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LP Election Scoreboard

The election returns issue of LP News (Nov.-Dec. 1976) has now been published (bimonthly, available for \$3 per year from Libertarian Party, 1516 P St., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20005). The issue includes MacBride returns from each state, and, with the help of the official election returns (e.g. in *World Almanac*, 1977), we are now able to present and analyze how well the ticket did in each state.

First, it's official: we, indeed, are the largest third party in the nation. The MacBride-Bergland total across the nation was 183,187, beating out the far better publicized Maddox-American Independent Party slate by over 12,000 votes.

The grand total number of votes, for all parties, major and minor, in the election, was 80.21 million; this makes the MacBride-LP percentage overall, 0.23% of the total vote. We shall be working from now on, however, with the total of all major parties plus McCarthy and Maddox votes, since these are the only ones readily available for each state in such sources as the *World Almanac*. The proportion, however, remains unchanged. The grand total for major party + McCarthy + Maddox in the nation was 79.64 million, which still leaves MacBride with 0.23% of the total.

The LP ticket, however, was only on the ballot in 32 states (including the District of Columbia). Clearly, it is unfair to gauge the support for the ticket for all 51 states, since no one could vote for the LP in the other 19. A more accurate comparison, then, is how the MacBride total compared with the total vote in those 32 states in which the LP was on the presidential ballot. The grand total for the major parties + McCarthy + Maddox in those states was 51.66 million, which gives the MacBride ticket 0.35% of the grand total.

There follows a tabulation for each state in which the LP presidential ticket was on the ballot. Where the letter "c" appears before the total, the figure is approximate, since the precise amount was not given in the LP News. In the case of two states, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, no information was given, either on the MacBride total or percentage of grand total for the state.

One conclusion that leaps at one from the table is that MacBride was right in his strategic estimate of the campaign: namely, that we would do far better in the Western states (Mountain and Far West) than in the states east of the Rockies. Perhaps, indeed, individualism is more ingrained in the far and mountain West. With the exception of New Mexico and Washington, each of these western states was way above the national average of 0.35%. The most phenomenal state was Alaska, where the MacBride ticket gained nearly 6% of the total. Our best major state was California, where the 55,000 votes gleaned by the LP's largest and best organized party constituted over 0.7% of the total vote.

Outside of that, we did well in two Great Plains states contiguous to the Mountain states, and in which the LP was newly organized: Kansas, and surprisingly well in South Dakota. Apart from that, the only showing around the national average was in New Jersey, where the factionalism of previous years was overcome, and a united and vigorous party gained

9,999 votes and 0.34% of the total. There were passable showings in the Plains state of Nebraska, in Louisiana, and Virginia. Ohio's 9,449 votes were only 0.23% of the total, but it was the "balance of power" in that state, since Carter only beat Ford by 7,500 votes in Ohio. And that was it.

The MacBride Vote, by State

	All Votes (in millions)	MacBride Vote	% MacBride Vote
Total	51.66	183,187	0.35
Ala.	1.16	1,481	0.13
Alas.	0.62	c.3,700	c.6.00
Ariz.	0.73	7,647	1.05
Calif.	7.60	c.55,000	0.72
Col.	1.05	c.5,200	0.50
D.C.	0.16	274	0.17
Haw.	0.29	c.3,480	c.1.20
Id.	0.33	3,428	1.04
Ill.	4.59	8,095	0.18
Io.	1.27	1,452	0.11
Kan.	0.93	3,242	0.35
Ky.	1.15	814	0.07
La.	1.31	3,325	0.25
Mich.	3.62	6,462	0.18
Minn.	1.92	3,529	0.18
Miss.	0.74	2,787	0.38
Neb.	0.59	1,700	0.29
Nev.	0.19	c.1,330	c.0.70
N.H.	0.34	?	?
N.J.	2.94	9,999	0.34
N.M.	0.41	1,082	0.26
N.Y.	6.40	c.12,000	c.0.19
N.C.	1.66	2,219	0.13
N.D.	0.28	c.280	c.0.10
Oh.	4.06	9,449	0.23
R.I.	0.39	?	?
S.D.	0.30	1,619	0.54
Tenn.	1.46	c.1,460	c.0.10
Ut.	0.53	2,438	0.46
Va.	1.64	4,648	0.28
Wash.	1.36	5,042	0.37
Wisc.	2.04	3,100	0.16

MacBride's largest percentage vote came in the city of Fairbanks, Alaska, where an active LP pursued a door-to-door campaign and gained a remarkable 10% of the vote.

In many of the states with a strong LP, local and state-wide candidates were often able to gain a large share of the total vote, undoubtedly reflecting an unwillingness of many pro-LP voters to "throw away" their

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More on Carter & Co.

In our December, 1976 issue, we presented our analysis of the Carter administration as the old Johnson crew, but now fortunately dovish on foreign policy: more particularly, we analyzed the Carter appointments as almost glaringly dominated by David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission and Rockefeller Foundation, joined by a few Atlanta corporatists around Coca-Cola Co. Further information now available confirms our conclusion in spades.

Let us consider the State Department and allied appointments. Ambassador to the United Nations is Rep. Andrew Young (Trilateral Commission). Counselor of the State Department is Matthew Nimetz, of Secretary Cyrus Vance's (Trilateral Commission, chairman of the executive committee of the Rockefeller Foundation) law firm. Pro-peace Anthony Lake (Trilateral Commission), former member of the National Security Council under Johnson and head of Carter's foreign policy transition team, is the new head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff. Yale economist Richard Cooper (Trilateral Commission) is the new Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, while Columbia University law professor Richard N. Gardner (Trilateral Commission) is the coming Ambassador to Italy. The new Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs will probably be the influential Richard Holbrooke (Trilateral Commission), editor of the Establishment dovish *Foreign Policy* magazine. Paul C. Warnke (Trilateral Commission), a pro-peace former Pentagon official under Johnson, has been offered the key post of director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Ex-Johnson man Warren Christopher, a Los Angeles lawyer, is slated for a

high post in the department, while Philip C. Habib, one of Henry Kissinger's (Nelson Rockefeller) closest advisers, continues as Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs.

More Rockefellerism: Mrs. Patricia Harris, Secretary of HUD, is a director of the Chase Manhattan Bank (David Rockefeller, chairman). And it turns out that Secretary of the Treasury Werner Michael Blumenthal (Bendix Corp., executive committee of the Rockefeller Foundation) is a founding member of the dangerous, corporate collectivist Initiative Committee for National Economic Planning.

And then there is the Coca-Cola connection. We have already mentioned that Charles Kirbo, Carter's closest adviser, and Griffin Bell, the new Attorney-General, are both partners of the leading Atlanta law firm of King & Spalding, which has Coca-Cola as its leading client; and that Undersecretary of Defense Duncan is a former president of Coca-Cola who is also one of its major stockholders. But here is more. For the new Secretary of HEW, Joseph Califano, Jr., as a partner of a Washington law firm, also has Coke as one of his clients. Also, close Carter adviser J. Paul Austin (Trilateral Commission), chairman of the board of Coca-Cola, is also a member of the board of the California Institute of Technology, whose President, Dr. Harold Brown (Trilateral Commission), is the new Secretary of Defense.

This brings us to a fascinating behind-the-scenes octogenarian who is the real head of Coca-Cola: the powerful Robert Woodruff, chairman of

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LP Election — (Continued From Page 1)

votes in the very tight Presidential race. These local races are an extremely heartening portent of libertarian and LP strength. Thus, in Arizona, LP State Chairman Helen Stevens gained 15% of the total vote in a race for State Representative. In Congressional races in Arizona, Pat Harper received 6,001 votes (3.1%) in District 4, becoming the balance of power in a race won by a mere 700 votes; while Michael Emerling earned 4,309 votes (2.4%) in District 2.

In Idaho, local LP candidates racked up their mightiest percentages in the nation in several of their races. Champion was Larry Fullmer, who received 2,836 for State Senate in District 33, a phenomenal 30.21% of the vote! Also outstanding were Allen Dalton in Senate District 15, 1,842 votes (21.16%); Pearl McEvoy, Senate District 11, 1,321 votes (15.99%); and Michael McEvoy, House District 11-A, 1,420 votes (18.54%).

In Illinois, Anne McCracken, running a state-wide race for Trustee of the University of Illinois, garnered a total of 44,472 votes, presumably about 1% of the total. In Michigan, Wilson Hurd, in his state-wide race for Supreme Court judge, gained 100,646 votes, approximately 3% of the total vote. The largest Michigan percentage was received by Martis Goodwin, who amassed 17,708 votes (20%) as the LP candidate for sheriff in Ingham County (Lansing). In Minnesota, several of the local candidates did well, especially George Hardenbergh, running for State House, District 65-A (4.5%), Dale Hemming, State House, District 46-B (3.8%), Terry Thomas, State House, District 57-B (2.5%), and Alice Larson, State Senate, District 50 (2.3%).

Nevada was an outstanding state for local LP candidates. LP candidates averaged about 6% of the vote. Leader was Susan Schreiber, State Assembly District 11, who garnered 15.6% of the vote; right behind was Gwen Bergland, mother of Vice Presidential candidate Dave Bergland, who gained about 15% of the vote in her State Assembly district. Other excellent races were: Carol Higgins, State Senate District 2 (12.4%), Ed McNair, Assembly District 21 (9.3%), Ray Fellows, Assembly District 9 (7.3%), and Linda West, with 6.5% in her race for the Clark County Commission; right behind Miss West were Dorothea Ames and Sally Larsen. Florence Fields received 6.6% of the vote in her Assembly race, and Dr. Robert W. Clark got 5.5% in his Commissioner's race: both were the balances of power in their districts.

In New Jersey, LP candidate for the U. S. Senate, Hannibal Cundari, received 19,910 votes, 0.69% of the total. Richard Kenney received 19,373 votes (1.5%) for U. S. Senate in the state of Washington, while Karen

Wiley received 2.9% of the vote for State Representative in Washington's District 32. Alan Gottlieb gained 4,230 votes (2.06%) in his race for U. S. Congress in Washington's District 1.

High percentages were gained in local races in Oklahoma and Oregon, though they should not really count, since they were run as independents rather than as LP candidates, and therefore did not serve to build the libertarian name or the party. This is not a stricture against these candidates, since it was almost impossible to get on the ballot as a Libertarian in these states. Tonie Nathan gained almost 15,000 votes (5.8%) in her race for the U. S. Congress in Oregon, while Porter Davis gained 36.4% of the vote for State Representative. Davis, however, ran in many ways as a right-wing opportunist (a switch from his left-sectarian role the previous year!), distributing a leaflet with a picture of himself shaking hands with (ugh!) Ronald Reagan.

Thus, some of the states east of the Rockies were able to do quite well in local races. This leaves us with the truly disgraceful situation in New York's Free Libertarian Party, where U. S. Senatorial candidate Martin Nixon did no better than MacBride's poor 0.19%, and the tiny number of local candidates did even worse. Considering that the New York party is one of the largest and oldest LP's, with several full-scale campaigns under its belt, this wretched record only highlights the disintegration of the FLP in recent years. In fact, the FLP has done progressively worse in each of its three campaigns, its percentage of the total vote steadily declining.

The deterioration of the FLP was particularly marked in New York City, where I understand that the total vote for MacBride was only about 2,500 votes. In New York City, indeed, the FLP vote has steadily declined not only percentage-wise, but even in absolute numbers. This crackup reflects, in particular, the disintegration of the FLP in Manhattan, the headquarters of the party in New York State, and once the liveliest region of the state party. For while the Buffalo and Rochester parties have been flourishing, and the always minuscule Brooklyn and Queens parties are in relatively sound shape, it is Manhattan—the central focus of the left-sectarian troublemakers in the FLP—where the rot is the greatest.

In brief, with the pullout of the sober forces from the Manhattan party last year, the sectarian mischief-makers, deprived of objects for their common and united hatred, began to turn cannibalistically upon each other, picking each other apart. The upshot of this dissolution of the FLP was that only a tiny handful in New York worked on the campaign, mainly those who had either been neutral in the intra-party struggles or who had only recently joined the party. □

Life With Mises

by Richard M. Ebeling

I'm sure, like many other people, when I read the works of a particular author, I develop an image of the writer in my mind's eye. I imagine what he looks like, what events or experiences might have shaped his ideas and what type of personality he would possess if I ever had the opportunity to meet him. In many instances such fantasizing remains mostly conjectural. Either the chance to meet the author never arises or the person is someone who lived in another era.

I never had the good fortune to meet Ludwig von Mises. Though I had already become interested in Mises' works, and that of the other "Austrians," in my 'teens when he was still alive and teaching, I lived in another part of the country and found it impossible to ever attempt to attend his famous seminar at New York University. But I had read a few, short accounts by others who knew Mises, including Haberler, Hayek, and Machlup who studied and worked with him in Vienna and by Rothbard, Hazlitt and Greaves who knew him here in America.

Their accounts reinforced many of the impressions I had drawn from reading Mises' classic works, *The Theory of Money and Credit* (1912), *Socialism, an Economic and Sociological Analysis* (1922) and *Human Action, a Treatise on Economics* (1949), as well as many of his other important writings, among them, *The Free and Prosperous Commonwealth* (1927), *Epistemological Problems of Economics* (1933), *Omnipotent Government* (1944), *Bureaucracy* (1944), *Theory and History* (1957) and *The Ultimate Foundation of Economic Science* (1962).

From his books, Mises always appeared as the unflinching proponent of the market economy; the uncompromising defender of methodological individualism: the brilliant, original thinker who challenged the socialists by demonstrating that economic calculation was impossible without a price system and private property; the developer of the Austrian Monetary Theory of the Trade Cycle on the foundations laid by Bohm-Bawerk in capital theory and by Wicksell in the theory of interest; and the perceptive social scientist and epistemologist who saw the unifying principle of social phenomena in the a priori character of human action and purpose.

From those who knew Mises it becomes clear that he lived the principles he espoused in print. For instance, F.A. von Hayek writes that while in Europe, "Mises was strongly attacked from the very beginning because of his relentless uncompromising attitude; he made enemies and, above all, did not find academic recognition until late." Yet, the "unfaltering tenacity with which he pursued his reasoning to its utmost conclusions . . ." which even seemed extreme to some of his own students "proved right over and over again and eventually an everwidening circle came to appreciate the fundamental importance of his writings which ran counter to the mainstream of contemporary thought in nearly every respect."

Now, slightly over three years after Ludwig von Mises passed away at the age of 92, an intimate look at the Austrian economist is presented to us by his widow, Margit von Mises, in *My Years with Ludwig von Mises* (Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York, 1976) 191 pp., iii, \$9.95.

In his 1922 treatise, *Socialism*, Mises, in discussing the role and status of marriage in socialist and capitalist societies, considered the dilemma of the independent and original thinker, "Genius does not allow itself to be hindered by any consideration for the comfort of its fellows . . . The ties of marriage become intolerable bonds which the genius tries to cast off or at least to loosen so as to be able to move freely. Whoever wishes to go his own way must break away from it. Rarely indeed is he granted the happiness of finding a woman willing and able to go with him on his solitary path."

It was this life that Ludwig von Mises had set out for himself. Professor Hayek recalls that "We, his old pupils of the Vienna days, used to regard him as a most brilliant but somewhat severe bachelor, who had organized his life in a most efficient routine, but who in the intensity of intellectual efforts was clearly burning the candle at both ends."

It was into this "efficient routine" that Margit Sereny-Herzfeld stepped when she first met Mises in the autumn of 1925. She recounts that he was a man divided in half. He had obviously fallen in love with her almost

upon their first meeting, but he seemed unable to make the commitment that would involve a radical change in his life and activities. The personal letters that she received from Mises, and which are reproduced in the text, show a desperately lonely man, crying with despair over the uncertainty of her affection for him and reaching out for the romantic relationship that obviously he had always denied himself. She tells that for weeks at a time he wouldn't come to see her, yet, she knew his feelings were intense as ever. "Sometimes I did not see him for weeks. But I knew very well that he was in town. At least twice daily the telephone rang, and when I answered it there was silence at the other end of the line—not a word was spoken. I knew it was Lu. He wanted to hear my voice . . . And finally—after a while, without any explanation—he

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Carter & Co. — (Continued From Page 2)

the finance committee of Coke, whose family has controlled Coca-Cola for the last fifty years. It was Woodruff who has been rumored to be the major influence in persuading Dwight Eisenhower to run for the presidency; Woodruff was also a major background figure in the Truman administration, and a supporter of Jack Kennedy.

Coca-Cola's prominence in the Morgan ambit is revealed by the fact that officers of the company sit on the board of directors of Morgan Guaranty bank and of General Electric, a corporation organized by Morgan.

Another corporation with strong connections in the Carter cabinet is IBM. Mrs. Jane Cahill Pfeiffer, Carter's first choice for Secretary of Commerce, was a vice-president of IBM and is also a member of the executive committee of the Rockefeller Foundation. Other IBM directors in the Carter cabinet are: Cyrus Vance, Mrs. Patricia Harris, and, again, Dr. Harold Brown.

What of Mrs. Juanita Kreps, economist and Carter's Secretary of Commerce? Mrs. Kreps is vice-president of Duke University, which has long been dominated by North Carolina's R. J. Reynolds Company. Among her many corporate directorships, the most important is Mrs. Kreps' membership on the board of R. J. Reynolds. Surely it is no coincidence that, twice since his election, President-elect Carter has vacationed at the St. Simon's Island retreat of Reynolds heir, Smith Bagley.

A fascinating aspect of the Cabinet appointments is that several of them interlock with the most powerful and prestigious elements of the Establishment press. Cyrus Vance is a member of the board of directors of the *New York Times*; Joseph Califano is a lawyer for the *Washington Post*; while Harold Brown is a director of the *Los Angeles Times*.

Cyrus Vance as director of the *New York Times* brings to mind an old unsubstantiated rumor that the Rockefellers have long been partial owners of the *Times*. We may weigh in that light a recent announcement that the *Times* has named Professor Richard H. Ullman to be a member of its editorial board, the board that is responsible for framing and writing that paper's editorial policies. Who is Ullman? Professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton, formerly director of the graduate program of the prestigious and ur-Establishmenty Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton, from which a large number of our foreign policy planners and technicians are derived, Ullman is now director of the "1980's Project" for the powerful Council on Foreign Relations. The CFR has long been the foreign policy think-tank for the Rockefeller empire and their allies. What is the 1980's Project? In the words of the *Times* (Jan. 5): "several hundred specialists in a three-year program to identify and analyze desirable international conditions in the next decade." Ullman has also been on the staff of the National Security Council and on the Policy Planning and Arms Control agencies of the Defense Department.

All in all, any of our readers who may have been inclined to mourn the passing of Nelson from the political scene, need no longer worry. The Rockefellers, and still more corporate liberalism, live! □

Mises — (Continued From Page 3)

came to see me again." But even after she realized her own feelings for him and each had expressed them to each other, Mises held back from the final step. He continued to fight a battle within himself.

Throughout the late 1920's and early 1930's they saw each other constantly and took their holidays together. Then, in late 1934, Mises accepted a teaching position at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. For the next four years their relationship became one of continuous letter writing and frequent journeys by him to Vienna so they could be together.

But the situation in Austria began to deteriorate rapidly. Brown shirts and gangs dominated the daily life of Vienna with, finally, the arrival of the Nazis in early 1938. Having a Hungarian passport (Margit's first husband had been of that nationality), she hastily took her young daughter from her first marriage in hand, with what belongings she could gather together, obtained the required documents and boarded the train for Zurich. "Police officers, Gestapo agents, S.S. men," she recounts, "one after the other, came into the compartments of our railway coach to inspect our passports and examine our documents. Only when the train moved out of the station and gathered speed could I breathe easy. We were free."

By the time Margit arrived in Switzerland, Mises had settled the internal conflict and shortly after she came to Geneva they were married. Though the disintegration of European civilization that Mises had always feared with the rise of Fascist and Communist collectivism was happening all around them, the "neutral" atmosphere of Switzerland became a haven for the exiled. The Graduate Institute for International Studies became a magnet for some of the dispossessed intellectual giants of the period. Margit von Mises takes the reader on a tour to visit some of the most prominent figures of the inter-war period. We meet the famous economic historian "Professor Paul Mantoux, co-director of the Institute, whose son, Etienne, was Lu's special favorite." Wilhelm Roepke, who had the proud distinction of being one of the first professors Hitler removed from the German university system in 1933. William Rappard; Gottfried von Haberler; Hans Kelsen, professor of international law; Louis Baudin; and many others.

By mid-1940, the situation in Western Europe became critical. The Lowland countries had been overrun by the Wehrmacht and the Nazi armies had broken through into France, every day driving further south. The collapse of the French army changed the neutral atmosphere of Switzerland. Margit writes that Mises "loved Geneva, the freedom of teaching, the atmosphere Rappard had created within the institute, the steady friendly contact with the other professors." In fact, until the French defeat became a certainty, Mises "believed the French would fight and could resist the German attacks...Lu's judgement about France's moral and combat strength was the only political error I ever knew him to make."

So, in early July, 1940, Ludwig and Margit von Mises set out on a bus, crammed with other passengers, for the Spanish border. A harrowing journey through winding, back-country roads, constantly dodging German military columns, finally brought them to the French Mediterranean coast near the Spanish frontier. But their arrival was only frustrated by border guards imposing delay after delay and hasty trips from place to place to obtain visa renewals. Finally, the border was crossed, trains and planes were taken and Lisbon was reached. Further delays ensued as passage across the Atlantic was obtained. In August, a nine-day voyage brought them to their ultimate destination, America.

The reader is told about the first, difficult years in the United States, the search for a teaching position, the lecture tours around the country, the successful two-month lecture series in Mexico in 1942, his temporary appointment at the National Bureau of Economic Research, and the famous twenty-one year, weekly seminar at New York University, from 1948 to 1969. Passing in procession through the pages as members of that seminar are some of the leading "Austrian" and Libertarian thinkers of the present day: Murray Rothbard, Israel Kirzner, Henry Hazlitt, Hans Sennholz, Percy Greaves, Ralph Raico, Louis Spadaro, even Ayn Rand made an appearance once.

After the successful publication of his *Omnipotent Government and Bureaucracy* in 1944 by Yale University Press, Mises set to work on

Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

The Front, dir. by Martin Ritt, with Woody Allen and Zero Mostel.

I went perfectly prepared to like *The Front*: Woody Allen has always been funny, and the HUAC persecution of Hollywood Communists and fellow travelers was surely a despotic and unwarranted attack on freedom of the press. The howls of protest in the press by old Social Democrats I figured to be merely an unwarranted throwback to the old apologetics for the Red hunt. But I must report that *The Front* is the bomb of the year.

In the first place, it's not funny at all. On the contrary, the picture, in the course of an absurdly crude defense of "the Hollywood Ten" et al. is precisely the sort of dreary, left-wing "message" movie we used to be plagued with in the 1930's and 40's — in short, the sort of movie the Hollywood Ten used to make. It's fine to have good guys and bad guys in a film, but there must be subtlety, richness, in short art to make it palatable. *The Front*, like its counterparts in the bad old days, is just the reverse: tendentious, crude, hokey, oversimplified, pretentious and sententious to the point where it must be, for any sensible observer, counterproductive. The good guys — the Communists — are so good, so noble, so sensitive, so protective of their friends, so sweet; while the bad guys are, to a man, evil, cold, robotic, out only for power and nothing else. (God forbid that the Communists were ever out for power!) And so, as the dreary junk rolled on, my old right-wing juices began to bubble up within me, and I began to mutter to myself: send the Commie whiners to

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translating and revising his 1940 volume *Nationaloekonomie*. And in 1949 it appeared as *Human Action*. The importance of the volume was succinctly summed up by Professor Rothbard, "...here at last was economics whole once more, once again an edifice. Not only that—here was a structure of economics with many of the components newly contributed by Professor Mises himself...little constructive work can be done in economics unless it starts from *Human Action*." For, as Rothbard has pointed out, *Human Action* "...is economics whole, developed from sound praxeological axioms, based squarely on analysis of acting man, the purposive individual as he acts in the real world. It is economics developed as a deductive discipline, spinning out the logical implications of the existence of human action."

However, Margit von Mises tells us, the quality of the publisher responsible for its publication, Yale University Press, did not consistently match the brilliance of the words on the pages (and she was extremely familiar with those words because she typed 890 pages of the manuscript). While the first edition of the book was handsomely produced, when a second revised edition was arranged, the Yale Press produced what Henry Hazlitt called a Mangled Masterpiece. The print appeared darker on some pages, creating the impression of bold-faced type; pages were printed twice; lines were omitted; and paragraphs were transposed. They even refused to send Mises page-proofs or even a complimentary copy upon its publication. In 1966, publishers were changed and a third revised edition was published by Henry Regnery Co. that once again equalled the printing excellence of the first edition.

Almost until the end of his life, Mises kept teaching at NYU and lecturing around the country. Only in the last couple of years did he finally retire. In the fall of 1973, he was taken to the hospital. "He was not allowed any visitors, but when Percy and Bettina (Greaves) came to see him on his ninety-second birthday, he asked me to let them enter. Bettina wished him a happy birthday, and he thanked her and kissed her hand. The Austrian gentleman had remembered the old Austrian custom...Lu's mind was especially clear on the day before his death. He held my hand all day long, but he was very weak and his voice was barely audible when he told me in the evening, 'You look so tired; you must go home now and get some rest'...Shortly afterward, Lu went into a coma and never woke up. He died at 8:30 in the morning of October 10, 1973."

The delightfulness of the volume is enhanced by a fascinating selection of photographs and an appendix containing a tribute to Hayek by Mises and a tribute to Mises by Hayek. □

Arts & Movies — (Continued From Page 4)

jail. More to the point: let the picture stop!

There is also an ugly ethnic dimension to the tendentious bias of *The Front*—the same dimension that popped up in the equally left-wing but better crafted movie, *The Way We Were*. The good guy Communists are—to a man — Jews; with the exception of one token Communist Irishman who, as a friend of mine said, is so token that they could have hung a placard around his neck saying "Token good-guy Irishman." The bad guys are — to a man — WASPS and Irishmen. To complete the caricature, the main bad guy, one Hennessey, has a wall full of photographs of right-wing heroes of the day: Dewey, MacArthur, Winchell, Pegler, Chiang-kai-Shek, and I think I caught sight of Adolphe Menjou, the leading Hollywood conservative of the epoch. How loaded can one get?

To top it off, there is Zero Mostel, a marvellous comedian, but in a serio dramatic role such as he plays here, an insufferable ham chewing up the carpet and making a bad film even worse. The climactic moment when Woody Allen tells off HUAC, far from being a dramatic and heroic John Galt-type speech, is simply an inarticulate obscenity.

Let us express the fervent hope that Messrs. Ritt et al have now gotten their old spleen at HUAC out of their system, and can return to making real movies. If, on the other hand, *The Front* signals a new trend, I'll be forced to hole up with *The Sound of Music*.

The Seven Best.

I have ceased compiling a "Ten Best list" of movies in recent years because the quality of films has been so dismal that the exercise seemed scarcely worth it. But there were enough good movies opening in 1976 for me to compile, if not a Ten Best, at least a Seven Best. Maybe someday Hollywood can work its way up to ten once more. The Seven Best follow, in alphabetical order:

All the President's Men, with Robert Redford, Dustin Hoffman, and Jason Robards.

A superb film, fully worthy of the "best movie" accolade of the New York Film Critics, and of its presumed Academy Award. Exciting, fastpaced, and a vivid portrayal of big-city newspaper at work. Despite its length, one is left at the end wishing for more, more about Watergate, which this movie only begins to unearth. All the acting is excellent, in particular Jason Robards' finely chiselled performance as Ben Bradlee, editor of the *Washington Post*.

Bad News Bears, with Walter Matthau and Tatum O'Neal.

A charming comedy, with Matthau in top form as an oafish, cynical manager of a lovable group of quasi-obscene Little League kids. Heartwarming, modern version. Tatum O'Neal is excellent as the team's star pitcher.

Family Plot, with William Devane and Barbara Harris.

Hitchcock is back, and what could be better? This is a masterful blend of suspense and humor, as only the Master can do it. A joyous romp, marked by irony and an ingeniously interweaving plot. Also, a great careening-down-mountainside sequence. Marred slightly by the gawky Bruce Dern, one of my least favorite actors.

Pink Panther Strikes Again, with Peter Sellers and Herbert Lom.

Another in the fine Pink Panther series, and one of the best. Peter Sellers' Inspector Clouseau has now taken on an almost mythic status, his marvellous portrait of the bumbling idiot inspector who moves through his world in totally oblivious high seriousness being reminiscent of the great deadpan silent film comedian Buster Keaton.

Rocky, with Sylvester Stallone.

By this time, everyone knows the inspiring Horatio Alger saga of struggling young actor Sylvester Stallone, who wrote, acted the lead in, and virtually directed *Rocky*. Remarkable for taking an extremely grubby setting in the Philadelphia slums—a kind of blend of the settings of such naturalistic films as *Marty* and the post-war Italian neo-realist *Shoe Shine*—and infusing it and the hero with a touching vulnerability and sensitivity, with the inspiring values of a dramatic rise out of the depths through his heroism and determination. The carefully choreographed climactic ending is by far the most exciting fight sequence ever seen on film.

Silent Movie, with Mel Brooks and gang.

Another Mel Brooks triumph, a howlingly funny silent movie (but with noises and music) about a bumptious producer (Brooks) who plans to make a silent movie. Brooks manages to transmute his great verbal humor into the visual delights of the silent film.

The Enforcer, with Clint Eastwood.

The third of the great "Dirty Harry" series, like its predecessors a movie calculated to send every left-liberal into an apoplectic fit. Better than *Magnum Force*, though not quite as good as the original *Dirty Harry*, Inspector Harry Callahan is once again beset by mollicoddling and spineless police officials and leftist social workers, as he defends life and property with his usual straightforward clarity and decisiveness, with no thanks from anyone. As for Clint Eastwood, to use the current lingo, he is *Dirty Harry*.

The Great Jingles.

The lowly and much-scorned jingle has long been an important part of our pop consciousness, first on radio and now on TV. Since they are—Heavens to Betsy!—commercials, they have been anathema to our left-liberal intelligentsia. They are not great songs, to be sure, but they are catchy, sprightly, and lots of fun. Yet they have been totally neglected in the nostalgia boom. Now Peter and Craig Norback have had the happy idea of collecting the words and music of the *Great Songs Of Madison Avenue* (paper, Quadrangle, 1976, \$7.95). One hundred and fifteen top jingles, from past to present, are included in this delightful volume. We find that the oldest known jingle—and still one of the best—is "Have You Tried Wheaties?" (1929), although the editors unfortunately did not include the "Jack Armstrong never tires of them" line from the popular radio show of the 1930's.

One of the facts that shine through is that, by and large, the older jingles were better and more tuneful than the current ones, a not surprising reflection of the decline of pop music generally. Thus, the great "Pepsi-Cola Hits the Spot" (1940) is far better than the vapid tune of "Pepsi's Got A Lot to Give" (1969); the former jingle is also a sociological shock for the current reader: "Twice as much for a nickel too" indeed!

It's too bad that someone—whether United Brands Co. or the editors—felt that they had to bowdlerize the famous "Chiquita Banana" jingle (1946): for many years we heard Chiquita propagandize us as follows: "Bananas like the climate of the very, very tropical equator; So you must never put bananas in the refrigerator, no, no, no, no!" But the line on bananas has changed since then, the refrigerator is now OK, and so these immortal words have been trundled down the memory hole. For shame!

Most of the great jingles are here. The "Aunt Jemima" (1939) is a revelation. But some are unaccountably missing. Where is one of the oldest jingles, of the 1930's: "I'm nuts about ze Chateau Martin wine", sung by the guy with the patently phony French accent? Where is Peter Pan's "If you believe in peanut butter, clap your hands . . ." Where is the great oldie for Ralston, beginning "When it's Ralston time in Texas . . ." And where is Mr. Clean? And "Bar-ba-sol"? And the old Fitch Shampoo commercial? And "Piel's light beer of Broadway fame?" But these are minor blotches on the Norbacks' work; may we hope for their inclusion in a second edition? □

Going, Going. . . .

Every two years, the Lib. Forum binds its issues for those years in a handsome red cover, stamped with gold. Soon, the 1975-76 issue will be bound. Hurry, hurry, then, to get your copy of the 1973-74 book. Get your Libertarian Forums in permanent, book form. Some copies of the 1973-74 book are still available at the low price of \$20.

Fair Trail vs. Free Press: Court Decision Imperils Press*

by Bill Evers

The November-December issue of *Columbia Journalism Review* contains an excellent, thoughtful article by Columbia law professor Benno Schmidt on the June 30 U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Nebraska gag order case.

While the Supreme Court decision in the case struck down the Nebraska gag order, the argument of Chief Justice Warren Burger, who wrote the opinion of the majority, is likely to have grave consequences for freedom of publishing.

Throughout his opinion, Burger rejects a literal, "absolutist" interpretation of the First Amendment—one that prohibits government interference with the press. In fact, Burger shies away from recognizing that any general rules should apply to freedom of publishing.

He prefers a particularistic, case-by-case approach that somehow balances smooth operation of the whole governmental system against instances of the exercise of individual rights.

Prior censorship

For largely historical reasons, legal doctrines on freedom of the press have emphasized prior censorship of publications. Burger's opinion is no exception. But a sensible approach to freedom of the press would have to recognize that punishing persons afterwards for what they publish also deprives them of their liberty.

In any case, Burger is unwilling to rule out categorically prior censorship. He says that if it is highly likely that pretrial information would influence jurors and if all means short of prior censorship will not prevent that influence, then a judge may gag the press.

The test which Burger suggests that judges use in determining when to apply gag orders is one derived from the 1950 *Dennis* case in which political radicals were punished for having, in Justice Hugo Black's words, "agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date."

Measuring likelihood

The test, first set forth in the notorious *Dennis* case, is a formula which pretends to somehow measure the likelihood that some speech or publication will cause certain action (criminal violence, a threat of criminal violence, or a political revolution).

The notion that the setting forth of ideas by one person directly causes another person's later actions is muddled and unjustified. It entirely neglects the judgment made by the actor and his responsibility for his acts. Here it is important to differentiate between orders to act given by an employer to his employees or by a leader in an organization to his subordinates and ideas that are merely set forth.

The test in *Dennis*, which was already based on a muddled and unjustified notion when applied to concrete actions, is transparently ridiculous when applied to prejudicial pretrial publicity. While the *Dennis* test was originally used to estimate somehow the likelihood that some act would occur, in the Nebraska gag order case Burger says it should be used to estimate the likelihood of much vaguer and more illusive creatures, namely influence and prejudice.

More repressive

Because influence is more elusive, much more would be repressed by the government in order to stop influence than would be repressed to stop acts. In his book *The System of Freedom of Expression*, Thomas Emerson addresses this problem:

"A publisher would have small chance of knowing in advance what the effect of his publication might turn out to be, and whether a prosecutor or court might consider it violated the law. Inevitably there would be only sporadic and perhaps discriminatory enforcement of the requirement, or the mere existence (of the prohibition of influential reporting) would effect a sweeping repression of the news media, or more likely both."

Not only is prior censorship invited by Burger's opinion, but his particular approach means that short-term censorship will often be

instituted while a court decides whether longer censorship is warranted.

Gag others

In addition, Burger's call for the use of measures short of prior censorship to control press reportage will gag others who have a right to speak.

Burger reaffirmed the legality of the gags on parties, lawyers, witnesses, and police (rather than on the press), suggested in the Supreme Court's 1966 opinion in the Sam Sheppard murder case.

I agree with Emerson that "restriction on communication by government employees that is essential to performance of the job for which they are employed cannot be considered an 'abridgement' of freedom of expression." Thus a court could properly restrict release of information by police, court officials, criminal prosecutors, and other governmental employees.

Full freedom

But witnesses, criminal defense counsel, criminal defendants, and both parties and attorneys in civil cases ought to enjoy full freedom of speech and be absolutely exempt from gag orders.

Such rules would, as Emerson notes, "put prosecuting officials under more stringent restrictions than those applied to private attorneys. But this seems inevitable in the nature of the situation.

"It is primarily governmental officials who are in a position to create prejudice by releasing information, and for them a broad rule of thumb is essential. Moreover, it should be remembered that protection of expression by government, is the main function of the first amendment."

*reprinted from the *Stanford Daily*, Nov. 30, 1976. □

Land Reform: Portugal and Mexico

We at the *Lib. Forum* have long been advocates of land reform, but not, obviously, because we are socialists or egalitarians, or because we are simply pro-peasant or anti-landlord. "Land reform" is a portmanteau concept that covers a lot of sins and virtues, and so is a virtually meaningless term. What we favor, here as always, is justice and property rights, and we favor the return of stolen property to its rightful owners. In many areas of the world, arable land was stolen by conquest and government expropriation from the peasants and handed to a favored group of "feudal" landlords, and we consider it not only just but essential to restore this property to the rightful peasant owners. In these cases, the "rent" extracted by the unjust landlords is really a form of tax paid by the peasantry. This of course is not true of all peasants and all landlords, since in many cases the land was justly owned by the landlords and then rented out to the peasantry. How do we know which is which? Obviously, in the same way we know whether any property—a watch, a horse, or whatever—is justly or criminally owned by its current possessor: by engaging in a "historical" inquiry into the source of its current title. The proper analysis is not "peasant" vs. "landlord" but just vs. criminal possession of current property.

The contrasting cases of Portugal and Mexico, recently in the news, provide an instructive case study in very different attitudes that libertarians should have toward concrete landed property and land reform.

In Portugal, there is no land problem north of the Tagus River, where no land conquest or expropriations took place, and where the land is consequently marked by private peasant proprietors and there is no call for land reform. Southeast of the Tagus, however, is a land conquered centuries ago from the Moslems, with the peasants expropriated by State

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Relaxation in China?

Significant hope for a loosening of the iron despotism that is Communist China occurred in a dramatic New Year's Day editorial that appeared jointly in the leading Chinese Communist journals: the Communist party paper *Jenmin Jih Pao*, the Red Army paper *Chieh-fang Chun Pao*, and the party's theoretical journal, *Hung Chi*. (See Fox Butterfield, *New York Times*, Jan. 2, 1977). The editorial pledged "to create a completely new situation in which there will be liveliness politically and prosperity economically, a hundred schools of thought will contend and a hundred flowers bloom in science and culture, and the people's livelihood will steadily improve through expansion of production." The editorial also widened the regime's previous emphasis on workers and peasants to call for a "united front" with intellectuals, "patriotic democratic parties, (and) patriotic personages."

Since Mao Tse-tung's death last year, the Chinese regime has moved with remarkable swiftness, first to jail Mao's wife Chiang Ching, leader of the powerful ultra-left, and her allied "gang of four", and to purge their followers from all important posts throughout the country. And now this joint editorial presages more important social changes to come; the link between the purge and the broader changes is seen in the passage from the editorial which avers that "we must not be kind-hearted but battle hard against this counter-revolutionary sinister gang."

The phrase about the "hundred schools of thought" and the "hundred flowers bloom" is particularly significant, for it deliberately harks back to the identical phrase, used abortively in 1956 and 1957. Most Americans do not realize that Communist China did not impose its socialist despotism all at once. While it is true that the Communists slaughtered at least 800,000 anti-Communist Chinese in the six years after their takeover in 1949, it is still true that China remained as a mixed economy, somewhat similar to the quasi-market NEP regime of Soviet Russia during the 1920's. In May, 1956, the "hundred flowers" phrase, with its promise of intellectual freedom, was used by then propaganda chief Lu Ting-yi. More importantly, it was instituted by Mao himself in February 1957. However, when the flowers indeed began to bloom, with many criticisms directed toward the regime itself, Mao turned sharply in a few short months, and viciously cracked down on the critics, nipping the "flowers" in the bud. The whole incident gave rise to the suspicion that Mao allowed a short period of intellectual freedom in order to smoke out his critics and eradicate them.

The brief blooming of the hundred flowers was followed shortly thereafter by the Great Leap Forward, which was akin to Stalin's evil collectivization campaign of the late 1920's and early 1930's in fastening a tyrannical and thoroughgoing socialism upon China.

All this was operating in Stalin's footsteps. But Mao departed from the Stalinist model in the mid and late 1960's, the period when he launched the astounding "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in a massive overthrow of his own Communist party and state machinery. In the overthrow, Mao mobilized the army and mass formations, bringing China to the brink of full-scale civil war, and in which Premier Liu Shao-chi was purged as "taking China down the capitalist road." Theoretician and inspiration for the Cultural Revolution was Mao's wife Chiang Ching, abetted by her "gang of four." Clearly, the aging Mao, seeing the militance of his revolution giving way inevitably to a kind of Brezhnevite routine, in an act of demonic heroism launched a mass-movement from below to try to stem the inevitable tide of history and to revive the old revolutionary fervor, even at the cost of toppling the old regime.

Since the Cultural Revolution was a Mao-led movement from below against Communist party and state bureaucratic rule, even some American libertarians were misled into hailing the action as a movement in the direction of libertarianism. The partly-successful goal of the Cultural Revolution, however, was not liberty or anarchism, but the replacement of orthodox Stalin-Brezhnevism by a totalitarian despotism that involves the masses in every area of local life, a despotism in which every block and every acre is run by a local collective, guided and controlled by the central government at Peking, which dominates every single aspect of the individual's existence. In short, Mao succeeded in establishing a regime which combines the worst features of Stalinism and left-wing anarchism, a totalitarian hell on earth which makes Stalin-Brezhnev Russia a paradise of liberty in comparison. For in Soviet Russia,

precisely because it is bureaucratized and routinized, the individual is able to live a life of comparative freedom, getting around red tape through a massive system of bribery known as *blat*, and living a largely self-directed life. In addition to the totalitarian block-by-block control of each individual's life, the Cultural Revolution also went a long way toward another monstrous ideal of left-wing anarchism and of communism: the coercive eradication of the division of labor and of economic activity. Students were shipped from school to become permanent farm workers on the frontier (so as to "remove the contradiction between intellectuals and laborers"); and the economic incentives toward production of the wage and price system, in force in Russia since the days of the NEP, were largely replaced by "moral incentives". "Moral incentives" being, not increased pay but receiving the accolade of one's comrades and avoiding their moral condemnation. The result has been a precipitate decline in production and in consumer living standards.

Despite the urgings of Chiang Ching and the utopian ultra-left, Mao was persuaded not to complete the Cultural Revolution, and the shrewd centrist Chou En-lai was able to take over as Premier. The deaths of both Mao and Chou last year meant that something new was bound to happen in China, and the swift drive against Chiang Ching and now the hundred flowers editorial by the new Hua Kuo-feng regime is a clear sign of the direction which China will now take. It means the destruction of the un-communist ultra-left in China, and a rapid liberalization of the Chinese regime. For the starving and oppressed Chinese masses, it provides the first ray of hope in twenty years.

An extra bonus of the new turn will surely be the final disappearance of Maoism in America as a force on the Left. The Left has been partial to the idea of all-out communism and egalitarianism, as seemingly embodied in the romantic victors of guerrilla war like Mao and Castro. It has never been attracted to more rational bureaucratic regimes like Brezhnev's, or even less to free-marketish regimes like Tito's, despite the fact that Tito's credentials as a romantic victor of guerrilla war are as good as his ultra-left counterparts. Already, the new Left-wing weekly *In These Times* has deplored the assault on the gang of four. Maoism had already been in disarray for several years, split by the curious shift by the Chinese to an ultra-rightist, ultra-hawk foreign policy posture against the Soviet Union, in which the Chinese have hailed the Reagans and the Schlesingers in the U.S. Orthodox Maoists in the U.S. have aped this 180-degree foreign policy reversal, while such Maoists as the weekly *Guardian* have clung to the older anti-U.S. imperialist line. Already in grave disarray, the "right-turn" within China should now finish the Maoists both here and abroad. ■

Land Reform — (Continued From Page 6)

creation of large feudal estates. It is in southern Portugal, then, where land reform is a very live issue. It is not surprising, therefore, that southeastern Portugal, in the Alentejo district, was the major source of Communist strength during the 1974 revolution and since, for only the Communists came out strongly for seizure of the feudal estates.

The Communists, of course, are not really interested in peasant property; what they desire is their own confiscation of peasant estates and domination over these peasants on state-owned collective farms. In Portugal, the headstrong Communist party quickly proceeded to confiscate the large estates in 1975, and turned southern Portugal into a land of state-owned rather than feudally-owned estates. Now, however, with the blessing of the new Socialist regime, the disenfranchised peasants are beginning to form their own voluntary cooperatives and to break away from the state-owned farms. In the words of the new Socialist Minister of Agriculture, Antonio Barreto, "Portugal has begun its second agrarian reform." The main task, he asserted, is now to free the Alentejo district from its "new landlords, the Communist Party and its unions." (Marvine Howe, *New York Times*, Dec. 27, 1976).

In contrast to Portugal, Mexico had its anti-feudal land reform in its Revolution sixty years ago. But instead of turning the land over to the peasants for them to do what they will, severe restrictions and prohibitions were placed on the existence of any farm larger than an

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Vive Le Quebec Libre

Who could forget that dramatic moment, about a decade ago, when General Charles de Gaulle, le grand Charlie, stood up in Montreal to send the cheering throng into ecstasy and the Canadian Establishment into conniption fits by intoning, in a French so stately and lucid that even I could understand it: "Vive le Canada! Vive le Quebec! Vive le Quebec . . . LIBRE!" And now that dream of a free and independent Quebec, so remote and so seemingly Utopian a short while ago, has come close to reality with the smashing victory in the recent Quebec elections of the Parti Quebecois.

The surprise landslide for the PQ, committed to Quebec independence, has sent the Canadian government, and the knee-jerk liberals and conservatives in the U.S. dedicated to Big Government, into another conniption fit. Conservatives and liberals, in the first place, are devoted to a big, centralized State, per se, as well as the status quo, whatever it may be; on both grounds, then, they fear and condemn any proposed breakup of Big Government into constituent parts. The various arguments levelled against Quebec independence by conservatives and liberals are all spurious. The charge that Quebec would be economically "unviable", whatever that may mean, is rebutted by the fact that the PQ wants political independence, but an economic free-trade zone with Canada, which would eliminate any economic problems that might result from independence. The charge that PQ is in some way Commie is nonsense; M. Rene Levesque and the rest of the PQ leadership are simply mild Social Democrats, no more nor less statist than the rest of State-riden Canada. Internal economic policy in a free Quebec is likely to be no better and no worse than in the rest of Canada.

The key to Quebec grievances is language, generally the touchstone of secessionist and anti-imperialist policy. The English-Canadian national government had long imposed the English language—as a language of the courts, the public schools, and the civil service—upon a Quebec that is overwhelmingly French-speaking. In the late 1960's, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and the Canadian Establishment were faced with an acute language crisis. There were two ways they could have moved: they could have granted Quebec to the French language, keeping English as the official language in the rest of Canada. That would have been the intelligent and reasonable course, and it would probably have defused the agitation for Quebec independence permanently. Instead, the Canadian government opted, not for the libertarian solution of English in the English-speaking provinces and French in Quebec, but for compulsory bilingualism everywhere. In short, Canada opted for the centralist, statist solution. The result was to polarize hatred and conflict between the

French and English throughout Canada. The French still had not achieved dominance for French in Quebec, and all the other Anglo provinces faced the annoyance and provocation of having to learn French on all billboards and canned goods, etc. The result of this intensifying hatred and polarization was the present crisis.

There are two positive reasons for the libertarian to cheer at the imminent achievement of Quebec independence. In the first place, secession—the breaking up of a State from within—is a great good in itself for any libertarian. It means that a giant central State has been broken up into constituent parts; it means greater competition between governments of different geographical areas, enabling people of one State to zip across the border to relatively greater freedom more easily; and it exalts the mighty libertarian principle of secession, which we hope to extend on down from the region to the city to the block to the individual. And secondly, Quebec independence would at long last reverse the coercive verdict of two centuries ago—when British imperialism launched a war against France and conquered French Canada, and dominated and oppressed the French Canadians ever since.

Vive le Quebec libre! □

Land Reform — (Continued From Page 7)

arbitrary number of acres, and peasant owners are not allowed to merge or to rent their estates to each other. In short, natural market forces were not allowed to operate, and Mexican agriculture has remained fixed in a primitive, inefficient, and tyrannical compulsory small-holdings system. In addition to this chronic problem, the egalitarian nature of the Mexican land-reform and its ruling ideology, have encouraged landless peasants and agricultural workers to try to seize and partition privately-owned farms. In short, the current Mexican land reform movement is a criminal and egalitarian call for confiscation of legitimately private landed property. The title of the Washington Post's lengthy article on this problem (John M. Goshko, "Land for Peasants: Mexican Revolution's Unfulfilled Promise" Washington Post, January 3, 1977) reveals the profound misunderstanding of the entire problem in the Establishment press. Such misunderstanding is inevitable so long as observers focus on the size of landed estates rather than on the upholding of just property rights. □

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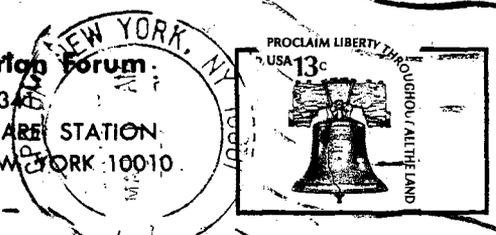
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