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Is Voting Unlibertarian?

by Murray N. Rothbard and Scott M. Olmsted

ONE QUESTION THAT Libertarians who support the LP must face time and again is usually put in this manner: "If you Libertarians oppose the State and everything that it stands for, how can you reconcile that with trying to put your own people into positions of State power? Moreover, isn't the act of voting itself, even if for a Libertarian, a 'vote of confidence' in the very system you oppose, and thus counterproductive in rolling back the State? Even worse, aren't voters *morally* responsible, at least in part, for the crimes of those who control the system they lent their votes to?"

There are really two kinds of questions being asked here: the *strategic*, under which the efficacy of running candidates,

campaigning, and voting in bringing about liberty may be examined, and the *ethical*, under which the role of voters, candidates, and elected officials in initiating and carrying out the aggressive acts of the State are measured against libertarian principle.

Assuming for the moment that the usual electoral activities mentioned above do not violate libertarian principle, we may state here briefly the main reasons why, given the political environment of 20th century America, we support the Libertarian Party.

First of all, it seems almost self-evident that strategies involving the violent overthrow of the State are simply not likely to succeed so long as we have a representa-

tive democracy with free elections. Democracy provides the State with a "safety valve" against "boiling over" into revolution, for no democratic State can long oppose the desires of an *organized* majority, or even a well-organized minority if the majority is not organized.

This brings up another fact of life that simply cannot be ignored—the vast majority of the people have little time and energy for politics. They tend to think about political issues and ideas only at times of crisis when they themselves are particularly burdened or threatened, and during elections, when seats of power and a few issues are put to popular vote.

Virtually all libertarians understand the importance of *ideas* in bringing about long-run social change. It is true that the self-interest of various groups and classes plays an important role in focusing the State's power to the benefit of some and the detriment of others. But this merely makes the promotion of libertarian ideas all the *more* important. Yes, libertarians may be able to join with groups that are being stepped on by the State, but we must ultimately organize around the concepts of liberty and all their corollaries if we are to have sustained impact. For all the reasons given above, a political party is the only kind of organization currently available to us that can have the kind of effect we want.

This, then, is the case in a nutshell. Most Americans are not interested in political ideas or organizations except as they relate to the system that currently exists. Because there is virtually no hope of a small minority overthrowing that system, libertarians must organize a majority, or at least a substantial minority of Americans around their ideas, and we

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Arizona LP Leader Indicted

EMIL FRANZI, a member of the LP National Committee from Arizona, was recently indicted for perjury by a grand jury. The 12-count indictment stems from an investigation into who was responsible for allegedly soliciting corporate contributions, illegal under current law, for a county supervisor, Conrad Joyner, running for U.S. Congress. Franzi was working at the time for a long-time political associate on Joyner's effort in a Republican primary.

Since December the *Arizona Daily Star* has featured extensive coverage on similar allegations against several other persons connected with the Joyner campaign. Franzi was a minor figure in a production with many players, but the district attorney has spent eight months on the grand jury investigation and was

apparently under pressure to bring an indictment against somebody. The actual amount of the allegedly illegal contribution was \$4,000.

Franzi commented on the motives for the indictment, which came after he was forced to give testimony: "It's a political hit, I was the smallest guy around, I've been an obnoxious presence in Arizona politics for a long time, and we [libertarians] have been hitting 'em hard on pocketbook issues such as water and utility franchises. When an eight-month investigation ends up with chicken-shit like this, you know they're on a witch-hunt."

Franzi estimates his defense will cost \$20,000. Contributions to his defense may be sent to: Franzi Defense Fund, Box 2128, Tucson, AZ 85702. □

Blaming Scoundrels For What They Say And Do

LIBERTARIANS PRIDE THEMSELVES on being rational people. But doing what seems at first glance to be the rational thing and doing what is actually the rational thing are by no means always the same. Thus it is no real surprise to us that many libertarians do not yet realize that both dialectic and rhetoric have roles to play in human discourse and that they must work together. If one is eliminated, the other is fatally wounded.

This is simply a fancy, philosophically Aristotelian way of saying that it is quite rational and necessary to blame scoundrels for what they say and do. When the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus finds fault with specific public figures or fellow libertarians, we often condemn them in no uncertain terms. And when we say these things, invariably a few folks ask us: Why aren't you more positive? Why do you pick on specific individuals? Shouldn't we just be discussing libertarian ideas and presenting them in a positive way and not wasting our time attacking people?

Well, those who ask these questions are right in wanting to discuss and refine libertarian ideas. But they are only looking at one side of the coin—the dialectical side. Aristotle himself says that rhetoric is the counterpart of dialectic. Dialectic and rhetoric have to work in partnership. They are two sides of the same coin. They are like two oars in a rowboat or a person's two legs.

GARRISON ON RHETORIC

The anti-slavery cause is beset by many dangers. But there is one which we have special reason to apprehend. It is, that hollow cant and senseless clamor about "hard language," will insensibly check that free utterance of thought, and close application of the truth, which have characterized abolitionists from the beginning. As that cause is becoming popular, and many may be induced to espouse it from motives of policy, rather than from any reverence for principle, let us beware how we soften our severity of speech, or emasculate a single epithet. The whole scope of the English language is inadequate to describe the horrors and impieties of slavery, and the transcendent wickedness of those who sustain this bloody system. Instead of repudiating any of its strong terms, therefore, we rather need a new and stronger dialect. Hard language! Let us mark those who complain of its use! In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, they will be found to be the most unscrupulous in their allegations, the most bitter in their spirit, the most vituperative in their manner of expression, when alluding to abolitionists. The cry of "hard language" has become stale in my ears. *The faithful utterance of that language has, by the blessing of God, made the anti-slavery cause what it is—ample in resources, strong in numbers, victorious in conflict.* Like the handwriting upon the wall of the palace, it has caused the knees of the American Belshazzar to smite together in terror, and filled with dismay all who follow in his train. Soft phrases and honied accents were tried in vain for many a year: They had no adaptation to the subject. . . .

—William Lloyd Garrison

Dialectic is abstract reasoning. It is what Socrates and his fellow conversationalists are doing in the dialogues of Plato. But dialectic is abstracted (for good reason) from any historical setting, from any societal setting, from any political setting. Dialectic does not attempt to persuade people of the new ideas that are discovered in the dialectical process, given what those people have experienced, what they know of past history, and what values they hold. That is the job of rhetoric. And if you don't row your boat with both oars, it's just going to go around in circles.

But those who want the LPRC to discuss ideas only in the abstract are really saying, please row the boat with one oar.

One essential means of pressing for the truth is to refute and combat error. It is extremely naive to think that faulty ideas will fall of their own weight if they go unrefuted. One of Hayek's biggest tactical mistakes, for example, as the preeminent classical liberal figure on the Anglo-American scene in the 1930s, was to fail to refute Keynesianism when it got started. He had refuted Keynes's previous views a few years before and thought that the *General Theory* in 1936 would be a flash in the pan, not deserving of refutation. Hayek now recognizes the magnitude of his mistake.

Truth will win out over error in the dialectical process, in the marketplace of ideas so to speak, only if truth rebuts and refutes error directly. By not engaging in a critique of Keynesianism, the anti-Keynesians were simply dismissed as not being *au courant* with the latest ideas. Thus, rhetoric aside, abstract discussion won't even serve as a process for finding truth if all everybody does is present his or her ideas positively. Look at Socrates himself: Let it never be said that Socrates had no negative criticism to offer; he wasn't called the Gadfly for nothing.

Thus, we must differ with the long-held views of Leonard Read of FEE. FEE has devoted little energy over the years to refuting error, whether that error be found within the libertarian movement or outside it. This is because Read believes that error is legion, while truth is one—so why not concentrate on promoting the truth? We agree with Read that error is legion and truth one. But that does not absolve us (or him) from our responsibility to judge which of the current errors are the most dangerous—and then to combat them.

But we must turn now to the much misunderstood function of rhetoric. Rhetoric is the professional skill that takes the truths and evidence of science and abstract reasoning and brings them home. It persuades us of the truth. It is equipped to tell us that the Reagan administration is taking away our precious liberties, and that Reagan is a dunderhead with his finger on the nuclear button—and a bad actor to boot. Rhetoric can do this in a way that formal reasoning cannot because rhetoric is immersed in what its audience already senses in a way that dialectic is not.

All this is true of the libertarian movement as well. Part of upholding the correct and principled view is refuting incorrect and unprincipled ideas. Moreover, ideas are not found floating in a vacuum; they are held by specific people, and these people must be identified and criticized.

When the LPRC criticizes the Crane Machine, for example, we do so because its ideological and strategic ideas are nefarious, but we also criticize the Machine because, since 1974, it has, as the most influential group within the libertarian movement, been putting those ideas into practice. It would miss the point entirely to separate theory from practice here.

Suppose everyone (not just the LPRC) took the view that one should never criticize people. Everyone would then confine all discussion to theoretical matters and say at worst of those who adopt bad ideas, "Everybody makes mistakes." What would be the consequence?

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In The Movement

Voluntaryism and Dropout-ism

by Murray N. Rothbard

I HAVE BEEN maintaining for some time that the main reason for the recent Gandhite craze in the libertarian movement has been the need for a high-flown Theory to rationalize dropping-out, not only from the LP but from the libertarian movement itself. George Smith, Wendy McElroy, and Carl Watner, the leading *troika* of Voluntaryism, deny this interpretation vehemently. What they advocate, of course, is not dropping out, but joining the Voluntaryists in going into "training" to bring down the State by non-violent resistance, i.e., by putting their bodies on the line against the State apparatus.

But now, in the latest *The Voluntaryist* (February 1983), the cat is out of the bag. For the front page article is by a cer-

tain Burgess Laughlin, "Why I Quit the Libertarian Party." Comrade Laughlin, who had been active in the Oregon LP, begins in the usual Voluntaryist manner. Engaging in potted and distorted history, he claims that political action never accomplished anything for liberty. (Characteristically, the accomplishments of the Jeffersonians, Jacksonians, British Cobdenites, etc., are simply never mentioned.) He also worries that, when he was an LP candidate, he was treated respectfully by statist, and concludes that that must mean there is something wrong with political action. (As an economics lecturer, I used to be treated as a pariah and am now treated respectfully, and *this*, Comrade Laughlin, has nothing to do with political action, but rather in

the changing — and more favorable — attitudes toward libertarian ideas, something one would think you would *welcome* instead of gripe about. Why do you resist being treated with dignity?)

But then, after paying lip-service to principle, Burgess Laughlin tells us why he *really* quit the Libertarian Party, and it clearly has nothing to do with the morality of voting or non-violent resistance. No, Comrade Laughlin did his own "cost-benefit" analysis of his efforts in the LP, and found out he was getting zero reward for his "investment in electoral politics." He asked himself the great question of all narcissists and solipsists: "What's in it for me?" Given that mind-set, he naturally concluded that the only thing he really objected to in statism was his own payment of taxation, and the LP had not yet reduced his own taxation. Dropping out, and tuning out, he resolved "to choose only those activities that will help me achieve short-term personal goals. . . ." Repeating the great cop-out of all dropouts in history, he adds that so-

Blaming Scoundrels

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Well, a self-denying ordinance that outlawed criticism of people would mean that we'd be stuck forever with bad and incompetent people at the top. Officeholders and those influential in the government and private organizations would be exempt from adverse comment—and they would reign in perpetuity. All criticism from the rank and file would be deflected into abstract exercises in theory that would not touch the decision-makers and would permit them to continue in power. "Never criticize people who make mistakes" is a line that can only serve as the opium of the rank and file.

Getting back to the Crane Machine, some mistakes in life are not simply "mistakes." They may well be evil choices. To know the good is not necessarily to do the good. It is precisely because members of the Crane Machine know that libertarianism is a radical doctrine that they seek to transform it into namby-pamby low-tax liberalism or less-interventionist conservatism. Eric O'Keefe advocates exactly this conscious, deliberate sell-out in his 1982 strategy memos.

The will can become corrupted. Go back and read Ed Crane's "From the Chair" column in the *LP News* immediately after he moved the LP national office to Washington, D.C., in 1976. He senses the corrupt opportunism of the town. And in the battle in Crane's soul between his conscience and Washington's opportunism, opportunism undeniably won. Just as virtue is the habit of right conduct, so depravity is the habit of wrong conduct. Who would have thought in 1980 that the Crane Machine would in 1983 be supporting Ron Paul? In 1980, the Crane Machine had tried to remake libertarianism into low-tax liberalism and had run the Presidential campaign as a warmed-over version of John Anderson's. Now in 1983, the same people are trying to remake libertarianism into less-interventionist conservatism and are desperately trying to launch a draft-Ron Paul boom. Paul is a great Republican, but he's not a full-fledged libertarian—and he's certainly no John Anderson. What gives?

It all makes sense once you realize that opportunism is a habit

and a very bad one at that. And it is because the Crane Machine has acquired this bad habit that its members were able to quickly and easily shift from left-opportunism to the right-opportunism of a Ron Paul campaign. It is thus primarily because the vice of opportunism has become ingrained in the minds of Crane Machine members that the LPRC has devoted time, energy, and space in *Libertarian Vanguard* to attacking the Crane Machine and trying to diminish its influence. And we believe it has been worth it.

The Libertarian Party is not the Kiwanis Club; it is not a social gathering where we would want to excuse occasional peccadilloes with the fraternal plea: Don't criticize a fellow Kiwanian. Social clubs are of a different order of importance. And if you don't like the cut of your fellow Kiwanians' jibs, you don't have to say a thing; you can quietly leave and join the Elks.

Neither is the Libertarian Party a non-ideological electioneering apparatus like the Republican Party. Republican ranks, like those of the Democrats, are filled with bureaucrats, officeholders, trimmers, and compromisers. The Republicans are famous for their "11th Commandment"—Do not speak ill of fellow Republicans. Were Libertarians to adopt such a Commandment, it would guarantee that the Party would soon have to surrender its now-proudly-held-title of "The Party of Principle."

The Libertarian Party is a principled political organization, and it is of a high order of importance. The LP is dedicated to the greatest, grandest, most glorious political cause on earth—the advancement of individual liberty, the spread of libertarianism, and the dismantling of government tyranny. When we see the very principles we have banded together for, the very principles to which we have dedicated our lives, diluted, watered down, and all too often abandoned, consciously and systematically, by those who have led and wish to continue to lead the libertarian movement, we in the LPRC *must* speak out to denounce them. We must in no uncertain terms denounce these scoundrels for what they have said and done. We must and we shall, together with all those who cherish our libertarian principles, work to preserve and protect these hallowed principles. Indeed, it is our moral duty to do so. □

cial change is impossible unless "the people in [society] individually change their own minds. . . ." In other words, there is nothing any of us can do to help that change along, and it's time to bury oneself in strictly private concerns.

Mr. Laughlin's personal taxation is, of course, not the only thing wrong with statism. Apart from inflation, compulsory unionism, licensing, regulations, drug laws, etc., there is rampant militarism, foreign intervention, and the ever-closer threat of nuclear incineration, to say nothing of mass torture abroad. If Comrade Laughlin cannot get worked up over the nuclear incineration threat to the rest of us, let alone to the people of other countries, perhaps he can work up a little *frisson* of worry about his own. (There is no use in trying to get him riled up about compulsory draft registration; Mr. Laughlin tells us he is 38, and that takes care of *that* problem.)

There is no hint in Mr. Laughlin's defection that he ever went into the movement or the Party with the slightest passion for justice, with a determination to do one's best to eliminate the great crime of statism. And of course there is no hint that Comrade Laughlin ever felt the least bit of joy in working to further the greatest cause of all: the victory of human liberty and the elimination of the Leviathan State. If he had ever been devoted to principle, to justice, and to the joy and passion in working on their behalf, he would have cranked out of his personal cost-benefit "computer" a far different and nobler result.

And so, persuading himself that his cost-benefit calculation is negative, that education or virtually anything else is hopeless, Comrade Laughlin bids us farewell and retires into his little shell. With one feeble exception, however: "Let's maintain a voluntaryist network; let's share the pleasures of the company of free people." *What* pleasures? Discussions on how to alleviate Mr. Laughlin's tax burden? Probably H&R Block would do far better.

The real problem is why *The Voluntaryist* featured this miserable excuse for a program and a personal philosophy. Clearly, the unfortunate answer is: Any stick with which to beat the Libertarian Party is OK, even a "cost-benefit" narcissism which must be at least as repellent to the editors as it is to us benighted LPers. □

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must do it, at least in the short run, within the system that exists. The short-run here means at least years and, more likely, decades. For while we do not see any other attractive alternatives now, we do not claim to be able to foresee the future. Conditions *could* change that would alter this analysis.

We must move on to the question of the ethics of electoral activities, especially voting. The point of view that voting is immoral in a libertarian sense has most recently been raised by George Smith in a new publication, *The Voluntaryist*. Very briefly, this is his argument: The State is a fundamentally criminal enterprise engaging in aggressive acts against innocent citizens. Any legislator who votes for a tax or an aggressive law is part of this criminal enterprise and shares moral responsibility though he did not commit an aggressive act himself. Similarly, though the voter does not directly aggress against anyone by pulling a lever in the voting booth, he "aids and abets" the institution of the State, an inherently aggressive organization.

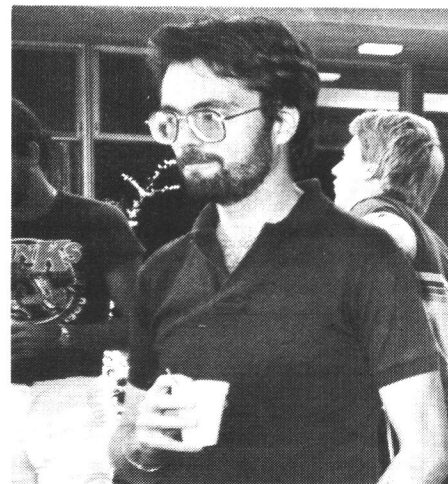
First of all, Smith carefully exempts non-electoral voting (for or against propositions, referenda, etc.) from his analysis. For why in the world should it be immoral for someone to vote *for* Proposition 13, or for the nuclear freeze, or *against* gun control or school bond issues? Of course it should not. But once Smith explicitly conceded the morality of such voting, much of the force of his case would quickly be lost. For then it would not be considered "sanctioning the State" to participate in elections to the extent of registering and voting on such propositions.

Next, on electoral voting, let us agree right away that the legislator who votes for an aggressive action to be carried out by other State employees *is* engaged illicitly in a criminal enterprise. No argument here.

But the claim that, regardless of whom he votes for, the citizen-voter is equally guilty ignores several facts. First of all, why single out *voting as the* act which sanctions the State and its criminal activity? After all, we're *all* involved (however unwillingly) with the State to *some* degree; we walk or drive on State roads, use State postal services, pay sales tax when

we purchase virtually anything, buy State-inspected products, etc. The same argument can be applied that says that all these acts sanction the State and its various arms; and so the libertarian must refrain from all of them, thereby rendering himself immobile, unproductive, and maybe dead from starvation.

In a profound sense, then, Smith and his colleagues are not anti-statist *enough*. They seem to regard the State as an evil but separate and self-contained entity. In their view, libertarians can readily avoid contamination by this entity by simply refraining from voting or taking



George Smith

government jobs. But we cannot really avoid entanglement with the State; we are all, as the New Left used to put it, "within the bowels of the beast." Since libertarians are all embroiled within the beast against our will, such entanglement cannot be interpreted as giving the State our voluntary sanction.

To make sense of this situation, let us consider the following analogy. Take the case of slaves on a plantation who are offered free transistor radios by their owner to listen to in the evening after work. Does the slave sanction the aggressive acts against himself and his fellows by accepting a radio? Of course not. What if the owner lets the slaves vote on which foreman will watch over them as they work? Is it all right to vote for one who doesn't whip them as much as another does? Again, the answer must be yes.

Smith and others make the error of

claiming that every vote of the populace is *constitutive*, that is, every time we vote in an election this *creates* and constitutes the State. It is almost as if the State would not exist if we didn't go out and vote. Nonsense! The State is there, and it gives us this area of partial choice with which to work. Even if everyone (except those running for office and their retainers) failed to vote, the State would keep rolling on. And so it would be with the slaves; their abstention from voting would not free them at all, neither would their votes for different foremen create anew their slavery.

There is one case where Smith is right. In the United States, one vote *was* constitutive: the vote for or against the Constitution. (Unfortunately, the vote was not on the Constitution itself—it would have been beaten—but on delegates to state-ratifying conventions.) Even though we did not have anarchism before, we had a much milder State, and anyone voting for the Constitution participated in the criminal act of setting up a stronger government. Those who voted *against* the Constitution, on the other hand, were heroes.

Apart from that, we maintain that there have been no constitutive votes by citizens which should be considered criminal or illicit. Furthermore, trying to push back as criminal voting by the legislator to voting by the citizen produces more difficulties. For how can, for example, Mr. Z, who votes for a Libertarian candidate who *loses*, be held responsible in any way for the criminal votes of a Democrat or Republican? Mr. Z tried his best to stop them. This means, *at least*, that voting for a Libertarian candidate is moral so long as the LP candidate *loses*, since a losing candidate has no opportunity to do harm. But suppose that by a fluke an LP candidate wins. Then there is no problem so long as the LP officeholder votes or acts purely libertarian—that is, votes against the budget, votes against all invasive laws, or if an executive, refuses to enforce aggressive laws and taxes, etc. But if a winning LP candidate *can* be a moral and licit officeholder, then so can the guy who votes for him, and the entire argument in principle against the LP or voting for the LP, or holding office as a Libertarian falls to the ground. But what if, finally, the LP officeholder sells out and votes statist? *Then*, of course, he is a criminal aggressor. But

how about the guy who voted for him? We think not. The most we can accuse him of is error, of failing to detect the betrayal of promises that would occur in the future. And surely that is not an indictable offense.

By this argument that voting, at least for consistent libertarian candidates, is not immoral, we give the case for the LP its second leg to stand on, the first being the strategic argument that the LP is a necessary vehicle for progress.

A pointed question we now direct at Smith and his fellow travellers on this matter: Just how, if you do not involve yourselves in the political process, do you propose to make any *progress* against the State? How will you become anything more than a tiny group of State-haters, impotent to organize any kind of *mass* opposition to Leviathan? It is one thing to call for individuals to "withdraw their sanction of the State"; it is quite another to create a successful movement that will *survive* for the long period of time necessary to dismantle the monster.

In response to such challenges as these, Smith and his colleagues have begun to advance an alternative strategy of non-violent mass civil disobedience to the State's taxes and unjust laws. While we wish them good luck, we can't believe that such a strategy is anything but a disastrous blind alley for our movement. There have only been two instances in history where non-violent mass civil disobedience has succeeded in overthrowing a State. One was led by Gandhi in India; the other was the Khomeini revolution in Iran, which triumphed by a non-violent general strike by the broad masses of the population. Both victories led to odious and horrifying tyranny by the new State. And what is more relevant, both non-violent revolutions only occurred under the aegis of a militantly religious movement cleaving to deeply-held religious values. There is no chance of such a monolithic religious-libertarian movement developing in the United States.

No, for the United States, the fact is that the State will not be subdued at a single blow, and it will surely strike back at those who threaten its survival. Only a strategy of activism within the existing political arena can build up enough momentum and legitimacy in the eyes of the public to have even a chance of achieving what we desire. □

Editor:

Libertarian Vanguard alleges that Barbara Branden advocated the use of nuclear weapons by Israel during the recent invasion of Lebanon. This is a serious charge that should have been substantiated instead of being based, as I suspect it was, on rumor.

I had an extensive discussion with Barbara Branden on this subject several months ago, and my information directly contradicts the account in *Vanguard*. Specifically, Barbara Branden defended the following:

- a) The Israeli invasion of Lebanon was justified as an act of self-defense;
- b) The use of nuclear weapons by a country (including Israel) is justified as a last resort, when no other means of self-defense is available;
- c) The events leading up to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon did *not* justify the use of nuclear weapons by Israel.

While I disagree with Barbara Branden on points (a) and (b), fairness requires me to point out that she emphatically did not advocate the use of nuclear weapons by any of the belligerents. There is a crucial difference between conceding a hypothetical case where nuclear warfare may be legitimate and advocating such warfare in a current, real-life crisis.

If you cannot back up your allegations, then you owe Barbara Branden an apology.

George H. Smith
Los Angeles, California

Editor's Reply:

Perhaps the way we put it did not capture all the nuances of Ms. Branden's views on nuclear warfighting. But we think that Mr. Smith's letter obscures the fact that Ms. Branden believes that had it been necessary for Israel to use nuclear weapons to dislodge the PLO from Beirut, it would have been justified.

Editor:

An acquaintance of mine in your country, Mr. Steve Trotter, the Chair of the Libertarian Party of Utah, has sent me a copy of the Greenspan Commission's proposal for Social Security reform.

I have carefully examined this document and all I can say is that Dad would have loved it.

Charles Ponzi, Jr.
Verona, Italy

Election Correction

IN OUR LAST ISSUE we reported a vote total for Henry Koch, candidate for Governor of New Jersey. Koch actually ran for the U.S. Senate. □

Nuclear Warfighting and the Logic of Deterrence

by Jeffrey Rogers Hummel
and Sheldon Richman

"WE ARE LIVING in a pre-war and not a post-war world." So wrote Eugene V. Rostow when he was head of the Committee on the Present Danger. Subsequently, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in hearings over his confirmation as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Rostow responded to questions about the survivability of nuclear war by observing that "Japan, after all, not only survived but flourished after the nuclear attack." The fact that President Reagan recently fired this same Eugene Rostow for among other reasons, apparently for being too *dovish*, provides an ominous insight into the military thinking of the Reagan administration.

Other frightening indications of the administration's cavalier attitude toward nuclear war comes from a combination of candid interviews (mostly with *Los Angeles Times* reporter Robert Scheer) and high-level leaks. Even before inauguration day, George Bush admitted that he believed that nuclear war is winnable. (Disposing of Bush's subsequent charge that he was quoted out of context requires only a cursory examination of the full interview, which is reprinted in Scheer's *With Enough Shovels*.) Later, T. K. Jones, Deputy Undersecretary of Defense, casually explained that we could survive a nuclear war by covering ourselves with a door and three feet of dirt. "It's the dirt that does it," he confided.

Richard Pipes, Reagan's former Soviet specialist, stated in early 1981 that "Soviet leaders would have to choose between peacefully changing their Communist system . . . or going to war." Paul H. Nitze, the administration's key negotiator on European nuclear weapons, claimed that serious arms control could only occur "after we have built up our forces." Asked how long that would take, Nitze replied, "In ten years." Charles Kupperman, another Reagan appointee to the Arms Control and Disarmament

Agency, believes that "nuclear war is a destructive thing, but still in large part a physics problem." Reagan himself joined the chorus by commenting that he could easily imagine a nuclear exchange limited to Europe.

These remarks pale, however, beside the contents of two secret documents: the National Security Decision Document 13, adopted by the National Security Council in the fall of 1981 and leaked to Robert Scheer, who reported it last August; and the 125-page Fiscal Year 1984-1988 Defense Guidance, drawn up by the Pentagon in the spring of 1982 and unveiled to the public in May of 1982 by *New York Times* defense correspondent Richard Halloran. A rumored third document, the "strategic master plan" developed by the Pentagon and sent to the National Security Council for approval in early August, elaborates the strategic nuclear planning of the Reagan administration in even greater detail.

These documents reveal the depth of the Reagan administration's commitment to a strategy of nuclear warfighting, in which the function of the U.S. nuclear arsenal is no longer simply to deter war, but to fight a protracted nuclear exchange with the aim of winning. As the five-year Defense Guidance plan puts it, the United States should deploy nuclear "forces that will maintain, throughout a protracted period *and afterward*, the capability to inflict very high levels of damage against the industrial and economic base of the Soviet Union and her allies." (emphasis ours) The United States "must prevail and be able to force the Soviet Union to seek earliest termination of hostilities on terms favorable to the United States."

This shift from deterrence to warfighting includes one especially bizarre feature, as indicated above in the emphasized portion of the quotation from the Defense Guidance. In order to provide for U.S. superiority even *after* the termi-

nation of nuclear war, the Reagan administration envisages stockpiling and hiding away a "strategic reserve" of nuclear weapons for the postwar period. As journalist Thomas Powers points out, this insures that "a general nuclear war would not even end the threat of nuclear war."

Needless to say, these disclosures have aroused substantial alarm. To reassure the public, Secretary of Defense Caspar (Cap the Shovel) Weinberger sent a letter at the end of August to seventy U.S. and foreign publications. In the letter, Weinberger emphasized that charges that the United States was seeking to acquire a nuclear warfighting capability were "completely inaccurate." The U.S. only wishes "to take every step to insure that nuclear weapons are never used again, for we do not believe there could be any 'winners' in a nuclear war."

Weinberger went on to assert that it was the Soviets, in fact, who were moving to a warfighting strategy by "building forces for a 'protracted conflict'" and in numbers "far beyond those necessary for deterrence." To counter this Soviet build-up, he insisted that "we (sic) must have a *capability* for a survivable and enduring response—to demonstrate that our strategic forces *could* survive Soviet strikes over an extended period." (emphasis his)

To those who thought this statement *confirmed* rather than denied the warfighting charge, Weinberger condescendingly admitted: "I know this doctrine of deterrence is a difficult paradox to understand." In an appearance on the ABC news program "This Week," Weinberger added a further conundrum within his paradox when he made the simultaneous assertions that "[w]e don't believe a nuclear war can be won," and "[w]e are planning to prevail if we are attacked." He left the distinction between "win" and "prevail" unexplained.

Despite Weinberger's denials, the American people remain unmollified. Public support for what Christopher Paine has termed "Reagatomics" was probably never as substantial as the President and the Committee on the Present Danger imagined, but the cumulative impact of these off-hand remarks, inconvenient leaks, and inept reassurances has been to erode seriously whatever mandate the administration initially had

for a massive military buildup. Voters and town councils throughout the land (and, by this time, perhaps even Congress) have endorsed the nuclear freeze, grassroots governmental bodies have widely rejected civil-defense plans, and Congress has thrown Reagan's MX dense-pack proposal right back in his face. Even the *Wall Street Journal*, a generally uncritical Reagan booster, has expressed grave reservations about the administration's military budgets.

Although the backlash against a nuclear warfighting posture is certainly a welcome phenomenon, its preoccupation with Reagan is somewhat misplaced. Those critics who assign to the Reagan administration exclusive responsibility for a dramatic shift from deterrence to warfighting ignore both the serious attachment of prior administrations to warfighting and the underlying continuity of U.S. nuclear policy during the entire Cold War. Weinberger's muddled attempt to disassociate the administration from warfighting unintentionally illustrates a very important point: that the demarcation between the strategies of deterrence and warfighting is not as distinct and unambiguous as the liberal critics of the Reagan administration imply.

Throughout the '50s, when U.S. nuclear superiority was overwhelming and Soviet ability to retaliate was negligible, if not nonexistent, the U.S. military fully expected to win any nuclear war in which it participated. Under President Kennedy's Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, U.S. policy recognized, with the doctrine of mutual deterrence, that the Soviet Union had now acquired its own nuclear retaliatory capability. McNamara calculated, however, that 400 equivalent megatons were sufficient for assured destruction, and then armed *each leg* of the U.S. strategic nuclear triad (land-based missiles, submarines, and bombers) above that limit, thereby going beyond a strategy of pure deterrence. As early as 1961, McNamara's first Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP), the secret document which governs targeting of all U.S. strategic nuclear weapons, contained four options, the first of which was a counterforce attack confined exclusively to Soviet nuclear forces.

Steady improvements in the Soviet



WASSERMAN © 1983 LOS ANGELES TIMES SYNDICATE

nuclear arsenal, making it less vulnerable to the preemptive option of McNamara's SIOP, led to Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger's 1974 overhaul of strategic targeting in National Security Decision Memorandum 242, which called for preplanned "limited" or "selected" nuclear options in order "to seek early war termination ... at the lowest level of conflict feasible." Six years later, President Jimmy Carter, in his infamous but still-secret PD (Presidential Directive)-59 and in its attendant SIOP revision, required U.S. forces, according to the *New York Times*, "to be able to undertake the precise, limited nuclear strikes against military facilities in the Soviet Union, including missile bases and troop concentrations ... (and) to develop the capacity to threaten Soviet political leaders in their underground shelters in time of war."

In short, except for minor differences in emphasis, as in for instance the focus upon "protracted" nuclear war, the Reagan obsession with nuclear warfighting was fully anticipated by previous developments in U.S. nuclear strategy. The crude popular impression that nuclear deterrence involves only the threat of a mutual, cataclysmic extermination of opposing populations has never really applied to U.S. policy. The U.S. has never targeted the Soviet population directly

and has always aimed its nuclear weapons at military targets. The U.S. has always intended, if deterrence fails, that its nuclear forces will, in the words of Carter's Undersecretary of Defense, William Perry, "maximize the postwar U.S. political, economic, military power relative to the enemy."

A closer examination of Weinberger's equivocation between "winning" and "prevailing" in a nuclear war illuminates the logical connection between deterrence and warfighting. In a 1956 *Foreign Affairs* article, Paul Nitze actually anticipated Weinberger in a way that makes Weinberger's apparently meaningless distinction actually intelligible. "The word 'win'" wrote Nitze, "is another of our leathery words which can stand reexamination for precision of meaning." In one sense, the word "win" compares "the immediate postwar position of a country with its prewar position." In this sense, nuclear war is unwinnable. However, "in another connotation the word 'win' is used to suggest a comparison of the postwar position of one of the adversaries with the postwar position of the other adversary. In this sense it is quite possible that in a general nuclear war one side or the other could 'win' decisively." This second comparative sense of the term "win" is apparently what Weinberger

means when he says "prevail."

This distinction provides the clue to why deterrence evolves into warfighting. Deterrence rests upon the ability to make nuclear war unwinnable for the opponents. So long as the U.S. maintained undisputed nuclear superiority, it could make nuclear war unwinnable for the Soviet Union in both the absolute and comparative senses. Consequently, simple nuclear deterrence automatically bestowed upon the U.S. a warfighting capability. As the Soviets approached nuclear parity, however, the U.S. could only guarantee that nuclear war was unwinnable for the Soviets in the first sense, i.e., that the Soviets would be in a worse condition after the war than at the start. A warfighting capability beyond simple deterrence became necessary to assure that the Soviets also found nuclear war unwinnable in the second sense, i.e., that the Soviets would also be in a worse postwar condition than the United States.

U.S. adherence to the policy of "extended deterrence" also contributed to adoption of a warfighting posture. Under "extended deterrence," the U.S. threatens the first use of nuclear weapons to deter conventional attacks upon its allies. With the development of a Soviet retaliatory capability, McNamara, in his policy of "flexible response," placed greater emphasis upon U.S. conventional forces, but the U.S.'s ultimate reliance upon the first use of nuclear weapons as the linchpin of its alliance system remains unchanged to this day. In order to play successfully this game of nuclear chicken, the U.S. needs a nuclear warfighting capability that insures that the Soviets find nuclear war unwinnable in all respects. Without the ability to maintain relative superiority over the Soviet Union at every step in the escalatory process, U.S. willingness to initiate nuclear war loses credibility.

Furthermore, how can the U.S. con-

fidently expect to deter the Soviets from initiating nuclear war by making such a war unwinnable for them in only the first, absolute sense, when the existence of an analogous Soviet deterrent has not affected U.S. willingness to initiate the use of nuclear weapons? By the early '60s, Soviet nuclear weapons had unquestionably made nuclear war unwinnable for the U.S. in the first sense of the term. Nonetheless, the U.S. failed to abandon its central policy of "extended deterrence," with its first-use corollary.

Weinberger, in effect, is arguing that the U.S.'s apparent pursuit of a warfighting capability is actually a response to the fact that the Soviets will only be deterred if they believe they cannot win a nuclear war in the second, comparative sense (or cannot prevail, if you prefer). This represents a clear-cut case of U.S. leaders projecting their own motivations onto their opponents. In fact, it is the U.S. which, according to long-standing policy, can only be deterred from initiating nuclear war if it cannot win in the second sense.

In the final analysis, a warfighting strategy is inherent in the decision to rely upon nuclear deterrence. Deterrence is a policy that threatens the very thing it is designed to avoid: nuclear war. It therefore requires that the military make some plans about how it will use nuclear weapons, if deterrence fails. Most of the Reagan administration's critics who are alarmed about the adoption of a warfighting strategy undermine their own position by still accepting the need for nuclear deterrence. The Reagan administration has merely followed the relentless logic of deterrence to its most extreme conclusions. Quibbling over the details or the extent of nuclear retaliation will not help eliminate the threat of nuclear annihilation. We must call into question the fundamental notion that national defense can be built upon a policy that threatens international nuclear terrorism. □

Reason . . .

by

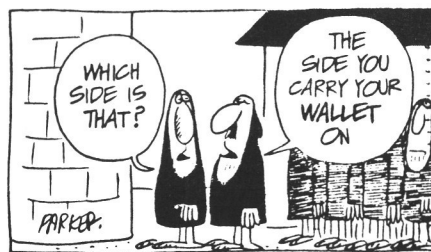
AS WE APPROACH 1984, the mental gymnastics of the militarists—citing open preparations for war as proof of a desire for peace—become a spectacular exercise in doublethink.* If MX missiles are now "Peacekeepers," then War is now Peace—and Freedom will be Slavery soon enough. It's only a matter of time before Ignorance becomes Strength—and not very *much* time at that, as Bob Poole's "Nuclear Freeze?" editorial in *Reason* magazine (9/82) makes all too clear.

The hypocritical technospeak and above all the "tough guy" amoral tone of Poole's attack on the peace movement is Reaganism without red-baiting. After glumly detailing what a nuclear freeze would have to mean—"no MX missiles, no more Trident subs, no Trident II missiles, no B-1 or Stealth bomber, no cruise missiles, and no nuclear-armed anti-ballistic missiles"—Poole proves more adept at Defense Department *doublethink* than any Reagan administration official. "Although this would save billions of dollars of taxpayers money," says Poole a bit more blithely than one might expect from a libertarian, "would it reduce the risk or severity of nuclear war? Not necessarily."

Rather than turn to the immediate and obvious problem of convincing us that arms reduction could lead to anything other than reducing the possibility or severity of nuclear annihilation, Poole resorts to a diversion. "What [the freeze] would do . . . is to ratify the drastic change in relative forces levels that has occurred

*:*Doublethink* means the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously, and accepting both of them. . . . To tell deliberate lies while genuinely believing in them, to forget any fact that has become inconvenient, and then when it becomes necessary again to draw it back from oblivion for just so long as it is needed, to deny the existence of objective reality and all the while to take account of the reality which one denies. . . . It need hardly be said that the subtlest practitioners of *doublethink* are those who invented *doublethink* and know that it is a vast system of mental cheating. In our society, those who have the best knowledge of what is happening are also those who are furthest from seeing the world as it is." (1984, by George Orwell; Harcourt, Brace; pp. 215-16)

The Wizard of Id □ Parker and Hart



... & Freezin' Justin Raimondo

over the past decade." Now this is a curious statement. How is it that the rough parity achieved by the Soviets is a thing that needs to be ratified? Did the Soviets, or anybody else, have the option to "ratify" decades of unchallenged American nuclear supremacy? Poole waxes positively nostalgic over the good old days of the "American Century," apex of the postwar American Empire which rose from the ashes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. "But no competent defense analyst disputes the fact that . . . the ratio of Soviet to US capabilities has changed dramatically. *While deterrence worked during the several decades in which there was US strategic superiority*, it is not clear that it would work as well under the frozen condition of Soviet parity or superiority." (emphasis added) So, deterrence—which Poole refers to elsewhere as "the dangerous and immoral balance-of-terror approach to strategic defense with which we've lived for 30 years"—"worked," did it? It certainly worked for US imperialism, which dominated the world by means of nuclear blackmail. (The recent revelations that Truman had seriously considered a pre-emptive war against the Soviets, combined with Dan Ellsberg's revelations regarding the wielding of the nuclear stick against China, North Korea and Vietnam, are proof enough of that.)

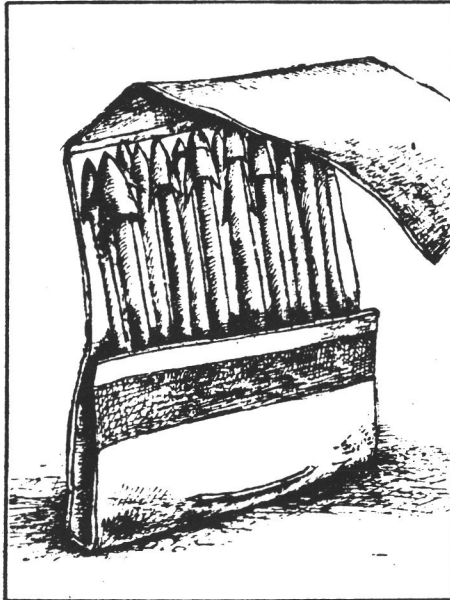
Now that America's nuclear monopoly is broken, "it is not clear" that the insane and immoral policy of deterrence "would work as well." As the US nuclear umbrella folds up, the stormclouds of revolution hover over the Third World. But Bob Poole and Ronald Reagan have a solution.

Though still pining for the days when Uncle Sam rode herd on the nations of the world, Poole is more than ready to deal with the gritty realities of the new age. Thus, he entertains the idea of a survivable nuclear war. He writes:

In addition, a successful freeze would prevent the modernization of existing nuclear weapons. The present trend toward replacing large, inaccurate warheads with smaller, more accurate ones would be halted. Thus, any nuclear war that did break out would involve far

more collateral damage—the destruction of civilian people and infrastructure.

Reason has echoed the most indefensible remarks of Reagan administration spokesmen by insisting that a nuclear war wouldn't be all *that* bad—at least not as bad as Jonathan Schell and Dr. Caldicott would have us believe. A recent *Reason* article (August 1982) takes the Reaganite line that, in case of nuclear at-



tack, basically all you need is a shovel to put a few feet of dirt between yourself and oblivion. It is more than a little ominous that *Reason* is marching in lockstep to the Reagan line on the "survivability" of nuclear holocaust. For the administration's "grab a shovel" propaganda is nothing less than a tentative scheme to get people used to the idea of a "limited" nuclear war or even a US first strike. That a so-called "libertarian" publication has now become a sounding board for such purely *anti-libertarian* concepts is obscene.

The core of Poole's worldview comes out in his primitive assessment of the Soviets. After detailing alleged Soviet treaty violations, Poole's implication is unstated but clear. Like Ed Crane's new front man, Rep. Ron Paul (see *LV* #22) it seems like Poole is against even an attempt to negotiate. And so now we have two alleged "libertarians" who are *to the right* of Ronald Reagan on the question of war and peace in the nuclear age.

In fact, the Kremlin can be trusted to negotiate in good faith if Soviet leaders

realize that World War III is definitely not in their interest. The Soviet elite shows every sign of recognizing this rather obvious point—which is why they have repeatedly proclaimed their unconditional support of a freeze and mutual arms reduction. Which is more than one can say for the US government. The Cold Warriors of both parties support, to this day, official US policy which does not preclude the possibility of a US first strike. Finally, let us not forget that only the US government has actually *used* nuclear weapons in war. The question is not: can we trust the Soviets? The real question is: given a freeze agreement, can the US be trusted to keep it?

"The real danger of a nuclear freeze," Poole writes, "is not its unreality, however. The real danger lies in even what a 'successful' freeze would *not* do. It would not challenge the dangerous and immoral balance-of-terror approach with which we've lived for 30 years. It would do nothing to shift strategic programs from offense to defense. It would continue to focus on a policy based on *ensuring dead Russians rather than live Americans*." (emphasis in original) To invoke the immorality of nuclear terror while opposing all meaningful negotiations; to simultaneously enthuse over the days of yore when America's status as the world's Number One bully was uncontested and decry the Cold War's "balance of terror" is to reveal a truly breathtaking hypocrisy. To assume the pose of a *moralist*, even if only for one giddy moment, while ignoring all objections to mass murder except the argument that far too many *Americans* will die, would be funny if it weren't so grotesque. What about innocent Russians, Bob? Don't libertarians differentiate between the tyrants and the tyrannized? Shouldn't this entire discussion be premised on the assumption that all innocent parties have rights, regardless of nationality?

After taking the opportunity to plug his "High Frontier" scheme for a massive military build-up (see Sheldon Richman and Jeff Hummel on Poole's Space Wars nostrum in *LV* #23), Poole writes: "Preventing nuclear war is a crucially important goal. But wouldn't it make far more sense to place our trust in advanced technology than the promises of Leonid Brezhnev as a means of accomplishing

this goal?"

To understand the true meaning of that sentence, make that "advanced technology in the service of US imperialism."

All we have to do, Poole tells us, is place our trust in Ronald Reagan—and ray guns in space. But whose finger is on

the trigger? Poole and the rightwing clique he represents are so mired down in the battle for "privatized" garbage cans that such a question never even occurs to them.

The funny thing is that, far from qualifying as a radical proposal, the freeze is

only a cautious first step away from nuclear annihilation. That a supposedly libertarian publication cannot bring itself to support a disarmament proposal so mild that even some of the highest-flying hawks have endorsed it, is ominous indeed.

As the world teeters precariously on the brink of nuclear holocaust, Bob Poole and *Reason* magazine see war as nearly inevitable—a logical extension of the rightist mythology surrounding the Russian bear. "No sane person wants nuclear war," says Poole at the beginning of his re-application for membership in the conservative movement. But Poole's caricature of Soviet policy lends a fatalistic aura to his statement. It is hard to believe that anybody actually *looks forward* to the prospect of nuclear confrontation—but it seems some have resigned themselves to Armageddon. Thus, Bruce Clayton's *Reason* article on the alleged effects of nuclear war is entitled "Don't Plan To Die." A single quote will suffice to convey the style and spirit of the piece. Clayton actually attacks Dr. Helen Caldicott for having the gall to say that the detonation of a nuclear device over any of the world's major cities "would constitute a disaster unprecedented in human history." "On a qualitative basis," Clayton the ghoul informs us, "one recalls that the Black Death of the 15th century killed 25 percent of the population of the then-known world. . . ."

Is *this* the voice of reason, individualism and libertarianism—or is it the voice of the Dark Ages grimly detailing the costs and benefits of the darkness to come?

Poole's opposition to the freeze is a turning point for *Reason*—it represents a turning away from the most basic principles of libertarianism and a repudiation of the movement to build a free society. □

The Ten Points of the LPRC

(Adopted by the Central Committee, July, 1979)

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

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

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113 Santa Cruz Ave. Suite 2
Menlo Park, Ca 94025

On The Campaign Trail

Gene Burns Interviewed

JUST WHEN IT WAS beginning to look like *no one* was going to run for the Presidential nomination of the Libertarian Party—at least a half-dozen potential candidates reportedly have been asked and have declined — a name swept through the movement — invariably followed by the quite reasonable question: “Who?”

Gene Burns is a radio newscaster and talk show host with 20 years of experience in the industry. He was first approached with the idea of running for President around the time that he spoke at a banquet on the weekend of a National Committee meeting in Orlando, Florida, where he lives, last December. In February he appeared at the California LP convention to announce his candidacy, and he appeared again in California at the March NatComm meeting in San Mateo. Amidst a parade of visitors *Libertarian Vanguard* editor Scott Olmsted interviewed Burns in his hotel suite as he relaxed before giving the keynote speech of the evening's banquet.

Vanguard: What is the thrust of your campaign? Why are you running?

Burns: Well, I'm running because I'm convinced that the establishment parties are not prepared to address the country's problems, and that is because they're not prepared to answer the fundamental question, which is: What is the proper role and size of government in our lives? When I came to the conclusion, having made the transition from the establishment parties to my present position as a Libertarian, that an alternative had to be provided, I had two choices: I could provide it myself or I could seek out somebody to provide it. It seemed more efficient to do it myself, so I decided to run. I have no interest in politics as a career. This is my one and only effort in that regard. I will afterward stay active in the party, of course. But this seems to me to be the most efficient way of catalyzing the issue and of drawing it to the public's attention.

Vanguard: How did you come to your Libertarian views?

Burns: I was a Democrat most of my life; that's a family tradition. I was in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party until, I guess,

the height of the Vietnam War. I did some foreign assignment work in Southeast Asia and became convinced that our war policy was a disaster. I began to drift away from the mainstream of the Democratic Party represented by Lyndon Johnson. I was profoundly disappointed by Hubert Humphrey when he refused to disavow Johnson's war policies in 1968 and felt that I could no longer support him. However, I continued to look for solutions to contemporary problems through the traditional governmental structure until about five years ago when it was obvious that the proposed solutions were not working. What David Halberstam called “the best and the brightest” offered solutions in what I was convinced at least was the best of intentions, and they were not solving the problem. There obviously had to be something about the system in which we were doing this problem-solving exercise that was wrong. At about that time—I don't remember why—I subscribed to the *Libertarian Review*, and I think for subscribing for two years I got a copy of Murray Rothbard's *For A New Liberty*. I read it and found it very impressive.

Vanguard: Interesting that Ed Clark also cites the issues of war and foreign policy as a major factor that turned him away from major-party politics. Were these issues foremost in your mind during this period or were there other issues that played a major role?

Burns: No, I think it was the systemic matter. . . . I was put off, of course, by our Southeast Asia involvement for a lot of reasons, not the least of which was that I visited Southeast Asia and saw the failure first-hand. But that did not stay with me. I believed that our interventionist policies were wrong, but what really changed my opinion at the fundamental level was the business of the nature of government. So the change was really fundamental, as opposed to policy-oriented.

Vanguard: So reading Rothbard was a major influence on you.

Burns: Absolutely.

Vanguard: Were there any other major intellectual influences on you?

Burns: I've read some of the Austrian economists and that had an impact.

Vanguard: So could you summarize the proper role, in your view, of the U.S. government in world affairs?

Burns: I think I'd rather summarize my

view of the U.S. government, period, and then that answers the foreign affairs question. The role of the government was enunciated by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence: We believe that we have certain rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. As Jefferson said, to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. I think that says some very important things. Number one, that we created the government and therefore it is our servant, not the reverse—and if you've ever been visited by an IRS agent you can tell how profoundly the power flow has changed in this country. Secondly, that Jefferson clearly said “just powers.” Now Jefferson was a brilliant man; the word “just” is in there for a purpose, which is to point out that if government is not carefully watched it can arrogate unjust powers to itself. I think that that's where we have to begin. We have to acknowledge that the government should have an extremely

“I read Murray Rothbard's For A New Liberty and found it very impressive.”

minimal role in our lives and then decide exactly how much of a role it should have.

In foreign affairs our government has no proper role in extraterritorial matters. I define the national security as defense of the country's borders and the life, liberty, and property of the people therein contained. I do not subscribe to nor do I agree with the contention that we have to stop them in Vietnam or they'll be sailing into San Francisco Bay. I don't believe that and never have believed it. I think that interventionist policies should have no place in our government. Our policy, simply stated, should be to be friendly with all countries and their ability to pursue their future as they see fit and require that they be friendly with us. If they challenge our view of the national security, then we obviously have a responsibility to repel them. We don't have a role in other people's governments.

Vanguard: Then you don't see invaders on the horizon?

Burns: No, I don't even see them down in Central America where President Reagan apparently has spotted several advancing on the Panama Canal and Mexico and Texas. The tragedy of Reagan's recent request for \$110 million for El Salvador is that in fact the trouble in Central America is more a product of our foreign policy than a challenge to it. Our continued intervention in Latin America on

the side of various factions in the internecine wars has caused us to be viewed by a lot of these indigenous groups as an enemy. Far from wanting to invade us, what they want is for us to stay the hell out of their country. I think it's tragic that the President misses that point and uses that very thing as a justification for spending yet more money, which is only going to fuel the problem more.

Vanguard: Turning to domestic issues, what in your view are the proper steps to take to restore a healthy economy?

Burns: What we have to do in the economic sphere is to re-establish and develop the free market. One of the great lies in this country is that we have a free enterprise economy, because we don't; we have a managed and regulated economy. If we deregulate drastically, we will open up the opportunities we need. Black teenagers are unemployed to the tune of about 50% of their population, and I've got to believe that there are black teenagers who would happily work for \$2.50 an hour in small businesses that wish to employ them. But of course, they can't because of the government-mandated minimum wage.

Vanguard: What about immigration? May be you could comment on the Simpson-Mazzoli bill.

Burns: The Simpson-Mazzoli bill was a nice try. Senator Simpson is a nice man, a decent sort. I've spoken with him on the bill; he's well-intentioned and even somewhat humorous in his laconic Wyoming wit, but his ideas are not functional. First of all, they are almost Draconian—he's talking about a national identity card and advancing the shopworn argument that if you're innocent you've got nothing to worry about, which we've heard down through every horror story history has ever recorded. I really believe that, difficult as it is for some people to swallow, the only cogent immigration policy is the one on the base of the Statue of Liberty. If people can make it here physically, and then having made it here physically can make it here in terms of success, we ought to encourage them to do that. Our country cannot help but grow stronger if we continue to have an infusion of new thoughts and new ideas and new cultures. There's nothing wrong with that. I think to try to write any other immigration policy will run into trouble the minute you try. Some features of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill make some sense, such as the amnesty provision, which would stop all of these horrible searches and seizures that are going on all over the country. But it's married to just too much coercion and it's going in the wrong direction. Instead of attempting to regulate in this area, we should deregulate

in this area. I am not one of those persons who believes that when we do that the floodgates open and the "yellow hordes" come over the battlement. I just don't think that is realistic. It's one of those mindless fears that has no grounding in history.

Vanguard: How about unemployment? Would you add anything on that subject, which is probably the number one or number two concern in the public's mind?

Burns: I think we have to create opportunities, and we do that by allowing risk capital into the market to do its thing and to create jobs, and by encouraging people, via diminishing regulations, to be creative. For instance, I went to New York City one day on the train from Philadelphia and I got off at Penn Station and I had to go to the CBS Building. When I walked out to the taxi stand there was a fellow there with his automobile ready to take me to CBS. So I got in the automobile and he took me to CBS. Turns out he was a "pirate" taxicab operator, but I got an excellent price in a comfortable, air-conditioned car and I thought our little deal was mutually beneficial. Now, is there anything wrong with that? In fact, if that man were caught he would be heavily fined. In New York it costs \$55,000 for a taxi medallion. Well, poor folks can't get into that line of work, and yet a poor person could afford a car, and if he or she was willing to work hard at it, they would have a taxi fleet. Those are the kinds of employment opportunities you won't find in our economy these days because we have regulated things to the point where those opportunities don't exist. The free market is the answer to unemployment.

Vanguard: Another issue high on the public agenda is Social Security. Do you endorse any particular plan, such as the Ferrara plan, for changing Social Security?

Burns: I don't endorse any particular plan, because any particular plan I have read has flaws. I'm attracted to the Ferrara plan because at least it was a creditable and creative idea to end this horror called Social Security, which is, as many have pointed out, little more than a pyramid scheme and a fraud. It is not a retirement system, never was a retirement system; it never was anything more than a tax, and decent, hardworking Americans were lied to with regard to Social Security. I believe that one of the real priorities of the 1983 Platform Committee will be to develop a comprehensive plank on Social Security, not only to say, as we all agree, that it's a fraud and a pyramid scheme and it must be made voluntary—knowing full-well that the day it's voluntary it's dead, because no one is going to freely elect that alternative when there are better ones in the market. Because there is a problem attached to it, as we all know, and that is: Whose rights will be held

LPRC State Coordinators

Arizona

Kim Horner
S-102, Dept. 226
4000 N. 7th Street
Phoenix, AZ 85014
(602) 952-2143

California/North

Eric Garriss
Libertarian Books
1800 Market Street
San Francisco, CA 94102
(415) 864-0952

California/South

Linda and Lee Freeman
10652 Brighton Drive
Santa Ana, CA 92705
(714) 832-4029

California/South

Bob Lehman
691 S. Irolo Street #1008
Los Angeles, CA 90005
(213) 389-3358

California/South

Melinda Pillsbury-Foster
7019 Chimineas
Reseda, CA 91335
(213) 343-6733

Florida

Dianne Pilcher
637 W. Princeton #2
Orlando, FL 32804
(305) 423-1129

Georgia

Bruce Ehrhardt
888-A White Pine Drive
Decatur, GA 30032
(404) 292-5331, 656-1200

Hawaii

Jerry Dickson
1400 Kapiolani Boulevard
#B-49
Honolulu, HI 96814

Illinois

Tom Verkuilen
5649 N. Drake Avenue
Chicago, IL 60659
(312) 463-4741

Minnesota

Dell Dennison
Route 1, Box 26
Oronoco, MN 55960
(507) 367-4596

Ohio

Gayle Hosmer
2471 Sunbury Road
Columbus, OH 43219
(614) 476-4583

Texas

Tom Bernhardt
7655 Athlone Street
Houston, TX 77088
(713) 999-5199

Washington

Dan Shasteen
6236 36th Avenue N.E.
Seattle, WA 98115
(206) 527-5472

to be paramount here? The right of the middle-class, middle-aged taxpayer to stop paying confiscatory taxes to Social Security, or the right of older people right on the edge of retirement, who believe they have a vested interest, and who were lied to, but who paid their taxes all these years? Do we owe them? I'm not sure we've clarified the issue, and I'm not sure we have the answer. Hummel writes persuasively about restitution bonds tied to the sale of federal lands; that's an interesting concept. I think the platform committee ought to take that concept and try to resolve this matter in the only way you can when you have this unhappy situation of rights in conflict. You resolve them in favor of the greater common good, in my opinion. You try to maintain or preserve as much equity as you can. The jury is out on this one. Ferrara has problems for this reason, and any other plan I've seen has problems. Peremptory abolition of Social Security has some ethical problems, I think, in terms of people who believe they've paid into a system. It's one thing to tell people they've been lied to, which they have. However, it's another thing to be creative and try to retain for them the best deal they can get out of what is a bad deal. Maybe restitution bonds are the answer.

Vanguard: On the platform, do you have any major or minor disagreements with the platform? Do you have any problems with running your campaign on the platform of the LP?

Burns: No, I don't. The Statement of Principles and the platform, in my opinion, are perfectly fine. I think the debates occur on the matter of style, not substance. How fast do you go there? How do you go there? What creative means would you use to do this, that, or the other? But the principles of the platform are solid.

Vanguard: Here's perhaps a leading question. Do you ever find yourself trying not to offend people with what you say, maybe tailoring your answer to what you think they might want to hear?

Burns: I don't think so. My career is in dealing with issues daily on the radio with an unseen audience, the composition of which I cannot possibly know. When I get on the radio and I say that drug use ought to be decriminalized, or I believe that raids on porno shops are a waste of taxpayers' money, I have to assume that there are some Baptist ministers in the audience who are not going to like that. If I were to assume that in advance and tailor my presentation to that reality, I'd be paralyzed, because with an audience that broad, you're going to offend somebody every day. I take the difficult issues that are seen by some to be the emotional traps—the drug use, the privatization of public education—and rather than sort of back away from

them, I just roll over them and take them to the next higher level, escalating the point, as it were, which is really the best way to do that.

Some of our positions are kind of tough for folks to agree to, but what I've done with most folks is say that you may determine that some of the things we believe in are tough for you to believe in and you may not be able to warm up to them, and if that ever happens you're free to depart from us. But you better get on board this train and ride it as far as you can, because it's the only train going in this direction. The other trains are going in the other direction. We're the only train headed toward liberty. If you can only go 90% of the way, well then, get off at 90% if you want.

I don't think we should shy away from any of these issues, I don't think we should be

“You better get on board this train and ride it as far as you can, because it's the only train going in this direction.”

afraid of them, and I don't think we should couch them misleadingly. I think that every time you do you get caught. The best way to handle it is to speak bluntly, to recognize the reality that there are always going to be people who are going to disagree with you. You just can't please all the people all the time, and if you try to, you wind up pleasing none of the people.

Vanguard: I take it that would be your advice to other Libertarian candidates.

Burns: Absolutely. Speak bluntly, maintain the integrity of your position, in and outside of the party. If, as a Libertarian, there's an aspect of the movement or the party that you have trouble with, say so; that doesn't disqualify you. Look, we have the Defense Caucus, which has a distinct point of view with regard to how we defend the country; lots of other Libertarians take exception to their point of view. There are members of our party who believe in no government at all, some other members believe in a little bit of government. I don't know of anyone who is the repository of the absolute faith, so be honest about it and I don't think you can lose.

Vanguard: Do you think, as a radio professional, that you're going to have an advantage in that market?

Burns: Yes, I have an “in” in that market. I know what that market needs. When you are on a radio program and it's twenty-eight minutes after two, you cannot continue your answer. The host has got to get out and break

for the two-thirty news. As a host, I've had trouble, waving to people to stop. It's not that you're inconveniencing the host. It's that the presentation is sloppy to the listener, it doesn't sound as good. After one of the television interviews I did, the reporter said, “My God, you speak in sound bites,” which is an industry, state-of-the-art term which means that he can take the whole piece without any editing at all; it's a single bite of sound that he can drop into his story. And I said of course I do, because I know I will get on TV and the other fellow won't. It's that simple. Yes, that's one of the great strengths I bring to the nomination if I get it, and to the campaign—I am articulate and I manage the media well. I don't get caught being managed by them.

Vanguard: That's a skill you might also spend some time trying to impart to other Libertarians.

Burns: I'd be delighted. It's a very important skill. Another thing to understand about the media—they may or may not be put off by any one of the things we believe. They're not offended by it. Certainly not in the talk-show business; there it's diversity that survives, not conformity. So if you try to hedge with them, you diminish your chances of getting noticed, you don't increase them. They're not interested in someone who sounds like everyone else; that's not interesting programming.

Vanguard: Is that generally true of all the media?

Burns: Yes, it is generally true. Some people say, “Oh, I better not say this or I'll offend this group or that one.” We were talking recently to the editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, who is an old acquaintance who once edited one of the Orlando papers. He's all excited about my appearing before the editorial board if I am nominated. He said, “You'll set them on their ears, they're so complacent and sitting on their asses doing nothing.” With folks around who want that kind of approach, we're home free.

Vanguard: Are you afraid of John Anderson taking away the vote from you? And how do you plan to measure the success of your campaign? By the number of votes or something else?

Burns: Well, let me take those in reverse order, because the second is a little easier. I think you measure the campaign certainly in terms of votes. I recognize all of the inherent pitfalls in talking about specific numbers; there's a bad history of specific number promises, so I'm not promising any particular number. I think we're going to do exceptionally well, much better than anyone anticipates. I think the level of dissatisfaction in this country to which we can provide an alternative is enormous. I think we're going to establish a real track record this time out.

Secondly, I want to register new Libertarians. The party has got to grow at the grass roots. We have got to grow in terms of—I hate the term—card-carrying Libertarians. We have got to have people who say they're Libertarian, who identify with the Libertarian Party. No more of this "small-I, yes I'm a libertarian, but I'm registered a Democrat." We've had a fair amount of success in central Florida with people willing to make the change. In Florida you can register Libertarian; I'm aware that in many states you cannot, so register Independent and say you're a Libertarian, that's fine. I would like to see the party, from now to the end of 1984, grow by 150,000 new registered Libertarians, active in the party, and signed up at the national level. This is very ambitious, very difficult to achieve, but achievable. I think it's a manageable, measurable goal, and I think we should work very hard at it.

The Anderson campaign is a real wild card. I was thinking on the plane about this third-party business. Are we the third party or the fourth party if Anderson's the third? Let Anderson be the third party, I have no quarrel with that because we're the *second* party. There's only one party in this country and it has two divisions, Democrats and Republicans. They have no material differences, really. We're the second party, the Libertarians. If Anderson wants to be the third party, we'll concede it to him. He is a problem, but he's mushy. He's as soft as a marshmallow on the issues. I really believe that this is the day and time when people do not want a made-over candidate. They don't want a warmed-over Reagan or Carter or Mondale, or a look-alike; they want an alternative, a genuine alternative. We're not going to get 60 million votes with some of our issues or our platform, but we're going to make a major stride. For those people who will support us, and I do think that there are a lot more of them than we're aware of, we're not going to get them with a waffle. We've got to get them with a clear-cut alternative. Anderson's a waffle; we're the alternative. I'll give Anderson the waffle folks, I want the folks who want the alternative.

Vanguard: Anderson has as much as admitted that his effort would not exist were it not for the Federal matching funds available. We're obligated to ask: Would you ever take matching funds?

Burns: No. There's an inherent trap here, though. I'm the kind of individual who says it would be fun to kind of take the government at its own game. But there is no question that there is near-unanimity within the party that the moral consequence is too great to have this kind of fun at the government's expense. So there are no circumstances under which we could take Federal matching funds. However, I would like to qualify for

them, because it would be a magnificent statement to turn them down. That would be super. Same thing applies to Secret Service protection. I'm hoping, as the candidate of the party, that I qualify for Secret Service protection, and I hope the law requires the government to offer it. When they do, then we'll hire a couple of guards and turn down their offer, giving the security of the campaign to private enterprise.

Vanguard: Can you tell us anything about the likely structure and emphasis of the cam-

"I take the difficult issues—drug use, public education—and rather than back away from them, I take them to the next higher level."

paign in terms of financing and debt, the balance between media and grass roots, the assistance you might give to state and local candidates, and so on?

Burns: I can only speak in broad brushstrokes, to use a fractured metaphor. We don't have a detailed campaign plan yet; we're working on that. To some of the principles involved, there will be no debt and no financing by debt. This will be deficitless campaign or the campaign will cease when it can't be a deficitless campaign. Number two, if we are going to achieve the goals, which is to say ring up as big a vote as we can and register all these new Libertarians, it's got to be a bifurcated campaign, that is, a national campaign that concentrates on an infrastructure at the local and state levels. What I'd like to do, and perhaps differently from some other candidates, is campaign full-time from January 1, 1984 to election day. This is a substantially larger full-time effort than previous candidates have given to the campaign. The reason for that is so when we go to a state like, say, Pennsylvania, we don't go, as one would on a three-month campaign, to Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, and out. We will go to Philadelphia and a few communities around Philadelphia, and to York, Harrisburg and many other middle-size cities, because in those middle-level cities is where you can raise funds for the local and state parties, raise funds for the national campaign effort, raise visibility, and do media interviews. You can't ignore the smaller media outlets, they're very fertile ground for operations like ours. Small newspapers, small radio stations, small television stations. This will take a tremendous amount of time, more than just August, September, and October.

That just gives you an indication that I'm committed to enhancing current libertarian infrastructures and creating them where they don't exist, and to raise our visibility nationally as well. This is going to take an enormous amount of money and raising it won't be easy. In terms of raising money, we will do it in all of the traditional ways. We will certainly employ the most sophisticated techniques available so long as it's cost-effective and does not involve a deficit.

Vanguard: At a somewhat higher level, do you consider yourself an optimist or a pessimist on the long-run prospects for rolling back the state?

Burns: Some days I'm optimistic, some days I'm pessimistic, and they're running about even. I'm fairly optimistic this weekend. Last weekend I had a very interesting meeting with four blacks in Orlando who are desperately trying to make it as entrepreneurs in a shopping center enterprise. They have been dumped on by the government, they have been victimized, brutalized, the government has done everything but blow their building up to try to prevent them from succeeding. These are people who, if you had to give a flyer, you would not say are the natural constituency of the Libertarian Party. Why would you go to black people and say come on board with free enterprise? They would say, what free enterprise? You've screwed us six ways from Sunday with free enterprise. We don't have any home in the free market in America. You've discriminated against us because we're black. Here are people who are articulate and passionate. That gave me a great deal of optimism. If you can touch these folks and have them touch other folks in their communities, there may be some hope.

Also, one of the things the Libertarian Party needs to do is pursue natural-constituency allies. We're finding evangelical Christians, who tend to be identified with the religious right and oppressive government interfering in our lives, beginning to say that maybe the best thing the government could do for us is leave us alone and let us argue for our point of view. That's a major breakthrough happening quietly. People like Billy Graham coming along and saying, make it on our own, that's really the message of your religion, the government has no place in your religion.

So these things give me a sense of optimism. But then you look at the enormous size and structure of government and recognize self-interest for what it is, and how many people have a vested interest in its perpetuation, then you get pessimistic. But I'm right in the middle. Obviously, I'm optimistic enough to do this, optimistic enough to think it's worth the effort.

Vanguard: Thank you, Gene Burns.

Brickbats & Bouquets

● A **BRICKBAT** to Chris Hocker, editor of *Update*, for a disingenuous item on Ron Paul in the March issue. According to *Update*, "rumors are still circulating that Congressman Ron Paul is still interested in seeking the nomination" and "a number of libertarian leaders are rumored to be in the process of forming a committee to draft Paul." Where *Update* gives you rumors, *Vanguard* gives you facts, to wit, Paul has virtually ruled out a presidential bid, and the Committee to Draft Ron Paul has been more than a rumor for some time. Chris Hocker should know because Chris Hocker heads it. . . .

● A **FOOTNOTE** to the announcement in the Crane Machine's *Update* that Friedmanite economist Alan Reynolds is under consideration as a candidate for the 1984 LP Presidential nomination. Reynolds believes in applying Friedmanite cost-benefit analysis—in order to stomp out freedom of speech and the press ("unrestricted communications," as Reynolds puts it). In his infamous article, "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Pornography," Reynolds endorses land-use controls that would prevent property owners from establishing an auto-body shop or a dog kennel. (This guy is LP Presidential timber???) Reynolds then lashes out at "exploiting the auto-erotic fantasies of the sexually frustrated," and endorses government use of liquor licensing powers and zoning laws to regulate adult-oriented businesses. It's a matter of "externalities," "social costs," and "neighborhood effects," according to Reynolds. According to us, it's a matter of liberty. . . .

● A newsletter apparently starting off right is the Kern County (California) *Advance To Liberty*. A **BOUQUET** to their first issue, in which they exhort their members to action, publicize their "Library of Liberty" (150 volumes, rented at low rates), and review Henry Hazlitt's *Economics In One Lesson* ("They All Laughed When I Sat Down To Learn Economics"). . . .

● A **BOUQUET** to Tom Palmer for an excellent, incisive expose in the February 1983 *Inquiry* of "The Infrastructure Scam," but Palmer also merits a **BRICKBAT** for his mush-wit review of William Barrett's *Illusion of Technique* in the March *Update*. Palmer wants libertarians to give up "abstract ethical systems" like property rights and embrace existential philosopher Martin Heidegger, a Nazi apologist. . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to the Delaware LP and its chair Vern Etzel for running a Nazi as an LP candidate for state legislature. The candidate, Ed Reynolds, was known to Delaware party leaders to have used in the past as a return address a local Nazi leader's address. Yet the Delaware LP welcomed Reynolds without adequately checking into this fact and without adequate examination of Reynolds's ideological beliefs. As one Delaware LPer put it,

"we were under a lot of pressure to run a lot of candidates." Looking into Reynolds background would have disclosed that he had been accused of raping a Jewish woman who had infiltrated the local Nazi group (charges were dropped). Reynolds ran one of the most active LP campaigns in the state, and during the campaign he and some supporters got into a minor brawl at a rally for Herman Holloway, the black state legislator against whom Reynolds was running. In January, 1983, Reynolds was evicted from the house he was renting in Wilmington, and in protest unfurled a large swastika flag. The Delaware LP has to date issued no press release repudiating Reynolds. Please, please, fellow LPers, run Libertarians as LP candidates. . . . Postscript: Latest news from Delaware is that Vern Etzel has announced that he is a candidate for National Chair of the LP. . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to Pennsylvania LP vice-chair Frank Bubb for stating in an op-ed column nationally circulated by the Institute for Humane Studies that young Americans should "accept" the burden of current Social Security taxes. A **BOUQUET** to *Libertarian Penn* editor Jorge Amador for replying that no one should have to accept the burden of Social Security taxes. . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to the Pennsylvania LP Executive Board, which seriously considered a suit to halt a privately-sponsored candidate debate that did not include the LP candidate. The supposed libertarian rationale for the suit would have been that tax money was being used to broadcast the debate. We're sympathetic to the view that, where governments exist, government resources should be open to all, but this doesn't entitle the LP to stop a private debate. . . .

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● The SLS chapter of the University of Toronto must be going strong, because their March 1983 *SLS News* contained a fascinating, if brief, account of a "model parliament" held in February in which libertarians participated. The libertarians were attacked as "black anarchists" (the Progressive Conservatives were merely called "white anarchists") and were taunted with the claim that "a libertarian government is a contradiction in terms." Hmm, maybe they have a point. . . . A **BOUQUET** to them for this and other activities described in their newsletter. . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to Roy Childs, the Cato Institute's foreign policy analyst, for his letter to *Commentary* in which he describes Norman Podhoretz's defense of Israel's invasion of Lebanon as "brilliant" and containing several "valid points," though Childs disagreed with Podhoretz on other points. Why this kissing up to neo-conservatives and Israeli apologists, Roy? Podhoretz's piece was probably the most evil magazine article to appear in 1982. . . .

● A similar size **BRICKBAT** to Reason senior editor Tibor Machan for implying in a letter to *Commentary* that Israel's invasion of Lebanon was an example of nobly looking out for one's rightful interests. . . .

● As we get in our licks against the Voluntarists in this issue, we toss a **BOUQUET** in Milton Mueller's direction for his article, "The Anti-Organizational Fallacy" in the Winter 1983 *Caliber*. Mueller effectively demolishes the analogy between the state, a coercive organization, and political movements and other non-coercive organizations,

and refutes the "marketization" proposals for organizing the movement. . . . Less Antman and Jack Dean and the rest of the *Caliber* staff also deserve a **BOUQUET** for continuing to make *Caliber* a readable and interesting state newsletter. . . .

● We have given **BRICKBATS** in the past to individuals who have cried "censorship!" when a libertarian publication decided against publishing a particular article or advertisement. So we're not surprised that we have to do it again, this time to editor Robert Williams of *The Freedom Sooner*, newsletter of the Oklahoma LP, for running an ad for Erwin Strauss's *The Case Against a Libertarian Political Party*, and in response to criticism replying, "Libertarians do not censor in their newsletters. If we censored the opposition in our newsletters, then it follows that we will continue to censor the opposition once we have attained political offices." No, no, no, Mr. Williams. The exercise of the right to control one's private property (usually called an "editorial policy" in the case of a publication) is *okay* under libertarian theory; censorship occurs when *non-owners*, such as the State, dictate the content of publications. Next we suppose you'll be publishing ads for the Democrats and Republicans, and John Anderson, and the Citizens Party, and who knows what, because "Libertarians don't censor the opposition in our newsletters". . . . **BOUQUETS** to LP of Oklahoma chair Robert Murphy and *LP News* editor Kathleen Jacob Richman for opposing the ad. As Richman notes, "the LP cannot be expected to advertise for its own destruction". . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to *American Defense*, the newsletter of the Defense Caucus, for the editorial in the January-February issue. The editorial reveals that what animates the Defense Caucus is not discovering how to defend American territory in a war consistent with libertarian principles, but instead how to weave an apology for the existing American government. According to *American Defense*, the American government does need some additional perfecting, but it is wrong, the newsletter contends, to focus "on the insults of the state against the individual." Instead we should all love the American government for what its officials have done for us, not "resent" it or accuse it of any "oppression."

We're confused. The radical Randians and limited governmentalsists we know have been telling us that most of what the American government does is illegitimate. But now the Defense Caucus says that these limited government radicals are motivated by horrible "resentment." Is it really unlibertarian, as the Defense Caucus asserts, not to trust the current criminals running the US government with our defense or anything else? . . .

● A **BOUQUET** to *Reason and Liberty*, the newsletter of the Washington State LP for a hard-core editorial on radicalism in the January/February 1983 issue. Citing a Republican candidate for Congress who said last fall, "When you Libertarians grow up (politically), we'll let you join the Republican party," the editorial warns against letting the libertarian movement become embedded in the conservative camp. . . .

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