

I have defined violence as a physical act that breaches the personal or property boundaries of an individual against his will.

Some object when I offer this definition. I'm told that there are more subtle forms of violence which do not entail physical violation of boundaries.

Some assert that society coerces the individual by various psychological restraints, customs, practices, and opinions. Others tell me that businessmen coerce their customers by advertising, propaganda, or just plain lies. A third variation on this theme, and the one most firmly reasoned, is that parents coerce their children, not so much by physically violating the physical boundaries of the child, but by subtle suggestions and the imposition of opinions, frequently wrong and even harmful.

Indeed, some tell me that compared to the number of times the individual faces boundary violations by psychological means, threats of actual physical violation are so few that we need spend little time with the physical problem. If we simply redefined violence to include "psychic aggression," then, I am told, we would have a far more useful definition.

But two methods for obtaining desired conduct from another person are being considered, and we are entitled to call each method by a separate name. I am not denying the effectiveness some

may find in obtaining specific behavior from another by means other than physical force. I am, however, insisting that when force is used or threatened, and when the party wielding the force or the threat is capable of carrying it out, we have one class of interpersonal conduct. When the party seeking to obtain some specific behavior from another uses subtlety, argument, persuasion, demonstration, or even tearful pleading, we have another class of conduct. In the interest of being as precise as possible, it is useful to have two words, since two separate interpersonal methods are employed. Thus, when a person limits his effort to motivate another by any means except force (or threats to use force), implicit in his stance is a *request* for specific performance. When the person threatens force or employs it, he does not make a request, he issues an order. He *commands*. There is a difference, and an important one, between asking for something and giving an order for it.

When a request is made, the party making the request is acknowledging that the second party is at liberty to agree or disagree. When an order is given, the party issuing the order does not leave the door open, especially when force is at his disposal.

It is true, of course, that in an effort to make a strong plea or to exert pressure a person will sometimes issue an order without physical force

## PSYCHIC AGGRESSION

(continued)

behind it. But unless physical force is present by means of which enforcement could ensue, the order may be disobeyed without harm coming to the disobedient one. But when force is available to back up an order, implicit is the possibility that should the order be disobeyed, a physical violation of a boundary will ensue. I will contend that however strongly a request is made, when force is absent, violence is not involved. Violence is only present when physical force is used.

Let me set forth two other words which I find useful in clarifying this issue. One word is *control*, the other *influence*.

It is a fact of nature that every individual has the ability to act as he sees fit. This means that every human being has liberty as an innate quality. I'm not speaking of freedom, the condition in which more than one person exercises his liberty. I am speaking of the natural order of the individual. Since each person is innately endowed with the ability to act as he sees fit, he *controls* himself. He may be, and often is, profoundly *influenced* by others. But control of himself is vested in himself alone.

Indeed, the primary reason anyone seeks to impose physical force on another is because he finds himself incapable of controlling the other. Unless an individual is engaged in inflicting injury on others for mere sport, every physical act of aggression arises from frustration. The party using the force tried to control the actions of another and failed. Perhaps he argued, pleaded, shouted, or cajoled; perhaps he even issued an order. But the party he was seeking to control disregarded his wishes. In ultimate frustration, physical violence was used. Nearly all of man's inhumanity to man of a physical nature is wrapped up in the frustration we experience when we expect a certain type of performance from another and don't get it. If it were possible for one person to control another, frustration of this type would not occur.

As a matter of fact, were it possible for one person to control another, we would not require advertising, education, or persuasion of any kind. The party wishing another to behave in a specific way would simply acquaint that party with his wishes and the other would be unable to do anything except obey the wish.

The desire of a person to control the actions of another may also lead to misrepresentation, lying, and subtle forms of persuasion and pressure. But when these non-physical means are employed to stimulate the behavior someone desires in another, no *physical* harm is implicit.

But what about the "mental" harm? What about the obvious fact that if a person is given a single account of an event and has no ready access

to a contrary opinion, he is prone to accept the account given? Does this entail mental harm? Not really, although it may result in false conclusions. But the individual is not injured by the liar; if injury results, he is injured by his own acceptance of a falsehood. His opinions can be corrected when he has access to better information. The individual hearing the erroneous account is not required to believe it. True, he has a choice between a falsehood and nothing. And it is also true that the individual seeking to control the behavior of another may frighten him with tales of witchcraft, divine wrath, or some kind of miraculous mumbo-jumbo. But if we are to insist that the incitement of unreasoned fear injures the recipient, then we must forever put a ban on the stories of Edgar Allan Poe, Mary Roberts Rinehart, the Bible, and even the brothers Grimm.

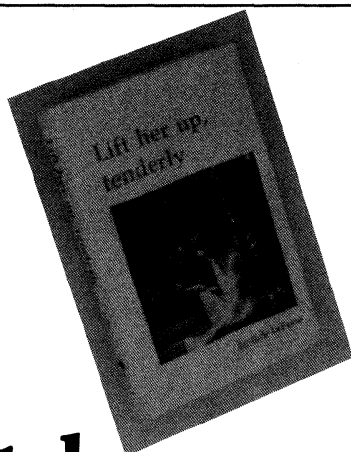
Such insistence leads us into a quagmire of uncertainty and makes each individual responsible for the reactions of his associates. If a friend wishes me to say "Good morning" and I neglect doing so, the individual may claim that I have injured his psyche. On the other hand, if someone else wishes me to ignore him and I take notice, again the claim can be made that I inflicted a subtle injury.

The contact made between individuals in ordinary life is so varied and intimate that a person can claim psychic injury in another's hair style, his choice of colors, a gesture or a glance. In accepting this proposition, we would all go through life cringing lest somehow, by virtue of our very existence, someone will take offense and we will have inadvertently injured the other's delicate libido.

Rubbing shoulders with other persons on a bus injures no one. And rubbing our psychic shoulders in ordinary contact, including persuasion, argument, subtle suggestion, and even tears, injures no one unless he insists on receiving an injury through his own interpretation. When physical force is used to violate a boundary, no interpretation is necessary. The injury is immediate and real.

Consider the pressures that exist in society. Most of us bend in compliance to them, or at least to some of them. But that does not mean that society controls us. If the individuals who comprise society in general, took the view that theft was wrong (and they usually do) and if society controlled individuals, then theft would be impossible. The fact is that an individual can, of his own volition, decide to steal despite the wishes of everyone else in society. Society does not control him. He controls himself, despite the pressures against that type of conduct.

Or consider this. Suppose most of the individuals comprising society wish all persons to send their children to a government school. If that wish



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controlled, then every person knowing of that wish would have to send his child to a government school. But that isn't true. Any individual who wishes to do so may keep his child out of government school. True, in the present situation, he cannot readily keep his child out of school totally. The government has enacted legislation which says that if you don't send your child to a government school for a specified number of years, then you must send your child to another school; notably one the government approves. This is an order. It is backed with the threat of violating your boundaries if you disobey. That threat contains the element of violence. Were government to have no law in this area, then the question of whether or not to educate your child could be a matter of uncoerced choice. That would be true regardless of social pressure.

As it now stands, you're given a choice of schools, provided the government approves of the school you choose. You are not given the choice of whether to seek an education for your child or not. In this area, your freedom is gone. But it is the threat of force that deprived you of your freedom, not social pressure. Social pressure can be ignored, even though it may not be easy to ignore it.

Some time ago, a spate of books made an appearance, each arguing that "hidden persuaders"

control your spending. The implication was that the ad men force you to spend your money as they wish, and you've no recourse but to comply. Pure balderdash. Each ad, in fact, attempts to *influence* you. But no ad ever *controlled* a customer. Were that not true, no customer could ever say "No." If you've ever asked anyone for a favor, or for a purchase, or for anything else, you probably have been turned down from time to time. But if you controlled the party to whom you made the request, you would not have been turned down. The party would have had no recourse but to do as you asked.

Let's consider the question of the control of parents over children. The parent, as a matter of fact, who is willing to back up his pleas to the child with physical violence, can and does act like a government over his child. He can be said to impose controls in the same way that government controls people at large. If the child's boundaries are to be violated every time disobedience appears, then we are speaking of control, not influence.

But the same could be said of any businessman who uses a gun to compel a purchase of his product. Or it could be said of any individual in society who uses a gun or some other instrument (his fists, perhaps) to force another individual to do as he is ordered.  
(please turn to page 10)



**MORGAN HARRIS:** " 'Without government as a device to call on, only market place methods for acquiring and keeping property will pertain.' (P. 5, *LeFevre's Journal*, winter '76.) Sure, sure. And without judges, referees, and umpires, the games of tennis and baseball and basketball will be played fairly and without argument because only good sportsmanship will pertain." *Nothing wrong with referees, umpires, and other free market judges. Government isn't a referee; it is naked and brutal force.*

**DALE GREEN:** "The farmer works to improve the environment in accordance with the nature of plants and animals. He doesn't attempt to control them. History verifies that mankind flourishes with freedom and only with freedom. Yet politicians and bureaucrats spend all of their time attempting to control humans (an impossibility) instead of trying to improve the environment for mankind. They still claim their only motive is to help. It's obvious they don't really know what they're doing and haven't identified man's nature or what benefits him."

**LINDA ABRAMS:** "In your reply to Fleming (spring '76) you say, 'But again, care must be used. What if a thief stole a hat and then clapped it on my head? Would it belong to me?' The tenor and context seems to imply that you doubt that the hat would belong to you. Yet, in our summer '73 Comprehensive Course you dwelt at length on the example of the thief who transfers a horse through several 'owners' (purchasers) and concluded that not only the several transferees but the thief as well owns the horse! If the two situations differ in your mind, how? Frankly, I've found this to be a problem in your use of examples many times in the past . . . your tendency to use examples to teach with but failing to point out what are the operative elements in the examples. In this case you've not made it clear whether you consider the fact

that it was a *thief* who put the hat on your head to be controlling in evaluating the situation, or whether it is the fact that he 'clapped' it on your head (presumably with no understanding of intent)." *You're correct in chiding me for not covering all the bases in the examples I've used. Here is the primary difference between thief and non-thief: When a thief takes a property which isn't his, he immediately lays claim to it as though it had been his all the time. When a non-thief finds himself in possession of a property which he believes is another's, his first effort is to locate the presumed owner to discover that person's wishes. You're incorrect in stating that in my class illustration about the horse, I contended that several transferees as well as the thief owns the horse. My illustration showed that each party in turn, including the thief, became an owner. As the horse was transferred, it passed through the hands of different owners, one by one. Each made the claim to ownership; the thief wrongfully, the others rightfully.*

**KARL WRAY:** "I like the format, the quality of writing, and above all the challenging ideas and points of view expressed. Your school in Phoenix was sensational. I never crammed so much knowledge in such a short time in my life. Super!"

**C. G. NEWTON, JR.:** "How about a piece on the real justification for Jimmy Carter's amnesty decision: conscription is immoral, should be illegal in our half-free society, and the draft dodgers should not have been drafted in the first place (would that had been his real reason). The draft vs. a volunteer military: I assume you are opposed to either, that is, opposed to military action as a violation of fundamental human rights. I hope you'll write on this." *To find out what Jimmy Carter's reasons are, you'll have to ask him. The draft is nothing more than legally sanctioned kidnapping. War is the method employed by all governments to gain or*

To the many who came through after the last quarterly reminder . . . my deepest thanks. To those who as yet have not . . . take notice of the *LeFevre Journal laundry list*. If your name is not identified as a gift-exchanger, it will be scrubbed!

No specific sum is required. But if you don't want to be washed out, you've got to open your spigot. We must have liquidity in our fonts or suspend you from the line.

Beginning with the winter '77 issue, only those who have helped will continue as recipients. I'd surely hate to lose YOU.

*retain power. When goods and services freely cross boundaries, there is no reason for soldiers. The only agency that can prevent goods and services from freely crossing boundaries is government. Government intervenes in trade to gain power and then wages war to gain or retain power to control the economy.*

**JIM ROAF:** "There's no doubt but that freedom is an on-going thing — evolutionary. My question: by what means or combination did the people of the past gain freedoms (and lose them)? What part did political activity play in the past more or less successful efforts to gain freedom? Voting must be important as the totalitarian states seem to all require 100% turnout — perhaps abstaining could become a political activity. It's been said that the future can often be best foretold by study of the past. So, please see what you can do with it." *If we accept that freedom is an evolutionary development, then we must also accept that as yet no group of persons has attained to a free society for very long. But keep your evolutionary options open. We must do better than what's been done before. To copy the past is to repeat its mistakes. We must attain by evolutionary methods an intellectual revolution.*

**ROBERT HAWKINS:** "I take issue with 'I see no practical means for moving toward a free society . . . ' The means I see is *non-geographic government*. Introducing competition among governments would end the nationistic monopolies and thereby would end the ability of nations to apply force to its citizens and to other nations. As long as state boundaries exist, force will exist. When the states resemble the churches (with a home base or point of origin but no geographic boundaries), force will end. The idea is that cities, counties, countries, and combinations of countries would continue to exist but individuals could live anywhere and opt to (or not to) affiliate with his own, or

any other, city, county or country. This could be the end of 'the package plan': you live in a certain place; therefore you must pay taxes on demand to all the geographic entities that include you!" *Robert Hawkins makes an excellent point respecting artificial political boundaries. Their elimination will not, however, eliminate the problem. Take a good look at a trade union. It is a quasi-government that does not seek to dominate a territory. However, force persists.*

**W. E. LYMAN:** "It seems the only way we can take back the draft dodgers and deserters of Vietnam with honor is to first punish the men responsible for the no-win war in Vietnam and the no-win peace in Korea and, as possible, the surviving traitors of friends and allies in World War II. No doubt some parents of these youngsters favored the action as conducted, but the children who learned about it did not, and would not fight for it. The forgivers understand. What is the libertarian philosophy for this problem?" *Turn your attention to the future and make it better and brighter than the past. Meanwhile, in the words of Goethe: "Let the dead past bury the dead."*

**WALT PETERS:** "I find your *Journal* excellent as a discussion starter. Most people like the ideas, but, you can't make them work in the world today — end of discussion! Shallow thinking, shallow character, and violence when excited caused by non-think. John Roscoe sure has a right idea in his slogan, 'Don't Vote. It Only Encourages Them.' The best campaign literature button I've heard of yet. Please advise where and how available in limited quantities." *Write to Shortstop, Box 886, Benicia, CA 94510.*

**BENI:** "Statements such as 'the public didn't want the Pacific Electric; it did want its own vehicles' and 'Southern California has what is by far the most successful means of mass transportation ever developed . . . the privately owned and independently operated motor vehicle' (winter '76): The article is so wrong in so many places — the first article by Bob LeFevre that I was really upset over. The Big Red cars were by no means detested by most of the people who rode them — especially younger people. They were pure joy! There were, and still are, lots of people who can't afford to operate much less purchase a car, and who at the same time can't afford to move out of the smog caused by all those millions of vehicles." *The public did not want the Big Red cars in Southern Califor-*

*nia. This was clearly shown when public preference switched year by year in the direction of the privately owned motor vehicle. That shift in patronage was not brought on by political conspiracy, but by private choices made in the market. One of the great benefits of a free market system is that each business must support itself as a result of obtaining enough voluntary patronage. The Red cars didn't. Neither did Hupmobile, Packard, or the Don Lee radio network. The continual argument of the socialist minded is that when a minority wants something, even though it cannot be economically provided in the market, the government should force those who don't want it, to pay for what the minority wants. It's government interference that has created artificially induced scarcities both in cars and fuel. I can remember buying a good second-hand car in L.A. for \$350 (on easy terms) and buying all the gas I wanted at from 8 to 10 cents per gallon. The government seems bound to force us into some kind of collectivized transportation system. If it would repeal the taxes, there are few in this area who could not afford a car of some kind or the fuels required to operate it. Meanwhile, every collectivized system loses millions of dollars because enough people won't patronize it.*

**PAUL BILZI:** "Since you're probably the foremost libertarian theorist about justice, I'd like to know your thoughts about the recent execution of Gary Gilmore. Does a confessed murderer (or, for that matter, anyone) have the right to take his own life? If so, does he then have the right to instead contract the execution out privately (e.g., to a private firing squad)? And if so, does he then also have the right to contract the job to the enemy (in this case, employees of the State of Utah)? Do you see this as a special case, in that Gilmore wanted to die, or do you agree with the opponents of capital punishment that it will open the floodgates to a return to state-sponsored murder?" *Gary Gilmore tried to take his own life twice. The state healed him (at taxpayers' expense) to preserve its monopoly in the killing business. I would defend each individual's right to take his own life if he wishes. I'm not recommending the procedure. The individual has a right to contract for his own execution, at his own expense, not at the expense of others.*

**SARTELL PRENTICE, JR.:** "*Lift Her Up, Tenderly* may have been written with a view to reaching 12-year-

olds, but I don't know a college graduate, or one with an MBA or Ph.D degree, who wouldn't feel he deserved a still higher rank in terms of degrees after absorbing its wisdom! In *The Power of Congress*, I especially appreciated Gerald Ford's reply — and especially your reply to Mr. Ford!"

**FRANKLIN SANDERS:** "What a pleasant surprise to find that it was not you, but the postal monopoly, who had forgotten me. Thanks."

**EDNA STRAUB:** "In the spring '77 issue you defined violence as occurring when 'another person's boundaries are physically violated against his will.' Your definition doesn't seem to include the many subtler and often much more effective means of coercing others. In my lifetime I've seldom been physically attacked or restrained, but for most of my life I've not been able to exercise liberty as you define it: 'the natural ability of any human being to make decisions and to act upon them.' The developing child has no defense against the warped opinions thrust upon her." *See "Psychic Aggression" in this issue of the Journal.*

**EVAN COTTRELL:** "It seems that self-defense and revenge are the hardest for people to resolve. I first met you at Freedom School in the 50's and it's taken me most of the last 20 years to become satisfied with my thinking on this. In worrying about what I'd do if someone violated my freedom and there were no government court system to punish the offender, the key thing I failed to be concerned about was, what is the probability of an unacceptable act being committed against me or my family. I finally realized that what I really wanted was a situation where there was a very low probability of being robbed or having my children sexually molested. It took a great deal of effort to change my deeply programmed thinking . . . I now believe that without any government, the probability would be greatly decreased. Even in a completely free society I'm sure there'd be a chance of such an offense and if so, the offender might go unpunished. But such a situation would be far better than what we have today with government. I really believe the probability of my freedom being violated would be grossly better without government. Therefore, whether or not I kill a person that I discover raping my wife is academic. What is really important is living in an environment where it is highly improbable that such a thing will happen in one's lifetime."



**MARTIN WOOSTER:** "I voted for the Libertarians because I thought they were a cut above the other political parties. I now see where I was wrong. They adopted a few cute catch-phrases, diluting philosophy into political sludge for the masses in the hopes that, by aping the major parties' tactics, they could achieve theirs . . . . You're right in saying that 'society' is only a name instead of a reality. The same illusions apply to the phrase 'public interest' — which, if anything, is the interests of those groups and individuals calling themselves 'public interest' or 'consumer protection' organizations, a catch-phrase designed to propel certain individuals into positions of power. I suspect you derive a great deal of your philosophy from the Stoics, particularly Epictetus. Is this the case?" *I greatly admire Epictetus.*

**JUSTIN BRADBURN:** "Well, here it is again about that time of year — so here it is. I believe that if your readers were more appreciative, they would note date of gift and send same each year without your having to spend the money each issue for an insert. I think we're still on the sliding board going down and not enough want to make the effort to climb up instead."

**JEANNE FULLER:** "Your *Journal* is priceless and the enclosed is a very small token of my appreciation for being on your mail list."

**AGNES McFEE:** "The elite-by-votes are becoming more royal as we who aren't become more serf-like. Does anyone have an instance where a relatively free group of people, called a country, were able to return to freedom after their decline and perhaps complete fall? Perhaps we in the U.S. may be an example if we can manage it within a lifetime. I know there are a few like LeFevre, Read, Hoiles, Galambos, and others who see the problem, but will their ideas work? Will we ever know freedom? Are there really enough people who actually want to be free?" *Read my article in the spring '77 Journal, "How Can We Do It?"*

**MARC WRUBLE:** "Here are some Bible verses that reflect libertarian anti-state-ism: Leviticus 25:10. Ecclesiastes 8:9. Isaiah 9:16, also 32:5, also 61:1. Proverbs 28:15-16, 29:12, 29:26. Psalms 76:12, 136:2 with 136:17-18, 140:1-2, 140:11, and the ever popular Psalm 146:3. Proclaim Liberty."

**BOB MURPHY:** "From reading *The Power of Congress* and your answer to me in the winter '76 issue, I gather that your position is that the laws against murder and theft are real law or true

law, and nature enforces these laws. But you didn't answer my question as to how nature enforces the laws against murder and theft. I'll ask you again. How does nature enforce the laws against murder and theft?" *By information made available and man's natural revulsion against those who practice murder or theft. Ostracism within a market place framework is far more conducive to superior conduct than incarceration or other physical punishment.*

**EDWARD UNDERWOOD:** "Since civilization began, human beings have had to act by choice, each to learn from experience whether that choice brought good or bad results. People began to respect qualities in others they did not themselves possess and thereafter strove to acquire. It seems to be this alone by which society as a whole is able to improve. In 1880 Thomas Bicknell, a prominent educator, announced that scientific progress could be duplicated by giving the Humanities the certainties of science, and social objectives considered necessary and desirable could then be attained through the public school system. With several million children entering school each year and about as many adults dying, it would only take a few decades to secure a socially conscious population. The whole traditional idea of people making wise individual choices was discarded in favor of collective objectives. The result: an astounding permissiveness in which all traditional values have been weakened if not totally destroyed. Our losses in freedom have been great but they are nothing compared to the loss of ability to choose wisely enough to secure our individual betterment upon which that freedom depended. Please consider that government exists only by force or failure of people to get along with one another." *And, unfortunately, government also exists to "improve" us from the top down instead of from the base upwards. Then it punishes us when its theories fail.*

**PAUL BELKNAP:** "I'm still manning the oars against a rising tide of socialism. We (USIC Educational Foundation) sponsor Free Enterprise Day each year on July 1, because we believe that Free Enterprise is just as important as 'Labor' and should be recognized. We're planning a meeting of all the free market organizations in the U.S., Europe, Canada, and Mexico for the fall of '78, in the USA. I believe that more people are realizing that political activity is at best an exercise in futility, and a growing danger to the

individual." *Good luck with FREE ENTERPRISE DAY. Let's hope it stimulates a broader understanding.*

**NANCY GLASSE:** "It's been past four years since I attended your seminar in Wichita. I was an employee of Love Box Co. Although there could be no finer employer or company, I felt a greater need to be home with my children during their growing years. But I've continued my growth in the libertarian philosophy by reading and studying whenever I could. The tension and frustrations caused directly or indirectly through government coercion have eased immensely by your master teaching. I can honestly say I learned more about government, economics, history, and reality during one week listening to you than I did in fourteen+ years in schools. For this I feel a real debt of gratitude to you and to Bob Love. I try to communicate my (your) philosophy, when I find an opportunity, to others."

**OWENS BROWNE:** "A retired teacher of 77, I spend my time reading and writing conservative literature and otherwise working for the cause of liberty. I've concluded that your political philosophy is libertarian. If so, it is practically the same as that of the American Party. However, our moral philosophy differs in some ways. E.g., the A.P. opposes drinking, gambling, prostitution, and abortion." *To be truly libertarian is to practice freedom. This means that the libertarian is a-political and will not use the violence of majorities to compel others to accept his value judgments or his tastes.*

**JOHN LENHARDT:** "From birth to death, all of us possess a series of mentors. Our parents from one day to age 35 or so. Leaders of our chosen profession, at various times in life. The *government* — from womb to tomb. Mentors are usually a positive influence upon our lives — except in the last case above. How did this come to be? We entrusted government to educate our children. That basic intrusion gives government the mentor power over all. What is our alternative mentor? *Private educational institutes.* I urge all libertarians to foster private school enterprise."

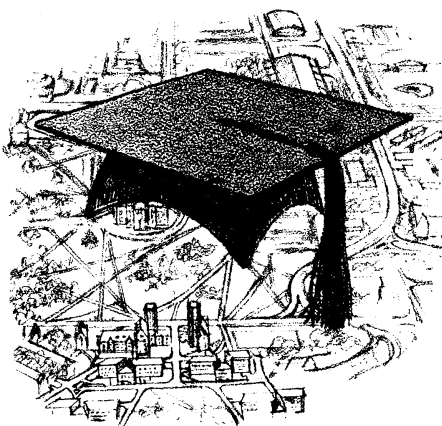
**BILL WARREN:** "You made me realize I've never indicated to you that you have my intellectual support. And I wondered why I've never written to say that I agree with your position; I appreciate your publication; keep them coming, etc. I suppose there are many reasons — such as my own changing viewpoints; my past feelings that I

might not express myself adequately; my thinking that you surely have enough 'Hear, hear' letters anyway, etc. I believe the main reason I haven't written before is because I've imagined that it doesn't matter whether I agree with you or not. I still don't think it matters except that there are so few of us with libertarian viewpoints that it's sometimes comforting to know there are others." *Thanks for a real big feeling of comfort.*

**ELAINE SOWERS:** "I believe that libertarians are trying to reclaim, revive, restore, and refine politics in contrast to the prevailing total failure which steals the name and postures as 'politics.' I suggest that libertarians are really saying, 'Up with Liberty and Politics — Down with Tyranny and Anti-Politics.' To engage in trade, contract, and commerce, achieving mutually successful results, is characterized as economic activity. I believe that mutuality, being inherent in human action, is its political attribute, made possible by agreement between trading participants. The anti-ethical disrespect for individual rights, the principles of privacy, private property, value and validity of contract, etc., puts asunder human values, making mutuality, translated into cooperation, an additional political aspect of economy, impossible to attain in our present-day culture. Anti-politics is no environment in which to deal or function, simply because it isn't politics at all (it's now hardly anything), and has next-to-nothing to attract the interests and goals of honorable men. Let libertarians reclaim politics by identifying the reigning, 'fashionable' adversaries of everything that is so gloriously human with the most fitting name I believe they deserve: Anti-Politicians." *Anyone is entitled to define his terms as he pleases. If politics is to be defined as the natural tendency we have as human beings to work together and thus to develop and carry out our mutual interests, I can't possibly object to that tendency. But I do object to your definition. You are, in fact, stating that corruption, violence, monopoly power, taxation, and war are all instances of a benign natural tendency for men to work together. In that framework, I'm proud to be an anti-politician.*

**JIM ELROD:** "If I may flatter myself in thinking that Bob would remember me, since he and I hotly contested a few issues in Spartanburg I think he'd be surprised to know I've read most of the literature he passed out. Unfortunately, although I now feel I'm pre-

pared for von Mises, I've searched in vain for his basic economic treatise. Where can I order it from? Also, I'm interested in researching the events leading up to the drafting and acceptance of the Constitution." **Human Action by von Mises is available from Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, NY 10533 or Laissez Faire Books, 206 Mercer St., New York, NY 10012. Try reading We the People by Forrest McDonald, University of Chicago Press.**



**CLARK CUBLEY:** "How do I tell you the fulfillment your *Journal* has provided me? It has, and often it has helped me out of a hole that I've gotten myself into. As the man said, 'It's an imperfect world but dammit, I'm in it!' I don't say this despairingly for in spite of setbacks I have a deep and abiding hope. We still run a private school here in Mesa and though it has its ups-and-downs (of which I'm sure you're all too aware), we are often recognized as one of the best in the Phoenix area. This school remains 'private' in virtually every respect that I can keep it. For to me, the hope of the future rests with these children, and each year many leave here with ideas of freedom, liberty, self-control, and responsibility — along with the 'tools for learning' and some knowledge. Strangely though, we don't *teach* individualism as such but exemplify it — and those who see it, get the message. It's a struggle, but the intrinsic rewards I get from seeing these kids go on far exceeds the material ones. Much of Bob LeFevre is evident here, without your name being mentioned. I mention it now. Thanks, Bob LeFevre!"

**WILLMA BROOKS:** "In 'How Can We Do It?' you posed the question, What if the carrot method doesn't work either? Your answer, the only alternative within the context of freedom is to leave the individual alone to his own pursuits. This just clicked for me . . .

plain old common sense. The Free Market it is!"

**DURANGO COY:** "Here's another gift. It's so easy to give to someone so good! I feel a real affinity for you when I read your happy little captions like 'It's my opinion and it's very true.' Can you tell me *your* favorite libertarian publication and where to write for a subscription?" *You already receive it and are reading it now.*

**MONA BEARDSLEE:** "Our primary concern is locating a qualified teacher — our qualifications — for the school Lou and I are trying to put together, starting small with probably six grades in one room. We'll most certainly teach economics in every grade. The teacher would also have to understand and be able to teach phonics along with spelling and writing; the traditional curriculum including basic old-fashioned math, and the Bible from a non-denominational standpoint. We don't propose to teach any brand of theology. But morality and manners, yes. Fifty percent of the teachers in a private school in Colorado have to be certified so we have to start with one who is. Do you have any leads on a teacher whose views might be in accord with ours and who'd like to help a new school get off the ground?" *Perhaps someone will read your letter, Mona.*

**DAVID G. CAMERON:** " 'The Conspiracy of Businessmen' (winter '76) was bizarre and utterly lacking in sound reasoning. The Pacific Electric Railway was built voluntarily by private investors who hoped to make money by serving a public need for transportation. They did, because thousands of people voluntarily patronized their system and paid for the privilege. The system would have continued to expand and get better over the years, but something happened. A bunch of politicians got together, taxed millions of dollars from the people, and built a system of streets, highways, and freeways. *Then* the patronage of the P.E.'s rail system diminished, and its owners began replacing rail operations with bus operations on the government-owned streets, highways, and freeways. Finally, the whole operation was taken over by government, and now loses a lot of the taxpayers' money. The thing to remember is that the end of the P.E. system did *not* come as a result of a free-market decision (choice of a privately owned turnpike over a privately owned railway) but as a result of governmental investment in a competing mode of transportation. It

was a 'victory' of socialism over capitalism." *David Cameron has made a good point: highways were not voluntarily provided but came as a result of taxpayers' funds. However, his chronology is open to question. Long before there was a Pacific Electric company, the government had begun putting in the streets and highways. Also, it should be noted that the P.E. was privately purchased by people who left the matter open for public choice (after the freeways went in and automobiles became competitive, true). When it became clear that the public favored the automobile rather than the Big Red cars, then they shut down the rail system. The attempt made now by government to force us back into some collectivized system of transportation is, if it succeeds, another victory of socialism over capitalism.*

**DON GASTINEAU:** "By good friend and fortune I have a tape of your lecture before the Libertarian Supper Club on 'Protection, Retaliation and Defense.' Enlightening and entertaining, I treasure it, and replay it for others. I didn't seek your consent in getting the tape for: a) I'm not sure I could have afforded its worth, b) 'Ideas once divulged are no longer property of the orator,' and c) I knew you didn't hold with 'retaliation,' so I feel secure with a quality tape and no gaps. Then why the enclosed gift, guilt? Heavens no, the *Journal*."

**HOWARD BARROWS:** "If you disagree with any form of government, why participate in any of her functions such as collecting sales tax with the sale of your book? By collecting a sales tax you've become an unpaid employee of the state. And if you pay federal income tax, you're financing the very thing that's destroying us. I must confess I haven't totally abstained from government. I vote against all money-consuming proposals." *My books are for sale in various bookstores. The stores collect the sales taxes as they are required to do by law. I'm not in the retail business of selling books or anything else. Thus, I don't collect sales taxes. As for the taxes government collects from me, you may be sure I pay them, including the income tax. I respond to the IRS as I would to any other bandit who is bigger and stronger than I. When I find myself confronting a person waving a gun in my face, I raise my arms in a gesture of helplessness. This does not mean I approve of banditry. It means that I will not stoop to the methods bandits employ. Any other procedure would se-*

*cure my martyrdom, with the bandit still getting the money.*

**EDWARD SCHULTZ:** "In spite of all precautions, and contrary to your statement that 'it's entirely possible for a person to protect himself and his property by the use of reason and advance preparation,' I believe that my family and I *could* be attacked by someone with an obvious intent to harm or kill one or all of us. If you'll accept this premise, even temporarily for the sake of argument, then we can proceed to the nub of the matter: I believe that, if there is no escape, I have the right to use whatever force is necessary to stop an attacker from harming or killing one of my family or me. As I see it, this use of force is not retribution, it is not vengeance, it is merely a last-ditch effort at prevention when all other alternatives have failed. I'd be very interested in your comments on this particular use of force in this specific example." *Your example begs the conclusion that it is better for you or your family to survive than for your attacker to survive. I don't know that. Perhaps the party attacking you believes he is justified because at a prior time you injured him. What if it's true? Perhaps you had killed a member of his family. I think it quite likely that if a person finds himself cornered, he will take whatever steps he can think of in a last-ditch effort to stay alive. The problem is you wish me to say that I think it would be right. I don't know that and can't say it. I will say that I'd anticipate it. The correct procedure is to anticipate that such a contingency might arise and to take the necessary precautions in advance so it doesn't happen. I know that cannot be done perfectly. But violent defense and retaliation cannot be perfect, either.*

**H. W. BURROWS:** "My wife and I attended your session in Wichita in July. It changed both our lives! Looking back on it, we concluded that, though only dimly aware of it, we've been closet libertarians all along but without the slightest idea why. Now we're beginning to understand. After your course, we embarked on a years-long educational adventure which is already deeply satisfying in many, many ways. Like you, I'm in the seminar business. Presently, my topics are limited to management subjects. But my goal is to join you in a few years with a Freedom School of my own. I can think of no more mutually profitable and satisfying way to serve people. Thank you so much for the *Journal*."

**ROBERT FERRERA:** "A convert from the New Left, I found many leftists who had very definite libertarian tendencies, although their means of achieving the libertarian society was through anarcho-socialism rather than anarcho-capitalism. I've long since been converted to the ideal of true free market capitalism . . . but am still offended by the doctrinaire Randian-Objectivist mentality with its knee-jerk hostility toward leftists, socialists, anarchists, hippies, non-atheists, mystics, and just about anyone else who disagrees with their narrow vision for achieving a libertarian society. While I have no objections toward achieving libertarianism through totally non-political means, I'm disturbed by the contention between you and the Libertarian Party. I admire Dr. Rothbard and Roger MacBride as much as I do you and am disillusioned by the contention among you. The time of all of you would be more productively spent arguing with statisticians rather than with fellow libertarians." *I share your admiration for Dr. Rothbard and Roger MacBride as well-motivated human beings. But in employing the political method, they appear to be trying to use the force of majorities to compel people to be free. Freedom cannot be compelled, it must be earned. While political methods do achieve public attention, the result convinces many that the libertarian is just another statist wishing to rule others his way.*

**WIN LEGGITT:** "I began reading Leonard Read, von Mises, Hazlitt, etc., about 17 years ago. What led me into that world? The question, How come the economy of this country acts like a yo-yo? How did I find Your Honor? I can't recall. I was fascinated by the periodical you sent me regularly. How I would love to have attended just one of your sessions. And now I'd like to know what you have in the way of a book or books, pamphlets, on your theory and philosophy. I'm not sure I could tell anyone exactly your form of reasoning. But I like it. I'd like to practice it. But I need help." *Try LIFT HER UP, TENDERLY (P. K. Slocum, 7733 Corey St., Downey, CA 90242; \$6.95 + 75¢).*

**CLIFF GRAVES:** "I feel like I'd be no less than a scoundrel if I did not send you at least a buck. All I can write is, on with your good thoughts."

**DON LAWRENCE:** "Without your cool, refreshing, and yes, sometimes presumptuous words, I think I might lose my perception. Thanks everytime."





# WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED

One of the most frequently repeated political fallacies is the militantly preserved "right" of the individual to choose his own government. If a careful analysis occurs, one discovers that such a procedure does not take place and, in fact, never has.

If we lower the problem out of the clouds of mythology and mysticism and look at it candidly, the fact is readily discerned. No one, of his own free will and deed, has ever in all of history chosen another to rule over him.

Let's put that to the test here and now. Assuming that you were free to choose, would you enter into a contract or agreement with any other person on earth in which you say to that person, "(Sir/Madam), I hereby appoint you to act as my government; to rule over me as you deem best; to take whatever portion of my earnings you believe you should have; to search my person or property at your discretion; seize anything you think I shouldn't have whether I have obtained it honestly or dishonestly; and arrest me because in some way I have done something of which you disapprove?"

"I hereby agree to submit to your jurisdiction in all matters of whatever kind or nature and will accept whatever punishment you feel I deserve, if I fail to do so, up to and including my own death."

Do you ever recall entering into such a contract? It is doubtful that anyone has ever done this even with his beloved in a state of matrimony. And if you have carefully withheld granting that kind of plenipotentiary power to one you love, can you imagine granting it to someone you don't love?

Yet this is the alleged superiority of the democratic concept, that "the people" will choose who will rule them. The fact is that no individual has ever done it and if no one person has ever done such a thing, it is absurd to suggest that groups of persons have done it.

How, then, do governments come into existence? The answer is clear. A few persons who recognize the power a government will give to them over others conspire to impose a government without the consent of the governed.

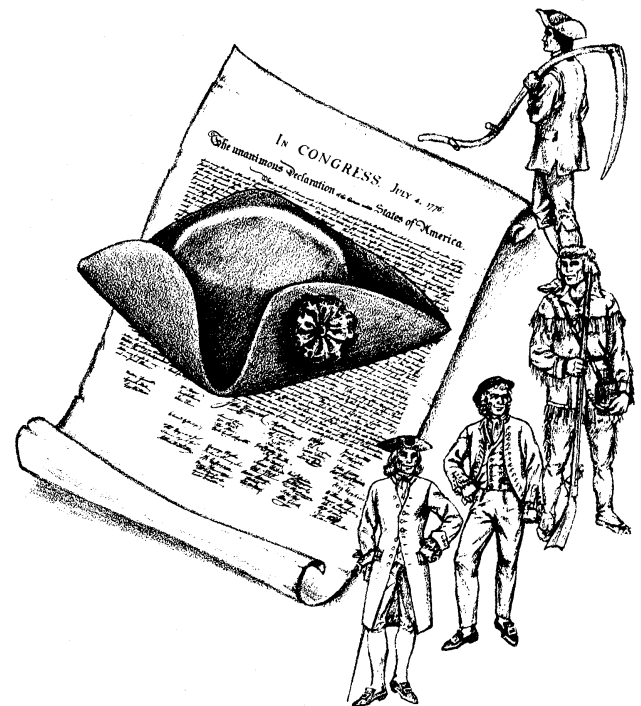
It follows that governments are imposed in one or more of the following ways: (1) By direct force and violence. (2) By convincing a significant segment of the population that God has willed it. (3) By frightening a portion of the population into believing that some other person or group will impose something worse and therefore it is safer to accept the present group. (4) By convincing a significant number that one's ancestors approved and therefore the present generation has been bound into a contract made by his forebears and has no alternative but to comply. (5) That however

bad a government might be, chaos will result if one doesn't have a government. In short, that force is the father and mother of order. (6) That by having a government, your neighbors can be forced into supporting or rewarding you in some manner beyond your own ability to obtain support and reward by your own efforts. (7) That after you have surrendered your freedom to your choice of governors, the government thus chosen will *not* do to you what you have granted it the power to do, but will reserve that function by imposing on your neighbors instead of on you.

Insofar as the American government is concerned, the following facts should be kept in mind.

The great men who gave us the Declaration of Independence and helped to bring about our separation from Britain were not (with only a very few exceptions) the men who drafted the Constitution. We do not have one set of founding fathers; we have two sets.

At the time the Constitution was drafted, the total imported population including their descendants numbered about three million. Of this number, it is doubtful that more than one-sixth could read or write. They could not have known the contents of the Constitution that purportedly was approved by "We the People."



The vast majority of this population lived in rural areas or in remote villages and towns far removed from the coastal cities where various periodicals might have kept them aware of the daring and dramatic imposition of power that was  
(please turn)

## WITHOUT THE CONSENT

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being made by a few. Therefore, it is safe to reason that few of them even knew that such an attempt was being made.

Popular support for the new government was a long time in coming. Indeed, forty years were to elapse before records were kept of the popular vote. In the first ten presidential contests, only the electoral vote was tallied and preserved for historians. By the time the popular vote was recorded, fewer than 700,000 persons voted for all candidates among a population which by that time had grown to approximately ten million people.

By what distortion of facts can it ever be claimed that ours was a "popular" government chosen by the people themselves?

In further evidence of the folly we presently confront, the one phenomenon feared most by politicians is what they term "voter apathy." It is true, of course, that some persons are apathetic. It is also true that large numbers of persons have learned to their discouragement and surprise that whatever alleged benefits they may derive from the existing state, they are more than offset by the harm imposed.

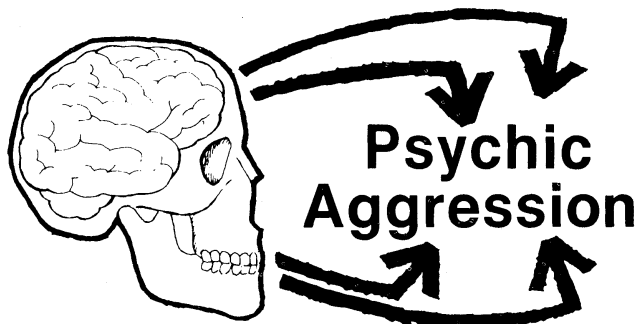
Ignored by the politicians is the increase in

knowledge as to the true nature of government, notably our own. This information is now widely circulated, albeit it is still denied by the fearful, the politically ambitious, and the deceitful.

The American people, indeed, the people of the world, are in fact locked into a superstitious belief. Sometimes this belief is so pervasive as to preclude the individual from even *thinking* of the possibility that order and property could be preserved in a free society. Indeed, they have been led to believe that the preservation of their freedom depends upon its surrender to a government — naturally, to a government of their own choosing!

It is argued that men are basically evil. Without government, evil will triumph. But if men are basically evil, we cannot afford to have a government. Since all men are evil at their roots (if one accepts the concept), it follows that if some evil men obtain legal power over their fellows, they will use that legal power evilly. To presume that a grant of legal power removes evil from those who are evil by nature is clearly absurd. Men in government are made of the same clay as the rest of us.

No one has yet successfully disputed the dictum of Lord Acton: "All power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely."



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Children are small and, compared to the strength of either parent, virtually helpless. So it is manifestly apparent that a parent can impose on his child by force and violence.

But that is not the problem we are discussing. What of the parent who seeks either to persuade or dominate and does not use force to violate the child's boundaries? The parent is in a superior position by virtue of the child's inexperience and ignorance. When the parent insists that babies are brought by storks, that the tooth fairy is real, and that disobedience will bring the boogie man, the child may have no other avenue of information by means of which to weigh the accuracy of the statements made. He is still not compelled to believe.

But there is no question but what the parent's influence can be both profound and harmful. However, it is still influence and not control. If the child takes it into his head to disbelieve a parent, what can the parent do to control his child? Unless the parent resorts to force, he cannot "control" the child. If this is doubted, ask anyone who is a parent what he did to control his child when the child decided to cry and the parent insisted that the child stop crying.

There is only one person on earth you can control. Yourself. Curiously, the kind of training many receive both at home and in school convinces the individual that he cannot control himself for he is controlled instead by society, business, and parents.

If you will take a moment to examine that idea, you can quickly see that it has little validity. Were it true that you could be controlled by others outside yourself, then it would follow that you would spend your life controlling others, who in turn would control you. Control would be viewed as something others do to you and something you do to others. This is manifestly ridiculous. We influence each other. We *control* ourselves.

You and you alone control your own energy. You are reading this page. I didn't coerce you to do it. After reading the page, you may accept the influence offered. Or you may reject it. But control? I have none over you. The energy you use in reading this page is yours and yours alone.

You decide to put the *Journal* down to read something else. (Please, no.) But you can, can't

you? You can do as you please with yourself. You can go for a hike, visit with a friend, buy something at a store, go to sleep, raise your arm, or write a letter. Or a thousand other things. Who is controlling you in these acts? You are.

Indeed, your ability to control yourself — *your liberty* — is so profound that the following has occurred many times in history. Even in the face of the threat of force, certain individuals have refused to do as they were ordered. Joan of Arc had only to make a simple verbal confession and she might not have been burned at the stake. The effort to control her by force failed. Sir Thomas More could have escaped the scaffold had he done as he was told. The effort to control him by force failed, also.

The increasing incidence of the battered child in our present situation attests dramatically to the inability of parents to obtain control over their children either by force or the threat of force. When the child decides to disobey, the control in evidence is his own. The child (or an adult) may be brutally put to death for disobedience, but control is in the hands of each individual. It is a fact of nature. So, too, is liberty.

But some will say to me that each person is so inundated and hemmed in by influences that he is forced to yield to at least some of them. Not so. He can, and some people do, reject all of them. What each person does, in fact, as best his own wisdom and conscience direct, is to select (a voluntary act) from among the influences present, those suggestions he feels may be true or beneficial and to reject the others. He demonstrates the liberty he naturally has by making such choices. The child may not yet have learned how to do this consistently, but part of his discovery of himself as a human being entails this maturing process.

We should bear in mind that influences are so prevalent today that it is impossible to ignore the opinions (and influences) of others. It makes little difference what a person does. If you spend your money, some will criticize you for doing so. If you save your money, you will be criticized for doing that, too. If you give your money away, you will be chided. And if you invest it, you will be castigated. If you try to avoid all of these and have no money, you will be verbally assaulted for that as well. There is simply no way you can please everyone and respond evenly to all the pressures put upon you.

Nor is this type of exposure to influence limited to money. Whatever you do, some will praise and some will criticize, and nearly everyone will be on hand to explain what you could have achieved if only you had followed their wishes and acceded to their influences or demands.

By defining a violent act as one which physically violates the boundary of another, I am not seeking to imply that all actions which confine themselves to influence are necessarily benevolent.

THE EMPERORS IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS  
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Influences can be unhealthy or even malignant. There is no question at all that parents, having themselves been raised by parents, are not universally wise, all-knowing, and benign. They often have the same nasty traits that their own children evince. They also have the same good traits.

Currently, it seems to me that there is an enormous tendency to be excessively harsh with parents in the parent-child relationship. We are expected to forgive the child for any shortcoming, but to expect wisdom and infallibility from parents. Such expectations are doomed to fall short of fulfillment. Parents are merely larger and slightly more mature children than their offspring.

Nature has seen to it that the parent has a natural advantage over his child. And certainly it is true that many young people today complain of the *control* (it's really influence) that their parents exercised over them.

It seems to me that one of the prime functions of any educational program would be to inform the child, as rapidly as he is capable of learning, that he is in fact in control of himself and, in consequence, is responsible for his own actions. Instead, the current trend is to heap abuse on parents in such measure as to make it seem that a parent who exercises any influence over his child is vicious when he does so. Meanwhile, the child is encouraged to believe that society controls us all and that he can control others through political efforts while at the same time he isn't responsible for his own behavior.

As I grow in years and look back at my own childhood, I'm appalled at some of the influences my parents had over me. Equally, I'm astonished that my parents didn't strangle me following one or another of my misdeeds. Some of the ideas my mother, in particular, put into my malleable young mind were little more than her own fantasies. They colored my behavior and my thinking for long periods. But as one at last begins to mature — with me a process I hope to start soon — one stops being disappointed with parental intentions and influences. If one expects perfect conduct from  
(please turn)

## PSYCHIC AGGRESSION

(continued)

anyone, you are yearning for the unattainable.

When I think of the love and care lavished upon me by these same fallible human beings, I experience a new humility. I was thrust into their lives and they spent enormous sums on my well-being, often going without so that I might have whatever they thought I needed. My ill-health influenced them so they refrained from doing many things they wanted to do. My mere presence hampered their enjoyment, their freedom to do as they pleased. Sure, they gave me some silly ideas. They also gave me some excellent counsel. I had to learn to exercise my own judgment, to develop my own ability to discern the difference between the real and the false, before I got it sorted out. I'm still working on it.

The thing that helped me most was the discovery that everyone is, by nature, a creature of liberty. This means that everyone, by his own nature, is responsible for his own actions. There is no question but what my parents influenced me incorrectly from time to time and that without those baneful streams of impulse in my life I would have acted differently. Does that mean that I would have escaped folly? By no means. I simply would have acted out a different line of folly. None of us is ever more than a hair's breadth away from error in whatever we do.

And I learned something else. When I admit

the influences others direct my way, there is a cost involved. However, when I shut out those influences and act as I see fit, there is a cost involved here, too. There is no action without an accompanying cost. No decision can be made without a result appearing on a balance sheet containing both debits and credits.

A child cannot be raised in a vacuum. The parents, foster parents, teachers, and friends will all do their best to influence the child according to their own evaluation of what that influence should be and how it should be offered. A great deal of that influence will be helpful. Some of it will be harmful.

However wrong my parents may have been with me at times — and they were wrong — however my neighbors or the businessmen I deal with have attempted to influence me to their advantage and to my disadvantage, none has ever come close to the damage done by government. Government may attempt to influence, but it is able to do something that society, friends, businessmen, and parents could never do. Government can legally rob me, coerce me, imprison me, and in the end kill me. This is violence, the antithesis of liberty.

So I continue to define an act of violence as one which physically violates the boundaries of property or person against the will of that person. And as for influence, however subtle or pressure-laden, I am at liberty to accept it or reject it without harm to myself.



# Lefevre's Journal



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