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## Ron Paul for President?

REPRESENTATIVE RON PAUL (R-Texas) is no stranger to Libertarians. Congressman Paul holds himself forth as a libertarian (with a small "l"). He is a member of Libertarians for Life. He has addressed numerous Libertarian Party conventions—state and national. When Ed Crane was chairman of the national party, he spent LP money for a cocktail party honoring GOP member Ron Paul. Now Ed Crane has organized an unofficial "Draft Ron Paul" campaign, and Paul has refused to rule out a bid for the 1984 LP presidential nomination. In fact, Paul has had lunch with 1980 LP campaign angel David Koch to discuss finances for a 1984 presidential bid.

Even a cursory look at his voting record reveals the truth about this allegedly libertarian Congressman: far from being "our man on Capitol Hill," Paul's record shows that he is a defender of the Social

Security system; a bulwark of the CIA; a crusader *against* freedom of the press, world peace through world trade, and disarmament negotiations with the Soviets; a propagandist for the bloody and brutal dictator Somoza; a champion of welfare payments to veterans; and a stalwart in the New Right's assaults on the liberty of gays and on women's right of choice on abortion.

### ECONOMIC ISSUES

SOCIAL SECURITY IS A Ponzi scheme—it is the welfare state's cruelest and most vile swindle. Ed Crane has a plan to get rid of it in forty years. Some of us would like to do away with it now. But Congressman Paul is—believe it or not—a defender of the Social Security status quo. Paul voted for the infamous Wright resolution to strongly urge no reduction in Social Security benefits to current re-

by Justin Raimondo

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cipients. (This alleged libertarian lags behind unabashed conservatives like Rousselot [R-Calif.], McDonald [D-Ga.], and Phil Crane [R-Ill.], all of whom voted *against* House Resolution 181—against propping up a bankrupt welfare program which sacrifices the young and rips off the old.)

Ron Paul's deviations from libertarian principle follow a definite pattern. Cer-

*continued on page 2*

## Late Bulletin

## Koch Donates to GOP

David Koch, 1980 Vice Presidential candidate and financial angel for the Crane Machine and for the 1980 national LP campaign, has donated \$10,000 to the campaign of a law-and-order, right-wing Republican. The candidate is Lewis Lehrman, GOP nominee for governor of New York State. Lehrman is running against John Northrup, the Libertarian candidate.

Lehrman's economic program calls for modest tax cuts of 4% per year without notable spending cuts. The main focus of Lehrman's campaign has been law-and-order proposals to lessen civil liberties—"to take the handcuffs off the police." Lehrman has promised that, if elected, he would order an occupying army of police into ghetto areas and would himself lead the police forces in, mounted on a white horse. David Koch is the principal financial backer of *Update* newsletter and *Inquiry* magazine; he is also a substantial donor to the Randolph campaign, the Reason Foundation, Cato Institute, and the Foundation for Advanced Study in Liberty. □

## Crane's Libel on Liberty

by Dan Fiduccia

CATO INSTITUTE PRESIDENT Edward Crane has quietly attempted to use threats of libel law suits and actual legal action to force publishers and broadcasters to disseminate Crane's favored viewpoints, and libertarians across the country have reacted with disapproval and anger upon learning of Crane's tactics.

Crane has twice in the last three years resorted to menacing communications to newspaper and book publishers in order to secure the publication of Crane's response to alleged errors.

Crane's latest effort has caused attorneys for the publishing company to negotiate with Crane.

Last July 12, Crane wrote the Franklin

Watts Publishing Company, publisher of Ernest Volkman's *A Legacy of Hate: Anti-Semitism in America*, regarding what Crane termed "a blatantly libelous statement" concerning the Cato Institute in that book.

On one page of that book, the author mentioned the Institute for Historical Review, a Holocaust revisionist organization, and then mentioned the Cato Institute later in the paragraph because Cato had published a work by a Holocaust revisionist author, though it didn't contain his Holocaust revisionist writings. The author's wording in a subsequent paragraph was such that it might have led readers to confuse the two institutes.

*continued on page 6*



# In The Movement

## Arizona Handles Steiger

by Jill Rodgers

*Jill Rodgers is the editor of The New Mexico Libertarian, Box 8, Sapello, NM 87745. This article is reprinted from the September issue.*

ONE OF THE MOST difficult situations the Libertarian Party has to deal with is what Murray Rothbard calls "the prominent convert problem." This problem emerged in Arizona over the summer, and the repercussions reached all the way to Sapello.

Sam Steiger is a "name" in Arizona, a five-term congressman out of office for six years. When he contacted the Arizona LP talking about the governor's race, hopes were lifted sky-high. With Steiger on the ballot, Arizona could surely receive enough votes for perma-

nent ballot status.

I've got a friend I've been trying to get in SLS for several months. He hails from Globe, AZ, and he went back for the summer. Comes back to town and tells me Libertarians are nothing but radical Republicans. Now where did he get that idea? Maybe from Sam Steiger.

Seems Mr. Steiger went on TV and said that he didn't accept the LP position on the draft, and that he would support a draft. Yes, this is the Libertarian Party candidate.

Well, the LP of AZ handled the situation very well. They persuaded Steiger to change his position on the draft to mesh with Libertarian principles. I applaud Mr. Steiger's willingness to rethink an issue, and the Arizona LP's methods of dealing with the situation.

It is very tempting to nominate prominent converts. But let's make sure they know what we're all about. It seems to me that the draft is definitely one of the biggest issues of the day, and one that should have come up in any conversations between Mr. Steiger and the LP. At any rate, there is a lesson to be learned in all this.

The lesson is that we can't have too much internal education. We have to think through the issues and we have to be sure our candidates have thought them through. We should be prepared to welcome all the "converts" we can get, but we can't expect them to be fully acquainted with our principles.

We don't need to trade off our principles for votes, and, if we are vigilant, we never will. □

## Ron Paul

*continued from page 1*

tain groups seem to be either especially favored or especially feared by Rep. Paul, particularly veterans. He voted for the Veterans Disability Compensation and Survivors' Benefits Amendments of 1982 (HR 4658) (*Congressional Record*, 7/27/82). In Paul's view, a 7.5% increase in benefits "is only fair and proper." Notice the egalitarian rhetoric of fairness. In addition, Paul voted for HR 6350, which increases funding for VA nurses. (Paul considers this "a worthy government function.") Paul also voted for HR 2039, which guarantees home mortgage loans for veterans.

NASA is another Ron Paul favorite. Paul voted to keep the space shuttle program fat and fully funded. In Paul's opinion, "[the] Space Shuttle program should not be reduced." You might think that space exploration and industrialization were the province of private enterprise—at least in the view of libertarians. But here is self-proclaimed libertarian Ron Paul calling for a continued tax-financed subsidy.

Naturally enough, would-be Presidential aspirant Ron Paul has jumped on the flat rate bandwagon. In a press release by Paul's office, the flat rate is described as coming "closest to a perfectly fair tax

system." In straightforward egalitarian language he proclaims sternly that "Our present . . . system, with its absurd number of tax shelters and loopholes, *allows some to get away without paying their fair share of taxes.*" (Emphasis added.) They say politics makes strange bedfellows, but how is it that the man who may very well carry the LP banner aloft in the 1984 Presidential elections is echoing Jimmy "Equality of Sacrifice" Carter?

Like the IRS, Ron Paul wants to crush the underground economy, hoping that

*Paul described the flat-rate tax as coming "closest to a perfectly fair tax system."*

the flat rate tax will "encourage many who now participate in the underground economy . . . to come forward and report their income." Perhaps these extra monies could be used by finance another increase in veterans' benefits, or perhaps NASA needs another space toy.

"I believe if the Church asks for only 10% of our earnings, then this should be sufficient for the government as well" is how Paul's press release put it. This is where the concept of a "fair" tax leads if allowed to go unchallenged—arbitrary figures such as 10% pave the way for

20%, 40%, and higher. There is no such thing as a "fair" tax—all taxation is theft. Concentrating on the *rate* of taxation diverts public attention from the *injustice* of taxation itself and from the *overall amount*, which is huge, being taken from the people.

It is not the business of Libertarians to make the statist's job of tax collection any easier. However, it is our business to make it *harder* for them to collect taxes, harder for them to keep track of the working population, and to make it harder for them to keep their ship of state afloat. (See Murray Rothbard's "The Flat Rate Trap" in the August 1982 *Libertarian Vanguard*.)

Paul's other pets include the federal oceanography agency, the banks, the farmers, and certain civil service programs—all of which he has defended against the budget-cutting axe. This means that Paul has lagged behind some Republicans and even a few Democrats in calling for cuts in federal spending.

What kind of libertarian votes for final passage of the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act? What kind of libertarian prefers government minting of Olympic gold coins to franchised private minting? In fact, one charming aspect of Ron Paul's record on such issues is that Paul makes *Reason* magazine editor Bob Poole look like a far-out radical.



Just on the basis of his stands on economic issues, Paul's voting record puts him beyond the pale. He is no libertarian. He is a welfare statist—though not the most extravagant of the species. In short, examination of Paul's record shows that he is not applying the principles of liberty to economic issues.

#### CIVIL LIBERTIES

RON PAUL'S MOST GLARING recent transgression of libertarian principle in the civil liberties area was his vote for the Intelligence Identities Protection Act (HR 4). His vote was a stab in the back of the Bill of Rights.

This law is an American version of the British Official Secrets Act. It is a direct assault on the liberty of the press. Its thrust is exactly contrary to the libertarian position that taxpayers have a right to know what they're paying for. The law has been condemned as unconstitutional by over one hundred constitutional law professors. J. F. Shattuck, Washington director of the ACLU, calls the law "a devastating blow to freedom of the press."

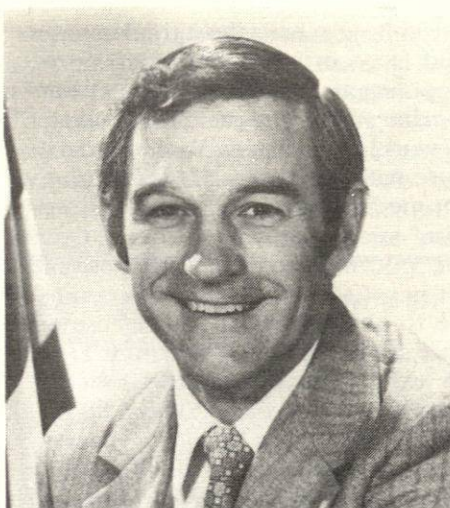
The law makes it illegal for reporters to identify undercover intelligence agents even if the information is obtained from public or unclassified sources—including a book on a library shelf or a newspaper article.

According to the *Columbia Journalism Review*, the authors of scores of major books and news articles could have been indicted under this law if it had been in effect when they wrote, for example, the following:

- The New York *Time*'s investigation of ex-CIA agents Wilson and Terpil and their activities in Libya;
- Disclosure that former CIA agents were involved in the Watergate break-in;
- Stories recounting illegal domestic spying by the CIA; and
- The Washington *Post*'s article revealing that the CIA had been making annual payments to King Hussein of Jordan.

That someone who calls himself a *libertarian* could have voted for this monstrous law dirties and smears that glorious word in a way that is unforgettable and unforgivable.

At a time when a woman's right to choose to have an abortion is facing a serious threat at the federal level, Ron Paul's anti-abortion beliefs would pre-



**Rep. Ron Paul**

vent him from enunciating the national Libertarian Party's platform position on abortion. ("We support the repeal of all laws restricting the right of the woman to make a personal moral choice regarding the termination of pregnancy.") Abortion is not some kind of minor side issue. Ayn Rand opposed Ronald Reagan because he opposed women's right to choose.

The right to choose is an inherent part of a woman's self-ownership of her body. But Ron Paul is on record denying that right. He is on record making all the misplaced analogies about abortion and Hitlerian genocide. He is on record calling abortion "mass murder." He is on record describing pro-choice libertarians as potentially "very dangerous." He is on record describing the "millions" of Americans having and performing abortions as murderers.

#### Accountability

THE RAZOR-THIN 204-to-202 House of Representatives vote in early August against the resolution endorsing a mutual and verifiable nuclear freeze ensures that House members can be held accountable for the defeat of the nuclear freeze in Congress: A switch of one vote would have produced a tie—and victory for the pro-freeze position.

*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (Oct. 1982)

Do we want to support someone for President who is logically committed to treating women who have abortions as murderers? Such a stance might seem harsh until one realizes that Ron Paul's chief congressional aide is a fanatical Calvinist who favors the death penalty for gays and adulterers.

If Ron Paul has his favorites—veterans, Social Security recipients, and NASA astronauts—he also has definite dislikes. Among those with least favored status are gays. Jumping on the recent Congressional "scandal"—which turned out to be the product of one page's feverish imagination—Paul voted for HR 518, which called for an investigation of alleged homosexual activity and drug use by members of Congress. Paul believes that "Congress should investigate this matter thoroughly."

By voting for the Jerry Falwell-initiated Congressional action repealing the District of Columbia's 1981 liberalized sex laws—which legalized sex between consenting adults—Paul helped continue the authority of the morals squad to terrorize Washington, D. C.

Further evidence of Paul's antipathy toward gay rights can be found in a 1980 letter he wrote to help raise money for the New Right's "Get McGovern" campaign. In the letter, Paul urged support for GOP hopeful Dale Bell because "It was George McGovern who—alone among his colleagues—addressed a national meeting on homosexual rights, endorsing the aims of the conference." One wonders what Ron Paul thought of Ed Clark addressing a rally of 4000 in San Francisco where he denounced a ballot initiative which would have banned gay teachers from the public schools in California.

Ron Paul serves on the advisory board of Christian Voice, the Washington-based anti-civil liberties lobbying and campaign-fundraising organization. Christian Voice opposes legalization of abortion, favors prayer in public schools, favors retaining anti-sodomy laws (to indicate that American society does not condone homosexual acts), and favors enforcement of laws against solicitation by homosexuals. Ron Paul's score on Christian Voice's morality rating was 88% for 1979-1980 and 100% for 1981, based on his votes in Congress.

Another group not beloved by Paul is Iranian students residing in this country.



Through some odd notion of collective guilt—odd, that is, for an alleged libertarian—Paul recommended at the height of the Iranian hostage crisis that all Iranian students be expelled from public colleges and universities and forced to return to Iran.

And this self-proclaimed non-interventionist went even further, declaring: "For future crises like this, we need a commando force especially trained and equipped for anti-terrorist actions." Advocating such a global anti-terrorist strike force is certainly not a call for the traditional isolationist policy of defending America's shores. Instead it sounds like Reaganite militarism, in which intervention is justified in the name of combatting terrorism.

To sum up Paul's stance on civil liberties, he is saying: the human rights of speakers, writers, broadcasters, women, gays, and aliens—No; the welfare rights of veterans, Social Security recipients, farmers, bankers, and military and space contractors—Yes. Some libertarian.

#### FOREIGN POLICY AND THE ARMS RACE

RON PAUL IS *TO THE RIGHT* of Ronald Reagan on the question of disarmament.

Ronald Reagan has at least tried to put a good face on things by pretending to favor negotiated disarmament while launching the mightiest military buildup the world has ever seen. Paul would dispense with all pretense at negotiation. "Let me begin my making my position clear," said Ron Paul on the House floor (CR, 3/30/82). "I reject the proposition that negotiated disarmament is conducive to either effective self-defense or peace. Strategic Arms Limitations Treaties are irrational agreements to make with the untrustworthy thugs who occupy the Kremlin. . . . Negotiated restrictions on the possible means of our self-defense cannot possibly be advantageous. Indeed, these limitations have in fact been harmful to American defenses."

Ron Paul has not supported and would not support the LP position on disarmament: "We favor international negotiations toward general and complete disarmament down to police levels, provided every necessary precaution is taken to effectively protect the lives and rights of the American people. Particularly important is the mutual disarmament of nuclear weapons and missiles and other instruments of indiscriminate mass destruction of civilians." (National

LP Platform) As Paul made clear time and time again during the House debate over the nuclear freeze proposal, ". . . under no circumstances would I have us engage in arms limitations talks." (CR, 4/20/82)

These bellicose remarks are somewhat muted by Paul's neat trick of pulling an "isolationist" rabbit out of a hat: "Now, in 'defense' I certainly do not include 'making the world safe for democracy,' or 'projecting our will all over the globe. . . .'" Paul then goes on to say, "I would cancel any new offensive weapons like the MX missile and the B-1 bomber." But when it came down to the

### *Paul's vote for the Intelligence Identities Protection Act was a stab in the back of the Bill of Rights.*

wire, Paul voted against Rep. Conyers' one-year suspension of nuclear procurement items (Trident sub, Trident I missiles, sea cruise missiles, air cruise, ground cruise, the Pershing II missile, the B-1, and the MX) (CR, 7/22/82).

The main thrust of Paul's argument is that some nuclear weapons are defensive (i.e., retaliatory), others—he asserts—are offensive. Since, in his view, all negotiations are out of the question, we must preserve U.S. H-bombs for retaliatory purposes. And so Paul defends holding on to the massive numbers of nuclear weapons currently in the U.S. arsenal: "I think the disarmers miss the point if they equate more weapons with a greater chance of armed conflict. In some ways, the facts show just the converse." Does Paul mean that "in some ways" more weapons of mass destruction will bring us closer to peace? If so, why not say so? Why not "War is Peace" as the theme of Ron Paul's presidential bid? It an appropriate slogan for the year 1984. It might even catch on—with those who consider Ronald Reagan a dove.

Paul also says, "I would immediately begin intensive research and development of anti-ballistic missile systems, [and] laser and particle beam weapons. . . ." This is Ron Paul's twenty-first century Manhattan Project, devoted to fighting total war, Star Wars style. The failure to understand the political as well

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as the moral implications of nuclear weapons and Flash Gordon-type ray guns is the root of this would-be libertarian's error. With weapons of mass destruction the best offense is a good defense, according to the good Dr. Paul. Yet once the nuclear arms race got going, every attempt to create an invulnerable defense was seen by the other side as an attempt to move into a first strike position. In a very real sense, so long as defenses are possessed by a side that has offensive and retaliatory nuclear weapons, these defenses have offensive effects. These defenses cannot be exclusively defensive—since the capacity to execute a disarming first strike is the coveted prize which awaits the winner of the arms race.

Interestingly, Paul raises what amounts to an "ultra-left" argument against disarmament—one which might be expected from either Sam Konkin or maybe even George Smith and his "Voluntaryist" group—when he states that "Disarmament . . . will never arise until men treat one another as autonomous agents, or free traders, and coercion is a thing of the past. Disarmers are all too willing to trust their fate to the unverifiable agreements reached between governments." (CR, 3/30/82)

This treaty phobia is hardly a new phenomenon. The right wing tried the same approach at the time of John Kennedy's partial test ban treaty. As E. H. Carr pointed out long ago, government leaders can be trusted to keep treaties that are in their interest. If Soviet and American leaders believe that a nuclear World War III is *not* in their interests, they will keep disarmament treaties. In reality, Paul's treaty phobia is a meaningless ritual—cheap window-dressing for his hardcore Cold Warrior views. Unless and until all states are dismantled it will not do to pretend that states do not exist. States exist; diplomacy exists. The sensible libertarian wants to roll back and limit the state as much as possible and channel diplomacy toward pursuit of peace. Leftwing posturing for the sake of rightwing goals is in this case another way of describing fanatical militarism.

(Ron Paul's treaty phobia is in fact a hypocritical stance, which he is all too willing to discard in order to help the hawks. For example, consider his vote on the nuclear weapons freeze. Before the House voted on the freeze, Reagan's

supporters proposed a substitute policy statement calling for a U. S. build-up and then a freeze. The day before the vote, Paul promised Washington, D. C. libertarians that because of his opposition to treaties he would vote against both the immediate freeze and the Reaganite substitute. But when the actual vote was

### *Paul's vote was decisive in blocking the nuclear weapons freeze in the House of Representatives.*

taken, Paul voted to substitute the Reaganite plan in place of the immediate freeze plan. (CR, 8/5/82) This was the crucial vote. It was 204 to 202. So if Paul had voted against substitution, the Reaganite build-up plan would have failed. Instead it passed, and Paul's vote to substitute was decisive. Thanks a lot, Ron.)

Paul is an opponent of the Cobdenite policy of world peace through world trade. He is constantly inveighing against the leakage of "strategic technologies" to the Soviets through trade. Precious time that Paul could spend criticizing the U. S. government is spent attacking IBM, Control Data, and other companies. Thus, he opposes much East-West trade on national security grounds. (So much for creating a society of "autonomous agents" and "free traders.") Paul, like Reagan, wants us to fight a trade war with the Soviets, ignoring the lesson of World War II that trade war with Japan led to shooting war with Japan.

Ron Paul's ostensibly "isolationist" views are only skin deep. His voting record illustrates that *in practice* he supports a main element in Reagan's foreign policy for America—the rapid development of a U. S. first strike capability, which for Reagan is the capstone of the biggest rearmament program in history. Paul voted against a Ron Dellums substitute for the \$150 billion military budget (HR 6080), which would have cut military spending by 31% (CR, 7/20/82). In spite of Paul's assertion that he favors only "defensive" nuclear weapons, he voted against the Downey amendment, which would have stopped funding for the Trident II (a first strike weapon) and cut R&D monies for the Axe missile (a tactical missile to be used on European battlefields).

Paul's voting record on foreign policy

issues other than the arms race rounds out our portrait of Ron Paul, Superhawk. He voted *no* on urging the President to press for free and open elections in El Salvador,\* voted for considering the establishment of Radio Marti (the U. S. government's anti-Castro station), and voted for HR 322, which attacked the UN for censuring Israel. He called the Panama Canal Treaty "appeasement," "capitulation," and a "give-away" of the canal. Paul also signed a full-page ad in the New York Times urging the United States to support the late Anastasio Somoza, dictator of Nicaragua, two days before the murder of an American newsmen by Somoza's thugs caused even Washington to abandon the *caudillo* to a well-deserved fate.

Insofar as Reaganism represents a shift, rather than a cut, in the public sector from the civilian to the military, Ron Paul can all too often be found in the ranks of the President's supporters. Insofar as Reaganism represents an effort by the rulers of this country to streamline the machinery of oppression and to run a tighter, but no less powerful, ship of state, Ron Paul is among the most ardent Reaganites in Congress.

#### CRISIS IN THE PARTY

HOW HAS IT COME TO PASS that the same people who were courting the New York Times-style liberals in 1980 are now courting *Human Events*-style ultraconservatives like Ron Paul? How is it that people like Ed Crane are lurching from left to right faster than Lyndon LaRouche? It is perhaps because tailing after Reaganism is safer than recognizing it for what it currently is—the main political danger to our movement, our pri-

\*Lest it be thought that Paul's vote on El Salvador was part of a consistent isolationist opposition on his part to taking official American stands on the internal affairs of foreign countries, it should be noted that Paul has not hesitated to violate isolationism when it comes to America directing the U.S.S.R. on how to manage its internal affairs. See, for example, Paul's 1982 vote on the status of Soviet Jews. In reality, Paul's votes are for U. S. intervention on behalf of human rights in areas that the United States does not control (the U.S.S.R.) and against U. S. government pressure in areas where the United States has major control (El Salvador). That's Woodrow Wilson-style interventionism, not isolationism.



mary political adversary.

But in analyzing the twists and turns of what has come to be known as the Crane Machine, one quickly learns that ideological explanations for political behavior do not suffice. The purely pragmatic, factional interests of this opportunist grouping come first, which means that the current right turn has much to do with the recent trends in the national LP as an organization. The Crane Machine once ran the national LP like a feudal fiefdom. Then in 1981, Crane's candidate for National Chair came in third in Denver. In August, 1982, his choice for National Director was removed from office. The Ron Paul candidacy is the Crane Machine's chance for a comeback. Crane believes he would control the candidate and the campaign, and regain control of the party, as in the past. Ed Crane and his clique of yesterday's low-tax liberals are ready, willing, and able to campaign as tomorrow's less-interventionist conservatives. The equation that sums up the Crane Machine is: Left opportunism plus right opportunism equals total opportunism.

As for Ron Paul, he is quite aware of what Libertarianism is and is not, and he has chosen not to vote in Congress the way a libertarian would. As a presidential candidate, Paul would be judged by the public and the news media on the strength of his record in Congress. That record is not the record of a Libertarian. If we want our party to stand clearly and unequivocally by its libertarian principles, we had best nominate someone with a record of adherence to those principles. □

**Editor's Note:** Mr. Raimondo's article concentrates primarily on Rep. Paul's congressional activities in the last two years. Some libertarians will want a fuller portrait of Paul's political career. The LPRC has assembled a record of Paul's earlier votes on such issues as the NASA budget, student loans, veterans' benefits, school prayer, East-West trade, foreign aid for South Korea and Rhodesia, U.S. military spending, Soviet internal affairs, Taiwan, the Panama Canal, and so forth. For your copy of this information, send \$3.00 to: LPRC, 3790 El Camino Real, Box 172, Palo Alto, CA 94306, and specify that you want "Ron Paul Congressional Votes."

## Crane's Libel

*continued from page 1*

Crane told Franklin Watts that the writing was "completely false" and "unjustly discredits" the Cato Institute. Crane wrote that "financial damages" would be pursued unless Franklin Watts published an errata sheet which would be shipped to all of the book's distribution outlets. Crane also demanded that letters of apology describing the "falsehood" be sent to Crane from both the author and Franklin Watts. Unless all demands were met immediately, Crane warned of "pursuing alternative courses of action."

The statement in question was not intended to refer to the Cato Institute but rather to the Institute for Historical Review, according to Edward Kabak, assistant general counsel for Grolier, Inc., the parent company of Franklin Watts.

Kabak said his company has responded to Crane's letter and is currently trying to resolve the matter with Crane.

In October 1979, Crane reacted to a San Francisco *Chronicle* columnist's column on the Libertarian Party and the Cato Institute by threatening to sue. The columnist later printed a correction and the newspaper also printed a letter to the editor from Crane.

Crane has not confined himself to using libel suit threats against the print media. Another Crane tactic has been to use the federal government to seek access to the broadcast media.

In 1980, while Crane was Director of Communication for the Ed Clark for President Committee, the Committee filed a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission in an attempt to force NBC-TV to sell the Committee both the time length and broadcast viewing time that the Committee wanted for its commercials. The FCC rejected the complaint.

Libertarians first heard of the Committee's action through reports of it in *Broadcasting* magazine.

While use of the libel laws may seem inconsistent with generally acknowledged libertarian positions (see related article), Crane's repeated use of a threatened libel suit to insure the publication of his ideas seems even more curious in light of Crane's published views on libel

suits.

Writing in the June 15 & 19, 1981 issue of *Inquiry*, Crane noted that Carol Burnett's \$1.6 million libel suit verdict against the *National Enquirer* "underscores the perilous state of the press in America—and the inexcusable myopia of much of the media in applauding the decision against the *National Enquirer*."

Crane did not respond to *Vanguard's* request for an interview.

Murray Rothbard, noted libertarian economist, pointed out that the Volkmann book attempted to link Cato to Holocaust revisionist writers based on the forward to a non-Holocaust revisionist book. "It's a shameless operation and guilt by association—it makes [Joe] McCarthy look like an exacting scholar," said Rothbard.

However, Rothbard termed Crane's response to the book "non-libertarian."

Rothbard also described Crane's threats against the San Francisco *Chronicle* as "another act of aggression on the part of Crane."

Glenn Garvin, editor of *Inquiry* when Crane attacked the news media for supporting the *National Enquirer* libel decision, commented: "Ed [Crane] has proved time and again that he's a person of expedience, not principle. His current libel suit threat is the worst example."

Nat Hentoff, an *Inquiry* columnist and well-known civil libertarian, responded with surprise to news of Crane's letter to Franklin Watts, saying that "I find it hard to believe that Ed Crane—a fervent libertarian with a capital 'L'—would do it—and that he would use the state by means of its court system to do it."

Frank Horn, member of the California LP Central Committee, responded to Crane's libel suit threats by saying that while "it's good to ask for a correction of errors, I don't think it's good to threaten libel suits because most libertarians, including myself, don't believe in libel laws."

Libertarian historians David Gordon and Ronald Hamowy disapproved of Crane's libel suit threats; LP National Vice Chair Sheldon Richman and libertarian philosopher Doug Rasmussen questioned Crane's use of that tactic.

Persons interviewed by *Vanguard* also condemned legal efforts to force publishers and broadcasters to disseminate someone's views.



David Theroux, who heads a free-market think tank, said that "access suits are not appropriate, and libertarians shouldn't be doing it." He said that instead of suing private holders of the broadcast media, suits should be against the FCC for its restrictionist policies.

James Sadowsky, philosophy professor at Fordham University, said "you're not entitled to access to the media."

Robert LeFevre, columnist for the Freedom Newspapers, said that while any news medium should be eager to

disseminate your information for money, you should "buy your own station if others won't touch it."

Hamowy said that he was unaware of access suits against the media, but "it sounds just awful."

Hentoff disapproved of access suits against both the broadcast and print media.

Rothbard noted that the Clark Committee complaint to the FCC was "using the state for coercive action."

Garvin denounced media access suits

as "clearly contrary to all libertarian theory and doctrine."

While pointing out that the Clark Committee complaint was against the NBC-TV network, which is not licensed at all by the government, Garvin noted that "innumerable things are limited by the government. For example, there would be more cars and more affordable cars if there were no government regulation of the auto industry. Does this mean someone has a right to use Crane's Mercedes?" □

## Libertarians on Libel Law

VANGUARD RECENTLY surveyed libertarian economists, historians, philosophers, activists, and journalists for their views on libel laws. Their positions and reasoning follow:

• "Libel suits are definitely and emphatically anti-libertarian. They assume that a person has property rights in other persons' minds. . . . Libel laws [also] become class-based discrimination."

—Murray Rothbard, libertarian economist, historian, LNC member

• "I don't think libel laws should exist; libel laws are non-libertarian. . . . Libel laws concern the question of what are property rights—[you can't have property rights in] someone's image. . . . Libertarians should know that libel laws were created by people with a vested interest in the status quo. Using libel laws stops stirring up controversy, and doesn't permit change."

—David Theroux, free-market think-tank head

• "Libel law is completely invalid. The freedom to speak means the freedom to speak what others might consider untruth. The central premise behind libel law is that a person has a right to his reputation—but you can't own it or control it because it exists in the minds of others. Libel law is a monstrous threat to free speech."

—Glenn Garvin, former editor of *Inquiry Magazine*

• "My position is the same as Hugo Black's: all libel law, whether about a public official, public figure, or private person, is in violation of the First Amendment—it inhibits and chills speech."

—Nat Hentoff, noted civil libertarian and journalist

• "I don't have an argument in favor of libel laws. Yet it doesn't seem impossible to be libertarian and be in favor of libel laws at the same time. There may be an argument in favor of [libel laws] but I haven't seen it yet."

—Doug Rasmussen, libertarian philosopher at St. John's University

• "I agree with Walter Block in his book *Defending the Undefendable*. I don't think there should be any libel laws. And as Murray Rothbard wrote in *Man, Economy, and State*, your reputation is only what people think of you, and you don't own your reputation."

—James Sadowsky, S.J., libertarian philosopher at Fordham University

• "I don't favor libel laws. I believe in free speech. You have a right to say whatever you like; I may not like it or admire you if you lie, but you have a right to say it."

—Robert LeFevre, columnist for Freedom Newspapers, founder of Rampart College

• "I would be against [libel laws], and would take the Rothbardian line. Having property rights in your own reputation is incorrect. The belief [in libel laws] is founded on ideas other people have of you, and you don't have a right to control information going to other people. Even if a person is malicious and issuing reckless lies, that's perfectly within a person's rights."

—David Gordon, libertarian historian

• "I'm against libel laws, for reasons adequately spelled out by Murray Rothbard in his various writings and by [Walter] Block in *Defending the Undefendable*."

—Frank Horn, LP of California Central Committee member

• "I'm against [libel laws] for fairly standard reasons. It's an unnecessary infringement of free speech. Libel doesn't harm anyone; only someone believing it harms someone."

—Ronald Hamowy, libertarian historian at the University of Alabama, former editor of *Inquiry Magazine*

• "I take the Murray Rothbard position. It's a matter of free speech, and it's really a problem of how you can own your reputation—an idea that's in the mind of others."

—Sheldon Richman, LP National Vice Chair



# In the Literature

## Homesteading: Key to Justice in Telecommunications

by Scott Olmsted

*Property Rights in Radio Communications: The Key to the Reform of Telecommunications Regulation*, by Milton Mueller. CATO Institute Policy Analysis, June 1982.

IN THE FEBRUARY 1982 issue of *Libertarian Vanguard*, Milton Mueller received a BRICKBAT for the anti-homesteading theory contained in the CATO Policy Analysis that is reviewed here. While the BRICKBAT was based on advanced information supplied by Mueller, I find, after a thorough reading of his study, that it was well-deserved. Mueller has attempted to augment and rework libertarian principle to bring his analysis into conformance with his views on nuclear power. While the consistency of his approach is remarkable, its variance with well-established libertarian theory must not be allowed to go unnoticed.

To be fair, Mueller's analysis contains excellent sections on the history of the FCC and the chaos its central planning has produced. Mueller has produced a readable and enlightening explanation of the technical aspects of radio communication and uses this well to demolish the concept that the radio spectrum is a scarce "natural resource" that must be centrally managed. Drawing from the work of Hayek and Mises, he rightly notes that the fifty years' experience with central planning in this area is the longest-running "experiment" carried out in the U.S. that bears out their predictions about disastrous results that must occur.

His proposed solution is the creation of a system of property rights with a full price system based on transferable titles to radio "channels"—connections between particular transmitters and receivers on particular frequencies. Unlike previous proposals for establishing rights to broadcast a certain signal strength over a certain geographic area, Mueller's proposal, at least in theory, has receivers play just as important a role as transmitters. His reasoning is based on

the idea that libertarian principle prohibits interference by others with the continued use of that channel by the parties at either end.

If the title to the channel were given to the person transmitting, then this line of reasoning would have different consequences than previous proposals only where no one was yet operating a receiver, so no channel had yet been created. For example, Mueller would deny the right of non-interference to someone who, before there was anyone there with a receiver, covered the Los Angeles basin with a radio signal so that he would be ready when the hordes with Sony Walkmans arrived.

But Mueller's theory does *not* award the title to a radio channel to the person transmitting. He claims that *neither* the person transmitting nor the person receiving owns the channel itself and that instead there is an implicit contract between them that either can revoke at will.

Without going into the unlibertarian aspects of "implied" contracts, we must draw attention to the bizarre conclusions Mueller draws from his theory: If the person receiving no longer wishes to receive the signal, then the person transmitting retains his right to continue to broadcast at the same level, but the right not to have the channel interfered with is lost. In other words, he has homesteaded nothing, because no other transmitters can be enjoined from interfering with his signal.

Mueller uses the following reasoning to justify this result: "If [transmitter T] chooses to cease transmission, then [receiver R] has no right to force him to continue. While this may seem unexceptional, reversing the relation seems just as logical: A transmitter does not have the right to command a receiver to accept his transmissions.... [T]his conception of the role of the receiver ... means that if R no longer wishes to receive T, then T ... loses any right to protect his channel to R from interference."

While this may seem just as logical to Mueller, it is actually the height of illogic. For the roles played by T and R are *not* symmetric; T has an *active* role—his transmission is the *cause* and R's reception of meaningful information via the radio channel is the *effect*. While it is necessary for R to have a receiver, it is the action of T to *use* the channel to bring his transmission to R that constitutes the homesteading action giving him title to the channel and protecting his transmissions from interference.

Mueller's theory is consistent with the John Gofman-inspired doctrine that one has the right not to have *any* radiation emitted by others fall on one's person. Of course, Mueller could not claim that R's desire not to receive T's transmission requires T to shut down his transmitter, for that would lead to obvious absurdities. But he has come as close as possible to bringing the two theories into line.

Inexplicably, the policy recommendations of the report make no use of this erroneous theory. Mueller advocates a government registry of transmitter location and strength (why a government registry?) and court-ordered injunctions in cases in which one transmitter demonstrably interferes with another operating at its registered level, with interference problems that emerge after both transmitters have been operating for a period of time settled on the basis of who was registered first.

This outline of a property rights system in radio channels, with rights going to transmitters, appeals to me and makes me wonder why Mueller bothered to cook up his strange theory of implied contracts. Perhaps after reading this he will exercise his right to broadcast the reason to me. But, of course, I reserve the right not to receive it. □

Hunter & Ready

Software Consultants

COLIN HUNTER

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# On The Campaign Trail

## Interview with Joe Fuhrig

JOE FUHRIG IS THE Libertarian candidate for U.S. Senator from California. *Vanguard* interviewed Joe in the midst of campaigning and teaching economics, which is his full-time occupation.

**Vanguard:** Why don't you give us a short analysis of your two opponents, Jerry Brown and Pete Wilson?

**Fuhrig:** Well, the delight to me after the primary was that I'd been given two opponents who both opposed Prop 13, although the perception of people now is that Brown was not opposed. But they can be reminded. Both Brown and Wilson also favored the Peripheral Canal, a multi-billion-dollar boondoggle. On both these issues the voters went two-to-one against them.

Both of these candidates are now running on varying forms of austerity and fiscal responsibility, but not the Reaganomics variety, which has been discredited in the eyes of most people. Brown is going to stand on his record, which he portrays as one of holding down spending and taxation. I'm simply going to point out that this does not stand up under scrutiny. Wilson's record is probably worse than Brown's so I will spend much of my time focusing on economic issues and fiscal responsibility—their responsibility.

**Vanguard:** What about tying Pete Wilson to Ronald Reagan?

**Fuhrig:** All the strategy reports I've seen in the last two months have urged Republican candidates to dissociate themselves from the Administration. So I don't think Wilson is going to tie himself to Reaganomics. But I'm going to...

**Vanguard:** What about foreign policy?

**Fuhrig:** Wilson will tie himself to Reagan there because he feels it is the least attackable area of Reagan's policies right now. Wilson has little experience in the area of foreign affairs since he's the mayor of San Diego, so there is little originality in his campaign on foreign policy. He will basically support Reagan's policy of complete interventionism.

**Vanguard:** What about Brown on foreign policy?

**Fuhrig:** He has some stances which I find remarkable: He favors the nuclear freeze and he supports building the B-1 bomber. I've told the press that he must be planning to drop unsold Chryslers on the Soviet Union. He has not spoken with any cogency on issues such as foreign policy, but he often comes on like Scoop Jackson, favoring a strongly militarized America with the economic health of the country tied to the military. He seems not to want to alienate his supporters whose livelihood year to year depends on getting military contracts.

I might add that both Brown and Wilson support the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, even after the massacre. I, of course, oppose all U. S. aid to Israel and I've spoken out strongly against Israeli actions.

**Vanguard:** Why should the U. S. take the first steps toward disarmament?

**Fuhrig:** Well, as I suggested back at the beginning of the campaign, the United States has been the leader of the arms race. The United States led the arms race at every stage. We have to show that we are going to take a different direction and disarm. The people of a free society should induce the world to behave as they behave and to organize their societies in their way by demonstrating the benefits of a free society, not by brow-beating the world with thinly veiled threats of a large standing army and weapons of mass destruction. The U. S. military is a thinly veiled threat not just to the rest of the world but to our own people. Recently in Florida, for the first time in history, regular army troops were called out to harass people who were transporting drugs, and it was the first time in my memory that our own army—not the National Guard, but the regular army—has been used against the American people. I've been warning my students as long as I've been a teacher that the greatest threat to a free society is having an army which will eventually harass and occupy your own country,



Joe Fuhrig

not just do it to other people. It's quite bad enough intervening in the affairs of other people.

**Vanguard:** Recently the government convicted some young persons for failure to register for the draft. What is your reaction?

**Fuhrig:** I have endorsed and advocated draft resistance, which I regard as a very libertarian act. If people don't like my position, that's tough. I think this is a tremendously important issue. My campaign manager is a former draft resister. I have other campaign workers who are resisters and non-registrants. And I was recently endorsed by [libertarian] Paul Jacob after he was indicted for failure to register.

**Vanguard:** What issue is most important to you?

**Fuhrig:** Well, there's no issue more important to me than free immigration and open borders. Both sides of my family immigrated in the 19th century from Germany and Poland. I have a romantic view of 19th century America in which it is the dream of the rest of the world to come here and make a life in a free society. The essence of that was open borders, an American tradition that I emphasize in all the classes that I teach.



The average American believes that there are seven million people in track suits at the border lined up like a starting line and that the moment we open the borders they are going to rush in here like a land rush and overpopulate Encino. That is simply nonsense. There

will certainly be more immigration than is legally allowed now, but as I point out to my classes, every supplier of labor is a demander of goods. If Say's law applies, and it applies here as it does everywhere else, there will never be too few jobs. The problem in a free society is too many

jobs, not too few. There are actually more jobs than there are people to take them, and a society must somehow select those jobs which are most valuable. Only a free market, through its information-gathering and disseminating mechanisms, can inform people what the most valuable jobs are.

My campaign has made good use of the immigration issue. I burned giant green cards at demonstrations in five cities and was subsequently endorsed by *La Prensa*, the largest Chicano newspaper in San Diego.

**Vanguard:** Is Ronald Reagan making it hard to build a convincing case for the free market?

**Fuhrig:** I don't think the ideological trend toward the free market that we've seen in the last ten years can be destroyed by such a tenuous experiment as Reaganomics. Look at the record on wage and price controls, for example. Nixon imposed controls when inflation was 4.4%, yet less than ten years later Carter felt he could not impose controls with inflation at 19%. I don't think the failure of Reaganomics will invalidate the free market, but there will be some short-term damage. Our task, as I see it, is to dissociate ourselves from Reaganomics. This was one of the reasons I decided to run for office, so I could speak out on this.

I think the Adam Smith/Murray Rothbard approach carries the essence of the free market and the appeal it should have to the common man. The common man needs the free market perhaps more than anybody else because the superior people—the talented people, the brightest people—will do well in any kind of society. The real appeal of the free market is to the oppressed and the over-taxed and the over-regulated and all the other losers in our present politicized society.

**Vanguard:** Would you describe yourself as a radical?

**Fuhrig:** Absolutely. Liberty and freedom have never been establishment positions. I don't want to water down our positions just so I can be taken more seriously, I want to be taken seriously by saying radical things and making them commonly accepted.

**Vanguard:** Thank you, Joe Fuhrig. □

## The Ten Points of the LPRC

(Adopted by the Central Committee, July, 1979)

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

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



# Letters

## Herbertgate Revisited

Editor:

.... Careful examination and responsible criticism of LP officers and candidates are very important. [But] greater care and more thorough investigation should precede such serious charges [as many of those in issue 21]. For example:

- .... Jule Herbert's support of the flat-rate tax is based on his (erroneous) empirical belief that it would reduce the overall level of taxation. Most of the so-called "Craniacs" (as well as myself) do not share Mr. Herbert's belief, so why blame them all? And Leslie Key's criticisms of the Project Liberty pamphlet have nothing to do with the flat rate at all, nor does she favor the income tax. Otherwise, I found Dr. Rothbard's dissection of the flat-rate chimera quite insightful and convincing.

- I would be much more easily convinced of the NCPAC/Randolph affair if you had actual pro-militarist quotes from Dick Randolph in his campaign or campaign materials, as well as actual quotes from Terry Dolan and specifics about NCPAC's "support" (e.g., how much money, if any).

- Regarding Jule Herbert's home plumbing bills being paid out of the NTLF Procurement Project account, you had better accompany such serious charges with more specific and solid evidence (e.g., photographs of checks, dates and check numbers, invoices, and bank statements).

If you want your "brickbats" to have any value at all, hand them out more selectively next time instead of diluting them with so much unsubstantiated innuendo, exaggeration, bias, and nonsense.

Frank H. Horn  
San Jose, CA

Editor's Reply:

- Ed Crane believes that supporting the flat-rate tax is, in his words, "the correct-think, activist" position; Crane also opposes campaigning for the repeal of the income tax. It is Crane's view—not Leslie Key's or Frank Horn's—that will determine how the resources of the Crane Machine are directed.

- Concerning Randolph and NCPAC, please see our reply to the letter below from Kent Guida.

- Jule Herbert (an attorney) signed all Project on Military Procurement checks. His secretary was under specific instructions to turn the bank statements over to Herbert without opening them. (Herbert denies that there was such a policy.)

These checks include:

\$6767.76 payable to Jule R. Herbert, Jr. (Herbert did not provide vouchers or receipts for these alleged expenses. Herbert later did hold up vouchers at a board meeting after questions began to be raised, but did not pass these vouchers around for inspection.)

100.00 payable to D. C. Treasurer. (People write checks to the District of Columbia treasurer usually to pay taxes—which the PMP does not pay as a tax-exempt organization—or parking tickets. The check has parking ticket numbers written on it.)

324.00 payable to Take Me Home (This is a catering service. The check was made out at a time when the PMP had no party.)

69.00 payable to Fry Plumbing (The PMP has office space in a building in which plumbing services are provided. In an interview with *Frontlines* newsletter, Herbert has acknowledged that the check was for his home plumbing bill and says he has since made proper reimbursement. The PMP, however, has received no such reimbursement.)

136.17 payable to Holland's (This is a liquor store. The PMP had no party at this time; Herbert says that NTLF did have a party at this time. Other sources say the NTLF held no party then. If it was for an NTLF

party, it should have been paid for out of the NTLF account.)

140.70 payable to Dewberry Engraving Co. (for non-PMP stationery)

450.00 payable to United Savings & Loan (to pay VISA bills)

2000.00 payable to VISA (The PMP has never had a VISA charge account. In his interview with *Frontlines*, Herbert maintains that this was reimbursement for NTLF travel expenses. Herbert told the NTLF board that the VISA bills were for trips to Florida during a tax-credit campaign there. If so, they should not have been paid out of the PMP account.)

325.00 payable to Bruce Majors (Majors was never a PMP employee and never did work for the PMP.)

800.00 payable to Tom Palmer (Palmer was never a PMP employee and never did work for the PMP.)

2500.00 payable to Charles M. Pike (Pike was the campaign manager for the D. C. educational tax-credit initiative; he was never a PMP employee and never did work for the PMP.)

4800.00 payable to Michael Burch (Burch was not a PMP employee, but he was an NTLF employee. He should have been paid out of the NTLF account.)

560.00 payable to Kristina Herbert (Mrs. Herbert was not a PMP employee, but was at

NATIONAL TAXPAYERS LEGAL FUND  
PROJECT ON MILITARY PROCUREMENT  
153

September 10, 81

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Jule R. Herbert Jr.  
Three thousand two hundred  
NS&T BANK  
FOR Jule R. Herbert Jr.  
0000530-40540005224 656-6753540 00000320000

NATIONAL TAXPAYERS LEGAL FUND  
PROJECT ON MILITARY PROCUREMENT  
169

Jan 13, 82

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Fry Plumbing  
Sixty nine  
NS&T BANK  
FOR Jule R. Herbert Jr.  
0000530-40540005224 656-6753540 00000024000

NATIONAL TAXPAYERS LEGAL FUND  
PROJECT ON MILITARY PROCUREMENT  
154

September 23, 81

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Holland's  
One hundred, thirty-six & 17/100  
NS&T BANK  
FOR Jule R. Herbert Jr.  
0000530-40540005224 656-6753540 00000036670



the time doing bookkeeping work for NTLF. Jule told board members at the time that she was not a paid employee. In any case, she should have been paid out of the NTLF account.)

3000.00 payable to Russell Schirefer (Schirefer was never a PMP employee and never did any work for the PMP; by his own admission, this money was payment for his work on the D. C. tax-credit campaign.)

3875.00 payable to the National Committee to Stop the MX

1632.10 payable to Dina Rasor (Rasor was an employee of the PMP.)

In June 1982, the NTLF board made Howie Rich (a top Crane Machine operative thus far uninvolved with NTLF) a board member and gave him controls over NTLF finances in order to prevent the kind of financial imbroglio that has been characteristic of NTLF. Also in June, the NTLF board voted to rewrite its corporate and accounting history in order to claim that the PMP had not been part of NTLF until July 1981. Those who voted for this Orwellian rewrite were Ed Crane, Jule Herbert, Howie Rich, Eugene McCarthy, and Bob Kephart. The July 1981 date is clearly false: NTLF was raising money for its procurement project as far back as December 1980.

In an interview with *Vanguard*, Herbert said that the "only error" he has ever acknowledged with regard to the PMP checking account was his mishandling of his home plumbing bill. He said he has admitted this error to the NTLF board and reimbursed NTLF because "it wasn't the Procurement Project's money." Herbert told *Vanguard* that the NTLF did spend money on researching the general topic of educational tax credits, but did not pay any campaign expenses. Herbert said that, in retrospect, the checking account was mislabeled since it was "never used as a [Procurement] Project account." In fact, however, it was used as a PMP account, and checks were written on this account to pay for PMP's stationery, salary, and travel expenses.

Why is all of this important? First of all, it is important to answer the questions raised by our reader Frank Horn. But, in addition,

the NTLF financial imbroglio is important because the Crane Machine has continually proclaimed to the libertarian movement that it provides the movement with a vital ingredient for libertarian victory—namely, professional competence. Here we have a test case. And the Crane Machine has clearly failed the test. Its management of NTLF/PMP finances has been both incompetent and unprofessional.

For \$5, the LPRC will send those who request it a packet that contains:

- a copy of Rich's new financial "controls" for NTLF;
- a copy of NTLF board member Anne Zill's memo on PMP finances (in which she says there is an appearance of "personal inurement amounting to thousands of dollars" and in which she says that only resolution of each questionable item in the PMP account will ensure that this account was not "a secret slush fund" being used for outside political activities or for "the personal enrichment of its president [Jule Herbert]"); and
- copies of 67 checks written on the PMP account, all signed by Jule Herbert.

Please send \$5 to LPRC, 3790 El Camino Real, No. 172, Palo Alto, CA 94306—and specify that you want the "Procurement Project Packet."

Editor:

It has come to my attention that your publication has printed a story claiming that NCPAC is supporting Dick Randolph's campaign for Governor of Alaska.

I wish you would tell me as campaign manager what the nature of this "support" is. To my knowledge, there is none — no endorsements, no contribution, no help.

Kent Guida  
Campaign Manager  
Randolph for Governor

Editor's Reply:

*Libertarian Vanguard's* "brickbat" for Dick Randolph in our August issue was based, as we indicated in the text at the time, on a discussion by one of our staff with Terry

Dolan, the head of the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

That discussion took place before Alaska's August 24th primary election. NCPAC was in fact planning to publicly endorse and support Randolph in the November general election. However, the upset victory in the GOP primary of conservative former state senator Tom Fink caused NCPAC to revise its plans. (Concerning the effect of the GOP primary on Randolph, see "In Alaska, One Candidate is 'Son of Santa,'" *Washington Post*, Aug. 22, 1982; "Primary Hurts Randolph," *Update*, October 1982.) Although NCPAC as an organization is not now supporting Randolph in the November election, Dolan is personally supporting him and has sent Randolph a personal check and a note testifying to his support.

We should add that the Randolph campaign's original plan—before Fink unexpectedly won the GOP gubernatorial nomination—was to name conservative, non-libertarian Fink as Randolph's lieutenant-governor running mate on the LP ticket. This was to have taken place immediately after Fink's expected loss in the August primary. Fink is a law-and-order conservative who opposes abortion, further legalization of drugs, legalization of prostitution, and the nuclear weapons freeze; he also totally supports Reagan's military budget, and favors prayer in the public schools, public hydroelectric projects, public ownership of subsurface mineral rights, and use of the state's permanent fund to finance low-interest home mortgages.

Editor:

I would like to dispel the impression that may well have been left by your brief reporting of Eric O'Keefe's firing that this had anything to do with a lapse in radicalism on the part of Mr. O'Keefe. Whatever the problems plaguing the relationship between the National Director and National Chair, Mr. O'Keefe's ideological credentials were not at issue. I can testify from personal experience that the national LP headquarters under his direction was ever mindful of the inherent radicalism of the libertarian creed. Disagreements over tactical points—however important—cannot detract from this fact.

In particular, Mr. O'Keefe's efforts to keep the LP on course in foreign policy deserve recognition and applause. On many occasions he came staunchly to my defense during my various confrontations with party members who tend toward hawkish foreign-policy views. Indeed, he was one of my major allies when certain people were requesting that I be removed from party office because of my "radical tone." His position on the Steiger matter was clear.

It would be a great injustice if anyone concludes from this unfortunate disagreement that Mr. O'Keefe is not among the most com-

## Libertarian Vanguard

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



petent and ideologically consistent people in our movement.

Sheldon Richman  
Vice Chairman, Libertarian Party  
Chairman, LNC Outreach Committee

Editor:

Having taken a substantial amount of time (in the midst of an arduous '82 election campaign) to check out everything Greg Kaza asserted in his article on Michigan [*Van-guard*, August 1982]—contacting both accuser and accused—I concluded that a number of misperceptions, errors, and misleading statements exist in the subject article; these must be countered in the interest of truth and fairness.

1) Regarding the claim that Jacobs' new brochure "omits all mention of civil liberties issues," this is not true. It may have been reasonable for Greg to assume this at the time of his article, because Jacobs' "Voter Checklist" strenuously focused on economic issues and included a misleading item concerning his stand on the drug issue.

This offending item was changed, upon instigation of the undersigned, prior to publication. It is now prefaced with "Supports repeal of all victimless crime laws. . . ." Had Greg simply notified me, his concerns would have largely been eliminated without need of manufacturing more of them.

2) That Dick Jacobs publicly indicated support for child support laws and mandatory wheelchair laws early in his campaign is, unfortunately, true. He did not understand the libertarian position on these matters, and he has since repudiated his earlier position.

People should be made aware, however, that Dick is relatively new to the LP and that he has reversed his position on more critical libertarian issues when confronted with the correct and consistent ideas. The drug and abortion issues are a case in point. Greg, by selectively quoting Jacobs' literature and public statements, neglects to mention that Dick has widely advocated legalization of drugs and abortion in front of non-LP groups and the media. A cursory review of his press clippings reveals this fact.

3) When the LPM rescinded its partial endorsement of the Jacobs anti-tax amendment, Dick Jacobs voted with the majority. In other words, he acknowledged that the requirement to maintain a certain percentage of state revenue for constitutionally mandated K-12 education was not an acceptable provision for the LPM to give overall endorsement. Note, however, that his amendment would not have increased any tax; indeed, it would have substantially reduced the income tax and repealed the single business tax.

4) Having asked Bette Erwin about her alleged support for the compulsory bottle bill while she was the 1976 LPM candidate for Senate, I was told that she did not remember

saying it and that it was a misquote if anything was said at all. Other sources claim she probably did. I was not around then. Neither was Greg. So it's hearsay. Whom does one trust? She certainly does not support the compulsory bottle bill now. She also believes—contrary to the article—very strongly that taxation is theft.

5) Finally, the LPM endorsed the no-tax amendment of Citizens Against Taxation (C.A.T.). Greg does not mention this. It was formally endorsed in 1980. We were not outflanked on this issue, because, outside of two or three people, there was absolutely no activity being generated toward collecting the necessary 200,000 signatures for a ballot position. To have thrown LPM's meager resources into it during the 1980 campaign would have been totally asinine. The principled activists of the LPM hold high the banner of liberty and renounce taxation for what it is. They also realize that you eat an elephant one bite at a time.

Brian Wright  
Chairman, Libertarian Party of Michigan



Editor:

In your latest issue, you hurl a brickbat at Rob Chamberlin and John Voskuil of Rochester, Minnesota for their "support of zoning laws." How many nanoseconds did you spend investigating their city council campaigns?

Rob and John campaigned vigorously *against* zoning laws, as local reporters, LP members, business people and other citizens could have informed you—if you had asked.

You quoted accurately (though with careful editing) from their brochure, "The original purpose of zoning laws was the protection of neighborhoods. . . . The city council should . . . guard against arbitrary changes or applications of zoning laws."

Now, at the time of Rob and John's campaign, the Rochester city council had just delivered a whammy to a couple of neighborhoods by making "arbitrary changes or applications" of zoning laws that allowed certain builders with contacts to get around zoning regulations. Area residents who naively believed that zoning laws were there to protect them had gotten screwed. The issue had been in the headlines and in the courts.

Taken out of context, your quote appears to say, "Hey, let's not change those good old zoning laws!" What any thinking person in Rochester could have told you it *did* mean is, "Don't allow the city to use zoning laws as a carrot and stick."

Perhaps you can fault the use of the word

"originally." It should have been "ostensibly" or "allegedly" to point up the fact that zoning laws never did offer protection to individuals. The fault here—if any—is mine. I helped write the copy, and if I weakened the statement, so be it.

But people in Rochester knew what that statement meant, and so would you have if you'd taken five minutes to name a phone call before attacking fellow libertarians in a national forum.

Dell Dennison  
Oronoco, Minnesota

Editor's Reply:

The parts of the pamphlet on zoning that we edited out read, "We believe the City should respect the rights of its citizens to determine how their neighborhoods should develop," and, "The council should increase opportunity for *real* input from citizens." Maybe the people of Rochester know what those statements mean, but they certainly don't represent a libertarian position.

Rob Chamberlin tells us that the campaign did not stress principled opposition to zoning laws, but merely argued that the laws don't protect individuals and pointed to the variances given certain builders as evidence. A proper libertarian approach would have been to argue *for* the variances and to advocate that similar freedom of action is the right of *everyone* who owns property. A libertarian candidate should never support the application of an unjust law to those who manage to circumvent it, for that support moves us *away* from the ultimate goal of a totally free society. (See Number Five of the LPRC's Ten Points.) We still think the "Brickbat" was deserved.

Editor:

I don't feel that I deserve the "Brickbat" I received in your August issue.

First of all, in no way did *LiberCal* ever "unendorse" John Vernon's candidacy for Lt. Governor. We reported his endorsement in a previous issue, and in another previous issue we included his campaign brochure.

B. J. Wagener's and brochure were placed in *LiberCal* not because we were trying to subvert the intent of the CLC, but because we believe that any libertarian who wishes to pay has the right to advertise (tastefully) in *LiberCal*. The position of CLC officers Mike Hall and Melinda Pillsbury-Foster was that B. J. should have been censored, so that no one would have been able to judge for themselves who the better candidate was. I disagreed (and still disagree) with their position, which flew in the face of freedom of speech.

As for my personal endorsement of B. J. Wagener's candidacy, I do not feel that I have

*continued on page 16*



# Brickbats & Bouquets

• In response to a letter in the September issue of *Update*, the editor was curiously evasive. The question was, "If elected governor of Alaska, would Dick Randolph pardon those convicted of victimless crimes?" *Update's* answer read, "We don't know if Randolph will be in a position to pardon all those convicted of victimless crimes." A quick call to the Alaska legislative counsel confirmed for us that there are virtually no restrictions on the categories of crime to which the governor's pardon applies. So this can only mean that Randolph might decide not to do what would be in his authority to do. But perhaps *Update* was just preparing us for that eventuality because, based on his campaign, Randolph wouldn't, if elected, be in a position *politically* to grant pardons to victimless criminals. Randolph has neglected to say much of anything to Alaska voters about victimless crimes, much less talk about pardoning anybody. A **BRICKBAT** to both Randolph and *Update* for this sorry state of affairs.

Another point worth mentioning: Libertarian Party members have every reason to expect that Libertarians elected to executive positions will use every means at their disposal, including pardons, clemency, and the like, to implement justice as swiftly as possible. This means that the Libertarian candidate had better be telling voters *during the campaign* to expect such actions, otherwise he or she will be caught between the outrage of the voters and the quite justifiable outrage of the LP. . . .

• The May-June *Libertarian Penn.* newsletter of the Pennsylvania LP, contains a **BOUQUET**-worthy editorial by Jorge Amador on the meaning of "winning." Expressing his concern that some party members want to "water down or de-emphasize our message of Liberty in order not to repel those who are just a little bit less radical than we are," Amador writes, "Let us move *others* toward us in order for Liberty to triumph; let us *not* move ourselves toward others in order to win an election or increase vote totals. . . . Instead let us seek to increase vote totals by increasing the number of people who understand Liberty. . . ."

• The Ohio LP has recently changed the name of its newsletter to *Ground Rules* and has given it an attractive new format to go with its new name. The September issue contains an excellent editorial that makes the case for a centrist strategy, neither falling prey to "the intoxication of partisan politics," nor clutching humorlessly to "a stark Randian landscape." Also in that issue is an article by Jim Higgins entitled "A Case for Radicalism," in which the author argues effectively that we must emphasize our ideas and principles to differentiate our party and to achieve long-run results. A **BOUQUET** to editor William Kammerer for an exemplary publication. . . .

• Burgess Laughlin, candidate for Oregon Labor Commissioner, recently sent us some

campaign literature with a note that said, "Brick or bouquet—fire away!" A **BOUQUET** to him for a radical but very readable brochure and press release and for his willingness to put these up for review by other libertarians. . . .

• Several **BRICKBATS** to Roy Childs (Cato foreign policy analyst and editor of the now-defunct *Libertarian Review*) for his recent debate with a representative of the Committee on the Present Danger, the hawk foreign policy lobbying group. Childs's first **BRICKBAT** comes for saying that getting out of NATO faster than in four years' time would be "undemocratic." It is shameful how low yesterday's abolitionists have fallen.

His second **BRICKBAT** comes for saying in the debate that the United States should "possibly" junk its ICBMs. Only "possibly," Roychick?

His third **BRICKBAT** comes for arguing throughout the debate almost solely in strategic, rather than moral, terms: "NATO is no longer viable, not strategically viable, not credible"; "the alliance is a paper tiger"; "the nuclear umbrella is leaky, not viable", etc. Was it all right when it was viable, Roy? Would it be all right if it were a live tiger?

In fact, when Sheldon Richman (now one of the editors of *Inquiry*) asked Childs a question about the morality of the alliance—namely, why should any American be committed against his or her will to someone else's fight?—Roy refused to address the moral question and answered in terms of public opinion data. But perhaps opinion polls are the "democratic" method for deciding moral questions. Childs gets a big fourth **BRICKBAT** for this evasion of libertarian moral principle. . . .

• A **BRICKBAT** to *Inquiry* magazine editor Doug Bandow for his egalitarian arguments in the April 19 New York *Times* in favor of spreading the burden of defense. Bandow talks about universalizing the burden of defense. But the logic of this argument can lead to such unlibertarian policies as Universal Military Training or National Service. Bandow also invokes the familiar "benefits" argument in favor of taxing people to pay for defense. But the libertarian argument on this entire question is simply that stealing (taxation) is a less grave crime for the state to commit than slavery (the draft). . . .

• A **BRICKBAT** to Barbara Branden for suggesting, at one point, that the Israelis use nuclear weapons to clean the PLO out of Beirut. Sometimes these Randians make the Lebanese Phalangists look like altruists. . . .

• A **BOUQUET** to California LPer Sally Foster for her crusade against SB 1407/HR 3973 (the Postal Amendments Act). The law would have given the Postal Service powers to conduct warrantless searches. It would have given the Postal Service powers to impose fines. The Postal Service is once again proclaiming itself police, judge, and jury—

but what do you expect from a public monopoly? . . . Dyanne Petersen shares the **BOUQUET** for her article "The Post Office As Censor" in the August 1982 *Libertarian Forum*. . . .

• You read about the campaign of Dick Jacobs for governor of Michigan in our last issue. One thing that has come to our attention since then is a "Voter Checklist" on a brochure that has Jacobs supporting "legislative changes to help put illicit drug traffickers of black marketed drugs out of business, and halt drug related crimes." Assuming that Jacobs actually favors legalizing all drugs, he deserves a **BRICKBAT** for this blatant deception and opportunist grab for votes from those who favor harsher drug laws. . . . Brian Wright, Chair of the Michigan LP, says that this statement is now prefaced with "Supports repeal of all victimless crime laws" (see Letters elsewhere in this issue). Seems to us that that's not enough; no libertarian should be saying he wants to put *anyone* out of business. . . .

• Did you wonder why the O'Keefe Apotheosis issue of *Update* arrived late? The answer is that a complete print run of the issue was recalled and destroyed. The original (and now valuable) first printing had a headline that inadvertently exposed the racist attitudes of the Crane Machine toward Alicia Clark. The **BRICKBAT**-worthy headline for the page eight editorial on the O'Keefe firing originally read "Coup Latin-America Style." In fact, Sherlock Holmes-types can still spot a tell-tale clue in the continuation headline "Coup" on page ten. This hastily withdrawn headline together with the whispering campaign that was conducted in 1981 by the Crane forces about Alicia's Mexican nationality tells us a lot about their attitude toward Latinos. . . .

• A **BRICKBAT** to Don Markowski of the Maricopa County (Arizona) LP for his motion at their recent convention that they withdraw endorsement of the national platform plank calling for open borders. He argued that "we are not the only country" that wishes to protect itself from hordes of immigrants, and that open borders are a violation of our non-interventionist foreign policy plank because we would be "stealing other countries' natural resources and bread-winners." A **BOUQUET** to Ken Sturznacker and others for effectively refuting these specious arguments. Still, the motion was defeated by only a 14 to 8 vote. . . .

• A **BRICKBAT** to Tom Bosworth for his "Sell Out Now" editorial in the August 1982 *Hawaii Libertarian*. Bosworth sets up a false dichotomy between "radicals," who are continually to remind us of our long-run goals, and "moderates," who are to work in the political arena "implementing those theories through the political process. By necessity, it will be a gradual process involving compromise. . . . If proposing a transition pro-



gram is a sell-out, then I say: Sell Out Now!" Though one might argue that he has simply misused the terms "radical," "sell-out," and "compromise," his idea that there is necessarily a division of labor between those with a long-run vision and those who get things done in the short-run is just wrong. . . .

- A **BOUQUET** to John Hospers for his suggestion in the July 1982 *Frontlines* that the formation of Israel was a mistake since the land was "already occupied by Arabs." We need more property rights analysis like this of international disputes. . . .

- A **BRICKBAT** to Hospers for the same article for neglecting to tell his readers that Israel has had an official plan in its files since the mid-1950's to annex southern Lebanon up to the Litani River (see the diary of then-Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett). . . .

- Another **BRICKBAT** to Hospers, again for the same *Frontlines* article, this time for his errors about Israel's June 1981 air attack on an Iraqi nuclear reactor. Hospers is wrong in saying there were no casualties; there were both European and Iraqi casualties. Hospers is also wrong in saying that the reactor was designed to make material for atomic bombs. After the raid, U. S. State Department officials told a congressional committee that the Reagan administration had not concluded that Iraq was seeking to build an atomic bomb. The Reagan administration supported a UN Security Council resolution that strongly condemned the raid. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher condemned the Israeli raid as a "grave breach of international law."

Furthermore, Iraq, unlike Israel, had ratified the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and opened its atomic installations to International Atomic Energy Agency inspection. The IAEA had inspected the reactor site in January 1981 and found no evidence that Iraq was planning to make nuclear weapons. Also, the French had a private agreement with Iraq that would have kept scientists at the reactor until 1989 who were to observe all nuclear experiments Iraq carried out. Thus, there is no way Iraq could have used the reactor to make weapons without putting the world on notice—any diversion of fuel would have been quickly detected by IAEA inspectors or the French scientists; if these outside observers were barred from the reactor by Iraq, such violation of inspection procedures would automatically have cut Iraq off from nuclear fuel imports.

Lastly, the Israeli government lied about the supposed existence of a secret bomb-making facility beneath the reactor and created a mythical quotation supposedly from an Iraqi newspaper saying that the reactor would be used against Israel.

It is not just that Hospers ignored some vital facts and that the facts he did present were wrong—the key point is that Israel's raid on Iraq is part of an ever-widening definition by the Israeli government of self-

defense. A definition that has brought the Israeli army deep into Lebanon. . . .

- A **BRICKBAT** to Ayn Rand disciple Alan Greenspan for likening "safe harbor" tax leasing to giving food stamps to corporations. Does it have to be pointed out to a follower of Rand, who opposed all taxes, that tax breaks are not subsidies? . . .

- A **BOUQUET** to Ayn Rand disciple Martin Anderson (former Reagan White House domestic affairs adviser) for his public participation in the brief early August conservative rebellion against Reagan's \$98.8 billion tax hike. . . .

- Do secretly discontented members of the Crane Machine ever criticize their boss in public? Perhaps they do by telling Aesopian fables that point directly to Crane, but whose meaning is partly veiled or hidden to protect the author. We were wondering about this the other day while reading the September issue of *Inquiry*. On the last page of the issue, Chris Hocker writes a **BOUQUET**-worthy attack on politicians who oppose commitment to ideology and instead solely stress "getting the job done." He attacks these politicians for wanting robotic performance and for liking robots because "they don't worry about ide-

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ology, have no preferences of their own, and don't make trouble if you program them right." As if this were not enough to constitute a thinly veiled assault and battery on Ed Crane, Hocker's last sentence is explicit: "Come to think of it, maybe if we just had a few more smart, tough, pragmatic leaders here in Washington, we could all learn to go along with the program." Anyone who has spent extensive time working with Ed Crane, and Hocker has spent years in Crane's company, knows Crane's lingo. And Crane's favorite turn of phrase in talking about politics is to say that someone is "going along with the program," meaning that they are following Crane's orders or pursuing the course of action that he suggested. Maybe Hocker is no longer "going along with the program". . . .

● A **BRICKBAT** to Ohio LP candidates Phil Herzing and Lou Friscoe for their tax proposals that would entail raising some people's taxes. U.S. Senate candidate Herzing has come out for the flat rate income tax. State legislative candidate Friscoe, in a letter in the August 19 *Columbus Dispatch*, endorses wartime deficit spending, nineteenth-century-style "regulatory tariffs," and "fair and equitable" taxes—he uses as examples the value-added tax and the flat rate tax—"that would not permit the wealthy or self-employed to escape taxes as they do now." Both these candidates were nominated by the Ohio LP on the recommendation of Crane Machiner Ross Levatter. . . .

● A **BOUQUET** to Montana LP U.S. Senate candidate Larry Dodge for his excellent attack on the state coal severance tax in the July issue of the *Porcupine* newsletter. He

presents five telling arguments against the tax and words them in ways that a voter can readily understand. . . .

● **Opportunists Move Rightward, Part Four.** A **BRICKBAT** to the Cato Institute for printing, in solitary splendor, on the inside cover of its 1981 Annual Report, a quotation from F. A. Hayek that testifies to the good intentions of the Reagan administration and identifies the Cato Institute as technocratic advisers to the Reagan administration. . . .

● A **BOUQUET** to Cato Institute President Ed Crane for his August 19 *Washington Post* column that stresses that Reaganomics is rhetoric, not substance. . . .

● A **BOUQUET** to Cato vice president David Boaz for his August 16 *Washington Times* column, which points out that the battle of the budget receiving such play in the news media was only a minor disagreement over one percent of the federal budget. . . .

## Errata

IN OUR LAST ISSUE we identified *Common Sense* as the newsletter of the Florida LP; it is actually published by the Dade County party. We also misspelled Dianne Pilcher's name, which was especially embarrassing because she is one of our most productive activists. Sorry, Dianne!

In our June issue we reported that Dick Jacobs of Michigan was promoting a plan to cut the state income tax in half (from 8% to 4%). In fact, the Jacobs plan cuts the state income tax from 4.6% to 4%, a reduction of only 13%.

## Letters

*continued from page 13*

to give up my right to support the candidate of my choice just because I publish a newsletter.

Instead of a "Brickbat," it seems that I really deserve a "Bouquet" for standing up for libertarian principles.

Ted Brown  
Hollywood, California

### Editor's Reply:

The "Brickbat" Mr. Brown received was perhaps undeserved. The issue of whether Mr. Brown should have included an ad and brochure for B. J. Wagener is complicated by the fact that *LiberCal* was not published by the CLC, but by an ad-hoc group called the Los Angeles County Coordinating Committee, for which Mr. Brown was acting as publisher. Seven CLC regions contracted with the LACCC to have their members receive *LiberCal*.

While we have in principle no objection to such an arrangement, we think it has the potential for generating problems of this sort unless an editorial policy is clearly spelled out in advance. A reasonable policy for *LiberCal* might restrict ads and enclosures to CLC-endorsed candidates in races where such endorsements have been made.

As for his standing up for libertarian principle, we remind Mr. Brown that the decision of a publisher not to print something in no way infringes on anyone's freedom of speech, nor is it censorship. It gives us pause that we have to point this out to a libertarian. □

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