idaho 3. Kansas 4. Mississippi 5.*South Carolina

STATE	States Which Require the Party's Candidates to Poll a Certain VOTE WHICH CANDIDATE OF THE PARTY MUST POLL CERTAIN VOTE?	WHAT VOTE MUST HE POLL?
1. New York	Governor	50,000 (under 1%)
*2. Michigan	Whoever is closest to the top of the ticket	1% of winner's vote for Sec. of State
3. Connecticut	President or Governor	1%
4. West Virginia	Governor	1%
*5. Wisconsin	Any statewide candidate	1%
6. Pennsylvania	Any statewide candidate	2% of highest winner's vote
7. Indiana	Secretary of State	2% (law effective in 1983)
8. Iowa	President or Governor	2%
9. Kentucky	President	2%
10. Missouri	Any statewide candidate	2%
11. Texas	Governor	2%
12. Utah	Any statewide candidate	2% of congressional vote
13. Montana	Any statewide candidate	5% of Gub. winner's vote
14. Arkansas	President or Governor	3%
15. D. Columbia	Any statewide candidate	7,500 votes (approx. 3%)
16. Massachusetts	Governor	3%
17. New Hampshire	Any statewide candidate	3% of gub. vote
18. Arizona	President or Governor (alternately, hold 1% of the registration)	5%
19. Illinois	President or Governor	5%
20. Louisiana	President	5%
21. Maine	President or Governor	5%
22. Minnesota	Any statewide candidate	5%
23. Nebraska	President or Governor	5%
*24. Nevada	Any candidate	5% of congressional vote
25. North Dakota	Governor	5%
26. Ohio	President or Governor	5%
*27. Oregon	Any statewide candidate	5%
28. Rhode Island	Governor	5%
29. Tennessee	President or Governor	5%
30. Vermont	Any statewide candidate	5%
31. Washington	Any statewide candidate	5%
32. Alaska	Governor (but can have perm. status for Pres. only by polling 10% for Pres.)	10%
33. Colorado	Governor	10%
*34. Hawaii	Any statewide candidate or congress candidate	10%
35. New Jersey	Cumulative total for Assembly candidates	10%
36. North Carolina	President or Governor	10%
37. Oklahoma	President or Governor	10%
38. South Dakota	Governor	10%
39. Virginia	Any statewide candidate	10%
40. Wyoming	Congress	10%
41. New Mexico	Governor (but can have status for Pres. only just by being organized)	15%
42. Georgia	President or Governor	20%

States Which Require a Party to Maintain a Certain Registration

1.*Delaware .05% 2. Florida 5% 3. Maryland 10%

State Which Requires BOTH a Certain Vote and a Certain Registration

1.*California poll 2% for any statewide candidate AND hold 1/15th of 1% of total registration

*Denotes a state in which the LP is permanently qualified for state office, as of June 1980.

NOTE: There are no legal precedents to establish how high the requirements can be for a party to remain qualified. The Oklahoma Libertarian Party may set the first precedent. It is currently pursuing a lawsuit, alleging that 10% is unconstitutionally high. The case just in federal district court and is now in the court of appeals in Denver.

See next page

ELECTION LAW

AB 2131: A threat to third parties

by Richard Winger

Assembly Bill 2131 is the bill which would raise the requirements for an old party to remain on the ballot. It passed the Assembly Elections Committee on May 11 (only 2 days after any member of the public knew about it), and it passed the Assembly on May 18, by a vote of 41-38. All "Yes" votes came from Democrats.

If the bill passes, previously qualified parties would be required to have registration of at least one-half of 1% of the total state registration. This test would be applied in January of every even-numbered year. Previously qualified parties would also continue to be required to poll 2% of the vote in every gubernatorial election year.

If the bill passes, the registration requirement to remain on the ballot in January 1982 will probably be approximately 57,600. Since the March 1981 state tally showed 78,734 Libertarian registrants and 139,845 registrants in the American Independent Party, the presumption is that the target of the bill is the Peace & Freedom Party, which only had 41,041 registrants.

AB 2131 has received heavy criticism, especially from newspaper editorial writers. To counter this criticism, Democratic Assemblymen who voted for the bill have unleashed a barrage of untrue statements and unsound arguments:

(1) "We need to remove some parties from the ballot in order to save election costs". Assemblymen Willie Brown, Richard Lehman, Art Agnos, Mike Roos, and Mel Levine make this argument. Mel Levine was even quoted in the May 18 Los Angeles Daily Journal (the Los Angeles legal newspaper) as saying he would be "sympathetic" to a bill with an "even higher threshold" than AB 2131's required 1/2 of 1% of the total, because of the "fiscal crisis". He stated that each additional party name on the ballot now costs the counties \$500,000 per election.

This is an unsound argument, because the legislature is free to pass the County Clerks Association plan to have small qualified parties nominate by convention, which would save all this tax money and yet not disqualify any party (see related article).

When a Republican Assemblyman pointed this out to Assemblyman Lehman in Committee on May 11, Lehman's only retort was, "Well, why don't you introduce that County Clerks plan?"

(2) "Peace and Freedom is a declining party". Assemblymen Lehman and Richard Alatorre have said this. Their evidence for this statement is that PFP had more registrants on the date it qualified (Jan. 1968) than it does now. That's true, but misleading. By this criterion, the LP is also a declining party — we had 87,460 registrants on the date we qualified, and in the last tally we had 78,734. This argument ignores the fact that any registration drive to qualify a new party always includes people who register with the party to help it qualify, but who do not intend to remain permanently. It also ignores the fact that PFP registration, as a percentage of the total, has risen for each of the last seven years, and that 1978 was PFP's best vote-getting year ever.

In 1979, when the same bill was before the Assembly committee, as AB 572, the previous Consultant did mention in his analysis of the bill that a party must also meet the 2% vote test. He was fired shortly afterward, and another employee of the legislature told me that the chief reason the consultant lost his job was that his thorough and accurate analysis of the bill had angered Assemblyman Richard Robison, the author of the bill. Consultants to Assembly legislative committees have no civil service protection

(3) "Under AB 2131, a party's registration could decline to only one-half of what it had needed to qualify, and it could still remain qualified". Flat-out untrue, but asserted by Willie Brown, Agnos, Roos, Levine, Lehman and Robert Campbell. The requirements to qualify a new party are that it either: (1) submit a petition signed by voters equal to 10% of the last gubernatorial vote; or (2) obtain registration equal to 1% of the last gubernatorial vote. AB 2131 would require that an old party must keep 1/2 of 1% of the statewide registration. The Assemblymen are hoping that no one will notice the base upon which the percentages are calculated. 1% of the last gubernatorial vote can be as low as 1/2 of 1% of the total state registration, and it is frequently only 20% higher. These years are examples:

Year	1% of the last gubern. vote (needed to get on)	1/2 of 1% of the total (to stay on, per AB 2131)
1934	14,449	14,005
1946	22,643	18,908
1978	63,646	47,885
1982	71,322	57,600 (estimate)

Furthermore, of course, a new party can qualify by petition, in which case it doesn't need any registrants on the day it qualifies. The Independent Progressive Party did qualify by using the 10% petition in 1948, and it only had 2,006 registrants on the day it qualified.

(4) "The only thing that AB 2131 does change is the number of registered persons a third party must have if it failed to get 2% of the vote in the last election." A quote from letters by Agnos, Roos, and Levine, with emphasis in the original.

This is the most shocking misinformation of all these examples, because it misstates the law. Existing law requires an old party to meet both the vote test and the registration test; if it fails either test, it gets bounced. AB 2131 does not change this (the bill changes a number in the law, and nothing else.) Either Agnos, Roos, and Levine didn't understand the law, or they are deliberately trying to confuse the public and the press. If their statement were true, obviously no one would be upset by AB 2131, since the bill would have no effect.

I believe that most Assemblymen still don't know that a party must also poll 2% in order to survive. The precedent was reinforced in 1954, when the Independent Progressive Party was removed from the ballot because it failed the vote test, even though it had registration greater than the legal requirement. Section 6430 and 6430.5 of the Election Law are very badly written and unclear to someone not familiar with precedents. The Consultant to the Assembly Elections & Reapportionment Committee could have clarified the 2% vote test if he had wished to, but his analysis of the bill did not even mention the additional 2% test. The Assembly Office of Research analysis of the bill also failed to mention the 2%.

In 1979, when the same bill was before the Assembly committee, as AB 572, the previous Consultant did mention in his analysis of the bill that a party must also meet the 2% vote test. He was fired shortly afterward, and another employee of the legislature told me that the chief reason the consultant lost his job was that his thorough and accurate analysis of the bill had angered Assemblyman Richard Robison, the author of the bill. Consultants to Assembly legislative committees have no civil service protection

and serve at the pleasure of the Speaker.

(5) "The price we would pay for a wide open ballot would be great in terms of the anarchy which results when you have a political system which is fragmented between a number of small political parties. A number of countries in Europe have this type of multi-party system and the result in some of these countries is anarchy." From a letter by Assemblyman Alatorre.

This argument hardly demands a rebuttal, but it should be noted that, prior to the 1890's, there were no state-printed ballots in the United States. Parties prepared the ballots and distributed them to their supporters; or a voter was free to make his own ballot. Thus the state had no means to keep any party from participating in the election. Elections were truly free, in

terms of choice of parties and candidates (although who could vote was far more restricted than it is now). Yet we still had a stable two-party system ("two-party system" was originally a political science term which meant that two parties naturally would be much larger than all the other parties, not a system in which only two parties exist).

A two-party system exists naturally in a winner-take-all system (as opposed to a proportional representation system). Being for or against a two-party system in a winner-take-all

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discussion group was also held on July 18. Officers are: Celia Meyer Flint, chair; Ron Holman, vice chair; Laurie Bearden, secretary-treasurer; and Delvin Harbour, ExCom Representative. Word has it that Region 2, chaired by John Revelle, is the "biggest little Region in the state" in terms of membership. Ranked as number 13 out of 27 Regions, John notes that "almost all those ahead on the list are over one million in population (Sonoma is just over 200,000 and the smallest county ahead of us is San Francisco at 700,000. Not bad for Provincials, eh?" We'd have to agree, John!...

Region 22 has recently undergone a change of leadership. On May 29, the region held its annual Pot Luck Dinner and General Meeting at which new officers were elected. The new chair is Deborah Horner of Stockton, vice-chair is Michael Pullen of Modesto, Recording Secretary is Dave Morrow of Stockton, and Ned Leiba of Stockton was re-elected treasurer secretary. Beside publishing a quarterly newsletter, the region has set up booths at flea markets and fairs in recent months in Stockton and Modesto. Following each monthly business meeting is an open discussion of libertarian issues. August's discussion will feature a guest speaker, Jim Parkinson, a candidate for City Council in Stockton. As a money making venture, the region is selling "Taxation is Theft, Libertarian Party" bumperstickers. Caliber readers interested in purchasing a bumpersticker should send \$1.25 (ea.) to Michael Pullen, Region 22, CLC, 128 Madera, Modesto, CA 95351. The San Joaquin Region scored a big success with its first "Practicality Night" on June 8. A three-person panel addressed the question: "What Would Happen in America if We Decriminalized Heroin?" Continued criminalization was defended by the head of the Fresno Sheriff narcotic and vice squad, and by a Professor of Criminology from Cal State Fresno. Decriminalization was proposed by Dr. Joel Fort, respected drug abuse authority from San Francisco. Thirty-eight non-libertarians joined eleven libertarians in watching the panel grapple with the hot potato question. The audience included a number of community thought leaders: four attorneys, five clergy, three educators, one judge, and four public health and private drug counselors. To assure that all attendees also heard the pure libertarian position on drugs, regional chairman Marshall Fritz gave a well received 10-minute monologue prior to the main event. The panel was ably moderated by long-time libertarian John Hix. Sanger libertarian Jack Paxton sponsored the professional videotaping of the event. An edited version will be made available to schools, churches, and "public" television. Future "Practicality Nights" are being planned, with statist being invited to defend their position in panel discussions about public education, building codes, and compulsory education. In Region 12, Libertarians are starting to form coalitions with local merchants upset at the sign ordinance supported by Campaign for Economic Democracy and the Santa Monica Chamber of Commerce. The proposed ordinance would prohibit new signs projecting above rooflines, not flat against walls, and larger than one square foot per linear foot of storefront. Existing violating signs (95% of the signs in the People's Republic of Santa Monica), would be allowed for 10 years or until the business changed names or owners. CED and the Chamber of Commerce appear to be supporting the measure in order to concentrate business into a smaller number of hands. At recent Planning Commission hearings, regional chair Clayton Cramer, spoke against the ordinance. Surprisingly, several likely beneficiaries of the ordinance, sign manufacturers, painters, and established businesses, also spoke against it. Discussions are now underway as to the best method of mobilizing public opinion against the ordinance. Tom Hayden of CED has begun planning a run for Assembly for 1982. Region 12 Libertarians are discussing what sort of campaign should be run to against him. Region 18 (Orange County) again sponsored a booth at the annual County Fair in Costa Mesa in July. Approximately 30 local CLC members staffed the booth during the 10 day event, according to booth co-ordinator Bill Pozzi, who is also regional vice chair. In the same week, on July 11, Murray Rothbard also appeared in Costa Mesa at the "Second Bi-Annual Bastille Day" celebration sponsored by the Libertarian Supper Club of Orange County. Approximately 100 area libertarians and their guests attended the afternoon and evening cookout, according to Club co-directors Jack Dean and Peggy Nytes.

VIEW FROM THE RAMPARTS is a column dedicated to items of interest to California Libertarians. If you have an interesting item you'd like to share, be it serious, humorous or merely informational, send it to Caliber, 9550 Warner Avenue, Suite 250, Fountain Valley, CA 92708.

LIBERTARIAN PARTY CONTROVERSY

...or hypocrisy in action?

by Williamson Evers

Standing Resolution of the Libertarian National Committee

The national party, its elected and appointed officers acting in its behalf, and candidates nominated by it shall refrain from invoking or threatening to invoke the so-called "Fairness Doctrine" or any other Federal Communications Commission rule or any coercive instrument (emphasis added) to obtain broadcast air time for any Party candidate or spokesman on any privately owned and financed (i.e., non-government) broadcast facility.

Carter-Mondale case.

Furthermore, in representing the Libertarian Party's Presidential campaign, this law firm in writing attacked NBC for seeking to "reap" financial gains, that is, committing the offense of trying to obtain "full financial benefits for itself" naturally "at the expense of" the "public."

This anti-business rhetoric meshes very well with the results that the Media Access Project has obtained in its reasonable-access suits (such as the Clark and Carter-Mondale complaints). The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in Carter-Mondale was a serious setback for deregulation of the airwaves - which the Media

Access Project strongly opposes in any case. The high court decision in Carter-Mondale stressed the public obligations of licensed broadcasters and the statutory requirement that the airwaves "be used in the public interest," that is, remain under regulatory agency supervision. It is very unfortunate that Libertarians have been a party to this series of cases.

The reasonable-access provision that the Clark campaign invoked has in the past been the subject of political controversy. Broadcasters and civil liberties attorneys like Floyd Abrams have correctly pointed out that the reasonable-access provision violates the First Amendment by intruding on the broadcasters' ability to make independent decisions on programming. It turns programming decisions over to the FCC. It deprives stations of editorial control over their own air time. If the stations do not obey, they lose their licenses.

In congressional hearings in 1973 and 1978, private broadcasters, including CBS and the National Association of Broadcasters, called for repeal of the reasonable-access provision in section 312(a) of the Communications Act. Senator William Proxmire has also supported repeal efforts and introduced legislation to accomplish it. This repeal effort is something that Libertarians should support, and involvement with the repeal effort ought to be the only connection that Libertarians have with the reasonable-access provision.

It should be noted that the Clark campaign was not somehow being shut out of the market for TV spots by the networks. ABC and CBS offered the Clark campaign all the 5-minute prime time spots it wanted and could pay for. NBC offered the Clark campaign more 5-minute prime time spots than it had to any other Presidential campaign up to that point. NBC also offered prime time 60-second and 30-second spots and non-prime time 5-minute spots. NBC also reported that the Clark campaign showed no interest in purchasing 30-minute (or longer) time periods.

Perhaps the most distressing matter of all is the fact that the Clark campaign's end-of-August complaint to the FCC came only weeks after the early August National Committee meeting in Ann Arbor. At the Ann Arbor meeting, the subject of Clark campaign lawsuits to obtain air time came up during discussion of the Presidential TV debates. A proposed resolution on this subject was tabled in part because it was pointed out that there was a Standing Resolution on this subject already on the books, and this Standing Resolution was discussed at that time by the National Committee.

This Standing Resolution explicitly rules out the use by any Libertarian campaign of any FCC rule or any coercive instrument to obtain air time. The principal members of the Clark campaign management team were all in the room at the time this was discussed. One can only conclude that they went ahead with their complaint before the FCC later in the month in full knowledge that they were directly violating a resolution of the Libertarian National Committee.

Bill Evers is chairman of the State Central Committee of the Libertarian Party of California and a member of the National Committee.

RESOLUTION TO BE PROPOSED ON CLARK CAMPAIGN USE OF THE FCC

WHEREAS the Clark for President Committee's reasonable-access complaint against NBC filed with the Federal Communications Commission infringed upon the interrelated property rights and First Amendment rights of the broadcast network;

WHEREAS the Clark Committee complaint called for increased government regulation of and interference with a private broadcaster and was not an effort to deregulate broadcasting;

WHEREAS adoption of the rationale used to justify the Clark Committee complaint, namely, that it is legitimate, to use force against any private-sector firm in a government-regulated industry (such as banking, law, medicine, transportation, or broadcasting), would lead to a vast and truly unjustified expansion in the use of force in these and other areas touched by government policies;

WHEREAS the use of government power by Libertarian campaigns is seen as hypocrisy by the electorate; and

WHEREAS the November 25, 1972 Standing Resolution of the Libertarian National Committee explicitly states that no Libertarian candidate is to use "any...Federal Communications Commission rule or any coercive instrument to obtain broadcast air time," and Section 312(a) of the Communications Act is such a coercive instrument;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Libertarian National Committee finds that the Clark campaign's complaint against NBC before the Federal Communications Commission was not in accord with the LNC November 25, 1972 Standing Resolution.

Upon passage of this resolution, notification of these findings in the form of copies of this resolution is to be sent to Jule Herbert, Chris Hocker, and Ed Crane.

HERBERT/from p. 14

get to having a serious impact upon American politics, the more often we will have to face it. Democrats and Republicans have manipulated and regulated a host of institutions for their own benefit. The LP opposes these interventions, but it does not have the power to command them out of existence. It can however, seek recourse under the existing 14th Amendment which requires equal protection under the law, even while knowing — and proclaiming — that it is the overblown scope of the law itself that sets up the injustice.

Classical liberals and modern libertarians have long recognized the important role of equality under the law as a check upon arbitrary political power. For example, libertarians oppose the existence of government schools, but recognize that as long as they exist, justice demands that schools not discriminate between different racial groups. We are against the very existence of most, if not all, government jobs, but libertarians recognize that as long as they exist, the government's hiring standards should not discriminate on the basis of race, sex, religion, and so forth.

This demand for equality in

governmental action is justified not only by libertarian political philosophy, but also strategically because of its effects on governmental decision-making. Strictly speaking, no allocation of scarce resources can be "equal". Thus, by insisting upon absolute equality in the political sphere we heighten the contradictions of political rationing. If the demand for equality is granted, the system becomes unworkable. If the demand for equality is denied by the state, as is likely, then the exercise exposes state action for what it is and questions about who benefits and who pays can be pressed.

In late 1979, the Carter-Mondale Campaign Committee asked to purchase a half hour of prime time television from all three networks to announce Carter's reelection campaign. All three networks refused, on the grounds that it was too early to start the campaign. The FCC, in a decision recently upheld by the Supreme Court, ruled against them and in favor of Carter-Mondale. The announced standards of the Carter-Mondale ruling were the basis of the Clark Committee's complaint to the FCC. The complaint was turned down by the FCC.

Obviously, the Clark Committee never would have won the kind of ruling that the Carter-Mondale committee won. (MacBride lost a case almost identical to Carter-Mondale in 1976.) The system does discriminate in favor of the established parties. That is why we will never see any specific regulations handed down on the subject by the FCC. Nevertheless, in the interim, NBC agreed to sell us six spots said to have been "unavailable," but which would have been sold to Carter, Reagan, or Anderson.

Had the issue been salient and the level of political debate more sophisticated, perhaps the event would have served as an illustration of the duplicity of state control. As it stands, the lesson to be learned is simply that the application of libertarian principles to the events in the world is sometimes difficult. And while the lesson is not itself very earthshaking, in this case the practical consequences of the failure to correctly apply libertarian analyses to the existing institutions of state-controlled airwaves would be disastrous to the Libertarian Party.

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CANDIDATES FOR NATIONAL CHAIR OUTLINE THEIR PLATFORMS



Alicia Clark

I would like to thank the editors for this opportunity to discuss my candidacy for National Chair of the Libertarian Party, and to briefly state what I think are some of the major issues in this campaign.

I firmly believe that the Libertarian Party must be organized from the bottom up, and that the main role of the National Chair and the National Committee must be to aid state and local groups in increasing their membership and voter registration and to teach other political skills such as publicity and fund-raising. The Libertarian Party will become a strong force in national affairs only when it becomes strong in many different localities. We need more Alaskas.

In order to expand the many fine grass-roots organizations that exist throughout the country—and in both the 1980 campaign and this campaign

I have had the opportunity to visit over 30 states and have discovered many able, dedicated people who have lots of good new ideas—it will be necessary for the NatCom and National Chair to spend far more time listening to local groups and local leaders to ensure that programs enacted at the top of the party are acceptable to the people who must live with them.

The National Committee should be a clearinghouse for ideas, and most ideas are generated at the local level. We must make sure that information is passed along—about successful petition drives in Maryland and North Carolina and the techniques used, about great state conventions in Massachusetts and Texas and how they got that way, about voter registration methods in Arizona and California, about our best campaigns and how the candidates did as well as

they did in many areas. How many Libertarians really know very much about how Murray Feldstein won his City Council seat in Flagstaff?

As part of this grass-roots program, I propose a series of regional seminars sponsored by the NatCom that will draw upon the best talent available in many local LP's. We need to share the knowledge so many of us have.

As the party has grown, so has the number of new members who are not that aware of or committed to many libertarian principles. This is particularly true in California, where many people are registered in the Libertarian Party for different reasons. Local LP's need more than our national position papers and more copies of the platform. I propose a decentralized internal education program that will supply materials and direction to local groups to allow

them to teach new Libertarians what we are and what we believe. To remain the party of principle, we must always be ready to educate each other about what those principles are.

These are some of the things I would like to work on as your National Chair. I believe I am qualified to do so.

I have been active in the party since Ed Clark formed the Free Libertarian Party of New York in my living room almost a decade ago. I have participated both organizationally and financially in numerous Libertarian activities culminating in 1980 with numerous appearances around the country for Ed Clark and other Libertarian candidates. Of the candidates for National Chair, I have been to more places and met with more people prior to this campaign than either of them. I further believe that my business experience handling a

budget of over one million dollars annually for ten years, presiding over board meetings of several corporations, and as advertising manager for one of Mexico's largest companies, will aid me greatly both internally as an administrator and externally as a spokesperson.

These are my basic qualifications. I further believe that I am the candidate most qualified to handle what I consider to be the biggest single problem facing the Libertarian Party today—our own internal dissension.

Historically, new political parties and movements are destroyed not by outside forces, but by themselves. We will not be beaten by government subsidies to Democrats and Republicans, or by new and more stringent ballot laws, or by Reagan's rhetoric that supposedly pre-empts some of

our issues. We may be beaten by each other.

We hold in our hands the opportunity to forge a new broad-based radical party built on one simple concept—the freedom of the individual. Our members and potential members have many different ideas about what they want and how we should go about getting it—and most of the arguments I have heard boil down to the how. We must learn that a coalition of individuals planning political action for a group will have many different answers to the same problem. We must stop questioning the morality of people who have honest disagreements about methods. We must build an atmosphere and procedures for the rational and tactful resolution of important political and ideological issues. We must learn to respect our own diversity.



Kent Guida

The years between now and the next presidential election will require Libertarians to reach new levels of principled, sophisticated political activity. We need to raise more money, run more candidates, win more votes, earn more press coverage. And most importantly, we need to constantly improve our ability to relate hard-core Libertarian principles and programs to voters, to demonstrate clearly and irrefutably why we are the correct political alternative for the 1980's.

We need a National Chair who is a true activist, someone who is committed to nuts-and-bolts, effective political activity at all levels, including the ability to personally participate in key campaign activities wherever and whenever necessary. We need a National Chair who is thoroughly grounded in Libertarian principles, who is well-equipped to proudly articulate all the ideas contained in the Party Platform. In

short, we need a principled activist whose goal is political success for the Libertarian Party, not as an end in itself, but so that society can be transformed along Libertarian lines.

I believe I fit that description. That's why I'm running for National Chair, and why I'm seeking the support of all Libertarian Party members.

Personal Background: I first became acquainted with libertarianism by attending weekly economic seminars conducted by Ludwig von Mises at New York University in the late '60's. I formally joined the Libertarian Party in 1974, and have been an activist at the local, state, and national levels. I was Chair of the Maryland Libertarian Party, state coordinator of the Clark campaign, a full-time volunteer at national headquarters for two months during the campaign, and am presently National Membership Chair of the Libertarian Party. My organizational experience

is heaviest in the areas of fundraising (I organized the raising of \$16,000 in three weeks to inaugurate the Maryland ballot access drive), ballot access, and working with volunteer activists.

I own and operate a marine construction firm in Annapolis, Maryland—less than an hour away from Party Headquarters in Washington, D.C. This point is significant because it means I am available at virtually any time to personally assist in handling the work done at Headquarters.

The Role of the Chair and the National Party: The National Chair will inevitably become a spokesperson for the Libertarian Party and should be capable, at a moment's notice, of relating our principles to major issues. We must continue to develop a unique, coherent Libertarian approach which ties together our views on the economy, civil liberties, and foreign policy. We must take

particular care to distinguish ourselves from the rhetorically pro-free market policies of the Reagan administration, and we can do this by explaining our views in terms of a comprehensive package, rather than isolated issues.

Being an articulate spokesperson means little if there is no organization to speak for, so building the Libertarian party in a "nuts-and-bolts" sense is an equally high priority. I believe the only true way to build an organization is to remove all obstacles to effective activism at all levels. Whether "grassroots," or "top-down," every successful action, anywhere and at any level, helps activity in other places and at other levels.

Specific Proposals: I pledge to implement the programs described briefly below:

1. **Winnable Races:** National should help focus resources on Libertarian campaigns which have a realistic

prospect for victory in 1982, particularly Dick Randolph's race for Governor of Alaska.

2. **Permanent Ballot Status:** We should assign high priority to qualifying candidates and running credible races in states where we can get permanent ballot status in 1982.

3. **Fundraising:** We can raise enough money both to pay our debts and to fund important programs by developing a permanent national finance structure which is decentralized in nature and rewards participants at every level.

4. **Candidates School:** For 1982 and beyond, National should offer a concrete, intensive program to help Libertarian candidates learn successful campaign techniques which have worked in the past.

5. **Media Contact Program:** This will set specific goals to distribute news releases and hold news conferences on a firm schedule, to improve the quality and quantity of

our media coverage.

6. **Local Activist "Blueprint":** This will be a written record of successful local party activity, compiled to guide activists who are trying to start and maintain new local party organizations.

7. **Newsletter Promotion:** This is to encourage and facilitate the exchange of party newsletters—and useful ideas—among state and local party activists in every state.

8. **LP Film:** We've needed a short introductory film on the LP for years. I'll see that one gets produced and distributed.

Space limitations make it impossible to describe my policies and programs at greater length, including my ideas on the proper relationship between the Party and presidential campaigns. I'll be pleased to send you a copy of my detailed campaign statement.

Write to me at: 1566 Bay Head Road, Annapolis, MD 21401.



John Mason

My campaign has two overall themes — building the party and rededicating it to Libertarian principles.

I have made the slogan of my campaign "Principle First" because making clear what we stand for makes it clear to the public that we are distinctive and different from the Republicans and Democrats, because sticking to our principles is the only way we will have consistently high morale among our committed activists, and because our principles are the whole reason for having a Libertarian Party and devoting ourselves to its success.

In my letter to the Denver convention delegates, I stress my belief that, in many ways, the most important aspect of 1980 was at the state and local level, and that the

national party must work closely with state party efforts to build on some of the more significant bases Libertarians established in 1980.

To accomplish this, I have proposed a concrete plan to have the LP national office concentrate on the development and training of candidates, the development of state parties, issues research, and media relations.

Candidate development. Here my primary proposal is a self-contained program that would offer candidates and their key staffers training in campaign techniques and handling the issues in a principled, effective way. I have also suggested that the national party assist in showing how to put together election analyses (evaluating precinct results, etc.) and in staying alert to potential candidates now outside the LP.

State Party Development. I think that the national party should assist less developed state parties by facilitating contact between members of states parties and coordinating or providing expertise for the launching of new projects (like newsletters or speakers' bureau) by state parties. I believe that the national office should act as a clearing house for information about the success realized by various state parties. I am also convinced that it would be very helpful to state and local efforts to have an introductory educational program for new members—a program that could easily be adapted to local conditions.

Issues Research. The national party should investigate a broad range of issues and be in a position to tackle new subjects and get the results out in a timely fashion. We should begin by

surveying the hundreds of LP candidates from 1980 for their suggestions on the issues where work is most needed.

Media Relations. We should set up a national network of media spokespersons outside of Washington, D.C. to facilitate the handling of news releases on party activities and current issues.

On these and all party projects, I pledge a new heightened fiscal responsibility. We should without delay set up a new large donor fundraising campaign designed to systematically expand the party's base of large contributors.

I believe that my long and varied background in Libertarian Party work has given me the skills needed to implement these programs. Here's what I've done:

• Worked in the field in ballot drives for over a dozen candidates beginning with the 1976 MacBride campaign;

• Completed two terms as Colorado's state chair, during which time we opened and funded a permanent state office with paid staff, ran a full statewide slate of congressional candidates, extended and deepened our grassroots county-level organizations, and published a regular, high-quality newsletter;

• Coordinated the Clark-Koch ballot drive in Colorado and chaired the Colorado Clark campaign on an interim basis in 1979 and 1980;

• Ran for a seat in the state legislature in 1978 and for the U.S. Congress in 1980—races which gave me valuable campaign experience; and

• Served on the Libertarian National Committee since 1977 (so I am fully acquainted with the workings and activities of the LP across the country).

I hope that you will join Libertarian activists like Pennsylvania state chair Dave Walter, California LP state chair Bill Evers, National Committee member Mike Anziz, Hawaii state chair Dale Pratt, 1972 LP national standardbearers John Hoppers and Tonie Nathan, long-time Platform Committee stalwart Murray Rothbard, National Committee member and LP co-founder Dave Nolan, National Committee member Fred Esser, Reason magazine editor, Bob Poole, National Vice Chair M.L. Hanson, and scores of others in supporting my candidacy in Denver.

New York's infamous Boss Tweed once said, "I don't give a damn who does the voting—as long as I do the nominating." Tweed's unusual frankness explains a lot about politics; even Libertarians are learning their own highly-esteemed "Party of Principle" isn't immune. Backstabbing, innuendo, vicious factionalism, all seem to have found a comfortable niche in our midst.

Apparently the smoke-filled room doesn't change simply because you change the flavor of the smoke. Several months ago, when I was trying to make up my mind about voting for the next LP National Chair, I heard an ugly story about one of the front-runners. It came from the competition, and since I had recently corresponded with the subject regarding decentralizing the LP, I decided to confront him directly, ask him point-blank whether he was

acting as a consultant for a particularly nasty government agency.

As usual, there was a tiny fragment of truth in it, involving a business partnership which, because of its location, had customers who worked for the government—fourteen years ago, long before the LP came along. The practice had ceased twelve years ago. We continued talking; I decided to give this straight-forwardly decent individual my vote. Frustratingly, circumstances forced him to withdraw from contention a few weeks later.

Well then, why not try the same direct methods elsewhere? After preparing a list of questions, I made another long-distance call. Rumor associated candidate #2 with a wealthy clique which has altogether too much influence already, is responsible for most of our failures, and is plainly more interested in

power than philosophy. He denied any close connection with these "badguys," then went right ahead answering my questions as if their leader were holding cue-cards. It was unmistakable: he stood for everything that desperately needs changing in the LP. I thanked him and hung up.

A third candidate emerged, someone I'd long known, worked with for MacBride and Clark at the state level. He was highly personable, and had come, at long last, to share my distaste for the faction backing #2. However, where they blatantly lied to the media and public concerning Libertarianism, he merely advocated "selectivity"—we often clashed over platform issues; while he advertised his "integrity" far and wide, he privately complained that hard principled stands embarrassed him when he ran for public office.

Moreover, his "solution" to the

LP's problems was to help start a new power elite, centralizing the party even further. His allies watered down the state platform until it excluded mention of hard drugs, censored the party newsletter, denied members access to the mailing list—while disclaiming any "destructive factionalism" within the state party. Some proposed exclusionary, dictatorial methods of running the national party and had helped organize the new clique only because they'd been purged from the old and wanted revenge.

I didn't have to call up candidate #4: her supporters called me, several times, and at length. I rather liked #4 personally, but, try as I might, I could discern no coherent program behind her candidacy, simply a lot of fuzzy generalities and benevolent wishful thinking.

Subsequent mailings only con-

firmed my opinions. Candidates #2 and #3 were nothing more than front-men for the power-hungry, trying to pull the tweed over our eyes, while #4 was backed by a collection of well-intentioned wheel-spinners. (I recognized the latter category easily, having frequently been one, myself). Clearly, none of them was acceptable.

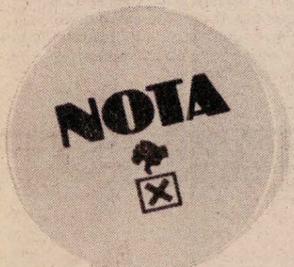
Hmmm. That sounded familiar. It's always been there, at least on Libertarian ballots, the votes always scrupulously recorded. If I cast mine for "None of the Above," my conscience would be clear. If I could persuade others, well, perhaps the volume would be sufficient to give the winner pause, to deny any claim that might be made to a mandate. And, should "None of the Above" somehow take a plurality, we'd have a constitutional crisis—which is always good for any institution. We'd see just how principled the candidates were:

ask them, directly, what they'd do if "None of the Above" defeated them. There's a long-standing tradition that, in such a circumstance, the office should remain unfilled.

If we can get by without a President for four years, or a county tax assessor, we ought to be able to limp along without an LP National Chair. And what a lesson it would teach, both to Libertarians and the public!

I've found my candidate at last, someone who'll never distort principle or deceive the media, someone who'll never spend more than he's allotted or betray the party and what it stands for. I urge you to support my choice at the National Convention; it's precisely what the party needs right now.

Vote "None of the Above" for National Chair. He'll never lie to you.



None of the Above

by L. Neil Smith