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Big News! Lib. Forum Reorganized!

Dear Faithful Readers:

After twelve years of sizzling, persistent, and faithful (even if not constant) publication, the *Libertarian Forum* is delighted to announce a big and welcome change for the better. Starting next issue (Feb. 1982). Not to worry: the *Lib. Forum* will still be in the sole control of your faithful editor, who will continue to send off sparks and make enemies right and left as he analyzes politics, economics, the "real world", the libertarian movement, and the culture of our day.

The difference is:

We will be *regular*.

We will appear monthly, and on time.

We will become a professional, or at least *far more* professional, publication.

We're going onward and upward.

Your editor will still be in there, free-wheeling, free-swinging, independent, calling all shots as he sees them. But with more system. By popular demand, for example, Mr. First Nighter will be back with a regular, or at least, quasi-regular column lashing out at the *avant-garde* and the pretentious in movies and other arts, and standing solidly and foursquare for classical values and aesthetic reaction. There will be a more systematic Horror File about the Movement, perhaps entitled *This Is the Movement You Have Chosen*. (See inside.) We might even be able to persuade the greatly feared Old Curmudgeon to come out of retirement.

Why are we doing all this? Basically, for two important reasons. First, the libertarian movement is very different from what it was when we first launched the *Lib. Forum*, back in the antediluvian days of the spring of 1969. It was very small then, before we began to hail the publicity wave that wafted the libertarian movement to media attention and to prominence in 1971, and before the founding of the LP in 1972. The movement was small then, and libertarians read a lot more per capita, but still — as always — there were deviations popping up all around us. One reason we launched the *Lib. Forum* was the tendency of many libertarians to regard the then embryonic Nixon Administration as the fulfillment of the libertarian dream. (Come to think of it, things are not much different now, with Reagan getting the palm, for we are being told by the right-wing of our movement that *We Are Being Too Beastly* to the Gipper.)

At this point, the Party and the movement have grown relatively large, and are beginning to be a force on the national scene. But growth has caused many problems. For one thing, all signs indicate that the amount of reading of libertarian books and articles, let alone the depth of knowledge of libertarian principles and issues, is declining, certainly relatively and *maybe* even absolutely. The continuation of a mass of deeply ignorant and even uninterested libertarians must spell disaster for our movement. In 1969, virtually all

libertarians had recently emerged from the Randian Movement, and we had to cope with their spiritual shellshock, and either excessive Randianism or else overreaction against reason and principle. But the basic problem now is that for most new libertarians Rand is as remote as John Locke, and as little read. At least the Randians had a respect for intellect and for principle which many newcomers totally lack.

All thinking people and all factions in the movement agree that Internal Education is desperately needed. But, just at this critical juncture, we have *fewer* publications commenting on and judging the real world and the movement, fewer organs of internal education, than over the past decade. Just as the need has become crying, the supply of educational publications has punked out. *Libertarian Review*, the major organ of our movement, has just been killed. (See inside). Everyone else is busily engaged in "outreach", that is, in ignoring movement concerns and movement ideology. *Reason* and *Inquiry*, our most professional magazines, are strictly outreach publications. *Reason* rarely mentions the movement or presumes to educate or guide it, and *Inquiry* never does do. (This does not mean that these publications are not worthwhile, just that they are not performing movement-education tasks.) *Frontlines* is a highly valuable movement publication, but it strives always to be "objective" and neutral; further, it provides movement news but little ideological analysis. The same can be said for the inferior *Update*. Several LP state newsletters — notably *Caliber* (Cal), *Free Texas* and *Colorado Liberty* are outstanding for what they do, but they are necessarily constrained by being official newsletters of their state parties (And *Free Texas* arguably the best of them, is in danger of going under.) Apart from the estimable *Libertarian Vanguard* — the organ of the LP Radical Caucus — and Sam Konkin's publications there is virtually nothing going on, only a big, looming ideological news and opinion vacuum.

In this dire situation, *Libertarian Forum* steps into the breach, accepting its moral responsibilities. We shall not be neutral, nor namby-pamby. And while everyone else is whoring after "outreach", we opt for *inreach*, for a frankly and boldly libertarian perspective, let deviationists of all stripes bellyache though they may. Nature and the *Lib. Forum* abhor a vacuum, and we propose to fill it.

There is a second reason, too, for going regular and professional. You, our heroic and ever-constant readers, deserve a break at long last. Being a *Lib. Forum* subscriber has for too long been a sheer act of faith, a shot in the dark, a saga of grit, determination, and hope. Of faith, hope, and charity. Will the *Lib. Forum* come out again? When will it come out? Too many times has our cockamamie computer bumped some subscriber's name or lost his renewal. Too many times has the lament wafted in: "I sent my check in three years ago. Why did I only receive one copy?" Too many times have

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LP/10: A Mixed Bag

LP/10, the 10th anniversary convention of the Libertarian Party at Denver in late August, was not the cataclysmic showdown that many of us expected. It was a mixed bag, with many complex elements and results which need detailed study and evaluation by principled people in the Party. Nothing much was resolved at Denver, but changing alignments at and since the convention spell complex and in some ways different forms of struggle in the coming period, that is from now until the Presidential convention of 1983.

I Program and Facilities

Before getting to the substantive events at the convention, let it be said that the program and facilities were an emphatic triumph. Paul Grant and Ruth Bennett (Chair, Colorado LP), directors of the convention, and the other Coloradans deserve the highest accolades for the entire affair. This is the first small state that has put on a national convention, and they did a great job. Not only that: they actually *made a profit*, an historic event for the LP, and this contrasts starkly with the \$30,000 lost by Ed Crane at the 1979 extravaganza at Los Angeles, a loss which the Clark campaign was generous enough to bail out. It also contrasts with the curious sentiment of various leading Craniacs in the party, who are reported to believe that making a profit at conventions is evil because it "exploits" libertarians (Huh?) (Shows that *any* argument will be used to justify Craniac positions, in this case their propensity for wild spending and for sticking others with the tab.)

II The Race For National Chair

The race for national chair was, of course, the single most important and most dramatic struggle at the convention. The Crane Machine had displayed their arrogance and contempt for the party by handpicking an unknown and uncharismatic candidate, Kent Guida, who had been deposed this year as chairman of the Maryland party, and then was promptly given a visible post at the Machine-dominated national LP headquarters. His campaign manager was the formidable assistant head of the Crane Machine, Howie Rich.

The Coalition for a Party of Principle coalesced around John Mason of Colorado, with the dynamic Williamson Evers, head of the California party, as campaign manager.

Originally, there was a third candidate in the race, Dr. Dallas Cooley of Virginia, Treasurer of the national LP, and at least nominal director of the Clark campaign in its later stages. For a while, it looked as if Cooley were leading, when he suffered a minor heart attack and dropped out of the race. Upon recovering, he announced for Vice-Chair.

About the time of the Cooley dropout, a third candidate entered the chairmanship race: Mrs. Alicia Clark, wife of presidential candidate Ed Clark. Campaign manager for Alicia was the knowledgeable and good-humored political veteran, Emil Franz of Arizona.

A tight three-way race is always very difficult to call, and coming down to the convention all reports held the contest to be a three-way tie with lots of undecideds. My own private prediction, made just before the convention began, was that Alicia would win, and I turned out to be right.

Alicia had no real organizational *structure*; what she had was lots of money, a gracious and glamorous candidate willing and able to travel, an excellent delegate-counter and manager in Franz and another leader in National Committee member Michael Emerling (Nev.) But there was no organizational structure underneath that. Also, the Alicia camp had no real *political line* beyond a sentiment for unity and a commitment to decentralism in organization.

But that was enough. For Alicia resourcefully campaigned as a candidate bringing "unity" to the party, a candidate somehow transcending all factions and uniquely capable of bringing these

pesky factions together. There are two fallacies with this approach. One, of course, is that a group calling for unity of the other factions is *itself* necessarily a faction, like it or not. More important, the Guida and Mason factions were not playing games, but were and still are divided by serious ideological, strategic, and tactical differences. There is no way to bring real unity among these and other factions except through genuine and shared agreement on these crucial issues: agreement which comes about through discussion and conviction and not through simply invoking unity. Recent events on the National Committee, however (see below), indicate that the Alicia Clark forces are gratifyingly learning through struggle about the iniquity and arrogance of the Crane Machine.

One interesting aspect of the convention was the organizational decentralism that was the hallmark of the Clark forces, a decentralism which tried unsuccessfully to abolish the At-Large seats on NatComm or even to transform the NatComm itself into a large and unwieldy Council of State Chairs. The extreme wing of decentralists actually formed a "None of the Above" caucus, with NOTA buttons, reaching a height of 35 votes for Chair, and 80 votes for NatComm member at large. It cannot be denied that the NOTA forces displayed a vast degree of organizational infantilism, giving one furiously to wonder why they joined any organization at all. However, the more moderate decentralists had and do have a point, which should not be glossed over. What they were reacting to was years of arrogance and centralized dominance by the Crane Machine. This anti-Eastern Establishment instinct by the Clarkian populists is a healthy one, and deserves respect.

I would like to take this opportunity to admit my previous error in calling for an ultra-centralist model for the LP. Several years in the Crane Machine have soured me on centralism permanently. Putting the rule of the Party, or of the movement as a whole, into the hands of one man or of one tight group is a recipe for disaster. First, it means that if a few people sell out to opportunism, the rest of the movement is dragged along with it. But second, and more generally, even if the Machiners were a bunch of wonderful people, since they are not omniscient they are bound, as are all of us to make mistakes. And just as the mistakes of a government-controlled economy can ruin a nation, so the inevitable mistakes of a tight ruling clique can ruin a party or a movement. It therefore becomes important to have strict internal checks and balances on any ruling group in the LP.

I still think it absurd to think of decentralism as "the libertarian" form of organization. How we organize is *not* a matter of libertarian principle, so long as we do not violate the non-aggression axiom. But it appears that neither radial decentralism nor ultra-centralism will work in any organization, and certainly not in a democratic organization like the Libertarian Party. Though I hate to say it, moderation and balance should be our organizational mode.

And since, in the coming period, there is great danger of Crane Machine control of the National Office and of NatComm, and no danger at all of its controlling most of the state parties, a tilt toward decentralism is the indicated organizational line especially for the next two years.

Getting back to the chair race, the Guida/Crane camp, of course, had a formidable campaign structure of full-time hirelings, lots of money, and a conscious political line. The money was, as usual, a great attraction for opportunists.

The Mason camp had only about a third of the money of each of the other factions, no hirelings, a coherent political line but only a slim structure of volunteers. Considering these problems, the Mason forces did very well. Our greatest victory was the beating out and bumping out of Guida on the second ballot. It was only by

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four votes, with Alicia considerably ahead, but it was a sweet victory indeed.

It was our only victory over the Crane Machine for the week, but it was a victory to be savored.

As expected, Alicia's strength was concentrated in the Sun Belt: Arizona, Texas, and southern California, plus considerable support in Nevada, New Mexico, Louisiana, and Florida. Guida's support was concentrated solely in the Northeast quadrant of the country; in fact he carried all the northeastern states except Michigan and Pennsylvania. Particular Guida support came from the District of Columbia, the home of Washington lobbyists and of LP National Headquarters; the Greenberg Machine in New York; and the Leslie Key Machine in Wisconsin and neighboring states to the south and east. The only significant Guida votes outside the northeast quadrant came from the Randolph fiefdom in Alaska and the minor Koch satrapy in Kansas. While the other two candidacies were in many ways regional in tone (Sun Belt vs. Northeast), Mason's strength was well distributed throughout the country, with special support from California and the Northwest (Washington, Oregon, Colorado).

Particularly idiotic as well as mendacious was the analysis of the Convention appearing in the swansong November-December issue of *Libertarian Review*. In one of his usual bloated and pretentious pieces, would-be aesthete Jeff Riggenbach, writing as if from Mars, touted the Guida forces, sneered at the Mason purists, and analyzed the Mason camp as being Colorado mountain men resenting the dynamic California culture represented by the Crane Machine. Idiotic because the Machine had nothing to do with California. California cast 46 votes for Mason on the first ballot, 33 votes for Clark, and only 9 votes for Guida. Guida's support, as we have said, was concentrated almost solely in the Northeast quadrant, among Preppie Yankees. Mendacious because Riggenbach gave no clue to his bemused reader that he himself is a top employee of Crane and therefore in the Crane Machine. Surely the unwary reader needs such evidence to evaluate Riggenbach's alleged critical objectivity in analyzing the convention.

The question that now faced the Convention was: with Guida gone, whom would the Machine throw its votes to? In an odd and ephemeral gesture, the Machine decided to hold its collective nose and go for Mason. (Our reports are that Crane had originally wanted to go for Alicia as second choice, but was overruled by "higher authority.") The problem is that the Machine could only deliver its top cadre, i.e. its hirelings, but not its rank-and-file, which went for Alicia. Particularly repellent was the action of the Greenberg Machine, which managed to put the ranks of the New York party in the wrong column on every important question at the convention. In a rare split with his friends the Riches, Greenberg and his coterie of youthful toadies went for Clark.

And so Alicia won on the next ballot (really the second, but technically the third, after the dropping out of a stalking horse candidate), by a margin of 45 votes.

The fact that the top Craniacs went for Mason on the third ballot demonstrates the error of the Sam Konkin thesis that Alicia's candidacy was simply a Kochtopus "tails I win-heads you lose" maneuver. It is clear that the Alicia race emerged out of a deep and growing rift between the Clarks and the Crane Machine which had run the Clark campaign.

What benefits emerged from our losing chairmanship race? The beating, even if narrowly, of Guida, and the growth and development of the Radical Caucus and its allies in the Coalition for a Party of Principle. Hopefully, the Coalition will thereby be strengthened for the struggle that unfortunately lies ahead. Not the least gain is the *esp spirit de corps* we all developed from fighting in common for the best cause that there is — libertarian principle.

Here I would like to thank and hail publicly the small handful of

marvelous people who worked and struggled so hard, day after day, and with all their strength, for the Mason cause. There was, not the least of course, John Mason himself, a great guy who was an inspiration to all of us. In a just world and a just Party, Mason would have won by a landslide.

Next, the architect of the campaign, who worked with fierce zeal and determination virtually single-handed for six months: the magnificent Bill Evers. One big mistake of the Craniacs (who were arrogantly predicting up to the convention that Mason would come in a distant third, is that they underestimated Evers. Doubtless they dismissed him as merely a brilliant scholar and theoretician. What they didn't realize is that he is also a dynamo of an organizer, putting heart, soul, brains, and 48 hours a day into the cause. Unfortunately, since he is not a sports fan he won't get the analogy, but to me Bill Evers is the Dave Cowens of the libertarian movement. Cowens, center for the Boston Celtics, was my favorite pro-basketball player. Even though shorter than many 7-footish centers, Cowens was not only a great shooter, but an incredible all-around triple or quadruple threat. A host unto himself, Cowens would be great at shooting, muscling and rebounding under the offensive boards, then rushing back to defend and, in addition, playmaking and directing overall court strategy and tactics. Bill Evers was a host unto himself all year. At least until the convention itself, Evers virtually was the Mason campaign, and he continued to direct it all-out down to the very end.

Others too deserve to be lauded. Linda Kaiser of Colorado was a superb and devoted floor manager for Mason, managing Evers and sweetly ordering all of us to "go out and convert two people an hour for Mason" (By the last night it was up to 20). Scott Olmsted of Stanford University worked all day and night, in sickness and in health, putting out the daily Mason Newsletter, objective news with a point. Mary Gingell of California, a youthful and perky railroad tycoon, and recent but convert to the Mason cause, assisted splendidly on floor managing and delegate conversion. Youthful and studious Kevin Dye of California did great work in Southern California and overall, and Tom Laurent of Oklahoma did nobly in a region not very hospitable to the Mason cause. Rod Colver, chairman of the Washington party, did fine work in the Northwest. Eric Garriss, organizer for the Radical Caucus, did his usual excellent job among the radical constituency in the party.

There are others whom I necessarily have to slight, and must apologize for not mentioning. But these were the small but marvelous cadre that constituted the Mason campaign and which helped make the whole effort, despite the disappointing loss, worthwhile. Bless them all! They help sustain one's hope for the future of the LP and of the libertarian movement.

III Exit Accountability

In the single worst vote of the convention, the Craniac and Clark forces combined to shout down any attempt to make the party's presidential candidates accountable to the National Committee or to the platform. The Constitution and ByLaws Committee, after two days of concentrated effort, had agreed on a compromise accountability rule. While far weaker than the original tough Evers proposal, this was a structured pattern of accountability which all of us who wanted a principled presidential candidate could live with. Ed Clark himself, to his great credit, vocally supported the compromise plank. But still the accountability proposal was hooted down by the combined Guida/Alicia Clark forces. Apparently, the two camps had different motives for their common position. The Craniacs, expecting to dominate the 1984 Presidential campaign as they have done all the others, wanted a free hand to sell out. The Alicia Clark forces, as decentralists, presumably don't want any party institution — say the presidential candidate — to be accountable to any other, say NatComm. But I'm afraid the result was to play into Craniac hands, setting up a party where the Presidential candidate can safely ignore the platform which expresses our principles as applied to the political issues of the day. It

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should be noted that the New York party and the Greenberg Machine eagerly took the lead in this unfortunate vote.

IV Stymieing a More Radical Platform

While the platform was improved and updated, the magnificently radical planks proposed by the platform committee were stymied by a shameful display of parliamentary stalling tactics from the floor. It is one thing to take such challenging radical planks as spelling out children's rights, calling for repudiation of the public debt, and unilateral nuclear disarmament, discuss them, and vote them up or down. It is quite another to stall consideration of these planks until the convention was out of time. Many people from various factions probably participated in this stall, but taking the lead was Mike Kessler of the execrable New York party.

V The Other Races

After Alicia was elected, the Vice-Chair race presented a confused picture. None of the three candidates could be called a strictly factional candidate. I nominated Sheldon Richman of D.C., who, though having close personal ties to the Crane Machine, is a clearly independent person as well as an excellent scholar and principled activist. Craig Franklin of North Carolina had close ties to the Alicia Clark faction. Dallas Cooley of Virginia was remote from any faction. Cooley came in a poor third on the first ballot, and Richman beat out Franklin on the next ballot by 29 votes.

Analyzing the voting pattern, we see that Richman was generally backed by the Guida and Mason forces, leading to victory. Perhaps the oddest result of the convention was the total repudiation of Dallas Cooley. Perhaps the leading candidate for Chair before his illness, Dallas was roundly defeated for Vice-Chair and then lost by a large amount in his race for seven at large seats on the NatComm. I frankly don't know the reason for this repeated rejection of Dr. Cooley, whose persona is the very model of calm and judiciousness. Perhaps calm was not "in" this year, or perhaps Cooley fell victim to not being associated with any faction in the party. If one is remote from all factions, one can gain by being beloved by all and voted for by most, or one can lose by falling through the cracks and not having any group vote for you. Perhaps the latter is what happened to Cooley, whose only real bloc of votes was in California and New York.

On the National Committee votes, both At Large and Regional, things did not turn out nearly as well. The well-organized and well-heeled Crane Machine was able to concentrate on NatComm votes as well as on the Chairmanship fight. The Clark forces, brilliantly organized for the Chair race, goofed on the NatComm votes, especially on the regional races. The Mason camp was too thin on the ground to be able to concentrate on the NatComm races. The result was a near disaster: *almost* working control of the NatComm by the Machine.

For the seven At Large seats, the Crane Machine put up and voted *en bloc* for five candidates, of whom four won: Randolph (Alaska), Andrea Rich (N.Y.), Hocker (D.C.), and Guida (Md.). The only loss was Jule Herbert (D.C.), of whom it was said at the convention that "even those who think there is no Crane Machine believe that Jule is a member." The Radical Caucus put up three candidates (Garris, Evers, and Rothbard) of whom only Rothbard triumphed. The broader Coalition put up, in effect, the last three plus Bubb (Pa.), M. L. Hanson (Colo.), Baase (Cal.), and White (Cal.) of whom only Hanson, outgoing Vice-Chair, was a winner. This made four Machiners and two Coalition members; the other At Large winner was Michael Emerling (Nev.), of the Clark forces.

We hereby present a list of states, and the percentage of votes that they gave (a) to the three Radical Caucus candidates, and (b) to the seven Coalition candidates, which include the previous three. Each list is presented according to rank, and the two lists will give a pretty good idea of which state parties are top notch and which are in a state of putrefaction.

FIGURE 1

Per Cent of Votes Going to Radical Caucus, By Rank.

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| 1 — Hawaii | 45% |
| 2 — Utah | 33 |
| 3 — Idaho | 32 |
| 4 — Georgia | 31 |
| 5 — Kentucky | 29 |
| 6-7 — Minnesota | 26 |
| 6-7 — Pennsylvania | 26 |
| 8 — Arizona | 24 |
| 9-10 — California | 20 |
| 9-10 — Arkansas | 20 |
| 11 — Colorado | 19 |
| 12-13 — New Jersey | 18 |
| 12-13 — Washington | 18 |
| 14-15 — Ohio | 17 |
| *14-15 — Delaware | 17 |
| 16-17 — Michigan | 16 |
| 16-17 — Oklahoma | 16 |
| 18 — Illinois | 15 |
| 19-20 — Virginia | 14 |
| *19-20 — S. Dakota | 14 |
| 21 — N. Mexico | 13 |
| 22 — Oregon | 12 |
| 23-24-25 — Florida | 11 |
| 23-24-25 — Iowa | 11 |
| 23-24-25 — Wyoming | 11 |
| 26-27 — N. Carolina | 10 |
| 26-27 — Tennessee | 10 |
| *28 — Alabama | 8 |
| 29-30-31 — Missouri | 7 |
| 29-30-31 — Texas | 7 |
| 29-30-31 — Montana | 7 |
| 32 — New York | 6 |
| 33 — Louisiana | 5 |
| 34 — Wisconsin | 5 |
| 35-36 — Alaska | 3 |
| 35-36 — S. Carolina | 3 |
| 37 — D.C. | 2 |
| *38-44 — Conn. | 0 |
| 38-44 — Kansas | 0 |
| 38-44 — Maryland | 0 |
| 38-44 — Mass. | 0 |
| *38-44 — Miss. | 0 |
| 38-44 — Nev. | 0 |
| *38-44 — R.I. | 0 |

In analyzing the above states, we can toss out the following for having too few total votes for any percentage to be meaningful: Connecticut, Delaware, Mississippi, and South Dakota, which cast only one vote each for NatComm; and Alabama and Rhode Island, which cast only two votes each. In the above tables, these states are marked with an asterisk.

From the two tables, Hawaii takes first rank as the best state party. Utah and Idaho trail right behind, and other "good guy" parties include: Pennsylvania, Arizona, Colorado and California. Massachusetts takes the booby prize as the all-around worst party, trailed closely by Maryland and the District of Columbia. Kansas, Wisconsin, South Carolina and Alaska are close behind in bad-guy status, as are Nevada, Louisiana, North Carolina, and New York. Note that of the best states, all but Pennsylvania are from the West, whereas of the worst states, all are from the Northeast quadrant except the Carolinas, Louisiana, Nevada, and the two fiefdoms of Alaska and Kansas.

When the returns from the election of regional representatives to the NatComm came in, the exultant Crane Machine forces believed

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that they would rule the roost and dominate the NatComm for the next two years. As they swept in to steamroller votes at the first meeting just after the convention adjourned in Denver, it looked as if this grim prophecy would come true. But at the second NatComm meeting at Bethesda, Maryland on November 7-8, the Clark and Mason forces regrouped, and moved toward effective unity to block outrageous attempts at takeovers by the Machine. It is a close struggle on NatComm, but it looks as if a Greater Coalition will begin to curb the unbridled power of the arrogant Crane Machine.

VI The First NatComm, August 30, Denver.

A Machine steamroller operated against a demoralized, and — at least in one case — very hungry opposition (there had been no break for lunch or dinner at the convention.) One particularly repellent practice was that of Howie Rich (N.Y.), the Gauleiter for the Crane Machine on NatComm, breaking in before the Chair could say "all those in favor . . ." to say "Yea" or "Nay", so that his stooges would know how to vote. When Evers (Cal.) moved to

suspend the rules to commend Arkansas LP Chair Paul Jacob for his current draft resistance, the Crane Machine incredibly voted against it, defeating the motion by 9-9-3. At that point, Crane Machiner Milton Mueller, who had given the anti-draft resolution to Dale Pratt (Haw.) (who in turn asked Evers to make the motion), shouted out "Howie!", and rushed to whisper in Rich's ear. At that point, seeing that the Machine had gotten its signals crossed, Rich moved for reconsideration, and the whole Machine gang dutifully goosestepped and voted for the resolution.

Andrea Rich's proposal for the NatComm to continue to give \$800 a month to the Machine-dominated Speakers Bureau passed, as did the Randolph/Hocker proposal to authorize the National Director, Eric O'Keefe, to spend the whopping sum of \$10,000 a month on state ballot drives at his own discretion.

None of these votes, unfortunately, was subjected to a roll-call, but over the objection of Assistant Gauleiter Hocker and other Machiners, the NatComm fortunately did agree to allow a roll-call whenever three members should ask for it. It should be clear to everyone that there is only one reason to stubbornly resist roll-call votes: a high-and-mighty ruling clique not wishing the party rank-and-file to know how they are voting. The issue on roll-call votes is clear; shall the LP members have a right to know how their NatComm representatives are voting or shall they not? Only a bureaucratic cadre with total contempt for the membership can say no.

There was only one important roll call vote. Paul Grant (Col.) had heard that the New York Party, in signing an agreement with the Sheraton Centre hotel for the fall 1983 national convention, had outrageously committed the New York Party (or the National Party?) to a liability of \$90,000 in case of forfeiture. Bill Evers then moved that the NatComm not be liable for any debt incurred through forfeiture of the New York convention. This motion was voted down by 10-14, thereby setting up the unprecedented and outrageous possibility that New York can commit and spend, and National will have to pay. (This is of course fits into the Craniac pattern: *we spend like drunken sailors, and you pay.*) The following is an analysis of the roll-call vote, with a + after a name meaning the right vote, and a - signifying the wrong vote. (In this, as in all subsequent rollcall analyses, of course, my own vote gets an automatic + since I am the one doing the rating.)

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FIGURE 2

Per Cent of Votes Going to Coalition, By Rank

| | |
|-----------------------|-----|
| *1 — Delaware | 67% |
| 2 — Hawaii | 65 |
| 3-4 — Colorado | 62 |
| 3-4 — Pennsylvania | 62 |
| 5 — California | 50 |
| 6 — Tennessee | 43 |
| 7 — Utah | 41 |
| 8 — Idaho | 40 |
| 9 — Arizona | 39 |
| 10-11-12 — Iowa | 38 |
| *10-11-12 — Alabama | 38 |
| 10-11-12 — Washington | 38 |
| 13 — Oregon | 36 |
| 14-15 — New Mexico | 33 |
| 14-15 — Ohio | 33 |
| 16-17 — Georgia | 31 |
| 16-17 — Michigan | 31 |
| 18-19 — Minnesota | 30 |
| 18-19 — Texas | 30 |
| 20-21 — Kentucky | 29 |
| *20-21 — S. Dakota | 29 |
| 22-23 — Illinois | 26 |
| 22-23 — N. Jersey | 26 |
| 24-25 — Florida | 24 |
| 24-25 — Montana | 24 |
| 26-27 — Arkansas | 23 |
| 26-27 — Oklahoma | 23 |
| 28-29-30 — New York | 19 |
| 28-29-30 — Nevada | 19 |
| 28-29-30 — Virginia | 19 |
| 31 — Wyoming | 18 |
| 32 — Alaska | 16 |
| 33 — Missouri | 15 |
| *34 — Conn. | 14 |
| 35-36 — Louisiana | 12 |
| 35-36 — N. Carolina | 12 |
| 37 — Kansas | 10 |
| 38 — S. Carolina | 6 |
| 39 — Wisconsin | 4 |
| 40-41 — D.C. | 2 |
| 40-41 — Maryland | 2 |
| 42-43-44 — Mass. | 0 |
| *42-43-44 — R.I. | 0 |
| *42-43-44 — Miss. | 0 |

On Evers' Motion to Reject Any LNC Liability

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Brazier (Mont.) | + |
| Burch (Va.) | - |
| Burns (Oh.) | - |
| Crussel (Okla.) | + |
| Eddy (Md.) | + |
| Emerling (Nev.) | + |
| Evers (Calif.) | + |
| Grant (Col.) | + |
| Guida (Md.) | - |
| Hanson (Col.) | + |
| Hocker (D.C.) | - |
| Hodge (Fla.) | - |
| Johnston (Ill.) | - |
| Key (Wisc.) | - |
| Lindsay (Ark.) | - |
| Palm (Mont.) | - |
| Pratt (Haw.) | + |
| Randolph (Alas.) | - |
| A. Rich (N.Y.) | - |
| H Rich (N.Y.) | - |
| Rothbard (N.Y.) | + |
| Vanderslice (AZ) | + |
| Vernon (Cal.) | - |
| Webber (Mass.) | - |

LP/10 — (Continued From Page 5)

VII Post-Convention: The Second NatComm, Nov. 7-8, Bethesda, Md.

The Second NatComm was a very different story, with several significant votes being wrested from Crane Machine domination by an increasingly effective Greater Coalition being forged between the old Clark and Mason camps.

The first great battle occurred at the very beginning. Two people claimed to be the regional rep from Region 15 (Maryland, D.C., and West Virginia). These two were Jule Herbert (D.C.), a top Crane Machiner, and I. Dean Ahmad (Md.), a Clark supporter. Clearly, the Machine was ready to go to the mat on this one. I submitted a resolution, one that seemed eminently sensible to me, that a 3-man Credentials Committee be appointed by the Chair to consider the confusing claims of both parties, and then to report back at the next meeting. Much to my surprise, the resolution passed by 14-9 (unfortunately no one insisting on a roll call.) The first defeat for the Machine! Also, the committee appointed by Alicia is a fine one (Crussel, A. Rich, Monroe).

Unfortunately, Chris Hocker (D.C.) partially recouped for the Machine by moving an amendment imposing pro-Jule Herbert restrictions on the Committee's deliberations, and the Hocker Amendment, though absurdly contradictory to the very idea of a credentials committee, passed narrowly by a vote of 14 to 13. And so the Herbert/Ahmad question is still in a state of confusion. (Motion 1 in the roll call table below.)

Next, Evers moved to suspend the rules to restore the old NatComm rule, on the books since 1972, barring Presidential candidates from invoking the equal access, fairness doctrine, or other coercive FCC rules to obtain broadcast time. This rule, wholly in keeping with libertarian principle and the LP Platform (old as well as new), was violated in secret by Crane, Hocker, and Herbert during the Clark campaign of 1980. When their abhorrent action was considered by the old NatComm at the beginning of the convention, it merely noted the violation, and then shamefully proceeded to revoke the rule. Evers' motion to consider restoring the rule was defeated by a vote of 13-15. (Motion 2 in the table below). Rest assured; the LP and the NatComm *has not heard the end* of this key question of principle. It will be raised again and again and again.

Pratt (Haw.) and Monroe (Tex.) moved to require roll call votes on all main motions. The motion lost by a vote of 11 to 14, with 2 abstentions. (Motion 3 in the table below.) Some of those failing to support this motion felt that requiring all roll call votes would be too onerous a task, but this objection was belied by Secretary Eddy's assurance that this would pose no problem. At any rate, it is firmly set that three NatComm members can always require a roll call.

While it was generally agreed to send NatComm minutes to all state chairs, the proposal to send them to state newsletter editors failed by 7 to 21, some of the opposition using the absurd argument that the FBI, IRS or other government agency might then see them (Heavens! is the LP now underground?) Once again, keeping the party members ignorant seems to be the major point. (Motion 4 below.)

Unfortunately, Eric O'Keefe was again granted his absolute power over \$10,000 a month to distribute to state parties for ballot status. The motion to rescind that power lost by 9 to 16, with 3 abstentions. (Motion 5 below). Then, even Dave Bergland (Cal.)'s mild motion to require O'Keefe to submit periodic written reports on his actions lost by 8 to 18 with 1 abstention. (Motion 6 below).

In considering the Howie Rich (Crane Machine)-dominated Libertarian Congressional Committee, Evers moved to require the LCC to follow various cogent guidelines for candidate support

developed by LCC member Carolyn Felton, and also to hold open meetings publicized at least two weeks in advance. These criteria were so reasonable that even Rich & Co., accepted them with the single exception of Jim Johnston (Ill.), who showed himself all weekend to be a fanatical Craniac *ultra*, more royalist than the King. Johnston also persisted in lone obstructionism in absurdly trying to maintain that the NatComm *could not* legally require roll call votes because of *Roberts' Rules of Order*. (Johnston, senior economist for Standard Oil of Indiana, was formerly a Law of the Sea negotiator for the Nixon/Ford administration, and is now affiliated with the Kochian Council for Competitive Economy.) (Motion 7 below.)

Evers then tried for what seemed like hours to ask three questions of Rich on the LCC. After finally being permitted to ask them Evers' questions turned out to be incisive and revealing, for Rich was forced to admit that he had not done several things he had promised in previous agreed upon plans for the LCC.

This ended the Saturday session; it is true that the Machine had won all the votes but one, but that one — blocking the immediate seating of J. Herbert — was significant, and at least promised some light at the end of a dim, dark tunnel. That night, further unity was cemented among the Mason and Clark forces, leading to several crucial triumphs the following day.

The first, and highly significant Sunday triumph was blocking the granting of *carte blanche* to the New York Party to run the 1983 convention as it wishes. Instead, Paul Grant's motion was approved by 17-10 to set up a committee to negotiate a contract with the New York Party, and to continue afterward as an oversight committee for the convention. Unfortunately, there was no roll call on this one. But particularly significant was the breaking away of Dick Randolph (Alaska) from his usual Craniac stance, and agreeing to a negotiating committee, with Grant as chairman. In fact, it was Randolph who worked out the specifics on who would be the members of this committee.

NatComm proceeded to slip back by abjectly agreeing to buying a film on libertarianism produced by the Riches and at their imposed terms. Dave Walter (Pa.), however, did succeed in his motion to inquire into the costs of changing the film to improve the historical sections.

Returning to discussion of the LCC, I moved to substitute on that committee one of its two original founders, Jorge Amador (Pa.), for a new addition proposed by Rich, Ross Levatter (Oh.) The motion lost by a vote of 6 to 16, 5 abstaining. (Motion 8 below.)

Next, Evers won on proposing a public opinion poll to see how people regard the LP, and, then, unfortunately, it was generally agreed that NatComm pay the Clark campaign debt of about \$30,000. Even the decentralists decided they could justify this assumption of debt on the ground that NatComm was really buying the valuable asset of the Clark campaign mailing lists. Perhaps; but it sets up a dangerous precedent nevertheless, for future presidential candidates might conclude that any debt incurred will automatically be assumed by the Party. Clearly, further thought must go into this, including the question: by what right do candidates keep their own mailing list from the Party in the first place?

We now come to the most dramatic and single most important ballot of the weekend: the vote on the naked power grab attempted by Leslie Key (Wisc.), a top Craniac, and Finance Committee chair, to seize control of the crucially important Mailing List Committee of NatComm. This blatant power play in effect would have removed the power of Alicia Clark to appoint subcommittees of NatComm as well as placing the crucial power lever into Crane Machine hands. It must be understood that control of the mailing list is the vital power lever in all ideological, indeed all non-profit, organizations. The crucial vote came on Mike Hall (Calif.)'s substitute motion empowering Alicia to name the Mailing List Com-

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mittee. On this vital ballot, the vote was a 13 to 13 tie with 1 abstention, at which point Alicia broke the tie by voting Yea on the Hall motion. (Motion 9 below.) Whoopee! The crucial vote had been carried, albeit narrowly. Taking the two critical votes on Sunday: rejection of a walkover by the New York Party, and repudiation of the power grab by Leslie Key, things had gone surprisingly well. It looks as if the Machine's power has peaked, and is beginning to wane, perhaps from now on.

Not only that: but Alicia displayed grit and determination when she named the Mailing List Committee a few days later: the new Committee is a fine one, and La Key is conspicuous by her absence. Sometimes justice, even poetic justice, *does* prevail.

The next two roll calls were satisfying, narrowly defeating a last-ditch desperate attempt to suspend the rules to overthrow the Key defeat, losing 16 to 9 (it needed 2/3 to win); (Motion 10 below); and confirming Alicia's previous selection of John Mason as Chairman of the critical Internal Education Committee to advance the education of Party members in our principles and programs. Even the Crane Machine graciously conceded here, and voted for Mason, except for a few of their fanatic ultras: the inevitable Johnston, the loquacious Lindsay (Ark.), and La Key, the Madame De Farge of the Party. Michael Burch abstained. (Motion 11 below.)

VIII Conclusion: What Now?

I left Bethesda in good cheer, especially as contrasted to the post-Denver gloom at the prospect of facing two full years of an abominable Crane Machine steamroller. The steamroller has faltered and sputtered, a particularly sweet development in light of post-Denver boasting by the Machine of their iron control of NatComm. Not so! The Clark and Mason forces are moving toward friendship and unity on every level. It is perhaps not premature to envision a future unity forged on commitment to the leading themes of the two camps before Denver: consistent ideological principle, and grass roots organization. In this way, a mighty front could be forged against the twin hallmarks of the Crane Machine: opportunist sellout and arrogant central dictation.

As one of the most genial and perceptive observers of the LP scene assured me after Bethesda: "Murray, it's the Battle of Iwo Jima. They're (the Machine) the Japs. They have the island, the pillboxes. But we have secured the airfield, and we've planted the flag. And I hope they have plenty of rice and saki stored away, because they ain't getting any more supplies. All the freighters offshore are ours. So we can expect a lot of fighting and a lot of Banzai! charges, but they're going to lose. They're history."

Indeed, we can expect to see their support on NatComm fade. For the nature of opportunists is to go with the winner, and as the smell of defeat begins to curl around the heads of the Crane Machine, we can expect one, two, many defectors.

For the first time in a long while, the future of the LP is beginning to look good once more.

IX: Appendix: Roll Call Votes at Bethesda

Following is an analysis and rating of all the roll call votes at Bethesda. Good and correct votes are rated with a +, bad and incorrect votes with a -. Abstainers receive a 0, and those who were simply not in the room are not marked at all.

A Guide to the Motions below:

1 — Hocker Amendment to hobble the credentials committee. No is good.

2 — Evers motion to consider restoring the rule banning presidential candidates from using the FCC to force broadcast time upon the networks. Yes is good.

VOTES

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | Sum |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|--------|
| Baures (Ore.) | + | - | 0 | - | + | 0 | + | - | + | - | + | 5-4-2 |
| Bergland (CA.) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | 0 | + | + | + | 10-0-1 |
| Brazier (Wash.) | 0 | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | 8-2-1 |
| Burch (Va.) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 | 1-9-1 |
| Burns (Oh.) | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | 1-9-1 |
| Crussel (Okla.) | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | 9-2 |
| DeLisio (Alaska) | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | 2-8 |
| Eddy (Md.) | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | 0 | - | - | - | 5-2-1 |
| Evers (CA.) | + | + | - | - | 0 | + | + | + | + | + | + | 8-2-1 |
| Franzi (Ariz.) | + | + | - | + | 0 | + | + | 0 | + | + | + | 8-1-2 |
| Grant (CO) | + | + | - | - | 0 | + | + | 0 | + | + | + | 7-2-2 |
| Guida (Md.) | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | 2-9 |
| Hall (CA.) | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | 8-3 |
| Hocker (D.C.) | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | 2-9 |
| Hodge (Fla.) | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | 2-9 |
| Johnston (Ill.) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0-11 |
| Key (Wisc.) | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | 12-9 |
| Lewis (Conn.) | - | + | 0 | + | - | - | + | 0 | + | - | + | 5-4-2 |
| Lindsay (Ark.) | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | 1-10 |
| Monroe (Tex.) | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | 9-1 |
| Palm (Mont.) | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | 0 | + | - | 2-7-1 |
| Pratt (Haw.) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | 12-0 |
| Randolph (Alaska) | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | 2-7 |
| A. Rich (N.Y.) | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | 3-8 |
| H. Rich (N.Y.) | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | 2-9 |
| Richman (D.C.) | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | 0 | - | + | 4-6-1 |
| Rothbard (N.Y.) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | 12-0 |
| Walter (Pa.) | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | 7-4 |

3 — Motion to require roll calls on all main motions. Yes is good.

4 — Motion to send NatComm minutes to state newsletters editors. Yes is good.

5 — Motion to rescind the absolute power of O'Keefe to distribute \$10,000 a month to state parties for ballot status. Yes is good.

6 — Motion to require O'Keefe to submit periodic reports. Yes is good.

7 — Motion to require LCC to follow guidelines and open meetings. Yes is good.

8 — Motion to include founder Jorge Amador on LCC. Yes is good.

9 — Hall's substitute to stop Leslie Key from controlling the Mailing List Committee, and having Alicia appoint the committee. Yes is good.

10 — Motion to suspend rules to reconsider Mason as chair. No is good.

11 — Approving John Mason as Chair of Internal Education Committee. Yes is good.

Analysis of the lineup shows that Rothbard (by definition) and Pratt have perfect scores, Bergland almost so followed by Monroe, Crussel, Franzi, Evers, Brazier, Hall, and Grant. Others in the good-guy column are Walter, and Eddy, Three swing vote independents are Baures, Lewis, and Richman.

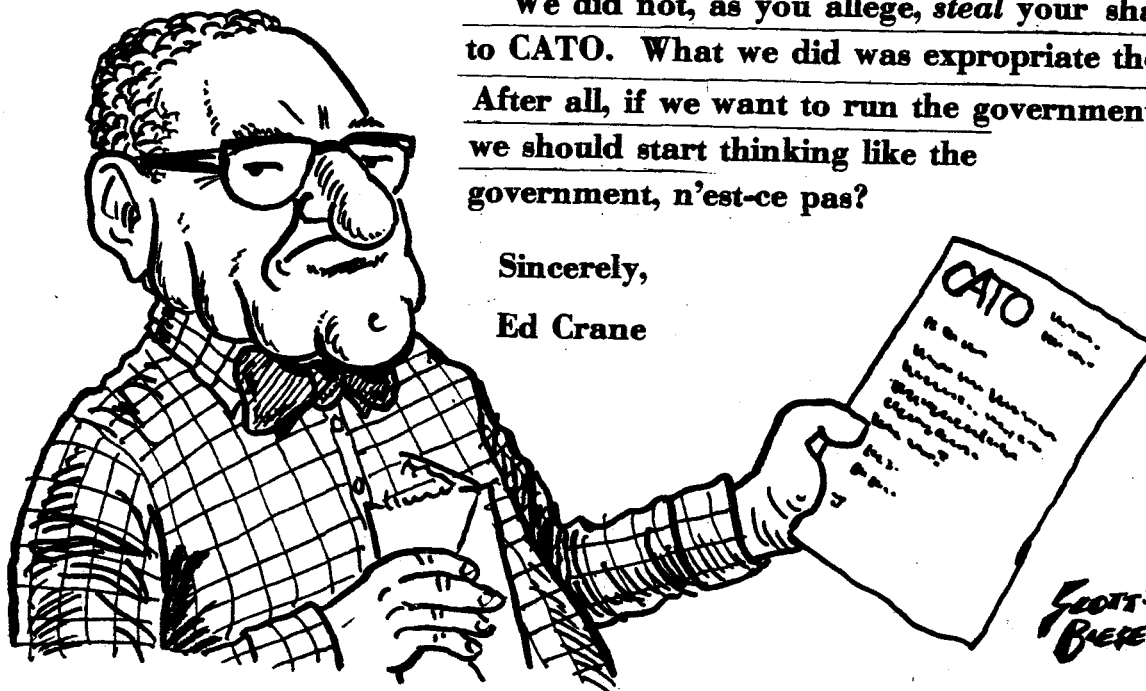
Crane Machine voters, with 2-9, are Burns, DeLisio, Guida, Key, Hocker, Hodge and H. Rich. A. Rich also makes it, with but one minor defection. Palm and Randolph display a few deviations. Particularly fascinating in this Machine lineup are the rabid ultras, more Craniac than the Machine, including Burch, Lindsay, especially Johnston, who walks off with the consistent booby prize.

Dear Prof. Rothbard:

We did not, as you allege, steal your shares to CATO. What we did was expropriate them.

After all, if we want to run the government, we should start thinking like the government, n'est-ce pas?

Sincerely,
Ed Crane



The Kochtopus: Convulsions and Contractions

1981 has been a year of massive upheavals and contractions in the Kochtopus, setting Kochologists aflutter in trying to analyze the new situation. First, the brute facts:

1) *Libertarian Review*, the star movement jewel in the Koch/Crane diadem, has been killed. (Officially, it has been merged into *Inquiry*, the distinguished soft-core semi-monthly.) This means that there is no Crane Machine organ to set the line for the libertarian movement, since *Inquiry* is not a movement publication. Roy A. Childs, Jr., editor of LR, has been "warehoused" to become a "foreign policy analyst" for Crane's Cato Institute.

2) Students for a Libertarian Society, the Koch/Crane youth arm, has been cast adrift, its budget cut back from luxurious munificence to near-nothing. Note: in its first year, SLS had a Kochian income of \$400,000 — heady wine for the dozen or so twerps and flunkies attached to the new battleship; the following year, Kochian contributions were cut to \$100,000 and this year, its contributions were cut back to all of \$10,000. In short, the Kochs have cast SLS adrift, and former SLS leader Milton Mueller has been warehoused with a Kochian grant for an alleged book on something or other. The Machine takes care of its loyal tools.

SLS, however, now in the hands of highly independent Kathy Jacob, promises to be a purer if poorer organization, now that it is no longer under Machine control.

3) *Inquiry* remains, under Hocker as publisher, but it is now cast adrift from Cato; it takes over old LR headquarters in Washington. But this means that, while its allowed deficit remains the same, it no longer enjoys the some \$150,000 annual subsidy it received from Cato's paying its rent and other office amenities. The question then

is: Will *Inquiry* be able to survive its new setup? Betting pools are already being organized to guess the date of *Inquiry's* final issue, with the smart money betting on December, 1982.

4) Cato moves to Washington, with no staff left except Dave Boaz. Its own budget is reportedly increased, but what will it do with the money, especially now that its only resident intellectual, Bob Formaini, has quit and joined the Center for Libertarian Studies as Vice President for Research and Programs? Who will now set up and direct the Cato conferences, or edit the *Cato Journal*, which were all excellent under the Formaini regime? Best guess is that Cato will now concentrate on little squibs to try to horn in on the current popularity of various free-market Reaganoid institutes.

5) The only organ left to try to direct the libertarian movement is the monthly newsletter *Update* (called *Upchuck* by many in the movement), now to be edited by the Madame de Farge of the Crane Machine, Leslie Key. But newsletters do not give guidance to a movement.

Why, why? Well, one thing is sure: the Kochtopus is contracting; really there is now only Cato left for the Crane Machine to work with, albeit the Washington location is conveniently close to its numerous stooges at the National Office of the LP. It looks as if the glory days of riding high on the hog are over.

Meanwhile, as a final Machine note, the Jule Herbert-directed Washington, D.C. tax credit initiative for private schools (i.e. by the National Taxpayers Legal Foundation) was a total and unbelievable floperoo. The tax credit lost by an incredible 8:1 margin. Is *this* what we can expect from the Best and the Brightest, from the tough cool young "professionals" of the Crane Machine? ‡

Hayek's Denationalized Money

In the seven years since he received the Nobel prize in economics, F. A. Hayek, the Austrian who is the dean of free market economists, has returned from political philosophy to economics with a gratifying vigor and enthusiasm. Not only that: he has shown a new willingness, remarkable for a man in his 80's, for seeking out different and radical free-market solutions to the problems of our time.

In particular, appalled by the continuing rampant inflation of our age, Hayek, in two pamphlets published in England (*Choice in Currency* and *Denationalization of Money*), advocates what he has variously called "denationalized" or "free enterprise" money. Where he goes beyond most free-market economists of the last two centuries is to challenge the generally unquestioned government monopoly in the creation and production of money. Not only that: he also challenges the government's presuming to define any given currency as money. In a world racked by chronic and accelerating inflation, Hayek's proposal is gaining increasing attention.

Let us see how Hayek goes about his wholly admirable task of getting the government completely out of the money business, of arriving at a society where money truly emerges from the free market and from there alone. Hayek advocates that any bank, group, or person be allowed to issue its own money, that is, not "dollars" or "pounds" but completely new monetary units created by these banks or persons themselves. In short, Hayek would be allowed to print "Hayeks", I would be allowed to print "Rothbards", etc. Legal tender laws, which force creditors to take "dollars" or "pounds" rather than these other currencies, would be abolished, so that we would at last have truly free competition in these various currencies and moneys.

Note that the Hayek, Rothbard "banks", etc. could never go bankrupt, since their liabilities are only to pay "Hayeks" or "Rothbards", and they could print unlimited quantities if they so chose. But if the Rothbard Bank, for example, printed too many "Rothbards", prices in terms of "Rothbards" would start inflating, and, with the purchasing power of "Rothbards" declining, fewer and fewer people would be using these tickets as money. And so, Hayek envisions that the competition of the market would result in only a few competing moneys circulating in any given geographical area; and that the inflationary banks would disappear as the result of market forces.

Hayek's plan really consists of two very different elements: (a) his call for freedom in the creation of new currencies; and (b) his advocating that his proposed banks so act as to keep prices in terms of "Hayeks" or "Rothbards" constant. The latter does not at all follow from his insight that inflationary banks would tend to disappear on the market. For prices tend to *fall* in an unhampered, uninflated free-market economy, as productivity and supplies of goods increase. The proposed Hayek bank would have to keep inflating the supply of "Hayeks" in order to keep Hayek prices constant. But why keep them constant at all? Wouldn't a harder money bank which refused to keep inflating its currency, which kept its supply of currency constant and allowed prices to fall, wouldn't it be outcompeting the more inflationary Hayek bank, for the same reason that Hayek shows that the latter would outcompete its wildly inflationary competitors? In short, Hayek still unfortunately clings to the constant price level notions of the Chicago school and of the "commodity dollar" (which he endorsed a generation ago.) Not only would the proposed Hayek bank fall by the wayside in his own free-market money world, but his proposal to inflate currency to keep prices constant flatly contradicts *his own* business cycle insight of a half century ago: That such inflation will bring about

malinvestments and the boom-bust cycle.

Suppose, then, that we give up part (b) — the constant price level part — of Hayek's scheme? How sound is his part (a) — the freedom of anyone to issue new money units — as a solution to the inflation and monetary tyranny of our times? The sad answer is that Hayek's proposal, even in the unlikely event it were adopted, is so irrelevant to our current monetary problems as to take on the aspect of a crank scheme. Suppose, for example, that the American government magnanimously allowed Hayek to issue "Hayeks", me to issue "Rothbards", our publisher "Pedens", etc. The problem, as Hayek's mentor Ludwig von Mises used to point out, is that we might issue these notes to our heart's content, but that nobody (except perhaps a few misguided friends or relatives) would take them. They would become curiosa for collectors, if not a laughingstock. For, this competition in moneys, contrary to Hayek's seeming assumption, would not begin in a vacuum. We would begin in a world in which the public has become accustomed, for centuries, to using *only* "dollars", "pounds", etc. as monetary units. As Mises demonstrated decades ago in his "regression theorem", people adopt certain units as money *because* they are confident that most other people will be using them as money. In short, the arrival of a thing or a name as money occurs only after a lengthy process of custom and habituation to its use. If we issue "Hayeks" and "Rothbards", no one will have been habituated to their use; and no one would either trust us to be efficient money issuers or have any confidence that anyone *else* would begin to use it as money. In fact, most people on the market, if they noticed the presumed "Hayeks" or "Rothbards" at all, would consider them jokes in questionable taste.

In fact, Hayek's plan ignores the most fundamental part of Mises' regression theorem: that nothing ever becomes money out of the blue; that it can only emerge as money as a unit of weight of a useful market-produced commodity: almost always either gold or silver. Once the public becomes accustomed to the dollar or pound as a unit of weight of gold, *then* the government can sever the accustomed name from its base in the market-produced commodity, and seize the monopoly of supplying it as a fiat currency — with results that we know all too well in the 20th century.

This latter point highlights the major flaw in Hayek's scheme: Not just that no one would pay any attention to these currencies, but that the scheme leaves the really important current moneys: dollars, pounds, etc., in the hands of monopoly government. Hayek's "denationalized" money may allow for freedom to produce such trivial paper tickets as "Hayeks" and "Rothbards", but it would disastrously leave real money: dollars, pounds, etc. safely nationalized and monopolized in the hands of government. And so inflation would proceed unchecked upon its way.

In the final analysis, then, the gravest flaw in Hayek's scheme is that it diverts free-market-oriented people from their most urgent monetary task: getting the dollar, pound, etc. out of the hands of government and into the hands of the people and the free market. In short, we must denationalize the dollar; we must get the government out of the dollar business. And that can only be done by restoring the status of the dollar (and the pound, franc, etc.) to its original role as a unit of weight of gold. Only a return to the dollar as a unit of gold can denationalize the dollar and other contemporary currencies and return their supply and regulation to the private market, to the mining of gold. What we really need now is not so much the denationalization of a non-existent "Hayek", but the denationalization of an all too existent dollar. ‡

Arts and Movies

Mr. First Nighter

Rich and Famous, dir. by George Cukor, with Jacqueline Bisset and Candice Bergen.

This is one of the most odious and repellent movies I have seen in many a moon. It's not that there are not even worse films out there, it's just that a sixth sense and good fortune have allowed me to avoid them. I was lured into the theater by a dimwit critic who assured her readers that this was a true movie-movie in the style of the great romantic films of the 1930's. And, after all, here was the octogenarian George Cukor directing a remake of that corny but marvelous old Bette Davis/Miriam Hopkins pictures, *Old Acquaintance*. Poor Cukor! Poor Bette! Poor audience! If it were not a remake, this misbegotten film would not be so hard to bear.

It's not that the acting of the two female leads is so bad. Candice Bergen is good as a screechy and obnoxious Jackie Susann-type, and Bisset tries gamely, if hopelessly, to base herself on Bette Davis. Unfortunately for Bisset, the memory of Bette Davis is eternal, and nothing could match the wondrousness of Davis's characteristically taut, high-strung, subtle and beautifully modulated performance. Bisset's one-note moroseness is light-years away from Bette Davis. With Davis, we can see in her eyes and her acting the deep affection she has for Hopkins, an affection without which the bond between her and the insufferable Hopkins-type becomes incomprehensible. But Bisset is incapable of that sort of acting; all she can do is *announce* from time to time how fond she is of Bergen — but we don't see it except for an occasional hug. So why does she stick around?

But the real problem is the direction, the conception, and the execrable dialogue (or lack of it) contributed by Gerald Ayres. One thing above all separates old-time movies from the contemporary cinema: in the old days there was dialogue, and plenty of it: crisp, often witty, delineating characters. Now, the dialogue is sparse and very sappy. Inarticulateness is virtually the hallmark of the modern film. In Old Culture movies, for example, when a couple meet and fall in love, we know why: because they *talk* to each other, they discover common interests and attitudes. We understand why each finds the other lovable. But now, any kind of meaningful talk is missing, and so when they fall into a clinch, we can't understand why.

In *Rich and Famous* this anti-dialogue trend has reached its nadir, so that now the succession of lovers — Miss Bisset and all comers — say virtually nothing at all. For the focus of *Old Acquaintance* has been totally changed. In the earlier movie, solid and sturdy George Brent (a much underrated actor) was the peg of the eternal triangle. His part gave the two women the focus, along with their writing, around which the plot — the competition and love-hate relationship between them — could focus and develop. But the Brent part — now played as an inarticulate boob — drops out after the first third or so of the film, and the rest of the picture is devoted to an endless succession of the most tedious and joyless sex scenes in the contemporary cinema. Time that should have been taken up in dialogue, plot, and character development and interchange is instead devoted to a dreary succession of sex scenes between La Bisset and one silent male cretin after another. For *Rich and Famous* has achieved the anti-romantic ultimate: the males say nothing whatever, and confine their execrable pretense at "acting" to a perpetual leer. "Dialogue" consists of Bisset chattering on nervously, obviously in heat, with the men leering silently, until she can hop into bed.

Even worse, as usual, is Hollywood's idea of how an intellectual acts and talks, which to Hollywood writers and directors seems to be about as foreign as the knowledge of the habits and customs of the Kwakiutl Indians. Every once in a while, Bisset must throw in a quote from Yeats, presumably to establish her intellectual credentials to the audience. Poor Yeats gets a big workout, since he tends

to pop up everywhere, even in the midst of the sex scenes. (Though come to think of it, the sex is so boring that even a quote from Yeats relieves a bit of the tedium.) Even when Bisset is given a Big Speech with which to denounce Bergen's first novel, all she can really say is something about Proust. Even the supposed good-guy male figure, a young reporter from the *Rolling Stone*, who can hardly talk either, is given to mumbling something about Yeats from time to time, though most of their feeble attempts at conversation seem to be confined to words like "orgasm."

And of course, something else has been added to compensate for all that has been taken out of *Old Acquaintance*. The obligatory four-letter words come rolling gratuitously out of the two ladies' mouths. I guess this is supposed to shock the bourgeoisie. But this is 1981, and surely the long-suffering audience has already "matured" and heard quite enough by this time. Or is the old boy (Cukor) trying to impress us with how young and hip he really is?

And the dreary and tiresome sex! For the latter two-thirds of this picture is essentially soft-core porn. In a world where hard-core porn — the real thing — is readily available, any soft-core variety is necessarily boring and tiresome anyway. But surely someone could have done better than this dull and anti-erotic schlock. Perhaps adding some *female* nudity to what seems to be the obligatory male nudity nowadays might have helped a bit, but I strongly doubt it. Cukor should leave the porn to his betters in that department, like Meyer or Damiano.

But the most abhorrent aspect of this picture is its moral values. For this, dear reader, is a Morality Play of sorts; it is what used to be called a Message Picture, except that its message is not the glories of Socialism or the New Deal. The message is that all of us, or at least all females should get with it, cast off the monogamy that has presumably warped Miss Bergen, and join La Bisset in her eternal pressing of the flesh. For Miss Bisset, to put it bluntly, sleeps with everything in pants (and "thing" is said advisedly). At one point, in their climactic confrontation, Bergen calls Bisset a "slut", which for some reason angers Miss Bisset. *Why* she should be angry is a mystery, for the word "slut" has no meaning if we cannot apply it to the Bisset character. But the Bisset role is held up as the exemplar, the role model, for all females.

Hence the complete change in the ending. In the original movie, Davis and Hopkins, after George Brent has left the scene, are ruefully left with each other in a superb bittersweet denouement to their mutual love and conflict. But here, with the various idiot males finally out of the picture, the movie ends with Bisset converting Bergen to sluthood as a way of life. In the final frames, Bisset and Bergen clink glasses as they toast their coming year-long move to the Greek islands, where they are determined to sleep with anyone in pants, the only restriction being that he must not know any words of English. Well, there we have it, the ultimate in the zipless bleep, since there will be no danger of words or ideas passing between them.

For a heady moment at the last, I was in hopes that perhaps the movie would really go modern and Bisset and Bergen would fall into each other's arms. At least a lesbian scene would have relieved a bit of the monotony. But no, Bisset only wants to "press some flesh" at New Year's Eve, and the ladies are off to the Greek islands and the Nirvana of the zipless.

But they will have to go without this writer, who is immediately disqualified by being cursed with knowledge of the English language as well as being a male. But La Bisset can hardly serve as a role model for the female half of our population. For if she is supposed to be the standard-bearer for the New Hedonism, why is she so glum and morose all the time? Why is there no sense of joy, of

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Arts and Movies — (Continued From Page 10)

zest for life, in bed or out? Why does not even a smile break through her countenance? One could, of course, try to credit Cukor with being deep indeed, demonstrating to the viewer the emptiness and the misery of the hedonic quest for pleasure. But no, I'm afraid that this instructive lesson is purely the unintended consequence of bad acting, writing, and directing. The lesson that the zipless is the joyless is something that comes across to the viewer despite, not because of, the efforts of Messrs. Cukor and Ayres. And, believe me, it ain't worth the five bucks and the two hours that seem like forever.

Madcap Comedy Redivivus.

Hollywood seems at last to have cottoned to the fact that the world lost something precious and wonderful with the disappearance of the madcap comedies of the thirties and forties: all the ones with the Grants, the Tracys, the Hepburns, and the Lombards. So there have been recent attempts to revive the genre.

Probably the most successful is *SOB*, dir. by Blake Edwards. *SOB* is not exactly madcap, but harks back more to the visual, slapstick world of the great farce-comedies. Indeed, this curiously erratic movie works best in the slapstick scenes. In slapstick farce, timing is everything, and here the timing is impeccable, as Edwards puts a not-too-distinguished cast through its paces. Funniest is Robert Preston as a Hollywood Dr. Feelgood, eternally and cynically slipping one and all the needle to put them under. But away from the mass scenes, with Preston wielding the needle and orgiasts collapsing to the floor below, the film drifts off into a confused mishmash of absurdist sentimentality and the by now famous revenge of Edwards against his Hollywood tormentors. By the end, unfortunately, the slapstick deteriorates to various scenes of excretion, at a level well below old burlesque routines.

Arthur, dir. by Steve Gordon, is a more conscious attempt to revive the old madcap comedy. Unfortunately, such a comedy needs witty dialogue above all, and *Arthur* simply doesn't have it.

Also, Dudley Moore has an unfortunate tendency to overact when given his head, and here he is uncontrolled, hamming it up interminably as a repellent drunk whom we are supposed to love for his allegedly overwhelming charm. Whatever Liza Minelli is cut out for, it is not to play intelligent screwballs like Jean Arthur or Carole Lombard. And so with zilch dialogue and highly inadequate acting, *Arthur* can do no more than stumble through. Too much has been made of John Gielgud in the Eric Blore-butler role. He is certainly good, but really no better than Blore, and his role is a fairly small one.

Continental Divide is the closest approximation of the three to a thirties' romantic comedy, and so pleases just by offering second-degree nostalgia. There are certainly funny parts, but compared to a true comedy of the thirties, everyone goes through their paces far too mechanically. Blair Brown is at least vaguely reminiscent of Katherine Hepburn, but John Belushi is a disaster in the Spencer Tracy role. In the magnificent *Pat and Mike*, Tracy was a sturdy and shrewd man of the people, but never a shambling and cretinous slob like Belushi.

In all these films, Hollywood approaches the madcap comedy almost as if it were examining some strange and alien culture. It is all mechanistic, from the outside, by rote. It's as if Hollywood has recaptured the formulas of the old days, but never the spirit or the essence. Recently, I was privileged to see a revival of two superb films of the 30's: Leo McCarey's *The Awful Truth* and Frank Capra's wondrous *You Can't Take It With You*. It was a great afternoon, but it highlighted all too vividly the contrast between the real thing and the paltry imitation. Those movies had everything: comedy, dialogue, great acting, slapstick, romance, all woven together with great pace and a taut economy that is pure delight. There was not one wasted moment in the great comedies of the 30s. As a result, seeing them literally dozens of times scarcely diminishes their freshness, their impact, or the new richness of insight that one can find at each viewing. In contrast, it is difficult to imagine anyone seeing the current remakes over again. Once is more than enough! ‡

Against a Government Space Program

Thomas M. Coughlin

I strongly support the development of outer space for the enrichment and benefit of humanity. Yet to me the means by which one gets into space are as important as getting there. In particular one should examine the funding sources of one's space program.

I oppose government monopolization and control of space transportation for the following reasons:

- 1) Government funds come from two sources. The first source is taxation. Financing the exploration and development of outer space through taxes is THEFT! This is an act of coercion. People who totally oppose or have no interest in outer space would be forced to support that development. Such force is to me immoral. The second source of government funding is deficit spending. This is also immoral, for it is only a more subtle form of THEFT — (under the guise of inflation).
- 2) The very nature of government is to use force. Government exists to provide military and legal force against its enemies. Any activity of a government then by its very nature implies coercion. Expropriation of the wealth of taxpayers is only one facet of this coercion. Still more insidious is the government's tendency to employ technology for military purposes. I believe that the outcome of a government space to live and produce goods for all of humanity. The government space program will expand the highly expensive and extraordinary dangerous arms race. The space shuttle is a joint NASA/DOD project and will carry a large number of military missions into outer space.

- 3) Government control will prevent the development of free enterprise in space. Private carriers will be discouraged or prohibited due to government fear that they might undermine military advantages in space.
- 4) The cost of space transportation will increase, and the quality of goods manufactured there decrease as a result of protective government monopolies. The space shuttle cost far beyond its projected budget and was subject to numerous delays due errors in its design. Should we expect more from future government ventures?

NASA is not necessary, sufficient, or in my opinion, even good for the peaceful development of outer space. The development of outer space does not require the bleeding of taxpayers by parasites with dreams but no vision.

OUTER SPACE WILL PAY FOR ITSELF!

There is a vast quantity of wealth in space. It will be acquired by those with a vision, not by thieves. Free men and women need not be coerced into benefiting themselves. They can decide for themselves to go into space and if freed of the onerous burden of taxation, their hard work and imagination will achieve their goal. §

Errata

Our profound apologies to our readers, and to Messrs. Nolan and Cooper for two errors in our June-July 1981 issue. First, David Nolan's name was inadvertently left off as author of the "Hallmarks of a Free Society". And Richard Cooper is not responsible for the "For A New Liberty Back" note, which should have been unsigned.

Consolation for Activists

Now that many principled LPers are dropping out of the Party and even out of the movement, and there is general despair and lamentation about many of the people and groups in it, now when thinking people increasingly ask, "What am I doing here?", an old friend of mine has come up with a hilarious if dubious consolation.

Some months ago, while I was lamenting about the state of the movement, the old friend reminded me of the scintillating scene in that great movie, *Godfather, Part II*. The Meyer Lansky character (Lee Strasberg), was dispensing Jewish homilies ("So long as you have your health!") in a summit meeting with Al Pacino. (He was later to try to murder Pacino shortly after the *detente* agreement at the summit.) Referring to the murder by Pacino of Strasberg's long-term lieutenant in Las Vegas, Moe Green, Strasberg opined:

"When Moe Green was killed, did I try to find out who did it?

Did I ask any questions? No . . . because I said to myself, *This is the business we have chosen.*"

"And so Murray," my friend counselled, "Remember: This is the business (alternatively the movement) we have chosen: libertarianism."

This uproarious consolation can become dubious because most of us, after all, didn't choose the movement (that is, the people in it) when we became libertarians: we chose the ideology, the idea of a good, beautiful, true, and just system.

There is an addendum: as one libertarian activist lamented when I told him this little tale, "But I can't make any money at this 'business.'" "Ah," I replied, "But that is one of the essential features of this particular business." ‡

Big News — (Continued From Page 1)

we had to explain: "No, I can assure you, you were *not* bumped for deviationism; our Computer goofed again!"

Too long, in sum, has it been very very tough to be a *Lib. Forum* subscriber; from now on, we're going to make it easy, maybe even a pleasure. Bless you all!

And so the demands of opportunity and of justice required this Great Leap Forward; but we also needed new resources and new blood. And so we are delighted to announce that we have secured the services of a real, honest-to-God professional publisher — a man who is, *mirabile dictu*, both a veteran (though young) and dedicated libertarian and a supremely competent and brilliant self-made businessman and newsletter publisher. He is my old friend Daniel Rosenthal, who was one of the first and leading student libertarian activists in the nation, and then became a notably successful businessman.

While at Berkeley, Rosenthal was the leader of the Students for Goldwater in the 1964 campaign, and of its successor group, the Cal Conservatives for Political Action, as well as the libertarian Moise Tshombe chapter of YAF and the Alliance of Libertarian Activists at Berkeley. A doctoral student in mathematics, Rosenthal left Berkeley in 1967, to launch his business career. Moving East, he founded an innovative and highly successful adver-

tising agency. Eight years later, Danny moved into the newsletter field, launching the now widely circulated *Silver and Gold Report*. We are elated that he has agreed to become our publisher and assist in our expansion and regularization.

This means that our heroic and publisher, Joe Peden, is at last freed to perform his myriad of other tasks and responsibilities. Joe has done a marvelous job, and is now delighted to be relieved of his burden. (Note to *Forum*ologists and Future Historians: Joe is *not* being bumped or purged for any deviations. No one is happier than he at this change, and Joe will continue to be our Contributing Editor and resident wise counselor and statesman.)

Of course, and here's the touch of bad news with all the good, expansion and regularity means money, and the stern realities of inflation and cost require that we raise our subscription price. But *now* you will be getting a regular monthly magazine, on top of the news, on top of events, lashing out at the numerous enemies of liberty on the spot. Actually, subscription rates will not be stratospheric under our new regime of rational capitalism. They will be: \$15 per year, \$12 for students, and \$27 for two years. But if you renew your sub *now*, before the monthly *Forum* appears, you can renew at the old \$10 rate. So hurry, get in on the bargain! And tell all libertarians and sympathizers on your block, that the New Improved, or rather, the Old Improved *Forum* will be coming your way. Come one come all, subscribers are welcome, and *no one* will be purged for deviations!

Murray N. Rothbard ‡

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